

THE EARLY MODERN DREAM VISION (1558-1625):
GENRE, AUTHORSHIP AND TRADITION

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis offers the first full-length investigation into the reception and influence of the dream vision poem in the early modern period. One of the main aims of this research is to challenge the assumption that the dream vision was no longer an attractive, appreciated or effective form beyond the Middle Ages. This research breaks new ground by demonstrating that the dream vision was not only a popular form in the post-Reformation period, but was a major and enduring means of literary and political expression throughout the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. This thesis is therefore part of an ongoing scholarly attempt to reconfigure the former aesthetic judgements that have dominated scholarship since C. S. Lewis dubbed the sixteenth century as the 'drab age' of English verse. The main focus is upon three writers who have been largely ignored or misunderstood by modern scholarship: Barnabe Googe (1540-1594), Richard Robynson (*fl.* 1570-1589) and Thomas Andrewe (*fl.* 1600-1604). Through close analysis of their work, this thesis demonstrates that the dream vision could both inform and was greatly informed by contemporary political, cultural and literary developments, as well as the period's relationship with its literary and historical past.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BD	Geoffrey Chaucer, <i>Book of the Duchess</i> (all Chaucer quotations are taken from Larry D. Benson, ed., <i>The Riverside Chaucer</i> , 3 rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008))
BHL	<i>Bess of Hardwick's Letters Online</i> www.bessofhardwick.org
CSP	Calendar of State Papers
EEBO	<i>Early English Books Online</i> http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home
HF	<i>House of Fame</i>
HRI Origins	The Origins of Early Modern Literature www.hrionline.ac.uk/origins/
Macr.	Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius, <i>Commentary on the Dream of Scipio</i> , ed. William Harris Stahl, revised edn (New York: Columbia University; London: Oxford University Press, 1990)
MED	<i>Middle English Dictionary Online</i> www.quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> www.oxforddnb.com
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> www.oed.com
PF	<i>Parliament of Fowls</i>
STC	Alfred W. Pollard, G. R. Redgrave, William A. Jackson and Katherine F. Pantzer, ed., <i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640</i> , 2 nd edn revised and enlarged (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-91)
Wing	Donald Wing, ed., <i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of the English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700</i> , 2 nd edn revised and enlarged (New York, NY: Modern Language Association of America, 1982-98)

A NOTE ON THE TEXTS

All texts in this thesis are taken from facsimiles of their original editions and, where necessary, the originals have been consulted. Original spellings and typography, including italics, have also been maintained although, where modern editions have been consulted, I have used the spelling and typography from the stated edition.

All quotations from Shakespeare are taken from Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, eds., *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). All quotations from the Bible are cited from the King James Version in modern English spelling.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE ENGLISH DREAM VISION: FROM 'MEDIEVAL' TO 'EARLY MODERN'

I was made priuie to his counsell and secret meaning... as also in sundry other works of his which albeit I know he nothing so much hateth, as to promulgate, yet thus much haue I aduentured vpon his frendship, him selfe being for long time furre estraunged, hoping that this will the rather occasion him to put forth diuers other excellent works of his which slepe in silence, as his Dreames, his Legendes, his Court of Cupide, and sondry others; whose commendations to set out were verye vaine; the thinges though worthy of many yet being knowen to few.

'The Letter of E. K.', *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579).¹

The search for Spenser's lost 'Dreames' presents an interesting case of literary detective-work.² In 1928, W. R. Renwick saw in Spenser's *Ruines of Time* (published in 1591) 'a relic of the *Dreames* and *Pageants* mentioned by Spenser and Harvey in their letters'.³ The *Ruines of Time* has also been described by Richard Danson Brown as a dream vision due to its preoccupation with 'the random shifts of voice and environment characteristic of actual dreams'.⁴ Along with the 'Legendes' and the 'Court of Cupide', the 'Dreames' cited by E. K. in his prefatory epistle may also be a sign of Spenser's first experiments with medieval literary form.⁵ The dream vision poem is often structured around a scene of inauguration or instruction and, in many cases, embraces the

¹ Richard A. McCabe, ed., *Edmund Spenser: The Shorter Poems* (London: Penguin Books, 1999), pp. 29-30.

² The search began with Philo M. Buck's 1908 essay, 'Spenser's Lost Poems', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 23.1 (1908), 80-99. For an overview of this search and several possible contenders for the lost 'Dreames', see the entry on 'dreams' by Carol Schreier Rupprecht in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. by A. C. Hamilton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), pp. 226-8.

³ W. R. Renwick, ed., *Edmund Spenser's Complaints* (London: Scholartis, 1928), pp. 189-90. Both *The Ruines of Time* and the *Visions* (published in the 1591 *Complaints*) stem from Spenser's 1569 translation of Jan van der Noodt's *Theatre for Voluptuous Worldlings*, which includes an early incarnation of the *Visions of Bellay* (Spenser's translation of Joachim Du Bellay's *Antiquitez du Rome, plus un Songe*). Along with the *Ruines of Time* and the *Visions of Bellay*, the *Complaints* also includes the *Visions of Petrarch*, which itself owes a great deal to Marot's 1544 translation of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* 323 ('Le Chant des Visions de Petrarque'). For an account of Spenser's changes to Du Bellay's original sequence, see Anne Coldiron, 'How Spenser Excavates Du Bellay's "Antiquitez": Or, The Role of the Poet, Lyric Historiography, and the English Sonnet', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 101.1 (2002), 41-67.

⁴ Richard Danson Brown, *The New Poet: Novelty and Tradition in Spenser's Complaints* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), pp. 19, 23.

⁵ On this point, see Richard Rambuss, *Spenser's Secret Career* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 85, 64.

landscape, imagery and tone of pastoral verse. The dream vision was used by many fledgling authors in ways that could serve to announce the nature of their literary ambitions and signal their connection to the nation's premier poet, Geoffrey Chaucer.⁶ Although no dream vision poems of Spenser's have survived, Spenser makes reference elsewhere in his works and correspondence to what he describes as 'My Slomber' and 'A Senights Slumber'.⁷ Whether these are or are somehow linked to the 'Dreames' is difficult to know. And given Spenser's interest in Chaucer throughout his career, there is every chance that, like Chaucer's 'phantom' *Book of the Lion*,⁸ the 'Dreames' were never written, let alone published under a different name.

The enigma surrounding Spenser's 'Dreames' provokes some important questions regarding the nature and status of the dream vision poem in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Richard Helgerson rather jubilantly suggests that, had the fate of Spenser's 'Dreames' been 'shared by the *Shepheardes Calender* and *The Faerie Queene*' then, 'how different the course of our literature would have been!'.⁹ That the dream vision was not granted any attention at all by the genre theorists of the period, Philip Sidney and George Puttenham, is no surprise, since the term 'dream vision' is in fact a modern invention.¹⁰ Although an intensely popular form throughout the Middle Ages, when it comes to the early modern period, the dream vision is the subject of a number of narrow and misleading assumptions. Within the critical discourse on the dream vision poem, it has been argued that the genre had reached its limit by the early part of the sixteenth century;¹¹ that it became

⁶ Katherine Craik makes a similar case in her discussion of Spenser, although she identifies the first step of the Chaucerian path with the love complaint: 'Spenser's "Complaints" and the New Poet', *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 64.1/2 (2001), 63-79.

⁷ Rupprecht, p. 226.

⁸ Kathleen Forni, *Chaucer's Afterlife: Adaptations in Recent Popular Culture* (Jefferson, NC.: McFarland & Co., 2013), p. 14.

⁹ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 26-7.

¹⁰ The *OED* dates the first use of the term to the early eighteenth century, although it was not used as a generic marker until 1906 ('dream vision, *n.*', *OED* (2)). See R. K. Root's reference to the *Parliament of Fowls* in his *Poetry of Chaucer: A Guide to Its Study and Appreciation* (London: Macmillan, 1906), p. 65. The terms 'form' and 'genre' are interchangeably used throughout this thesis.

¹¹ On this particular point, see Frank Shuffelton, 'An Imperial Flower: Dunbar's *The Goldyn Targe* and the Court Life of James IV of Scotland', *Studies in Philology* 72.2 (1975), 193-207; Kathryn L. Lynch, 'Robert

‘redundant’ in the age of lyric;¹² and was attractive only to minor or obscure writers who were being ‘perversely retrograde’, ‘deliberately archaizing’ or ‘anachronistic’.¹³ One of the main goals in this thesis is to challenge these assumptions by considering the early modern dream vision as a major and enduring literary kind, both in the mid- to late Tudor period and beyond.

DEAD ENDS AND NEW BEGINNINGS

In the simplest of terms, a dream vision is a first-person poem structured in and around the states of wakefulness and sleep.¹⁴ The dream vision typically employs a three part structure: a waking frame or ‘prologue’ establishing the poem’s tone and general subject matter; the central dream ‘core’ or ‘dream report’ (in which the poet may ‘bring forth any material at all... to restructure it as he likes, and to give it what meaning he will’¹⁵), and a final waking frame or ‘epilogue’ where the dreamer will wake and reflect on their experience.¹⁶ The dreamer is sometimes accompanied by a guide, such as Morpheus (the god of sleep), and the general purpose is to enlighten by way of a progression from ignorance to a heightened state of emotional or intellectual awareness.¹⁷ The poem usually concludes with the dreamer’s pledge to put his or her experience into verse.

Henryson’s “Doolie Dreame” and the Late Medieval Dream Vision Tradition’, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 109.2 (2010), 177-97.

¹² Stephen J. Russell, *The English Dream Vision: Anatomy of a Form* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1987), pp. 201-2.

¹³ Manfred Weidhorn, *Dreams in Seventeenth-Century English Literature* (The Hague: Mouton, 1970), p. 70; Seth Lerer, *Chaucer and his Readers: Imagining the Author in Late-Medieval England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 177.

¹⁴ In addition to Russell’s *The English Dream Vision: Anatomy of a Form*, my understanding of the genre builds on a number of important studies, most notably A. C. Spearing’s seminal *Medieval Dream-Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976). Spearing’s work has since been followed by a number of important monographs. These include: Kathryn L. Lynch, *The High Medieval Dream Vision: Poetry, Philosophy, and Literary Form* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988); Steven F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Peter Brown, ed., *Reading Dreams: The Interpretation of Dreams from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1999); Kathryn L. Lynch, *Chaucer’s Philosophical Visions* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000).

¹⁵ William E. Sheidley, “The Autor Penneth, Wherof He Hath No Prooffe”: The Early Elizabethan Dream Poem as a Defense of Poetic Fiction?, *Studies in Philology* 81.1 (1984), 56-74 (p. 59).

¹⁶ On the structure of the dream vision poem, see Judith M. Davidoff, *Beginning Well: Framing Fictions in Late Middle English Poetry* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1988).

¹⁷ On the progression from ignorance to wisdom, see Davidoff, p. 62.

The dream vision found its fame in the mid- to late fourteenth century, with some of the best-known poems from this period establishing the main features of the form. Peter Brown suggests that at least a third of what he defines as the thirty major poems composed in English in the period 1350 to 1400 can be classed as dream visions, including the anonymous *Pearl*, *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, *Wynnere and Wastoure* and William Langland's *Piers Plowman*.¹⁸ Perhaps the best-known practitioner of the dream vision poem was Geoffrey Chaucer, whose key works in the genre include: *The Book of the Duchess*, *The House of Fame*, *The Parliament of Fowls*, the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* and the Nun's Priest's Tale. Chaucer and his contemporaries found much of their inspiration in the dreams of the Bible and the classics, the philosophical visions of Boethius and Alain de Lille, as well as a number of important Italian and French models and, most notably, the poetry of *fin'amour*. The erotic French allegory, *Le Roman de la Rose* by Gulliaume de Lorris (c. 1237) and continued by Jean de Meun (c. 1270) was unquestionably the most influential of these models. In its Middle English form, the dream vision thus drew on a broad and varied textual tradition and could cater to an equally wide range of literary, intellectual and spiritual concerns.

One of the most important influences on the development of the dream vision poem was the fifth-century *Commentary* on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* by the Roman grammarian and philosopher, Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius. Sixteen times longer than the *Somnium Scipionis* itself, Macrobius' *Commentary* organises dreams into five distinct categories:

[T]here is the enigmatic dream, in Greek *oneiros*, in Latin *somnium*; second, there is the prophetic vision, in Greek *horama*, in Latin *visio*; third, there is the oracular dream, in Greek *chrematismos*, in Latin *oraculum*; fourth, there is the nightmare, in Greek *enhyption*, in Latin *insomnium*; and last, the apparition, in Greek, *phantasma*, which Cicero, when he has occasion to use the word, calls 'visum'.¹⁹

¹⁸ Peter Brown, 'On the Borders of Middle English Dream Visions', in *Reading Dreams: The Interpretation of Dreams from Chaucer to Shakespeare*, ed. by Peter Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1999), pp. 22-50 (p. 20).

¹⁹ *Macr.* 1.3.2. On the manuscripts and printed editions of the *Commentary*, see William Harris Stahl, ed., *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, revised edn (New York: Columbia University; London: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 59-65. All references to the *Commentary* are taken from this edition. For more

The enigmatic dream (or *somnium*) covers the middle-ground between the higher categories of *visio* and *oraculum*, and the lower categories of *insomnium* and *phantasma*, and ‘conceals with strange shapes and veils with ambiguity the true meaning of the information being offered’ (1.3.10). Such dreams required interpretation and were a main component of the dream vision tradition, particularly in its search for divine or empirical truth. In ‘navigating a course between unambiguously upward- and downward-looking visions’, the *somnium* also gave authors a chance to ‘explore, in the ambiguities of dream experience, anxieties about the ambiguity of literary art’.²⁰ It is no coincidence therefore that the Macrobian division of fiction into ‘narrative’ (works that ‘draw the reader’s attention to a certain kind of truth’) and ‘fable’ (those that ‘merely gratify the ear’) adopts an equivalent framework to that of dream interpretation (1.2.8-9).²¹ Unlike epic, romance and other literary genres, a dream vision is ‘a poem which has more fully realised its own existence as a poem’.²²

After Chaucer, there came a flourishing of dream vision poetry throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. The works of John Lydgate, John Clanvowe and Richard Roos, along with the female-voiced poems, later (erroneously) attributed to Chaucer, entitled the *Floure and the Leafe* (c. 1460) and the *Assembly of Ladies* (c. 1475), comprise what has been loosely (although not straightforwardly) defined as ‘Chaucerian’ verse.²³ Chaucer’s example also ushered in a series of

on Macrobius’ influence on the dream vision, see Kruger, pp. 17-34. On the relation between Macrobius and Chaucer, see Larry D. Benson, ed., *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 995.

²⁰ Kruger, pp. 130, 135.

²¹ Kruger, pp. 132-5.

²² Spearing, *Medieval Dream-Poetry*, p. 4.

²³ Derek Pearsall, ed., *The Floure and the Leafe, The Assembly of Ladies, The Isle of Ladies* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1990) <<http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/pearsall-floure-and-the-leaf-assembly-of-ladies-and-isle-of-ladies>> [accessed 14 March 2016]; Julia Boffey, ed., *Fifteenth-Century English Dream Visions: An Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Dana M. Symons, ed., *Chaucerian Dream Visions and Complaints* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004) <<http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/symons-chaucerian-dream-visions-and-complaints>> [accessed 14 March 2016]. On the ‘Chaucerian’ tradition in English writing, see Lerer, *Chaucer and his Readers*; Larry Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority and Power: the Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Ethan Knapp, *The Bureaucratic Muse: Thomas Hoccleve and the Literature of Late Medieval England* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 2010).

works by the Scots poets Gavin Douglas, William Dunbar and Robert Henryson, and the English Henrician poets, John Skelton and Stephen Hawes, who all display a clear and self-conscious interest in the potentials and limits of this established, if not well-worn, poetic form. Occasioned by great religious and political change, the works of these poets also share a concern with the role and status of the vernacular poet, whether courtly maker, *vates* or *laureate*.²⁴ Yet despite this interest, the early sixteenth century was also when the dream vision genre was believed to meet its demise. This thesis picks up where other scholars (namely, A. C. Spearing, Seth Lerer and Julia Boffey, amongst many others) take their leave of the dream vision, by showing that the later sixteenth century also witnessed a great flourishing of literary works, in which the unique combination of artistic and cultural authority and ambivalence represented by the dream vision genre commanded a central role.

Along with the assumption that the dream vision witnessed a decline by the early part of the sixteenth century, many scholars have considered the genre in terms of a seventeenth-century ‘revival’. But for those few critics who have noticed that the genre maintained (or regained) currency in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the genre is discussed almost exclusively in relation to women writers, namely Aemilia Lanyer (‘The Authors Dreame’ prefacing her meditation on the Passion, *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*, 1611), Elizabeth Melville (*Ane Godlie Dreame*, 1603) and Rachel Speght (*A Dreame Pre-fixed*, which prefaces her *Mortalities Memorandum*, published in 1621).²⁵ The evidence of this research raises some questions and challenges as to the

²⁴ See especially Lois Ebin, *Illuminator Makar, Vates: Visions of Poetry in the Fifteenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988); Lerer, *Chaucer and his Readers*, pp. 176-208; Jane Griffiths, *John Skelton and Poetic Authority: Defining the Liberty to Speak* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 25-37, 56-65; Antony J. Hasler, *Court Poetry in Late Medieval England and Scotland: Allegories of Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

²⁵ Kate Chedgzoy, *Women’s Writing in the British Atlantic World: Memory, Place and History, 1550–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 100. See also Danielle Clarke, *The Politics of Early Modern Women’s Writing* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), pp. 147-62; Patricia Pender, *Early Modern Women’s Writing and the Rhetoric of Modesty* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 122-48; Sarah C. E. Ross, *Women, Poetry, and Politics in Seventeenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 26-62.

genre's feminine appeal. Alongside a frequent emphasis on the genre's 'gendered' qualities,²⁶ a critical tendency has also prevailed in which women are assumed to be the primary audience for works on or relating to dreams. For Patricia Crawford, dreams were 'of more *use* to women than they were to men' in their ability to 'present themselves as a medium for a message, a prophetic voice or a visionary'.²⁷ According to Derek Alwes, the numbers of works of this type dedicated to women is supported by the assumption that women 'might have been regarded as somewhat more inclined to take dreams seriously'.²⁸ Although these views are not entirely unfounded,²⁹ this thesis argues for a more rigorous historicist approach to the nature of authorship and reception in the period, paying much closer attention to the ways in which these issues inform and are informed by the uses of genre and gender, and by the concept of a literary tradition.

Some important and well-known examples of the dream vision do of course also appear in the mid- to late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including works by Abraham Cowley (*The Complaint*, 1663; *A Dream of Elysium*, 1689), John Bunyan (*The Pilgrim's Progress*, 1678) and Mary Leapor (*The Temple of Love*, 1746; *The Moral Vision*, 1748), and it is clear that the conventionally

²⁶ See, for example, Elizabeth Hodgson, 'Prophecy and Gendered Mourning in Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 4.1 (2003), 101-16.

²⁷ Patricia Crawford, 'Women's dreams in early modern England', in *Dreams and History: The Interpretation of Dreams from Ancient Greece to Modern Psychoanalysis*, ed. by Daniel Pick and Lyndal Roper (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 101 (original emphasis). For more on women's dreams and prophecy in this period, see Richard Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley, CA; Oxford: University of California Press, 1990); Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992); Carole Levin, *Dreaming the English Renaissance: Politics and Desire in Court Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Ann Marie Plane and Leslie Tuttle, eds., *Dreams, Dreamers, and Visions: The Early Modern Atlantic World* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

²⁸ Derek B. Alwes, 'Elizabethan Dreaming: Fictional Dreams from Gascoigne to Lodge', in *Framing Elizabethan Fictions: Contemporary Approaches to Early Modern Narrative Prose*, ed. by Constance C. Relihan (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1996), pp. 153-68 (p. 160)

²⁹ A contrasting view is presented by Maria Ruvoldt, who suggests that, 'Renaissance conceptions of sleep and dreams privileged the male sex, directing dream interpretation handbooks at a male audience and identifying men as the recipients of divine dreams and dream narrative': *The Italian Renaissance Imagery of Inspiration: Metaphors of Sex, Sleep, and Dream* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 16. Keith Thomas also lists a number of male thinkers who were 'known to have taken at least some dreams seriously', including Francis Bacon, John Foxe and William Laud, although the prophetic power dreams were also met with a degree of scepticism by the likes of John Aubrey and Richard Baxter (*Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Belief in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England*, 2nd edn (London: Penguin, 1991), p. 152).

‘medieval’ form of the dream vision experienced a revival in later centuries, most notably in the work of John Keats.³⁰ But prior to this, there is often an implied, if not overt, sense of the genre’s stagnation and decline. Both why and when this occurred has been the subject of some speculation. Writing of Dunbar’s *The Goldyn Targe* (first published in Edinburgh by the Chepman-Myllar partnership in 1508), Frank Shuffelton observes what he calls a ‘dead end in the History of English Literature’.³¹ Lynch situates this terminus over a century before, claiming that ‘Chaucer wrote himself into a kind of dead end... that required a change of direction after the *Legend of Good Women*’.³² Whilst former conceptions of the ‘long fifteenth century’ have been significantly revised in the years since these evaluations,³³ the ‘dead end’ paradigm persists within some very recent assessments of the dream vision genre. As Lynch writes of Henryson’s *Testament of Cresseid* (c. 1475) ‘there would, of course, be more dream visions written after [although] the form would not last out the next one hundred years’.³⁴

These critical responses offer a somewhat misleading account of the dream vision’s popularity between the years 1558 to 1625. Of the one hundred or so examples of dream visions published in this period that have been identified during the course of this research, the genre emerges not only as an attractive literary form, but also a consistent and often preferred source of

³⁰ John Keats, *The Fall of Hyperion: A Dream* (1819). On the dream vision poetry and prose of the seventeenth century, see Weidhorn, pp. 70-88. On the notion of a dream vision ‘revival’, see M. H. Abrams and Geoffrey Harpham, eds., *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 7th edition (London: Harcourt Brace, 1999), p. 49. Abrams and Harpham also class Lewis Carroll’s *Alice in Wonderland* and James Joyce’s *Finnegan’s Wake* as examples of the dream vision form, and there are other notable examples in the context of modern cinema and literature. See, for example, Drew Beard, ‘Strange Bedfellows: The Chaucerian Dream Vision and the Neoconservative Nightmare’, *The Irish Journal of Gothic and Horror Studies* 8 (2010) <<http://irishgothichorrorjournal.homestead.com/DreamVisionandNightmare.html>> [accessed 8 March 2016] and William Racicot’s (as yet untitled) monograph on dreams and dream frames in nineteenth and twentieth-century fiction (forthcoming).

³¹ Shuffelton, p. 207.

³² Lynch, *Chaucer’s Philosophical Visions*, p. 4.

³³ See especially Douglas Gray, Helen Cooper and Sally Mapstone, eds., *The Long Fifteenth Century: Essays for Douglas Gray* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), chapters 3, 4, 9, 11 and 12 especially, as well as Helen B. Cooney, ed., *Nation, Court and Culture: New Essays on Fifteenth-Century English Poetry* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2001).

³⁴ Lynch, ‘Robert Henryson’s “Doolie Dreame”’, p. 196.

inspiration, experimentation and innovation for a whole range of writers.³⁵ This thesis will focus on three such writers who have been largely ignored or misjudged by modern scholarship: Barnabe Googe (1540-1594), Richard Robinson (*fl.* 1570-1589) and Thomas Andrewe (*fl.* 1600-1604). Although these three writers represent only a small fraction of the authors that were engaging with the form, what they have in common is an unusually consistent interest in the dream vision genre for a whole variety of audiences and occasions. Their works span the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558 to the accession of James I in 1603, and mark important phases in both monarchs' reigns, from the succession debates of the 1560s to Mary Queen of Scots' imprisonment in England during the 1570s, and from the Anglo-Spanish wars of the 1580s, to King James' inauguration of peace in 1604. Their works are also linked together in terms of their interest in a native poetic tradition first championed by Chaucer and other medieval writers. Through their engagement with the dream vision form throughout their careers, Googe, Robinson and Andrewe all display a self-conscious awareness of their place within the English literary canon and, by implication, the place of poetry within English political and religious culture.

It should be noted, however, that the three authors selected for discussion here are not entirely unique in their use of the dream vision on more than one occasion. There are many better-known writers from this period, including William Baldwin, Nicholas Breton, Thomas Churchyard, Michael Drayton, Robert Greene and Samuel Rowlands, who all returned more than once to and experimented with the dream vision form.³⁶ The genre also appears in various arrangements within

³⁵ In addition to those discussed elsewhere in this thesis, some representative examples of the dream vision poems published in this period include: James Yates, 'Verses written upon a dream' (*The Castell of Courtesie*, 1582); George Peele, *The Honour of the Garter* (1593); Luke Hutton, *The Blacke Dogge of Nengate* (1596); Peter Woodhouse, *The Flea* (1605); Robert Carliell, *Britaines Glorie, or An Allegoricall Dreame* (1618).

³⁶ See William Baldwin's dream of Richard Plantaganet, Duke of York in the 1559 edition of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, as well as *The Funeralles of King Edward the Sixt* (published in 1560); Nicholas Breton's 'The Dreame' (*The Workes of a Young Wyt*, 1577), the several 'dreames' in his *Brittons Bowre of Delights* (1591) and 'An excellent Dreame of Ladies and their Riddles: by N. B. Gent.' (published in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593); Thomas Churchyard's, 'A matter of fonde Cupid, and vain Venus', 'Of a fearfull Dreame', 'Of a fantasticall dreame taken out of Petrarke' (printed together with his *Dauid Dycers Dreame* (discussed below) in *A pleasaunte Laborinth called Churchyardes Chance*, 1580); Robert Greene, *A maidens dreame vpon the death of*

the *Mirror for Magistrates*, from Baldwin's account of how he had 'looked on the Cronicles' of Edward Hall and, being 'so wearye' he 'waxed drowsye... began in dede to slumber' in the *Mirror's* first edition of 1559,³⁷ to Thomas Sackville's widely-imitated Induction to the Complaint of Henry, Duke of Buckingham (1563), to the *Mirror's* 1610 continuation (retitled *A Winter Nights Vision*), in which the new editor, Richard Niccols, presents himself as something of an insomniac, who reads a copy of the *Mirror for Magistrates* in order, as he states, 'to passe the time away'.³⁸ Where Lydgate's translation of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrum* (entitled the *Fall of Princes*, c. 1431-8) omitted the dream vision frame, the *Mirror*-authors aspired to 'usurpe Bochas rowme' and, in so doing, gave Boccaccio's visionary structure a central place in English *de casibus* tradition. The *Mirror for Magistrates* and its role in the mid- to late Tudor period is gaining more attention from scholars than ever before, and in various different ways, represents an important generic model for each of the poets here discussed. Based on such evidence, the question really is not *when* did the medieval dream vision cease to be, but rather *why* has the early modern dream vision been ignored?

'THE FRAGMENTS OF IDLE IMAGINATIONS'

Regardless of the assumption that the dream vision genre witnessed a decline in the early modern period, interest in the role of sleep and dreams in this period continues to grow.³⁹ This interest is commonly geared toward the genres of drama and romance and, unsurprisingly, oriented around

the Right Honorable Sir Christopher Hatton (1591), *A Quip for an Vpstart Courtier* and *Greenes Vision* (both prose; both published in 1592) and 'A most rare, and excellent Dreame' (published in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593); Samuel Rowlands, *The Melancholie Knight* (1615), *The Discovery of a London Monster, called, the Blacke Dogg of New-gate* (originally the aforementioned *Blacke Dogge of Newgate* by Luke Hutton, published in 1596), republished in 1612 along with material penned by Rowlands on the origins of the Black Dog legend).

³⁷ William Baldwin, 'To the Reader' (ll. 57-8) in *The Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. by Lily B. Campbell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), p. 181. On Baldwin's use of the dream frame, see Sherri Geller, 'Editing Under the Influence of the Standard Textual Hierarchy: Misrepresenting *A Mirror for Magistrates* in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Editions', *Textual Cultures: Texts, Contexts, Interpretation* 2.1 (2007), 43-77.

³⁸ Richard Niccols, *A Mirour for Magistrates... [A] Winter Nights Vision [and] Englands Eliza* (London: F. Kyngston, 1610), STC 13446, sig. Ooo7r.

³⁹ Amongst a number of studies on the subject, see Karl H. Dannenfeldt, 'Sleep: theory and practice in the late Renaissance', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 41.4 (1986), 415-41; Roger A. Ekirch, *At Day's Close: Night in Times Past* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006).

the period's more canonical authors.⁴⁰ More recently, however, the influence of new critical approaches to early modern texts has enabled a much broader and more thoughtful understanding of the period's literary and cultural landscape, and of its many marginal authors. Scholarly interest has also started to cover some of the less conventional literary forms (such as the 'poetic nocturne' and the curtain lecture), and texts that are considered by convention to be non-literary, such as the travelogue, the diary and the letter. In these cases, the dream continued to provide a source of spiritual and intellectual introspection and inquiry.⁴¹

Although new advances in science, religion and philosophy also meant that dreams and other supernatural phenomena were often held in suspicion, a large portion of the ancient interest in dreams was nonetheless preserved in the period after England's break with Rome.⁴² By the middle part of the sixteenth century, at least twenty-five printed versions of Macrobius' *Commentary* on the *Somnium Scipionis* were available in various languages, soon followed by an English edition appended to Thomas Newton's translation of Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum* (1568).⁴³ In addition to Macrobius' *Commentary*, another major source for the early modern interpretation of dreams was

⁴⁰ The role of dream and vision in lyric form has received surprisingly little attention. For the role of dream in early modern romance, see Alwes, pp. 153-68; Garrett Sullivan, *Sleep, Romance and Human Embodiment: Vitality from Spenser to Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). On drama, see Per Sivefors, 'Prophecies, Dreams, and the Plays of John Lyly', in *Staging the Superstitions in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Cerena Theile and Andrew McCarthy (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 191-215. On the roles of sleep and dreams in Shakespeare, see John Arthos, *Shakespeare's Use of Dream and Vision* (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1977); Marjorie Garber, *Dream in Shakespeare: From Metaphor to Metamorphosis* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1974). See also the essays in Katharine Hodgkin, Michelle O'Callaghan and Susan Wiseman, eds., *Reading the Early Modern Dream: The Terrors of the Night* (London: Routledge, 2008).

⁴¹ On the former, see Chris Fitter, 'The Poetic Nocturne: From Ancient Motif to Renaissance Genre', *Early Modern Literary Studies* 3.2 (1997), 1-61; on the latter, see Kathleen Kalpin, 'Framing Wifely Advice in Thomas Heywood's *A Curtaine Lecture* and Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 48.1 (2008), 131-46; Charles Read Baskerville, 'English Songs on the Night Visit', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 34 (1921), 565-614; On the role of dreams in science and cartography, see Dean Swinford, *Through the Daemon's Gate: Kepler's 'Somnium', Medieval Dream Narratives, and the Polysemy of Allegorical Motifs*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006); Crawford, pp. 91-104; Carla Gerona, *Night Journeys: The Power of Dreams in Transatlantic Quaker Culture* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2004); Claire Jowitt, "'To sleep, perchance to Dream': The Politics of Travel in the 1630s", *Yearbook of English Studies* 44 (2014), 249-64.

⁴² On this latter issue, see Thomas, pp. 151-3.

⁴³ The first independent edition of *Scipio's Dreame* appeared in 1627. See Stahl, pp. 59-76.

the *Oneirocritica* by the second-century (AD) Greek diviner, Artemidorus of Daldis. Although the *Oneirocritica* was not available in English until 1606, small parts of Artemidorus' treatise had been available in print from as early as 1558. By 1659, the *Oneirocritica* had been translated into at least six languages, including Welsh. Artemidorus' main contribution to the taxonomy of dreams was in his method of classification. According to Artemidorus, dreams could occupy either the category of those that bore some form of meaning (*oneiros*) or that did not (*enūpnion*).⁴⁴ Artemidorus then offered numerous sub-classifications and divisions, ordering dreams (which could also include 'oracles', 'visions' and 'apparitions'), according to their prophetic value, and decoded the possible meanings of a number of reported dreams based on their associations within the waking world.⁴⁵ One of the best-known and widely-available adaptations of the *Oneirocritica* in this period was Thomas Hill's *The Most Pleasaunt Arte of the Interpretation of Dreames* (1571), which was printed in numerous editions throughout the period concerned.⁴⁶

Dream theory also found its way into a number of what are often loosely-defined as 'popular' forms, including the dreambook (the best known of these being the *Somnium Danielis*), as well as recipe books, herbals and medicinal tracts. Because dreams were also believed to pertain to an imbalance of the humours, dream theory enjoyed continued application in medicine and diagnosis. Writers would often refer to sleep and dreams in their discussion of certain pathologies, including the 'Elizabethan malady' known as melancholy. As Robert Burton notes in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), 'a hot and dry brain never sleeps well' and the melancholy man is particularly

⁴⁴ Patricia Cox Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 77-91.

⁴⁵ Miller, p. 86.

⁴⁶ Only the title-page to the 1571 edition has survived, though because it is entitled *The Most Pleasaunt Arte... now newly imprinted*, there may have been an earlier edition. The first full, extant edition of Hill's treatise is dated 1576. Hill also wrote an earlier exposition on dreams entitled, *A Little Treatise of the Interpretation of Dreams*, printed in 1567. Hill's other works show a consistent interest in dream theory. *The Gardeners Labyrinth* (1577), for instance, contains passages on the poppy (renowned for its sleep-inducing properties) and the onion (of which 'the daily and too often vsing hinder reason, and procure terrible dreames' (*The Gardeners Labyrinth* (London: H. Bynneman, 1577), STC 13485, sig. Y3v). Hill's *The Newe Iewell of Health* (1576) (a translation of Konrad Gesner's *Evonymus*) also discusses a variety of plants and vegetables that will either cause or inhibit fearful dreams.

disposed to ‘fearful and troublesome dreams, Incubus and such [other] inconveniences’.⁴⁷ Dream theory had, above all else, reached its largest audience through the Bible. The explication of dreams by such figures as Daniel and Joseph, and the roles of dream and vision in the Book of Revelation, complemented the greater contribution of Reformed Protestantism to reveal the nature of God’s plan. The New Testament account of the dream of Pilate’s wife (Matthew 27:19) also served to validate the power of dreams from a female standpoint, as in the case of Lanyer’s *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611),⁴⁸ though the Bible also abounds with instances of deceitful dreams, warning believers on numerous occasions against false prophets (as in Matthew 7: 15) and ‘filthy dreamers’ (Jude 1: 8).

Following the example set by the ancient dream theorists, early modern English thinkers also divided dreams into two broadly-defined categories, of which numerous subdivisions were possible. Dreams were usually catalogued into those that were ‘true’ and originating in the ‘Angelically’ or divine, and those that were ‘vain’ – ‘no true signifiers of matters to come but rather shewers of the present affections and desires of the body’ – and thus of a lower, profane, ‘bodily’ or ‘animal’ nature.⁴⁹ These divisions show a clear interest in neo-Platonic thought, though they still manage to raise some epistemological problems. How does one confirm that a dream was sent by God? And how does one decide whether a dream sent by the Devil is ‘true’ or ‘vain’? A key influence in this respect was the Aristotelian concept *phantasmata*, or ‘residue’ of the day’s activity.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. by Holbrook Jackson (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), II, p. 101.

⁴⁸ Lanyer’s contribution to the dream vision tradition forms the final part of this thesis.

⁴⁹ Thomas Hill, *The Moste Pleasaunte Arte of the Interpretacion of Dreames* (London: T. Marshe, 1576), STC 13498, sig. A2v, D6v; *Sir Thomas Browne: The Major Works*, ed. by C. A. Patrides (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), pp. 475-6 (‘On Dreams’).

⁵⁰ The idea is discussed at length in Aristotle’s, *De Insomnis* (‘On Dreams’) and *De Divinatione Per Somnum* (‘On Divination Through Sleep’). The role of Aristotelean thought on the subject of dreams has received some notable treatment of late. See especially Kristine Louise Haugen, ‘Aristotle My Beloved: Poetry, Diagnosis, and the Dreams of Julius Scaliger’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 60 (2007), 819-85; Angus Gowland, ‘Melancholy, Imagination, and Dreaming in Renaissance Learning’, in *Diseases of the Imagination and Imaginary Disease in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Yasmin Haskell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 53-102; Erica Fudge, “‘Onely Proper Unto Man’: Dreaming and Being Human”, in *Reading the Early Modern Dream*, pp. 31-43.

According to Aristotle, dreams were the products of digestion and '[w]hat the soul sees during sleep are the... "residual movements deriving from sense-impressions" perceived previously, when the soul – and the body – were awake'.⁵¹ Far from establishing the divinatory power of dreams, the Aristotelian view was invoked to confirm that dreams were merely a product of the imagination and were of no revelatory or prophetic value. The playwright and pamphleteer, Thomas Nashe, also describes a dream as being 'nothing els but a bubling scum or froath of the fancie, which the day hath left vndigested; or an after feast made of the fragments of idle imaginations' in his satirical exposition on dreams, *The Terrors of the Night* (1594).⁵² But despite widespread scepticism regarding the power of dreams, they could still be used as a religious or political tool, whether in their ability to foresee the future or to incite persons into action; the 'Holy Maid of Kent', Eliabeth Barton (d. 1534), being one of the most famous examples. The ability for dreams to obscure or deceive also underpinned the detection of other forms of aberrant behaviour, such as witchcraft, heresy and political dissent.⁵³ Whether the mere 'residue' of the day's events, or sent by a godly or other supernatural force, there was a definite need to distinguish between true and false dreams. And it is against such a backdrop that issues of trust, meaning and intention become paramount when an author chooses to present his or her verse in the form of a dream.

GENRE, AUTHORSHIP AND TRADITION

Despite there being a strong indication that the old interest in dreams did not decline with the Middle Ages, only a very small amount of scholarship has addressed the influence and reception

⁵¹ Aristotle, *De Insomnis* 461a (ll. 18-20) quoted in Miller, p. 43.

⁵² Thomas Nashe, *The Terrors of the Night or, A Discourse of Apparitions* (London: J. Danter, 1594), STC 18379, sig. C3v. Although Burton gives dreams a certain amount of credence within his *Anatomy*, his views draw close to those of Aristotle and Nashe in that, when 'a dogge dreames of an hare, so doe men, on such subjects, they thought on last' (II, p. 101). Nor were these views exclusive to England. The sixteenth-century Dutch physician Levinus Lemnius, for example, wrote that dreams consist of the things that one 'earnestly and exceedingly desireth, or hath his mind still running on': the fisherman will dream of fish, the hungry man will dream of food, and the lustful man will dream of 'nightly pollutions,' and so the list goes on (quoted in Dannenfeldt, p. 432).

⁵³ See especially Levin, pp. 61-91, 93-105, *passim*.

of the dream vision poem in the post-Reformation period.⁵⁴ There are a number of reasons why this might be the case. Although the genre comes with a clear set of expectations and rules, the dream vision is far beyond being an homogenous generic category.⁵⁵ As mentioned above, the genre was not granted any attention at all by Sidney and Puttenham, and may also represent the generic ‘mingling’ criticised by Sidney in his *Apology for Poesie*, first published in 1595. Yet this is also a large part of the genre’s appeal and, in many ways, a mark of its modernity. As Jonathan Goldberg reminds us: ‘pure forms are a Renaissance anomaly; hybrids are the rule’.⁵⁶ The dream vision exemplifies this hybridity, mixing the serious with the comic, and draws on a range of literary genres and modes, including allegory, *chansons d’aventure*, complaint and debate. It is a site of what Kathryn L. Lynch describes as ‘cross-fertilization’ and ‘mutual influence’, ‘synthesizing, modifying and correcting where necessary’.⁵⁷ As such, the task of identifying what constitutes a ‘dream vision poem’ is not always a straightforward one. Many poems are structured around a dream that do not fit the full requirements of the form,⁵⁸ and there are a great number of ‘waking visions’ or dream vision ‘analogues’ that may ‘preserve the protocols’ of the dream vision, even as they choose to adjust or remove certain features.⁵⁹ For instance, in Lydgate’s *Complaint of the Black Knight* (c. 1402), a poem clearly modelled on Chaucer’s *Book of the Duchess*, the falling asleep and re-awakening of

⁵⁴ Those studies that do consider the early modern dream vision at length are: William Sheidley, “‘The Autor Penneth, Wherof He Hath No Prooffe’”: The Early Elizabethan Dream Poem as a Defense of Poetic Fiction’ and Helen Hackett, ‘Dream-visions of Elizabeth I’.

⁵⁵ The main authority on genre in the early modern period is Rosalie Colie, *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1973). See also Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, ed., *Renaissance Genres: Essays on Theory, History and Interpretation* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1986); Alastair Fowler, ‘The formation of genres in the Renaissance and after’, *New Literary History* 34.2 (2003), 185-200.

⁵⁶ Jonathan Goldberg, *Shakespeare’s Hand* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 56.

⁵⁷ Lynch, *The High Medieval Dream Vision*, pp. 6-7.

⁵⁸ Such dreams are usually of the Petrarchan or metaphysical sort. Some examples include: Thomas Howell, ‘A Dreame’ (printed in *H. His Deuises*, 1581), as well as John Donne’s ‘A Dream’ (printed in 1635), and Robert Herrick’s ‘The Vine’ (1648). On the uses of dreams in erotic poetry of the seventeenth century, see Weidhorn, pp. 93-106. A further example of this is the dream ‘episode’, a key feature of romance. See especially Sullivan, *Sleep, Romance and Human Embodiment*.

⁵⁹ On the ‘waking vision’ or dream vision ‘analogue’ see Davidoff, p. 135.

the narrator is abandoned in favour of an unmediated account of ‘what the knight really said’.⁶⁰ Without the mediating influence of the dream, Lydgate’s *Complaint of the Black Knight* offers an indication of the ‘tension’ between ‘traditional and transformative treatments’ of the form.⁶¹ By the time of Googe’s dream poem – his Preface to the *Zodiacke of Lyffe* (1560/1) – the former ‘tension’ between innovation and tradition brings on new tensions between the translator and his source, while the contemporary, Protestant discourse of ‘eschewing idleness’ animates Googe’s decision to employ a waking frame. These poems show the extent to which the effect produced by the absence of a mediating frame is as equally important to the generic tradition in which they appear. *A Lover’s Complaint* (appended to *Shake-speares Sonnets*, 1609) also raises the expectations of a dream, though instead of confronting his subject face-to-face, the role of auditor is displaced onto a ‘reuerend man’ (l. 57). *A Lover’s Complaint* both invites but ultimately denies the generic structure that would enable a sense of intimacy between the speaker and the scribe. A comparable effect is achieved in Spenser’s *Daphnaïda* (1591), an elegy for Douglas Howard based on Chaucer’s *Book of the Duchess* (and a potential source for Thomas Andrewe’s 1604 dream poem, *The Vnmasking of a Feminine Machiauell*). Although *Daphnaïda* employs dialogue as means of emotive expression, it is by abandoning the dream frame that Spenser ultimately denies any sense of emotional or narrative closure for the reader.⁶²

Though in some ways proving the inadequacy of the form in the face of grief, the scholarly community has, on the whole, responded rather unkindly to both *A Lover’s Complaint* and Spenser’s *Daphnaïda*. These poems have been defined in terms of their failure when set against their authors’

⁶⁰ Symons, ‘*A Complaynte of a Lovers Lyffe or The Complaint of the Black Knight*: Introduction’, *Chaucerian Dream Visions and Complaints* <<http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/symons-chaucerian-dream-visions-and-complaints-complaynte-of-a-lovers-lyffe-introduction>> [accessed 17 January 2016].

⁶¹ Symons, ‘Introduction’ to *Chaucerian Dream Visions and Complaints*. <<http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/symons-chaucerian-dream-visions-and-complaints-introduction>> [accessed 17 January 2016]. See also Spearing, pp. 219-20.

⁶² Glenn Steinberg, ‘Idoltrous Idylls: Protestant Iconoclasm, Spenser’s *Daphnaïda*, and Chaucer’s *Book of the Duchess*’, in *Refiguring Chaucer in the Renaissance*, ed. by Theresa M. Krier (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1998), pp. 128-43 (p. 140).

other achievements, though such failure has also been regarded as part of the poems' deliberate intention.⁶³ The three authors discussed in this thesis have also received some harsh criticism in the past. The first, Barnabe Googe – a pioneering figure in his own right – was described in George Saintsbury's *A History of Elizabethan Literature* (1887) as an 'indefatigable translator' whose preference for the rhymed fourteenner 'succumbed too often to its capacities of doggerel'.⁶⁴ Richard Robinson, the subject of Chapter Two, was described by A. G. Dickens as a 'cheerful and vulgar figure';⁶⁵ Robinson's first dream poem – *The Rewarde of Wickednesse* (1574), an 'amateurish' ensemble of 'botched verses and forced rhymes'.⁶⁶ *The Vnmasking of a Feminine Machianell* by Thomas Andrewe, the subject of my third chapter, was also described by one literary historian as a 'dull poem' with a 'drowsy end'.⁶⁷ Though these comments hark back to a much older school of thought, the dream vision genre has received similar disparagement in recent years. Describing the works of two of the most prolific authors of the age – Nicholas Breton and Robert Greene (whose dream poems appear together in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593) – one scholar notes that,

None of these is particularly good, largely because Lydgate's daring experiments with the form failed in the hands of those who came after him: the reformist social climate of the late sixteenth century undermined the emotional and spiritual power the medieval dream vision had been able to command in the fourteenth century.⁶⁸

⁶³ As David Lee Miller asks, 'How could Spenser have written a poem as inexplicably bad as *Daphnaïda*, and why did he publish it?': 'Laughing at Spenser's *Daphnaïda*', *Spenser Studies* 26 (2011), 241-50 (p. 241). In Miller's view, *Daphnaïda* seeks to address tensions between Spenser and his subject, Arthur Gorges, and is therefore deliberately excessive in his (through Alcyone) displays of grief. See also Harry Berger, 'The Prospect of Imagination: Spenser and the Limits of Poetry', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 1.1 (1961), 93-120. The question still hangs over whether *A Lover's Complaint* is indeed the work of Shakespeare.

⁶⁴ George Saintsbury, *A History of Elizabethan Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1887), p. 28. Googe's *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* (1563) comprise both the first set of English Eclogues (after Alexander Barclay), as well as the first collection of English verse to be printed under an author's name during his lifetime. See William E. Sheidley, *Barnabe Googe*, (Boston, MA: Twayne, 1981), p. 73.

⁶⁵ A. G. Dickens, *Reformation Studies* (London: Hambledon, 1982), p. 239.

⁶⁶ Sheidley, 'The Author Penneth', p. 65.

⁶⁷ Samuel Egerton Brydges, *Censura Literaria: Containing Titles, Abstracts, and Opinions of Old English Books*, 10 vols (London: Longman & Co.; J. White, 1805-09), VII, p. 51.

⁶⁸ William A. Racicot, "'If we shadows have offended': Reflections of Social Attitudes toward Reform in Late Medieval and Reformation Dream Visions' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Duquesne University,

Such statements over what constitutes a ‘good’ or successful literary work are not out of the ordinary where the dream vision is concerned, and much discussion has been made about the dream vision’s redundancy in the age of the lyric poem. Stephen Russell notes in his *The English Dream Vision: Anatomy of a Form* (1988) that the ‘immediate depiction of powerful emotions’ offered by lyric ‘made the fragile, complex, allusive structure of the old dreams useless’.⁶⁹ Prior to this, Manfred Weidhorn wrote in his 1970 study, *Dreams in Seventeenth-Century English Literature* that, ‘[a]fter the flourishing in the Middle Ages’, the dream vision ‘no longer served as a vehicle for memorable expression by major poets’, but was rather a source of attraction for several ‘lesser authors’ who were ‘deliberately archaizing’.⁷⁰ Despite the fact that many major and indeed prolific writers (namely, Churchyard, Drayton, Spenser, Gascoigne) were engaging with, reworking and reinterpreting the genre, these views have dominated much of the literature on the English dream vision beyond the Middle Ages.

In light of these assumptions, scholarship is making considerable steps to adjust the former view of sixteenth-century verse. Cathy Shrank and Mike Pincombe speak for many in their call to ‘do away’ with the notion of what C. S. Lewis in his *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (1954) famously dubbed the ‘drab age’ of English verse.⁷¹ As they note, ‘[t]he case for the historical importance of the writing of this period is starting to be made, but few have yet championed its literariness’.⁷² The mission for scholars, they state, is to ‘rediscover’ the ‘humour, inventiveness and... charm’ of sixteenth-century verse; to ‘reclaim its marginalised voices and genres’.⁷³ This is one of the main aims in this thesis. Not only should the early modern dream vision poem be

2010), p. 112. The dreams within *The Phoenix Nest* are reserved for a more detailed discussion in my concluding chapter.

⁶⁹ Russell, pp. 201-2.

⁷⁰ Weidhorn, p. 70.

⁷¹ C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954).

⁷² Cathy Shrank and Mike Pincombe, ‘Doing away with the drab age’, *Literature Compass* 7.3 (2010), 160-76 (p. 167).

⁷³ Shrank and Pincombe, p. 171.

considered one such genre, but the voices of a number of poets, many of whom have been marginalised by literary criticism in the past, should become sharper and more distinct across the course of this study.

In addition to redefining some of these former theoretical and aesthetic judgements, it is one of the aims of this thesis to review the borders of periodisation. By implementing a genre typically associated with Chaucer and the poets of the Middle Ages, the dream visions of the period 1558 to 1625 call the boundary between the ‘medieval’ and the ‘early modern’ into serious question. This thesis therefore comes in the wake of some important research in this area, in particular, the work of Lee Patterson and David Aers who, in the early 1990s, first called for a reassessment of the narratives ‘constructed by early-modern humanists, inventing a “Middle” or “Dark Ages” against which, and in terms of which, they could define and legitimise their own commitments’.⁷⁴ Since then, David Matthews and Gordon McMullan’s more recent collection, entitled *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England* (2009), has revived the discussion, particularly in the need to consider more carefully the terminological distinctions between ‘Reformation’, ‘Renaissance’ and ‘Early Modern’.⁷⁵ The interest in ‘medievalness’ and archaic style has been the subject of some very recent research, particularly for what it says about the reception and influence of older poetic models after England’s break with Rome.⁷⁶ The widespread reading and writing of ‘the medieval’

⁷⁴ David Aers, ‘A whisper in the ear of early modernists; or, reflections on literary critics writing the “history of the subject”’, in *Culture and History 1350-1600: Essays on English Communities, Identities and Writing*, ed. by David Aers (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), pp. 177-202 (p. 195); Lee Patterson, ‘On the margin: postmodernism, ironic history, and medieval studies’, *Speculum* 65.1 (1990), 87-108.

⁷⁵ Gordon McMullan and David Matthews, ‘Introduction: reading the medieval in early modern England’, in *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, ed. by Gordon McMullan and David Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 1-16 (p. 7). Other studies to have crossed the border between the medieval and the early modern include: James Simpson, *Reform and Cultural Revolution: Oxford English Literary History (Vol. 2: 1350-1547)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Alexandra Gillespie, *Print Culture and the Medieval Author: Chaucer, Lydgate and Their Books 1473-1557* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Jennifer Summit, *Memory’s Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

⁷⁶ See especially Gillespie, *Print Culture and the Medieval Author*; Andrew Higl, ‘Printing power: selling Lydgate, Gower and Chaucer’, *Essays in Medieval Studies* 23.1 (2006), 57-77; Siân Echar, *Printing the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Lucy Munro, *Archaic Style in English Literature, 1560-1694* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

in the early modern period has been regarded by scholars in the contexts both of religious reform and national formation, and in terms of ‘an ongoing, politically driven struggle to redefine and contain the medieval past’.⁷⁷ Such activity can also be read in terms of what Lucy Munro defines as ‘literary archaism’, that is, ‘the self-conscious incorporation into imaginative texts of linguistic or poetic styles that would have registered as outmoded or old-fashioned’. As Munro has shown,

[A]rchaism is a crucial barometer of writers’ broader engagement with two forms of temporal process: the history of the nation and the development of literary style... Moreover, in creating something new from the fragments of something old, archaist writers both recapitulate and reconfigure their national and literary heritage.⁷⁸

Although the influence of medieval themes and style are a central and equally ‘self-conscious’ concern for the authors here discussed, the question remains as to whether their works can be considered examples of early modern ‘archaism’. Were the dream visions by Googe, Robinson and Andrewe intended to seem ‘outmoded’ or ‘old-fashioned’? And if so, to what ends? Did readers acknowledge their works as such? And how did their works contribute to the concept of a ‘national and literary heritage’? These are just some of the issues that this thesis will both raise and attempt to resolve.

‘CHAUCERIANISM’: SOME IMPLICATIONS

How shuld I hit in *Chausers* vayn
Or toutche the typ, of *Surries* brayn
Or dip my pen, in *Petrarques* stiell
Sens conning lak I all the whiell
And baesly haue I byn brought vp
I neuer sipt on knoledg cup.

Thomas Churchyard, *The Firste Parte of Churchyardes Chippes* (1575).

These lines, taken from a poem entitled ‘Churchyardes Dream’, offer an intriguing variation on an existing trope. Whilst Churchyard’s lack of ‘conning’, his ‘stumbling’ and ‘backward lok[ing]’

⁷⁷ Jennifer Summit, ‘Leland’s Itinerary and the remains of the medieval past’, in *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, ed. by Gordon McMullan and David Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 159-66 (p. 160).

⁷⁸ Munro, pp. 3-4.

persona,⁷⁹ all recall the posture assumed and exploited by Chaucer, instead of incorporating the usual pairing of Lydgate and Skelton (or in some cases, Gower), Churchyard looks back to Petrarch and Surrey as his basis for comparison. Churchyard is not unusual for this, but is one of a number of poets to assimilate the conventions of the dream vision form into the new cultural, commercial and aesthetic demands of the sixteenth century.

If Seth Lerer's *Chaucer and his Readers* (1993) marked a shift in our understanding of the ways in which writers after Chaucer responded to their cultural and literary inheritance, the more recent anthologies of verse by Julia Boffey (*Fifteenth-Century English Dream Visions: An Anthology*, 2003) and Dana M. Symons (*Chaucerian Dream Visions and Complaints*, 2004) have provided the poetic materials to see this in action.⁸⁰ The extent to which the dream vision should be considered a distinct and unified tradition of English writing is made clear from their approach, though both Boffey and Symons take important steps to avoid over-simplifying the matters of influence and reception. The dream visions of Lydgate, Skelton, Hawes, as well as the Scots poets (Dunbar, Henryson and Douglas), amongst many others, have all, at various times, been placed within the bracket of 'Chaucerian' verse.⁸¹ Although this term comes with certain caveats that cannot be ignored, the most helpful way of understanding what may constitute an example of a 'Chaucerian' poem is, according to Boffey, in the way that it 'explicitly announce[s its] affiliation to (or in some instances [its] departures from) a particular tradition of writing... associate[d] with Chaucer's name'.⁸² To offer an example of this, William Dunbar's *The Goldyn Targe* (1508), concludes with a

⁷⁹ Thomas Churchyard, 'Churchyardes Dream written to Master William Harbert Esquier' in *The Firste Parte of Churchyardes Chippes* (London: T. Marshe, 1575), STC 5232, sig. L2r.

⁸⁰ The seminal work on Chaucer's reception is Caroline F. Spurgeon, ed., *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion (1357-1900)*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908). See also Alice S. Miskimin, *The Renaissance Chaucer* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1975); Derek S. Brewer, ed., *Geoffrey Chaucer: The Critical Heritage*, 2 vols (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978); Theresa M. Krier, ed., *Refiguring Chaucer in the Renaissance* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1998); Stephanie Trigg, *Congenial Souls: Reading Chaucer from Medieval to Postmodern* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); Isabel Davis and Catherine Nall, eds., *Chaucer and Fame: Reputation and Reception* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015).

⁸¹ I wish to avoid the label 'Scottish Chaucerians', as the suitability of this term has been widely contested.

⁸² Boffey, *Fifteenth-Century English Dream Visions*, p. 6

paean to Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate, and the following variation on the ‘Chaucerian’ envoi of ‘Go little book’:

Thou lytill Quair, be evir obedient,
Humble, subject, and simple of entent,
Before the face of eviry connyng wicht:
I know quhat thou of rethorike hes spent...
Rude is thy wede, disteynit, bare and rent,
Wele aucht thou be afeirit of the licht.⁸³

For Symons, the term ‘Chaucerian’ may risk overshadowing the work’s many other qualities, though a common link between the works of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century is their ‘self-consciousness’ and ‘formal experimentation’ with the conventions, forms and genres exemplified by Chaucer’s early verse.⁸⁴ This thesis comes both as a response to and extension of these earlier studies by considering, in part, the scope and nature of Chaucer’s reception in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods.

For a discussion of this nature, I have found it useful to keep in mind a further distinction established by Anne Coldiron, between what she calls the ‘direct engagement with or imitation of Chaucer’ (as in Lydgate’s *Complaint of the Black Knight* (c. 1402) or in Dunbar’s *Goldyn Targe*), and ‘post-Chaucerianism’: ‘an indirect evocation of what would have been *loosely recognizable* as Chaucerian’; a ‘second-generation uptake’.⁸⁵ Coldiron’s theory applies specifically to Wynkyn de Worde’s translation of a French poem entitled (in English), *The Fyftene Joyes of Maryage* (1509), but has been particularly beneficial to my understanding of the uses of Chaucer and Chaucerian tropes in the translations of the mid-Tudor period, with particular attention to Googe’s translation of the

⁸³ William Dunbar, *The Goldyn Targe* (ll. 271-9) in *The Poems of William Dunbar*, 2nd edn, ed. by W. Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Mercat Press, 1990), p. 119.

⁸⁴ Symons, ‘Introduction’ to *Chaucerian Dream Visions and Complaints*.
<<http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/symons-chaucerian-dream-visions-and-complaints-introduction>> [accessed 17 January 2016].

⁸⁵ Anne E. B. Coldiron, ‘Paratextual Chaucerianism: Naturalizing French Texts in Early Printed Verse’, *The Chaucer Review* 38.1 (2003), 1-15 (p. 13, my emphasis). A later version of Coldiron’s article was published in her *English Printing, Verse Translation, and the Battle of the Sexes, 1476-1557* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), though with a slightly different focus. I refer here and throughout to the earlier version.

Zodiake of Lyfe, as discussed in Chapter One. In the case of Richard Robinson (the subject of Chapter Two) the nature of Chaucer's influence becomes a more intricate matter. When compared with Googe's desire in his translation of the *Zodiake of Lyfe* to elevate 'our excellent countreyman sir Geffray Chaucer' above all other English writers,⁸⁶ Robinson's invocation of the medieval triumvirate of Chaucer, Lydgate and Skelton shows a much broader sense of the tradition in which he sees himself and his verse. Thomas Andrewe, the last of the three writers discussed, shows yet another stage of development in the reception of Chaucer and 'Chaucerian' verse in the early part of the seventeenth century. The verbal and thematic echoes of the *Book of the Duchess* within Andrewe's 1604 dream poem, *The Vnmasking of a Feminine Machiauell*, exist alongside a large number of intertextual and theatrical citations and allusions, including Ovid, Shakespeare and Kyd. Although Chaucer is still a discernible force in Andrewe's poem, his influence arrives filtered, mediated and altered by the example of Edmund Spenser. The nature of this complexity is rather striking in that not only were Chaucer's *Works* never printed under James I, but also that Spenserian pastoral and other 'archaic' forms offered authors of Andrewe's time a means of expressing their hostility to the Jacobean court.⁸⁷

The use of the dream vision by Googe, Robinson and Andrewe, amongst many other authors of the period, gains added importance when considered in the context of a systematic programme of publishing Chaucer's works to coincide with various stages of reform.⁸⁸ Above all

⁸⁶ Barnabe Googe, *The Zodiake of Life* (London: H. Denham, 1565), STC 19150, sig. (‡)3v.

⁸⁷ While the *Works* did not see a new edition for another eighty years, the absence of a Jacobean edition of the *Works* did not preclude Chaucer's influence. The pseudo-Chaucerian *The Plowman's Tale*, for instance, was reprinted in 1606 as *The Plough-mans tale Shewing by the doctrine and liues of the Romish clergie, that the Pope is Antichrist and they his ministers*. The publication included expansive commentary and notes alluding to the Gunpowder Plot and Spenser's *Shepheardes Calendar* (1579). For more on the Jacobean *Plowman's Tale*, see Michelle O'Callaghan, *The 'Shepherd's Nation': Jacobean Spenserians and Early Stuart Political Culture, 1612-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), p. 22. For more on the Jacobean uses of Chaucer, see Helen Cooper, 'Jacobean Chaucer: *Two Noble Kinsmen* and other Chaucerian Plays', in *Refiguring Chaucer in the Renaissance*, pp. 189-210; Thomas A. Prendergast, 'Revenant Chaucer: Early Modern Celebrity', in *Chaucer and Fame*, pp. 185-200.

⁸⁸ The reasons why have been addressed in a number of important studies, though still remain a topic of debate. In particular, see Higl, pp. 57-77. Higl argues that, in contrast to Chaucer, 'neither Gower nor Lydgate could be molded to fit these mid-sixteenth-century nationalistic and religious demands' and, 'with

other poets, Chaucer was thought to show a unique linguistic talent and clear proto-Protestant sentiments in an otherwise dim and gloomy past.⁸⁹ Brian Tuke, author of the Preface to the 1532 *Works*, famously marvelled,

how in hys tyme (when doutlesse all good letters were laide aslepe throughout the world...) such an excellent poet in our tong shuld (as it were nature repugning) spring and arise.⁹⁰

John Foxe later stated how Chaucer ‘saw in Religion as much almost as euen we do now, & vttereth in hys works no lesse, and seemeth to be a right Wicleuian’.⁹¹ The addition of spurious and apocryphal tales (such as the fiercely anti-ecclesiastical *Plowman’s Tale* and *Jack Upland*) into the existing canon had a major effect in shaping Chaucer’s biography to correspond with the aims of Protestant reform. Whether knowingly or not, the first printed edition of Chaucer’s *Works* in 1532 also assimilated the works of several other authors connected in time, genre, style or general theme with Chaucer’s verse. Many of these additions were dream visions or dream vision analogues, such as Lydgate’s *Complaint of the Black Knight* (c. 1402), *La Belle Dame Sans Mercy* by Richard Roos (an early fifteenth-century translation of Alain Chartier’s poem of the same name) and Thomas Usk’s *The Testament of Love* (c. 1387). Yet this ‘Reformed Chaucer’, much like Protestantism itself, was

the Reformation in full swing by the 1540s in England and anti-fraternal sentiments high, a fifteenth-century monk was hardly a viable commodity’ (p. 65). For a contrasting view, see Gillespie, pp. 145-86, 213-33.

⁸⁹ The aim to ‘recover’ Chaucer’s works from the darkness and obscurity of the Middle Ages began with the antiquarians John Leland and John Bale, along with Henry VIII’s clerk William Thynne, whose edition of *The Works of Geffray Chaucer* was printed in 1532. Similar to Leland and Bale, Thynne’s role was ‘to serche all the libraries of England for Chaucers Workes, so that oute of all the Abbies of this Realme (whiche reserved anye monuments thereof), he was fully furnished with a multitude of Bookes’ (F. J. Furnivall, ed., *Francis Thynne: Animadversions uppon Chaucer’s works... 1598*, revised edn. (London: Trubner, 1875), p. 6). See also Anthony Hall, ed., *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, auctore Joanne Lelando Londinate*, 2 vols (Oxford: A. Hall, 1708-9), II, pp. 419-26 (‘De Gallofrido Chaucero’); James Simpson, ‘Ageism: Leland, Bale, and the Laborious Start of English Literary History, 1350-1550’, in *New Medieval Literatures* 1, ed. by Wendy Scase, Rita Copeland and David Lawton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 213-35.

⁹⁰ Brian Tuke, ‘The Preface’ in *The Workes of Geffray Chaucer newlye printed* (London: R. Grafton, 1542), STC 5068, sig. A2v. On the political significance of the 1532 Henrician *Works*, see Greg Walker, *Writing Under Tyranny English Literature and the Henrician Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp 29-99.

⁹¹ John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London: J. Day, 1583), STC 11225, sig. DDd4r.

‘reformed more than once and was not a singular, monolithic thing’.⁹² John Stow’s 1561 edition of the *Works* continued the process of including apocryphal and imitative works into the canon. To the Henrician *Works*, Stow added several ‘ballades’, complaints and several more dream poems, many of which were gleaned from the fifteenth-century courtly anthology, now known as Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 16.⁹³ Though apocryphal in nature, these additions supplemented the original *Works* to give added emphasis to Chaucer’s chivalric status and proto-Protestant values.⁹⁴ When we come to Thomas Speght’s edition of 1598, the dream vision is once again a prominent feature within the Chaucer canon. Along with the account of Chaucer’s alleged altercation with a Franciscan friar, Speght’s inclusion of ‘Two Bookes of [Chaucer’s], neuer before this time published in print’ – *The Floure and the Leafe* and *The Isle of Ladies* (printed under the title of ‘Chaucers dreme’) – continued the work begun by previous editors.

In her seminal study, *The Renaissance Chaucer*, Alice Miskimin explains that, as modern audiences, we read an entirely ‘different poet from the “Chaucer” of English literary history’.⁹⁵ That many of Chaucer’s readers in the sixteenth century were reading poems like the *Assembly of Ladies* and *The Testament of Love* – and that have been since removed from the Chaucer canon – makes the matter of reception and influence one of enormous complexity. Churchyard’s lack of ‘conning’ in ‘Churchyardes Dream’ (1575), although thoroughly in tune with conventional tropes of modesty, could just as easily derive from the stance adopted in other poems published in the *Works* and the Chaucerian apocrypha, such as the self-proclaimed ‘unworthy’ persona in *The*

⁹² Mike Rodman Jones, ‘Chaucer the Puritan’, in *Chaucer and Fame: Reputation and Reception* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015), pp. 165-84 (p. 168).

⁹³ Stow’s contribution to the Chaucer canon was long criticized. For a new formulation of this view, see Anne Hudson, ‘John Stow (1525?-1605)’, in *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition*, ed. by Paul G. Ruggiers (Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books), pp. 53-70. For more recent responses and revisions to these views, see the essays in Ian Gadd and Alexandra Gillespie, eds., *John Stow (1525-1605), and the Making of the English Past* (London: British Library, 2004). On the apocryphal works, see Kathleen Forni, *The Chaucerian Apocrypha: A Counterfeit Canon* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2001).

⁹⁴ Machan, p. 155; Matthews, pp. 77-8; Miskimin, p. 249.

⁹⁵ Miskimin, p. 227.

Assembly of Ladies (l. 101) or the ‘unconnyng’ and ‘gret simplese’ of the dreamer in Richard Roos’ *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* (l. 17). In addition to this, it is important to consider not only *what* the early modern reader experienced when he or she picked up a copy of Chaucer’s *Works*, but also under what circumstances the *Works* were being read. A great deal of evidence points to the reading of the *Works* within a range of non-aristocratic venues, including the domestic household, the university, and the Inns of Court, venues that are particularly important to the three poets here discussed. Alison Wiggins has also shown how the printed *Works* came to be seen as an important resource for moral, social and educational improvement in a range of familial and pedagogic contexts.⁹⁶ Reading also moved from the courtly into the ‘ordinary and everyday’ domain, and took place mainly among ‘the provincial gentry, female readers [and] aspiring poets’ and amongst men, like Googe, Robinson and Andrewe, of the ‘middle sort’.⁹⁷ Although these writers each come from a decidedly non-courtly background, their use of the dream vision genre demonstrates their engagement courtly literature, values and concerns.

Despite the role played by print in the conception of a ‘Renaissance Chaucer’, manuscript was still an important feature of the early modern literary landscape.⁹⁸ As we shall see in Chapter One, there is evidence to suggest that Googe was reading Chaucer in both print and manuscript form in a range of familial, social and professional contexts. Googe’s reading and ‘use’ of Chaucer is testament to what Wiggins describes as the ‘co-existence of manuscript and print culture’ in this period.⁹⁹ The practice of copying, imitating and circulating Chaucer’s lyrics and shorter poems in

⁹⁶ Alison Wiggins, ‘What did Renaissance readers write in their printed copies of Chaucer?’, *The Library* 9.1 (2008), 3-36.

⁹⁷ Wiggins, ‘What did Renaissance readers write in their printed copies of Chaucer?’, p. 34. See also Victoria Burke, ‘Ann Bowyer’s Commonplace Book (Bodleian Library Ashmole MS. 51): Reading and Writing Among the “Middling Sort”’, *Early Modern Literary Studies* 6.3 (2001), 1-28; Wiggins, ‘Frances Wolfreston’s Chaucer’, in *Women and Writing c. 1340-1650: The Domestication of Print Culture*, ed. by Philippa Hardman and Anne Lawrence-Mathers (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2010), pp. 77-89.

⁹⁸ As Wiggins explains, ‘Chaucer’s transition from manuscript to print was a gradual process’ (‘What did Renaissance readers write in their printed copies of Chaucer?’, p. 34).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* Although beyond the full scope of this analysis, some illuminating research has also begun to assess the reception and influence of dream visions conventions in manuscript forms. The letters of Sir John Conway (British Library Add. MS 23, 212) contain several dream visions which were used as part of

manuscript also continued to flourish in the early modern period. Bodleian Library MS Fairfax 16 is no exception to this. Compiled in the latter part of the fifteenth century, the manuscript was one of Stow's main sources for the several 'ballades', complaints and dream visions, which he added to the *Works* of 1561. Using the concluding lines penned by Caxton, one seventeenth-century reader of the Fairfax MS put the finishing touches to Chaucer's famously unfinished dream poem, *The House of Fame*.¹⁰⁰ Arthur F. Marotti also notes the role of the *Works* in establishing a 'precedent for sheltering lyric verse within a large, prestigious collection'.¹⁰¹ One work that testifies to this is *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557), a collection which includes several visionary, non-visionary and erotic dream texts, including Wyatt's 'Unstable dreame according to the place' and 'They fle from me', as well as the dream vision poem, 'By fortune as I lay in bed' (attributed to J. Canand). Googe's *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* (1563) pays clear homage to Tottel even as it looks forward to a practice of concluding a lyrical sequence with a long narrative poem established in the 1590s with

what Daniel Starza Smith identifies as an epistolary game between Conway and his correspondent, Elizabeth Bourne. The dreams described within their letters blur the boundaries between fiction and reality, but signal the very real and shaping influence of dreams and reading upon their literary, social and erotic practice. See Daniel Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers: Patronage and Manuscript Circulation in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 40-4. For some Older Scots examples, see Sajed Chowdhury, "'Thair is mair constancie in o[u]r sex/Then euer ama[n]g men hes bein": The Metaphysics of Authorship in the Maitland Quarto Manuscript (ca. 1586)', *Textual Cultures: Texts, Contexts, Interpretation* 7.1 (2012), 50-76; Janet Hadley Williams, "The 'Silkin Schakillis' of Lichtoun's Dream", *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 4 (2012), 1-23.

¹⁰⁰ Signatures elsewhere within MS Fairfax 16 point to three sixteenth- and seventeenth-century owners: the antiquary and book collector, Joseph Holland, the historian Robert Wingfield and the antiquary Charles Fairfax, the latter 'intendinge to exchange itt for a better booke' (fol. 1r). Holland was also the owner of Cambridge University Library MS Gg.4.27, a 'defective' copy of the *Canterbury Tales*, *Troilus and Criseyde*, *The Parliament of Fowls*, the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* and the shorter lyrics and Lydgate's *Temple of Glass*, which he similarly 'corrected' through the use of Speght's 1598 *Works*. See Robert A. Caldwell, 'Joseph Holand, Collector and Antiquary', *Modern Philology* 40.4 (1943), 295-301; John Norton-Smith, ed., *Bodleian Library MS Fairfax 16* (London: Scolar Press, 1979), p. xix. The Scottish anthology, Bodleian Library MS. Arch. Selden B. 24, is another case in point. See Julia Boffey, 'The Reputation and Circulation of Chaucer's Lyrics in the Fifteenth Century', *Chaucer Review* 28 (1993), 23-40; A. S. G. Edwards, 'Bodleian Library MS. Arch. Selden B. 24: A "Transitional" Collection', in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. by Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 53-67; Julia Boffey, 'Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24 and definitions of the "Household Book"', in *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, ed. by A. S. G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie and Ralph Hanna (London: British Library, 2000), pp. 125-34; A. S. G. Edwards, 'The Circulation of English Verse in Manuscript after the Advent of Print in England', *Studia Neophilologica* 83 (2011), 67-77.

¹⁰¹ Marotti, pp. 210-11.

the work of Samuel Daniel; the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes*, as we will see in Chapter One, concludes with a narrative dream poem of almost 800 lines, entitled ‘Cupido Conquered’. The issues of authorship, reception and tradition become more interesting and important for all three poets here discussed when we consider more closely the factors informing the transmission and appropriation of their sources, and the forms in which they and their own works appeared to early modern audiences.

‘MY DREME TO ENPRESSE, YF THAT I MIGHT’:
THE DREAM VISION POEM IN THE AGE OF PRINT

According to ancient biography, the Greek tragedian Aeschylus was, at the age of twenty-six, visited in a dream by the god Dionysus and advised to turn his attention to the tragic arts. The poet Callimachus also experienced a dream in which he was taken to Helicon and learned from the Muses the ancestry of heroes and the gods.¹⁰² However, as Piero Boitani has pointed out, Chaucer was the first European writer to develop the formula whereby it is the book itself that ‘both causes the dream and exists within it’.¹⁰³ Thus, when the narrator in Chaucer’s *Book of the Duchess* awakes from his dream and pledges to ‘put this sweven in ryme’ (l. 1332), his dreaming not only begins with a book (Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*), but also ‘ends with Chaucer’s own books’; ‘the “old” book becomes “new”’.¹⁰⁴ While this is the template established by Chaucer, later dream poets saw much scope for variation. In the fifteenth-century *Assembly of Ladies* (c. 1475, included from 1532 in the printed *Works*), the dreamer emulates Chaucer by vowing to put her experience into verse, though the book is then endorsed and named ‘La semble de Dames’ by her male companion (l. 752). For those working in the period 1558 to 1625, there was chance either to follow this practice, or to adapt it to more contemporary notions of authorship and production. John Hall’s ‘A Poesis in forme of a Visyon’ (a dream vision poem denouncing witchcraft and divination printed

¹⁰² Nancy Worman, *Landscape and the Spaces of Metaphor in Ancient Literary Theory and Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 194.

¹⁰³ Boitani, p. 60.

¹⁰⁴ Boitani, p. 63.

in Hall's *The Courte of Vertue* in 1565), concludes with the dreamer waking from his dream and, after taking 'standyshe', 'pen, ynke, and paper', describes how he has 'carude foorth yll fauoredly / Thys rough and ragged verse'.¹⁰⁵ The dreamer in Humphrey Gifford's 'To his most faythfull friend' (a short dream vision of just thirty-eight lines) similarly (and quite befittingly) complains of finding 'such litle store: / Of paper' that he 'could not haue, wherin to write the more'.¹⁰⁶ Although these examples adhere to the scribal template established by Chaucer, other writers from this period are more creative in their approach to the technologies of literary production. The dreamer in Robinson's *Rewarde of Wickedness* (1574), for example, concludes with the dreamer calling his 'Dreame to mind' and promising to spend his time 'in studye'. Yet the task does not end there, for the dreamer must then 'hasten the same to Printers handes'.¹⁰⁷ Throughout his *Rewarde*, Robinson makes no attempt to conceal his aspirations to fame and, in so doing, gives final emphasis to the role of print in his pursuit. Robinson's *Rewarde* thus calls attention to the act of scribal inscription as only a partial or intermediary phase in the production and future reception of his 'little Booke'.

But the press was also seen as an impediment to fame. Jasper Heywood's Preface to his 1560 translation of Seneca's *Thyestes* visualises Heywood's receipt of a 'gilded book' containing a version of the original play, transcribed by the Muses of Parnassus.¹⁰⁸ Heywood's dream sheds important light on the notion of authorial agency and self-consciousness in the age of print. In this 'fantasy vision of textuality',¹⁰⁹ the cultural prestige signified by the manuscript 'that shines so fair' with 'gorgeous glittering golden ink' (ll. 225, 227) provides a literally and figuratively illuminating contrast to the printed book. The dream as a framing trope for translation is key to

¹⁰⁵ John Hall, 'A Poesis in forme of a Visyon' (ll. 28-9, 1-2) in Russell A. Fraser, ed., *The Court of Venus* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1955), pp. 330-1.

¹⁰⁶ Gifford, *A Posie of Gilloflowers* (London: T. Dawson, 1580), STC 11872, sig. D3r.

¹⁰⁷ Richard Robinson, *The Rewarde of Wickednesse* (London: W. Williamson, 1574), STC 21121.7, sig. Q3v.

¹⁰⁸ Jasper Heywood, *Thyestes* (l. 189) in *Elizabethan Seneca: Three Tragedies*, ed. by James Ker and Jessica Winston (London: MHRA, 2012), p. 146.

¹⁰⁹ Andrew Murphy, "'Came errour here by mysse of man": Editing and the Metaphysics of Presence', *Yearbook of English Studies* 29 (1999), 118-37 (p. 118).

understanding Heywood's interests and motivations as a printed poet. It imagines Heywood's access to a text unsullied by the printer's mistakes following a faulty edition of Heywood's *Troas*, printed by Richard Tottel in the year prior to his *Thyestes*. There are several variations on this topos throughout this period. In Richard Niccols' *A Winter Nights Vision* (the 1610 continuation of *A Mirror for Magistrates*), Lady Memory lifts a book from beneath the dreamer's head and, in a striking moment of *mise en abyme*, 'turn[s] ore the leaves' in order read the text that then follows (sig. Oo8v). Andrewe's *The Vnmasking of a Feminine Machiauell* (1604) also ends with the events of the dream having been already recorded within the 'secret brasen-leaued booke' of Fame.¹¹⁰ Playing with the genre's inbuilt reflexivity, these poems underscore the complex and sometimes vexed status of the printed book as a material and cultural commodity.

Christopher Goodwyn's dream vision poem, *The Maydens Dreame* (c. 1513, printed 1542) serves to illustrate the complex interplay between print and manuscript technology in the equally contested arena of gender.¹¹¹ A translation of the anonymous fifteenth-century French poem, *Le Songe de la Pucelle* ('The Dream of the Virgin'), *The Maydens Dreame* consists of a debate between the figures of 'Shamefastnes' and 'Loue' who, in contrast to the French original, are gendered male.¹¹² These two figures present several reasons why the Maiden should follow a life of chastity or desire. At the poem's close, the dreamer wakes and seeks an individual 'to wright' on her behalf,

For I had fyxed holy my mynde
My dreame to enpresse, yf that I might
Thus founde I one, that dyd it gladly endyght
Whose pen to be swyfte, I dyd greatly desire.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Thomas Andrewe, *The Vnmasking of a Feminine Machiauell* (London: S. Stafford, 1604), STC 584, sig. F2v.

¹¹¹ For a more detailed discussion of the poem, see Julia Boffey, 'Banking on translation: English printers and continental texts', in *The Medieval Translator: Traduire au Moyen Age* 15, ed. by Alessandra Petrina (Brepols: Turnhout, 2013), pp. 317-29; Emma Cayley, 'Between Manuscript and Print: Literary Reception in Late Medieval France: The Case of the *Songe de la Pucelle*', *Fudan Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 8.2 (2015), 137-65.

¹¹² In the French editions of *Le Songe de la Pucelle* only 'Honte' (Shame) is depicted in visual form, though in all cases she is gendered female.

¹¹³ Christopher Goodwyn, *The Maydens Dreame* (London: R. Wyer, 1542), STC 12047, sig. B4v.

This erotically-charged conclusion to the poem is Goodwyn's own addition. Although the debate is never resolved, the innuendo behind the great 'desire' of the Maiden to have her work 'gladly' penned and 'enpressed' by a male scribe presents Love as the implicit victor of the debate. In adapting the established framework of the genre to the new technologies of print, *The Maydens Dreame* thus relates to Wendy Wall's discussion of the meanings entailed in the verb 'to presse'.¹¹⁴ This term, Wall writes, was part of a 'gender exclusive idiom [used] to negotiate the myriad social problems of public authorship'.¹¹⁵ In the case of *The Maydens Dreame*, the dream framework (in which maiden's sexual/textual agency is contested fiercely by two men) thus becomes a means of asserting a 'masculinized notion of authorship'.¹¹⁶

Knowing that *The Maydens Dreame* is also a work in translation opens further questions as to the level of agency involved in the poem's creation. Like the Maiden's vision, which came on by 'chyllysshe ygnoraunce' during 'the lusty, fresshe moneth of may' (sig. A2r), the debate between the figures of Shamefastness and Love could also be seen as a means of denying responsibility for the poem's publication. Indeed, the dream vision provides an important paratextual frame for a number of translators of the mid-sixteenth century, particularly for those writers working in and around the Inns of Court. For female writers like Aemilia Lanyer, Elizabeth Melville and Rachel Speght, and for whom translation was one of only a few sanctioned literary modes available, the sense of submission provided by the dream offered a way for these writers to appear in print without transgressing the social and gendered norms. By adopting the culturally-sanctioned role

¹¹⁴ Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 279. *The Maydens Dreame* also anticipates the broadside tradition for 'Maiden's Dreams' during the seventeenth century in which the dialogue often takes place between two sisters in bed. See, for example, 'The Maiden's Dream' (British Library, Egerton MS 2725) and 'The dainty Damsel's Dream, Or, Cupid's Visions', attributed to Laurence Price.

¹¹⁵ Wall, p. 281.

¹¹⁶ Wall, p. 282.

of dreamer, these writers exploit a semblance of modest passivity befitting their sex, but through which they manage, variously, to negotiate their social and authorial statuses and positions.

The three main authors discussed in this thesis seem largely untroubled by the supposed indignity of ‘going to press’.¹¹⁷ Indeed, much of their purpose seems to coincide with the ability for print to mobilise opinion, particularly in the context of national and religious reform. But despite a clear interest among poets in the structural and thematic potential of the dream vision form, there is often little (and more usually no) sign of interest in the origins and significance of dreams. This is a notable omission. Following the example set by *Le Roman de la Rose*, the dream visions of the medieval period typically began with an exposition on dreams and their potential meaning. Whether a ‘revelacion,’ ‘sweven,’ ‘fantome’ or ‘oracle’, dreams and their interpretation constitute a sixty-five-line preamble Chaucer’s *House of Fame*, whilst in the Nun’s Priest’s Tale, the cockerel Chauncleer cites the combined authorities of Macrobius, Daniel, Joseph, and the classical prophetess Andromache, as proof that dreams come true. This strategy is employed by a number of authors writing after Chaucer. To take one example, Skelton’s *Garlande of Laurell* (c. 1495) contains the following affirmation:

In slumbrynge I fell, and halfe in a slepe
And whether it were of ymaginacion
Or of humors superflue, that often will crepe
In to the brayne by drynkyng ouer depe
Or it proceded of fatall perswasion
I can nat tell you what was the occasion.¹¹⁸

But of the hundred or so dream visions published in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, only a very small handful engage the origins, classification and interpretation of dreams with deliberate

¹¹⁷ The seminal study on this is J. W. Saunders, ‘The Stigma of Print: A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry’, *Essays in Criticism* 1.2 (1951), 139-64.

¹¹⁸ John Skelton, ‘The Crowne of Lawrell’ in *Pithy Pleasaunt and Profitable Workes of Maister Skelton, Poete Laureate* (London: T. Marshe, 1568), STC 22608, sig A1v.

intent.¹¹⁹ More often than not, the subject is handled with great caution or omitted entirely, with several authors opting to provide only a subtle indication that the poem is in fact a dream at all. The reasons why deserve careful consideration.

TRUE AND FALSE DREAMS

The distinction between true and false dreams was a major theme of religious, political and philosophical discourse during the early modern period, and dreams and their interpretation would often provide the grounds on which writers could debate their own particular cause. In his *Actes and Monuments* (first published in 1563), John Foxe mentions the importance of differentiating between ‘spiritual reuelations sent by God touching spirituall matters of the church, pertayning to mans saluation’ and what he calls ‘earthly dreames’ and ‘matters of humane superstition’, the implication being that those dreams experienced by Foxe’s Protestant martyrs are of a ‘true’ and ‘spiritual’ variety (sig. N4v). Thomas Nashe makes a comparable claim in his *Terrors of the Night* (1594) in that,

the saints and martyrs of the primitive church had unfallible dreams forerunning their ends... but those especially proceeded from heaven, and not from any vaporious dreggy parts of our blood or our brains. (sig. F2r-v).

These debates were informed further by a commonplace division established by Protestant reformers between the ‘darkness’ of the medieval, Catholic past and the ‘light’ of the new faith, in which the language of dreams also plays a vital part. Samuel Harsnett’s *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* (1603), for instance, writes of dreams and other ‘Frightful fancies’ as being the product of either ‘weakenes of wit, or vnstayednes in religion’ (of which ‘children, fooles, women, cowards, sick, or blacke, melancholicke, discomposed wits’ were particularly prone), and he

¹¹⁹ Some exceptions include: Thomas Churchyard, ‘Churchyardes Dreame’ (1575); F. T., *The Debate betweene Pride and Lowlines* (1577) (discussed below) and Robert Greene, ‘A most rare, and excellent Dreame’ (*The Phoenix Nest*, 1593).

describes such phenomena as the ‘forgeries, cosenages, Imposturs, and legerdemaine of craftie priests’ and ‘leacherous Friers’.¹²⁰

This mixed atmosphere of curiosity, apprehension and growing scepticism is echoed in the ways in which the period’s poets are notably cautious in their approach to the subject of dreams. To offer one example, in Googe’s second dream poem, ‘Cupido Conquered’ (published in the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* of 1563), the dreamer contemplates several possible reasons for his repose:

...whether it was werynes, with labour...
Or Fume y^t from the Spryng dyd ryse...
Or yf it were the sweete accorde
that syngyng Byrdes dyd keepe.¹²¹

Whether the dream was ‘caused by mental and physical distress’ (*Macr.*, 1.3.4), or by listening to birdsong and the watery vapours of the spring, or a combination of these elements, is nonetheless open to debate. Although a dream caused by ‘mundane’ factors (an *insomnium*) would be of little or no revelatory significance, the appearance of Mercury, the god of poetry and invention, brings the experience into the higher bracket of the *oraculum*, and may therefore reveal to Googe’s dreamer ‘what will or will not transpire, and what action to take or to avoid’ (1.3.8). Based on the information provided by Googe within the pre-dream frame, it is up to the reader to decide how much of the dream should be taken as true. To offer another example, in Michael Drayton’s *The Owle* (1604), a bird-debate poem modelled on Chaucer’s *Parliament of Fowls* and Spenser’s *Prosopopoia: or Mother Hubberds Tale* (1591), the prime trigger for the dream is the sound of birdsong. Though clearly suited to Drayton’s theme, the dreamer still ponders whether the dream was sent by ‘some God or power deuine’ to ‘cleere’ and ‘wondrously refine’ his mind.¹²² These examples are part of a standard and much broader rhetorical vocabulary designed to vindicate the author

¹²⁰ Samuel Harsnett, *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* (London: J. Roberts, 1603), sig. T1r.

¹²¹ Barnabe Googe, *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* (London: T. Colwell, 1563), sig. I1r.

¹²² Michael Drayton, *The Owle* (London: E. Alde, 1604), sig. B1v.

and variously stress or subvert his claims to divine revelation or empirical truth. As the three chapters in this thesis will show, such claims are often charged with political significance. In the case of *The Owle*, a poem published at the start of James I's reign and a key complement to Andrewes's *The Vnmasking of a Feminine Machiauell*, the dream vision is part of a thinly-veiled attack on the Jacobean court. 'Cupido Conquered' was published much earlier than these poems in 1563, though the dream provides a similar degree of deniability for Googe. Given that Googe's poem was issued and read by Inns of Court men in the midst of contemporary debates regarding marriage and succession, the expulsion of Cupid from the court of Diana could have deep political ramifications, which Googe's use of the dream frame and other paratextual apparatuses seeks to obscure.

A major exception to this approach can be seen in *The Debate betweene Pride and Lowlines* (1577). According to some sources, the author of *The Debate* was Francis Thynne (son of Chaucer's Henrician editor, William Thynne, and author of the *Animadversions*, 1598). Although the evidence is by no means conclusive, the potential for a link is interesting, in that the poem begins with a nineteen-stanza prelude in which the origins of dreams are set out before the reader in a manner highly reminiscent of Chaucer's Proem to the *House of Fame*.¹²³ In the pre-dream Prologue to *The Debate*, the narrator states that dreams may derive from a 'superfluitie' of food or melancholy humours, but those that are divine in origin should be treated with much greater caution:

MEN talken diuersly concernyng dreames,
 Some say they come of causes naturall:
 Of cholers, melancholies, blood, and fleames,
 And béen such as their cause materiall.

Some say they come of superfluitie,
 That any wight hath take of meate or drinke:
 Engendring in the head fumositie,
 Whyle thyther from the stomake they doo swynk.

¹²³ For a detailed analysis of the poem's links to the works of Chaucer, see Daniel J. Ransom, 'Chaucerian Echoes in the *Debate betweene Pride and Lowlines*', *The Chaucer Review* 48.3 (2014), 322-33. Ransom notes several allusions to *The Canterbury Tales* in F. T.'s dream, which might also be a source for Robert Greene's prose dream vision, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592).

And therefore doo distinguishe of the time,
When they appeare, yf in the latter sléepe:
The more remarkable they them define,
If in the fyrst they take the lesser keepe.

Some holden that they come of loue or feare,
Which any wight by day time hath icaught:
To thing or place, and wisheth to be there,
And this is deepe imprinted in the thought.¹²⁴

He goes on to state how it is considered ‘great wrong and vsurpation’ of God’s authority when men claim to understand the true nature of these ‘reuelations’; they make a man ‘forgetten his estate’ (sig. A3v). Although this may seem only tangential to the poem’s theme, *The Debate* originates in the tradition of medieval estates satire. F.T.’s exposition on dreams therefore serves as an inventive preamble to the poem’s discussion of social status, array and degree.

The caution with which the author of *The Debate betweene Pride and Lowlines* tackles the subject of dreams and their interpretation corresponds with what Alec Ryrie identifies in this period as a ‘spiritual struggle with sleeping’:

The ambition was to have your mind focused on godly matters as you fell asleep; more remarkably, to ensure that your first thought on waking was of God; and more remarkably still, to have a dream life which reflected your waking ideals.¹²⁵

Likewise, in *The Debate betweene Pride and Lowlines*, the narrator shows a clear preoccupation with sleep as both a natural and spiritual restorative: It is a ‘gentle creature’; ‘Nurs of digestion to man and beast’ (sig. A4v). In addition to this, the dreamer in *The Debate* retires to bed with a book of Psalms. Such actions coincide with the mental and spiritual preparation considered necessary before sleep, which in this period would include rest after eating, the ritual of ‘shutting in’ and bedtime prayer.¹²⁶ F. T.’s reading of the Psalms is also a pious variation on a key Chaucerian trope, in which the narrator ‘reads his book, falls asleep, dreams, wakes up with his book beside him, and decides to write a book’.¹²⁷ Similarly, in Robert Henryson’s *Testament of Cresseid*, it is the narrator’s

¹²⁴ F. T., *The Debate betweene Pride and Lowlines* (London: J. Charlewood, 1577), sig. A3r.

¹²⁵ Alec Ryrie, ‘Sleeping, waking and dreaming in Protestant piety’, in *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 73-92 (p. 75).

¹²⁶ On the use of prayer and other bedtime rituals, see Ekirch, pp. 78, 142-5.

¹²⁷ Boitani, p. 60.

reading of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* that not only comforts his 'spreitis' during 'Ane doolie sessoun... in middis of the Lent' but also inspires and authorises him to follow in the footsteps of his poetic predecessor.¹²⁸

Although the dream poets of the early modern period were not retiring to bed with a copy of their Chaucer (as in Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*), the actions of sleeping on or in the company of books follows his example, allowing writers to engage in both physical and metaphorical ways with the texts that inspire their verse. This is especially the case for Gooze and the mid-Tudor translators, though it applies also to the authors discussed in other chapters, and in somewhat curious and suggestive ways. The dream was an important framing trope for the various contributors to the *Mirror for Magistrates* in order to place their work firmly in the tradition of *de casibus* literature, and in their efforts to surpass their literary forerunner. John Higgins' Induction to the 1574 edition of the *Mirror* emulates Sackville's famous Induction to Complaint of Henry, Duke of Buckingham (printed in 1563), describing Higgins' visit to the bookseller's stall in order to find 'some booke, of mourning theame... / To reade... / That might herein my carefull mynde contente'.¹²⁹ The *Mirror's* later editor Thomas Blenerhasset (1578) claims that he did not require sleep to be inspired, having had both '*Inquisition*' and '*Memorie*' as 'the Arbiters of my matter'. Blenerhasset nonetheless points to the importance of both Higgins and Sackville's framing tropes by defining his text in a conventional way as 'the fruites of these my idle howres'.¹³⁰ As mentioned above, the editor Richard Niccols revives Higgins' formula, describing in his 1610 Induction how he retired to bed with a copy of the *Mirror for Magistrates* in order 'to passe the time away'.¹³¹ Although these works all rather jokingly imply that reading the *Mirror* has a soporific

¹²⁸ *The Testament of Cresseid* (ll. 1; 5) in *Robert Henryson: The Complete Works*, ed. David J. Parkinson (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2010) <<http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/parkinson-henryson-complete-works-testament-of-cresseid>> [accessed 8 March 2016].

¹²⁹ John Higgins, *The firste parte of the Mirour for Magistrates* (London: T. Marshe, 1574), sig. A1r.

¹³⁰ Thomas Blenerhasset, *The Seconde Part of the Mirroure for Magistrates* (London: R. Webster, 1578), sig. *4v.

¹³¹ Richard Niccols, *A Mirour for Magistrates... [A] Winter Nights Vision [and] Englands Eliza* (London: F. Kyngston, 1610), sig. Ooo7r.

effect, the dream vision framework offers more serious and reflective commentary on readerly expectations, poetic rivalry and competition.

These later editions of the *Mirror* also provide a point for comparison with Robinson's *Rewarde of Wickednesse* (1574). In the case of Robinson, it would seem that the activities of reading and writing take place during only the brief moments snatched from his main duty of keeping 'watche, and warde' over Mary Queen of Scots. The *Rewarde* resembles something like a commonplace book, and the dream frame is one of several strategies used in order to account for the text's piecemeal appearance. In Robinson's much later collection of dream vision poems, *A Golden Mirrour* (1589), reading takes on social significance and meaning. In the second poem within *A Golden Mirrour*, the former household servant of the *Rewarde* reads a book of sonnets and miscellaneous poems in the grounds of an estate; one of several privileges of the country gentleman. Thomas Andrewe's *The Vnmasking of a Feminine Machiauell* begins with the dreamer in bed suffering from some form of lover's malady; a metaphor in Chaucer's dream poems for writer's block. The narrator then appeals to his Muse for both inspiration and assistance in unravelling the meaning of the visions, 'strangely represented' to him in the 'melancholy night' (sig. B2r). *The Vnmasking* is a compendium of classical, medieval and contemporary knowledge, including references to Homer, Virgil and Ovid, as well as allusions to a number of plays, which are recontextualised and transformed within the fabric of the dream. As readers of Andrewe's poem, we are offered a glimpse into the young poet's literary engagements and the uses of books for personal – and covertly politicised – expression.

READING DREAMS IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

But if a man superficially & slitley glideth ouer these pye-bald Pamphlets, they are like a pleasing dream, that mockes the mind with silken thoughts... For if a view be had of these editions, the *Court of Venus*, the *Pallace of Pleasure*, *Guy of Warwicke*, *Libbius and Arthur*, *Beuis of Hampton* the wise men of *Goatam*, *Scoggins* Ieasts, *Fortunatus*, and those new delights that haue succeeded these, and are now extant, too tedious to reckon vp: what may we thinke? but that the floudgates of all impietie are drawne vp, to bring a vniuersall deluge ouer all holy and godly conuersation.

Henry Crosse, *Vertues Common-wealth* (1603).¹³²

Fearing that readers of his day were only interested in ‘scurrilous tales, & bawdie verses’ such as *The Court of Venus*, the pseudo-medieval *Scoggins Jestes*, and chivalric romance, the author of *Vertues Common-wealth* and preacher, Henry Crosse, uses a rhetorical trope that would resonate across the works of this period. According to Crosse, these ‘pye-bald Pamphlets... are like a pleasing dream, that mockes the mind with silken thoughts’. In 1653, William Harvey also stated that to read without intuition rendered such activity merely ‘waking mens dreams, and sick mens phrensies’.¹³³ Similarly, in his *Anatomie of Absurditie* (1589), Thomas Nashe describes the popular genre of romance as ‘the fantasticall dreames of those exiled Abbie-lubbers, from whose idle pens proceeded... worn out impressions of the feyned no where acts’.¹³⁴ Prose romance was often the target of condemnation, particularly from Reformist and humanist thinkers such as Juan Luis Vives and Roger Ascham. According to Samuel Harsnett, such works were the extractions of ‘idle poets’ (sig. 2r). Although these fears were mostly due to their Italian provenance, there was also a fear that they would divert their readers from more worthy pursuits. Reading romance was therefore often troped as an idle or aberrant activity.¹³⁵ ‘Canterbury Tales’ also became a watchword for ‘forged fables’, old wives’ tales and ‘fantasies’ that ‘hold children from play, and old folkes from the chimney corner’.¹³⁶

Although typically regarded as a ‘medieval’ genre, the dream vision poem did not experience the same kind of censure as romance, ballads and ‘Canterbury Tales’. There were,

¹³² Henry Crosse, *Vertues Common-wealth* (London: T. Creede, 1603), sig. O1v-O2r.

¹³³ William Harvey, *Anatomical Exercitations concerning the Generation of Living Creatures* (London: J. Young, 1653), sig. ¶5r.

¹³⁴ Thomas Nashe, *The Anatomie of Absurditie* (London: J. Charlewood, 1589), sig. A2r. See also Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London: J. Day, 1570), sig. I2r; Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia* (London: P. Short, 1598), sig. Mm3v-Mm4r.

¹³⁵ For a more detailed discussion of this, see Helen Hackett, *Women and Romance Fiction in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 33-54; Hackel, pp. 196-255.

¹³⁶ George Gilpin, trans., *The Bee Hieve of the Romishe Church* (London: T. Dawson, 1579), sig. Mm3v; Richard Carew, trans., *A World of Wonders* by Henri Estienne (London: R. Field, 1607), sig. ¶3r-v.

however, a number of poems of this type that became the subject of enormous controversy in the period concerned. A dream vision criticising Mary Queen of Scots entitled ‘Maister Randolpbes Phantasey’ (c. 1565/6) circulated in manuscript form until its discovery by Queen Elizabeth who vowed that, ‘even if but a dream and not written, she will not think [the author] worthy of living in her realm’.¹³⁷ The genre’s libellous potential is reflected in a much later poem entitled ‘A Dreame’ (c. 1614) composed by the ‘Sireniac’ writer, John Hoskyns. The dialogue within ‘A Dreame’ is delivered by Hoskyns’ wife, his mother and his son, ‘but foure yeares old, all foure undone’.¹³⁸ In 1614, Hoskyns was imprisoned in the Tower of London for speaking out in parliament against James I’s policies on financial and foreign affairs.¹³⁹ The poem was extremely popular and circulated widely, with some versions claiming to have been presented to the king by Hoskyns’ wife.¹⁴⁰ Through these examples, we see the genre’s continuing power to not only ‘convey controversial content’ in what was deemed a ‘relatively safe mode’,¹⁴¹ but also its potential to influence public opinion. A slightly earlier dream poem, known by the title ‘A dreame alluding to my L. of Essex and his adversaries’ (c. 1599) (beginning, ‘Where Medwaye greetes old Thamesis silver streames’), also employs the dream vision frame in relating the fall of Robert Devereaux, 2nd Earl of Essex, from Elizabeth’s favour.¹⁴² Although the poem concludes with the dreamer declaring his musings but ‘dreaminge toies’,¹⁴³ the severity of the message is abundantly clear: ‘O

¹³⁷ CSP (Scotland) 52/12, fol. 69 (13 June 1566). Although attributed to Elizabeth’s Ambassador to Scotland, ‘Maister Randolpbes Phantasey’ was more likely written by his servant, Thomas Jenye. For more on this poem, see Chapter Two.

¹³⁸ See John Hoskyns, ‘A Dreame’ (BL Harley MS 6947, fols. 252r-53r), *Early Stuart Libels* <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/addled_parliament_section/G2.html> [accessed 8 March 2016].

¹³⁹ David Colclough, “‘The Muses Recreation’: John Hoskyns and the Manuscript Culture of the Seventeenth Century”, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 61.3/4 (1998), 369-400.

¹⁴⁰ One such MS states that ‘vpon y^e sight of it the Kings ma:^{tie} most graciously granted her suite and her husband was forth with released’ (Bodleian MS Rawlinson D. 160, fol. 3v). See Colclough, p. 284.

¹⁴¹ Scott Lucas, ‘Comment: The Visionary Genre and the Rise of the “Literary”’, *Journal of British Studies* 46.4 (2007), 762-5 (p. 765).

¹⁴² Marotti, pp. 95-8.

¹⁴³ ‘A dreame alluding to my L of Essex, and his adversaries’ (Bodleian MS Don. c.54, fols. 19r-20r), *Early Stuart Libels* <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/essex_ralegh_section/A7.html> [accessed 8 March 2016].

that a Camell should a Lion leade... / and thought I dream'd yet did I dreade'. Although a dream might invite any number of interpretations, the poem contains a number of annotations, with references to the Earl of Essex as 'the stately HART', Sir Robert Cecil as the 'crookbackt' Camel, and Queen Elizabeth as the 'noble Lion', which endeavour to fix certain meanings on the poem's allegory. While the use of manuscript might shield such poems from censure, they were nonetheless 'published' scribally and were circulating far beyond an exclusive audience.

Against the fluidity of manuscript forms, the idea of print as being contrastingly 'rigid' or 'stable' has been widely contested. As Adrian Johns explains, 'an apparently authoritative text, however "fixed", could not compel uniformity in the cultures of its reception... Local cultures created their own meanings with and for such objects'.¹⁴⁴ This is certainly the case where the dream vision is concerned, and there are at least two poems that were published in the mid-sixteenth century that serve to not only demonstrate, but also dramatise, this particular point. The first of these is Thomas Sackville's Induction to the Complaint of Henry, Duke of Buckingham (*Mirror for Magistrates*, 1563). The Induction describes a dream brought about by Sackville's 'musings' on the 'fall of pieres'.¹⁴⁵ He is met by the figure of Sorrow, who leads him to 'An hydeous hole al vaste, withouten shape':

Of endles depth, orewhelmde with ragged stone,
Wyth ougly mouth, and grisly Iawes doth gape,
And to our sight confounds it selfe in one.
Here entred we, and yeding forth, anone
An horrible lothly lake we might discerne
As blacke as pitche, that cleped is Auerne. (ll. 204-10).

The *Mirror's* prose commentators argue between themselves whether this, apparently non-Christian underworld, is the stuff of fiction or fact for, although Sackville 'herein do follow allowed

¹⁴⁴ Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 29.

¹⁴⁵ Thomas Sackville, 'The Induction' to the Complaint of Henry, Duke of Buckingham (ll. 64, 68) in Campbell, ed., *The Mirror for Magistrates*, p. 300. All quotations from this edition will be referenced by line number hereafter.

Poetes, in theyr discription of Hel', his account 'sauoreth so much of Purgatory, whiche the papistes haue digged thereout, that the ignorant maye therby bee deceyued'.¹⁴⁶ The *Mirror's* initiator, William Baldwin, interjects with the assurance that Sackville 'meaneth not... the place eyther of damned soules...but rather the Graue', where the bodies of the dead rest until the resurrection' (ll. 9-12).¹⁴⁷ One final participant in the debate declares that Sackville's vision is mere 'Poesie and no diuinitye' (l. 15). The disagreements amongst the *Mirror's* creators generate a range of potential meanings and interpretations for Sackville's dream. The final statement 'it is a Poesie and no diuinitye' makes a crucial point that poets should not meddle in theological or prophetic affairs. It is no coincidence, therefore, that the complaint that follows is that of the Poet Collingbourne, 'cruelly executed for making a foolishe rime', a satirical prophecy against Richard III.

These fictionalised debates resonate with another controversial work entitled *Dauy Dycars Dreame* (c. 1552), a broadside poem by Thomas Churchyard. Drawing on the contemporary popularity of Langland's *Piers Plowman* (from which the character 'Dawe the Diker' originates), the poem envisions a time, 'When truth doth tread y^e strets and liers lurke in den, / And Rex doth raigne and rule the rost, and weedes out wicked men', which has been read as an assault on the Earl of Warwick, the King – Edward VI – and his Privy Council.¹⁴⁸ The publication prompted a number of ripostes, most notably *The Contention betwixte Churchyard and Camell, vpon Dauid Dycars Dreame*, published in 1560.¹⁴⁹ The *Contention* depicts the reactions of a

¹⁴⁶ Campbell, p. 346.

¹⁴⁷ These were timely points of contention. The Thirty-Nine Articles of 1563 had condemned the doctrine of Purgatory, but omitted the former Act denouncing those who maintain 'that the souls of such as depart hence to sleep, being without all sense, feeling or perceiving until the day of judgement' ('The Forty-Two Articles of 1552', in *Documents of the English Reformation 1526-1701*, ed. by Gerald Lewis Bray (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co.; repr. 2004), p. 309).

¹⁴⁸ Thomas Churchyard, *The Contention betwixte Churchyard and Camell, vpon Dauid Dycars Dreame* (London: O. Rogers, 1560), sig. A1r.

¹⁴⁹ For more on the debate and its literary sources and connections, see Scott Lucas, 'Diggon Davie and Davy Dicar: Edmund Spenser, Thomas Churchyard, and the Poetics of Public Protest', *Spenser Studies* 16 (2002), pp. 151-66; Wendy Scase, 'Dauy Dycars Dreame and Robert Crowley's Prints of *Piers Plowman*', *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 21 (2007), 171-98; Cathy Shrank, 'Trollers and Dreamers: Defining the

group of illiterate mariners on having the 'Dreame' read to them in the printer's shop. Suspicions are raised amongst the mariners once they begin to translate the meaning of Davy's dream. Noting that the dreamer went to bed after eating only a 'slender' supper, one of the mariners concludes that, though merely a 'fansye of thee heade', it nonetheless 'smelles of craft' (sig. D3r). The issue of whether Davy's dream was true or false, or 'els of somme harte burne' thus revives the age-old debate concerning the origins of dreams in the new context of '*reading practices* associated with medieval texts, and their potential for subversion [when] disseminated in print'.¹⁵⁰ The poem sparked the attention of the Privy Council, but through the intervention of Edward Seymour, Churchyard escaped reproach. The potential for dreams to carry political and sometimes prophetic meaning indicates that, not only are the literary choices of Googe, Robinson and Andrewe at issue, but so too is the matter of their works' reception, interpretation and future influence.

‘THE FLOWERS OF A LIBRARY’:
READING AND WRITING IN THE BEDCHAMBER

According to legend, Alexander the Great relished in the *Iliad* of Homer, ‘in so much as he would lay it vnder his head when hee slept, to read in when he awaked’ (*Vertues Common-wealth*, sig. R3v). This gesture has some interesting connections to early modern book rituals, particularly the use of certain books as ‘totems’ or charms.¹⁵¹ Amongst many other uses, the Bible might act as a curative for insomnia when laid on the patient’s head or be made into a pillow and ‘placed under the head, as a restorative’.¹⁵² In a slightly later period, a young woman would be able to divine dreams of her future husband if she slept on the Bible ‘with sixpence clapt in the Book of Ruth’.¹⁵³ These actions

Citizen-Subject in Sixteenth-Century Cheap Print’, *The Yearbook of English Studies* 38.1/2 (2008), 102-18; R. W. Maslen, ‘William Baldwin and the Tudor Imagination’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature 1485-1603*, ed. by Cathy Shrank and Mike Pincombe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 291-306; Harriett Phillips, ‘Discretion in The Early Modern Public Sphere: *The Contention Betwyxte Churchyard and Camell*’, *Review of English Studies* 67. 278 (2016), 1-19.

¹⁵⁰ Scase, ‘*Dany Dycars Dreame*’, p. 177 (original emphasis).

¹⁵¹ David Cressy, ‘Books as Totems in Seventeenth-century England and New England’, *Journal of Library History* 21.1 (1986), 92-106.

¹⁵² Cressy, p. 98.

¹⁵³ Cressy, p. 103.

also receive satirical treatment in the period's drama. In *The Return from Parnassus* (1606), the aptly-named Gullio keeps a copy of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* underneath his pillow in the hope that it will help him to seduce any woman who might happen to enter his chamber.

Scholarship has become increasingly attentive to the 'corporeal experience of textual encounters' and the ways in which reading in this period is figured as a bodily phenomenon.¹⁵⁴ As mentioned above, Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* begins with the dreamer reading of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* which he then places behind his head before he falls asleep. Several of the *Mirror for Magistrates*' editors also took to bed a copy of the *Mirror*'s previous instalment, whereas in Googe's Preface to the *Zodiacke of Lyffe* these acts are comically overturned and the dreamer huddles behind a pile of books in his study in fear of the winter's cold. By engaging with their books as materially and symbolically functional objects, these writers depict their reading as what Helen Smith describes as an 'embodied practice'.¹⁵⁵ The dream vision genre locates such reading in a range of physical locations which have become central to our understanding of literary practice in the period, most notably the bedchamber, the study and the closet.¹⁵⁶ However, the acts of reading and writing in bed were not at all new in this period, but originated in the classics. According to Mary Carruthers,

withdrawal to one's chamber indicates a state of mind, the entry to the 'place' of meditative silence which was thought essential for invention [...] [R]eading, whether silently or aloud, leads to vision, and vision the activity of composing, results in writing down a finished new literary work.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Helen Smith, "'More swete vnto the eare / than holsome for ye mynde': Embodying Early Modern Women's Reading', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73.3 (2010), 413-32 (p. 414).

¹⁵⁵ Smith, "'More swete vnto the eare / than holsome for ye mynde', p. 415.

¹⁵⁶ On the domestic bedchamber as a site of early modern literary practice, see Sasha Roberts, 'Shakespeare "creepes into the womens closets about bedtime": Women Reading in a Room of Their Own', in *Renaissance Configurations: Voices/Bodies/Spaces, 1580-1690*, ed. by Gordon McMullan (London: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 30-63; Hackel, pp. 34-43; Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 54-70. See also Katherine Craik, *Reading Sensations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

¹⁵⁷ Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 174.

Yet such reading in the early modern period was also fraught with peril. Poorly-fitted bookshelves above the bed could fall, and a large number of fires (a major hazard in any situation) were the result of individuals reading in bed by candlelight, giving rise to the proverb ‘It is a dangerous fire begins in the bed straw’.¹⁵⁸ Though in some cases assumed to prompt reproduction, gazing upon certain images during intercourse or reading ‘lamentable and fearfull tales’ during pregnancy should also be avoided, ‘lest the imagination imprint on the child the similitude of the said person or picture’.¹⁵⁹ Women’s textual practices were often troped as a source of profound danger. In Shakespeare’s *Cymbeline*, the leaf of the book read by Imogen is ‘turned down / Where Philomel gave up’ (2.2.45-6). Scholarship has often commented upon the way that Imogen’s reading of the rape of Philomela in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* implicates her in the sexual act; her sleeping body becomes the text on which her own would-be rapist Giacomo inscribes his desires. In the mid-seventeenth century, reading the works of Shakespeare became the subject of parallel controversy. In John Johnson’s 1641 *The Academy of Love* (a seventeenth-century dream vision in prose ‘describing the folly of young men and the fallacie of women’), the dreamer enters the University of Cupid and uncovers a library filled with books, including the works of Dante, Shirley, Sidney and Shakespeare:

who (as *Cupid* informed me) creepes into the womens closets about bed time, and if it were not for some of the old out-of-date Grandames (who are set over the rest as their tutoresses) the young sparkish Girles would read in *Shakespeare* day and night, so that they would open the Booke or Tome, and the men with a Fescue in their hands should point to the Verse.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ See Cambers, p. 62; Ekirch, p. 167.

¹⁵⁹ From *The Birth of Mankind* (1532), quoted in Lloyd Davis, ed., *Sexuality and Gender in the English Renaissance: An Annotated Edition of Contemporary Documents* (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1998), p. 296. See also Sasha Roberts, ‘Lying among the Classics: Ritual and Motif in Elite Elizabethan and Jacobean Beds’, in *Albion’s Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. by Lucy Gent (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 325-57.

¹⁶⁰ John Johnson, *The Academy of Love* (London: H. Blunden, 1641), sig. O1r.

The representation here of the ‘young sparkish Girles’ reading Shakespeare illustrates a commonplace distinction between ‘trivial’ (i.e. female) and ‘useful’ (male) reading,¹⁶¹ although scholars have been careful to emphasise that the depiction of such reading by women is less so a reflection of reality than a ‘voyeuristic fantasy’ constructed by male authors for a broadly male audience.¹⁶² With the addition of the dream as a framing apparatus, the reader is granted permission to enter the intimate space of the chamber or closet, thereby transgressing the border between public and private, text and audience. The reader hence becomes both ‘voyeur’ to and participant in these events in ways that may challenge the assumption that such practices are circumscribed by gender. Both in its suggestions of authorial submission and passivity, and in its modest claims to invention, the invitation into the bedchamber highlights both the dream’s traditional rhetorical power and its new commercial role.

Although many of these encounters take place within the space of the chamber, to regard them as solitary or ‘private’ activities risks anachronistic assumption. For years, scholars have considered the extent to which the early modern period marked the birth of subjectivity and the private self. Unlike the ‘uniquely’ secluded space of the closet, the bedchamber in this period embraced a range of social, domestic and ‘semi-public’ functions, signifying what scholarship now shows to be an unfixed distinction between the public and private realms.¹⁶³ In many instances, the bedchamber was a site of ‘social reading’, particularly where the education of children was concerned.¹⁶⁴ In the universities and the Inns of Court, ‘chamber-fellows struck up bookish relationships, discussing authors and texts together in their bedchambers’.¹⁶⁵ For Googe and other authors of this milieu, the chamber was a site of collaboration, exchange and homosocial bonding,

¹⁶¹ Hackel, p. 210. For more on the notion of ‘active’ reading, see Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, “‘Studied for action’”: how Gabriel Harvey read his Livy’, *Past and Present* 129 (1990), 30-78.

¹⁶² Hackel, p. 40.

¹⁶³ Lena Cowen Orlin, ‘Gertrude’s Closet’, *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* 134 (1998), 44-67 (p. 46).

¹⁶⁴ Cambers, pp. 55-7.

¹⁶⁵ Cambers, p. 58.

as we see in much greater detail in Chapter One. It is important to remember that gestures of withdrawal and intimacy were intensely performative and often social in nature. The bedchamber of Lady Anne Clifford (1590-1676), a notable patron of the arts, developed into what Heidi Brayman Hackel describes as a ‘stage for reading’. As the author of Clifford’s funeral sermon reports,

she would frequently bring out of the rich storehouse of her Memory things new and old, Sentences or Sayings of remark, which she had read or learned out of Authors, and with these her Walls, her Bed, her Hangings, and Furniture, must be adorned... So that, though she had not many Books in her Chamber, yet it was dressed up with the flowers of a Library.¹⁶⁶

Although these actions offer a rather extraordinary illustration of the bedchamber’s literary and social function, they were also encouraged in works aimed at a much less elevated audience than Clifford. Thomas Tusser’s *A Hundreth Good Points of Husbandry* (1570) includes ‘Husbandly posies for the hall’, ‘Posies for the geastes chamber’ and ‘Posies for thine owne bed Chamber’, which includes the lines: ‘What better bed than quiet rest, to passe the night with sleepe, / What better worke than dayly care, fro sinne thy selfe to keepe’.¹⁶⁷ Surviving interiors bear comparable passages and proverbs. The wall of one room in the upper floors of a mid-sixteenth century townhouse in Surrey bears the following inscription:

O mortall man and wormes meate
remember death shall be thy Eynde
Slak not thy tyme nor doe not forgett
thy synfull lyfe for to amend.¹⁶⁸

Unlike the bedchamber ‘library’ of Anne Clifford this *memento mori* passage satisfies a rather different function, encouraging contemplation in the viewer and instilling the religious work ethic of ‘eschewing idleness’ – ‘Slak not thy tyme’ – a key impetus in the use of the dream vision frame

¹⁶⁶ Louisa Stuart Costello, *Memoirs of Eminent Englishwomen*, 4 vols (London: R. Bentley, 1844), II, p. 285.

¹⁶⁷ Thomas Tusser, *A Hundreth Good Points of Husbandry* (London: H. Denham, 1570), sig. K3v

¹⁶⁸ David Williams, ‘A Painted Inscription from 20-22 High Street, Reigate’, *Surrey Archaeological Collections: Relating to the History and Antiquities of the County* 81 (1992), 177-80 (p. 180).

for all three poets here discussed. It is worth remembering that these forms of textuality are also drawn directly from Scripture:

Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your hand... And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thine house, and upon thy gates. (Deuteronomy 11: 18-20).

The range of material, textual and visual media employed within the bedchamber and the wider household point to a complex range of familiar – and in some cases ‘forgotten’ – practices,¹⁶⁹ be they literary, artistic or devotional in nature. Because the early modern dream vision is also in many ways a ‘forgotten’ genre of this period, we find within it an important means of recovering these practices in relation to the spaces in which they occurred, as well as the ways in which these spaces also shaped and were shaped both by convention and by notions of artistic invention. While this thesis does not answer the question of whether the period witnessed the ‘emergence of an early modern subjectivity characterised by self-reflexivity, interiority... and individuality’¹⁷⁰ what it aims to do is to demonstrate the ways in which the acts, concepts and definitions of dreaming, genre, authorship and tradition are intimately intertwined.

THESIS STRUCTURE

The chapters in this thesis assume the form of three ‘case studies’. This approach enables a close examination of the use of genre by three poets of the period and their respective social, literary and political contexts. Chapter One is devoted to the early works of Barnabe Googe (1540-1594), in which I consider three of Googe’s poems: the Preface to the *Zodiacke of Lyffe* (1560/1), ‘Cupido Conquered’ (1563) and *The Shippe of Safegarde* (1569). This chapter explores Googe’s use of the dream vision in the context of translation, authorship and literary production. Chapter Two concerns the works of the household servant, Richard Robinson (fl. 1570-1589). Through close

¹⁶⁹ Hackel, p. 37. For a detailed study of the uses of visual and textual media in the early modern household, see Tara Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (London; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

¹⁷⁰ Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 155.

examination of Robinson's two extant publications, *The Rewarde of Wickednesse* (1574) and *A Golden Mirroure* (1589), this chapter explores Robinson's use of genre and, in so doing, uncovers much of Robinson's life and career that have remained, for the main part, unknown. In Chapter Three, the boundaries shift to focus on the transitional phase between the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods and a transitional poet of the period, Thomas Andrewe (*fl.* 1600-1604). In this chapter, I consider Andrewe's 1604 dream poem, *The Vnmasking of a Feminine Machiauell* in light of the uses of dream vision and complaint, both in the 1590s and in the early years of King James' rule. By constructing the poem's initial audience around a close-knit coterie, the poem's mystery seems decipherable only to a privileged few. As is the case with Robinson, Andrewe's identity is also a puzzle that this final chapter takes certain steps to resolve. In the case of all three poets, the dream vision establishes itself as important and enduring literary form, which these writers tailored to a range of requirements throughout their careers. Both in their adherence to and in many ways departure from a set of conventions instituted by Chaucer, these writers all figure their poetic endeavours in ways that reveal the extent of their poetic inheritance and their self-acknowledged contribution to an English literary tradition.

CHAPTER ONE

ALTER CHAUCERUS, ALTER GOGGEUS: BARNABE GOOGE

Although once considered a ‘sub-poet’ of C. S. Lewis’ notorious ‘drab age’, and capable of producing ‘nothing original... worth preserving’,¹ Barnabe Googe has since gained some long-awaited recognition, both for his innovative contributions to the literature of mid-Tudor England, and for his influence on his contemporaries and later authors, including Shakespeare, Spenser and Milton.² Googe was born in 1540 to a Lincolnshire merchant, Robert Goche (d. 1557), and his wife Margaret Mantell, who died soon after his birth. After the death of his father in 1557, Googe became a ward of the Court, thus establishing important connections with the man who was later appointed as Master of the Court of Wards; Queen Elizabeth’s Secretary of State, William Cecil, and to whom Googe dedicated much of his verse. In his youth, Googe spent much of his time in the household of his grandmother, Lady Margaret Hales of Dane-John Manor in Canterbury (d. 1567), whom he considered ‘the very *Phoenix* and *Paragon* of al the Gentlewomen that [he] ever knewe’.³ Googe received his education at Christ’s College, Cambridge; ‘the centre of militant,

¹ Don Cameron Allen, *Image and Meaning: Metaphoric Traditions in Renaissance Poetry* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1960), p. 12; John Payne Collier, *The Poetical Decameron or, Ten Conversations on English Poets and Poetry: particularly of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1820), p. 121.

² For recent work on Googe’s poetry, see (in order of publication), Cathy Shrank, ‘“Matters of love as of discourse”: The English Sonnet, 1560-1580’, *Studies in Philology* 105.1 (2008), 30-49; Laurie Shannon, ‘Minerva’s Men: Horizontal Nationhood and the Literary Production of Googe, Turbervile, and Gascoigne’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485-1603*, ed. by Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 437-54; Jessica Winston, ‘Lyric Poetry at the Inns of Court: Forming a Professional Community’, in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, ed. by Sarah Knight, Jayne Archer and Elizabeth Goldring (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 223-44; Mike Pincombe, ‘Pastoral *Aenigma*, Topical Allegory, and Social Exclusion: The Example of Googe’s *Eclogues*’, *Essays in Criticism* 64.3 (2014), 227-46. For the influence of Googe on later authors and contemporaries, see Rosemond Tuve, ‘Spenser and the *Zodiace of Life*’, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 34.1 (1935), 1-19; Marc Beckwith, ‘*A Study of Palingenius’ “Zodiacus Vitae” and its Influence on English Renaissance Literature*’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Ohio State University, 1983); Marc Beckwith, ‘*Comus* and the *Zodiacus Vitae*’, *Milton Quarterly* 20.4 (1986), 145-7; Stuart Gillespie, *Shakespeare’s Books: A Dictionary of Shakespeare Sources*, 2nd edn (London: Continuum, 2004), pp. 407-10.

³ Barnabe Googe, *Four Bookes of Husbandrie, collected by M. Conradus Heresbachius* (London: R. Watkins, 1577), sig. X8r. The facts of Googe’s life are taken from the following sources: William E. Sheidley,

forward-looking Protestantism in mid-Tudor England',⁴ and after Cambridge went on to Staple Inn, an Inn of Chancery connected to Gray's Inn, one of the four main Inns of Court. It was here that Googe finished translating the first three books of the *Zodiacus Vitae* by the Italian author Pier Angelo Manzolli (c. 1500-51), more usually known by the Latin pseudonym, 'Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus' (abbreviated 'Palingenius'). The translation was first published in 1560 as the *Zodiake of Lyffe*, and was dedicated to Googe's grandmother as a 'sygne' of his 'unfayned good will, and bounden duety'.⁵

Googe's translation of the *Zodiake of Lyffe* has been the focus of increasing interest from scholars in recent years,⁶ and particularly in light of the literary and social activities of the Inns of Court.⁷ Branded the 'third university of England', the Inns of Court were a 'mecca of ambition and talent, the kingdom's administrative, commercial and political hub',⁸ wherein the 'composition and circulation of poetry helped [its] members to take their first steps along a professional path'.⁹ The Inns of Court were also where young men could continue in the art of translation first practiced in the grammar schools, and thus hone the rhetorical skills deemed necessary for future

Barnabe Googe (Boston, MA: Twayne, 1981); Simon McKeown, 'Barnabe Googe: Poetry and Society in the 1560s' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Queen's University, Belfast, 1993); Raphael Lyne, 'Barnabe Googe (1540-1594)', *ODNB*. For additional information on Googe's life and works see: William Pinkerton, 'Barnaby Googe', *Notes and Queries* 3.3 (1863), 141-3; M. D. O'Sullivan, 'Barnabe Googe: Provost-Marshal of Connaught 1582-1585', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 18.1/2 (1938), 1-39; Paul E. Parnell, 'Barnabe Googe: A Puritan in Arcadia', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 60.2 (1961), 273-81; Mark Eccles, 'Barnabe Googe in England, Spain and Ireland', *English Literary Renaissance* 15 (1985), 353-70; Judith M. Kennedy, 'Introduction' to *Barnabe Googe: Eclogues, Epitaphs, and Sonnets*, ed. by Judith Kennedy (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1989), pp. 3-25.

⁴ Paul Whitfield White, 'The *Pammachius* Affair at Christ College, Cambridge in 1545', in *Interludes and Early Modern Society: Studies in Gender, Power and Theatricality*, ed. by Peter Happé and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 261-90 (p. 263).

⁵ Barnabe Googe, *The Firste Thre Bokes of the Most Christian Poet Marcellus Palingenius, called the Zodyake of Lyffe* (London: J. Tisdale, 1560), sig. *2v-3r.

⁶ In addition to the work cited below, see Marc Beckwith, 'Barnabe Googe's *Zodiake of Lyffe*: A Translation Reconsidered', *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 7 (1986), 97-107. For a facsimile edition of Googe's translation, see Rosemond Tuve, ed., *The Zodiake of Lyffe by Marcellus Palingenius, translated by Barnabe Googe*, 2nd edn (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1976).

⁷ Shannon, pp. 437-54; Winston, 'Lyric Poetry at the Inns of Court', pp. 223-44.

⁸ Wilfrid R. Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts, 1590-1640* (Harlow: Longman, 1972), p. 21.

⁹ Winston, 'Lyric poetry at the Inns of Court', p. 223.

roles as lawyers, civil servants and courtiers. Several of the period's most important translations took place within this milieu, and are depicted as taking place within the academic chambers or dorm, a space not of Stoic isolation, but one that encouraged homosocial bonding and conversation, and thus produced the conditions deemed ideal for translation and other forms of literary production and exchange.¹⁰ The *Mirror for Magistrates* (first published in 1559) coincided with and was greatly stimulated such activity, particularly in its revival of Seneca. The *Mirror* has also been said to capture the 'conversational' quality of 'public political discourse' of this time, as well as the social, literary and political atmosphere that the universities and Inns of Court engendered.¹¹ As we will see in more detail below, the conditions under which such activities occurred have an important bearing on Googe's use of genre in his Preface to the *Zodiacke of Lyffe* (1560/1), a work that was published whilst Googe was still a student at Staple Inn.

As the translator of Palingenius' *Zodiacke of Lyffe*, Googe gained a significant name for himself amongst the Inns of Court community. He did not, however, go on to study at Gray's Inn after his training at Staple Inn, but instead joined Sir Thomas Chaloner – friend of William Cecil and translator of Erasmus' *The Praise of Folly* (1549) – on a diplomatic mission across France and Spain. Googe returned to England in 1563, claiming in his dedication to the the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* that the text had been entered into the Stationers' Register by his friend and Gray's Inn member, Laurence Blundeston.¹² The text was dedicated to William Lovelace, the Reader of Gray's Inn, and contains poems on an array of subjects, including money, friendship and misfortune in love. Many of the poems in the collection are written by men of the Inns of Court and its

¹⁰ As Gordon Braden explains, most translators of the mid-Tudor period 'no longer worked, like many of their predecessors, in the silence of the cloister': Gordon Braden, 'An Overview', in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English (Volume 2: 1550-1660)*, ed. by Gordon Braden, Roger Cummings and Stuart Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010), pp. 3-11 (p. 4). For a very recent account of the Inns of Court translators, see Jessica Winston, *Lawyers at Play: Literature, Law, and Politics at the Early Modern Inns of Court, 1558-1581* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), especially pp. 75-172.

¹¹ Winston, 'Seneca in Early Elizabethan England', pp. 40-1. See also Linda Woodbridge, 'Resistance Theory meets Drama: Tudor Seneca', *Renaissance Drama* 38 (2010), 115-39.

¹² Googe, *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* (London: T. Colwell, 1563), sig. B2.

surrounds, including Alexander Neville and George Turberville, and are typical in their expression of the social, professional and religious ideals espoused by this milieu. The collection is nonetheless unusual in that it also represents the single ‘original set of eclogues in English between Barclay and Spenser’,¹³ and was the first collection of English verse to be printed under an author’s name during his lifetime. The *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* are important for my purposes as they also conclude with a long narrative dream vision entitled ‘Cupido Conquered’. The poem allegorises many of the themes and issues explored within the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes*, in ways that seem to anticipate the practice popularised by Samuel Daniel in his *Delia...with the Complaynt of Rosamond* (1592), of finishing a sequence of lyrical poems with a long narrative poem.

This chapter deals with Googe’s interest in the dream vision form in three key texts: the Preface to *Zodiake of Lyfe* (1560/61), ‘Cupido Conquered’ (1563) and *The Shippe of Safegard* (1569). The first of these – the *Zodiake of Lyfe* – was a project that Googe returned to time and again between the years 1560 and 1588, and which he expanded, revised and repackaged no fewer than five times to reflect changing circumstances, loyalties and demands. Googe’s Preface to the *Zodiake of Lyfe* is a poem of just eighty lines and adopts the language, imagery and tone of Chaucerian verse. It was printed in the first and second editions of 1560 and 1561, though dropped for the third edition of 1565 and never used again. Whilst Chaucer’s influence on Googe’s work has been acknowledged in earlier publications, the precise nature of Googe’s engagement with the dream vision form has been largely ignored.¹⁴ As shown in this chapter, Googe’s dream vision Preface is unlike many dream visions written after Chaucer in that it does not make reference to Chaucer by

¹³ Sheidley, *Barnabe Googe*, p. 73.

¹⁴ The only scholar to deal at any length with Googe’s use of the dream vision form is William E. Sheidley, ‘A Timely Anachronism: Tradition and Theme in Barnabe Googe’s “Cupido Conquered”’, *Studies in Philology* 69.2 (1972), 150-66. On the influence of Chaucer on Googe’s verse see Kevin Pask, *The Emergence of the English Author: Scripting the Life of the Poet in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 28-9; Tom Betteridge, *Literature and Politics in the English Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 196-7; Stephen Hamrick, *The Catholic Imaginary and the Cult of Elizabeth, 1558-1582* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 55. See also Simon McKeown and William Sheidley, eds., *The Shippe of Safegarde (1569) by Barnabe Googe* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), pp. xiii, xxiii.

name, but participates in and revives the English visionary tradition initiated by Chaucer in his early works. Googe uses the broader paratextual framework to the *Zodiake* to call on ‘our excellent countreyman sir Geffray Chaucer’ and thus lend a specific brand of vernacular authority to his task of translation.¹⁵ Googe’s interest in the moral and artistic complexities of the dream vision form did not end with the *Zodiake of Lyfe*, but continued throughout his early verse. After my discussion of the *Zodiake of Lyfe*, I turn to Googe’s second and ‘to hastily fynished Dreame’, ‘Cupido Conquered’, published in the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* of 1563. The dream frame is employed here as a form of what scholars see in many other sixteenth-century Protestant works of ‘sacred parody’, which enables Googe to take leave of all forms of erotic verse. In his next and final engagement with the form, *The Shippe of Safegarde* (1569), the dream manifests itself in more curious ways. Though not a dream vision poem, *The Shippe of Safegarde* is a long allegorical poem in which Googe includes a thirty-six-line interpolation from Chaucer’s translation of the French allegorical poem *Le Roman de la Rose*. The extract within *The Shippe of Safegarde* eliminates all sign of French influence and is selected by Googe in order to condemn religious hypocrisy and the Catholic faith. In so doing, Googe identifies Chaucer with a nationalistic, proto-Protestant ideal. The collection concludes with two Saints’ Lives in which the dream reappears as a conduit to religious conversion. The poem was dedicated to Googe’s Catholic sisters-in-law and published in 1569 by William Seres, a former servant of William Cecil.¹⁶

THE ZODIAKE OF LYFE AND THE ‘DOCTRINE OF PLAIN ENGLISH’

One may ask why Googe chose to translate Palingenius’ 10,000-line Latin poem, the *Zodiacus Vitae*, over all other available works. As recent scholarship has shown, translation during this time was not a ‘diversion’, but was a carefully constructed exercise, which allowed young men such as Googe

¹⁵ Barnabe Googe, *The Zodiake of Lyfe* (London: H. Denham, 1565), sig. (‡)3v.

¹⁶ Following the publication of the *Shippe of Safegarde* in 1569, Googe’s literary output consisted entirely of translations. In 1570 he translated *The Popish Kingdome or Reigne of Antichrist* by Thomas Kirchmeyer, which he dedicated to Queen Elizabeth shortly after her excommunication by Pope Pius V.

to define themselves as members of an intellectual and likeminded group, on course to future preferment within Elizabethan government or the court.¹⁷ But against his contemporary translators, such as Thomas Phaer (translator of Virgil's *Aeneid*, 1558), the mid-Tudor translators of Seneca (Jasper Heywood, Alexander Neville, Thomas Nuce and John Studley), and Arthur Golding (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 1567), Googe stands out in his decision to translate a comparatively recent – though no less provocative – piece of work. Written by the sixteenth-century Italian author Pier Angelo Manzolli (c. 1500-1551), of whom very little is known, the *Zodiacus Vitae* was released under the Latinate pseudonym 'Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus' and dedicated to Ercole II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara in around 1531. Although the *Zodiacus Vitae* is structured according to the twelve signs of the zodiac, the astrological nature of the poem is only a minor part of its overall intent, and the poem covers a whole range of topics, from the Creation, to the structure of the cosmos, to death and the afterlife. The text also touches on a number of everyday matters, such as the raising and education of children, as well as advice on medicine and health, and is interspersed with classical, Biblical and proverbial citation and allusion throughout.

The *Zodiacus Vitae* was first published in Venice (c. 1531) and later Basle (1537), and Googe began translating the text into English at the age of nineteen, most probably as an extension of the translation exercises acquired in grammar school.¹⁸ After Googe's third edition of the *Zodiacke of Lyffe* in 1565 (the first of his translations to include all twelve books), a number of Latin editions of the poem were printed in England, first by Thomas Marshe (1569, reprinted again in 1574, 1575 and 1579) and by Henry Bynneman in 1572. Labelled 'the most popular astronomical poem of the English Renaissance',¹⁹ the *Zodiacus Vitae* wielded an enormous amount of intellectual

¹⁷ Winston, 'Seneca in Early Elizabethan England', pp. 33-4.

¹⁸ The poem is listed within the surviving inventories for St Saviour's Grammar School in Southwark, St Bee's in Cumbria, and Durham Grammar School. See Foster Watson, *English Grammar Schools to 1660: their Curriculum and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1908), p. 379.

¹⁹ Francis R. Johnson, *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England: A Study of the English Scientific Writings from 1500 to 1645*, 2nd edn (New York: Octagon Books, 1968), p. 60.

importance throughout the British Isles. Writing in his copy of Thomas Twine's 1572 translation of *The Survey of the World* by Dionysus Periegetes, Gabriel Harvey remarked that the astronomer and mathematician Thomas Digges (c. 1546-95) 'hath the whole of Aquarius of Palingenius bie hart: & takes mutch delight to reapeate it often'.²⁰ As a young boy, the Scottish theologian and reformer Andrew Melville (1545-1622) was also encouraged to learn passages from the text by heart, with the book of Cancer being a favoured choice.²¹ Other than Googe, only one other person appears to have ventured to translate Palingenius' poem into English during this time. Googe writes in his 1565 edition that when he 'firste began to fall in hand wythall, three bookes thereof were both eloquently and excellently englished, by Master Smith, clark vnto the moste honorable of the Queenes Maiesties counsel' (sig. *6v-*7r), although this version of the *Zodiake* has not survived and the identity of 'Master Smith' remains unknown.

In addition to its intellectual and pedagogic appeal, one of the *Zodiake's* main attractions for a Googe was in its hostility toward the Roman Catholic Church.²² Eight years after Palingenius' death in 1551, the poem was placed on the Papal Index of Prohibited Books and its author condemned as a heretic of the most extreme kind. Writing that he 'could not finde out a Poet more meete for the teaching of a Christian life', Googe refers to the posthumous treatment of Palingenius by the papal authorities who, with 'no power to execute their tyrannie upon his innocent body in time of his life' were 'no whit ashamed to consume with fyre the blameless bones of so vertuous a man' (1565, sig. *7r). In this same edition, Palingenius is fashioned by Googe into a 'Christian... Souldiour', whose 'zealous and virtuous spirit' could not be hindered by the 'furious

²⁰ George Charles Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913), p. 161. On Digges' interest in Palingenius, see Francis R. Johnson and Sanford V. Larkey, 'Thomas Digges, the Copernican System and the Idea of the Infinity of the Universe in 1576', *The Huntington Library Bulletin* 5 (1934), 69-117 (pp. 101-3).

²¹ Ernest R. Holloway, *Andrew Melville and Humanism in Renaissance Scotland 1545-1622* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 45-7.

²² The latter may have been met with approval, or even encouraged, by the Calvinist circles of the Ferrara court. See Charmarie Jenkin Blaisdell, 'Politics and heresy in Ferrara, 1534-1559', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 6.1 (1975), 67-93.

tyranny of the Antichristian Prelate (vnder whose ambitious and Tiranicall gouernaunce he continually liued)' (sig. *7r). Googe's religious leanings are also revealed in the way that he presents his translation of Palingenius through the language of antiquarianism and reform. He explains in the 1565 dedicatory epistle to William Cecil that,

when I fyrste began to employ some part of my leysure aboute it, making dilligente inquirie, I coulde learne of no man that euer had attempted to english the same. So that perceyuing my labour to be no hindraunce to any other mans prayse, and lamenting to see so Christian a writer to lie hyd and vnknownen to the ignorant sorte, I thought I should not do amisse... (1565, sig. *6v).

Though the *Zodiacus Vitae* is not nearly so old as the works emerging from the libraries and abbeys of England at this time, Googe justifies his decision to bring this work to light in accordance with reformed Protestant thought, in that it will instruct the 'ignorant sorte'. It is no coincidence, therefore, that Googe's primary inspiration was the man he referred to in the *Zodiacke's* first edition as his 'learned Maister,' the reformist writer and bibliographer, John Bale (1560, *3r).

Googe's reputation as the translator of Palingenius' *Zodiacus Vitae* prompted instant praise from his contemporaries. Perhaps the best known – and certainly the most ingenious – of these came in the form of Jasper Heywood's Preface to *Thyestes* (1560). The Preface describes a dream in which Heywood's narrator is visited by the ghost of Seneca whom he instructs to 'go where Minerva's men, / And finest wits do swarm' in order to find a more gifted writer to translate his work:

In Lincoln's Inn and Temples twain,
Gray's Inn and other mo...
There Googe a grateful gains has got,
report that runneth rife,
Who crooked compass doth describe
and Zodiac of Life.²³

Googe was also included in a list of revered translators and poets, which included Henry Howard,

²³ Jasper Heywood, 'The Preface' to *Thyestes* (ll. 83-5; 100-1) in *Elizabethan Seneca: Three Tragedies*, ed. James Ker and Jessica Winston (London: MHRA, 2012), pp. 142-3. All quotations from Heywood's Preface are hereafter referenced by line number.

Earl of Surrey, Thomas Wyatt and the translator of Virgil's *Aeneid*, Thomas Phaer, in Roger Ascham's *The Scholemaster* (1570).²⁴ Googe's efforts continued to gather praise many years after the *Zodiake's* initial publication. Arthur Hall's dedication to William Cecil in his *Ten Books of Homers Iliades* (1581) (which Hall began as a scholar at Theobalds), commends 'diuerse workes so exquisitely done in this kinde by our owne Nation. As the trauaile of *M. Barnabe Googe in Palingenius*'.²⁵ Hall's words imply that the *Zodiake of Lyfe* was read and regarded with some approval within the Cecil household, and it was to William Cecil that Googe dedicated the second and all subsequent editions of the *Zodiake of Lyfe*.

Googe's long-term connection to Elizabeth's Secretary of State was important for a number of reasons. There is some evidence to suggest that the Googe and Cecil were connected through family ties: Archbishop Matthew Parker wrote of Googe as being Cecil's 'cousin and servant', whilst Sir Thomas Chaloner also described Googe as a 'kinsman to Cecil'.²⁶ Although the true nature of the connection is unclear, the paratexts to the *Zodiake of Lyfe* depict the relationship between Cecil and Googe, primarily, as one of patron and client. Although the first edition of the poem was dedicated to Googe's grandmother, Googe switched his allegiance to Cecil in 1561, a move which coincided with Cecil's appointment to Master of the Wards. Googe was able to purchase a large portion of his wardship on account of this appointment, and all of the later editions of the *Zodiake* were dedicated to Cecil. In addition to this, the *Zodiake's* fourth edition (1576) contains the family crest of Googe quartered with the arms of Cecil (by now Lord Burghley), accompanied by Cecil's motto ('*Cor Unum Via Una*'; 'One Heart, One Way'), and the Order of the Garter (sig. ¶1v). Although Cecil proved Googe's most consistent source of

²⁴ Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London: J. Day, 1570), sig. K4r.

²⁵ Arthur Hall, *Ten Books of Homers Iliades* (London: H. Bynneman, 1581), sig. A3v. See also William Webbe, *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (London: J. Charlewood, 1586), sig. C4r; Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia* (London: P. Short, 1598), sig. 285v.

²⁶ See John Bruce and Thomas Thomason Perowne, eds., *Correspondence of Matthew Parker... comprising letters written by and to him from A.D. 1535, to his death, A.D. 1575* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1853), p. 198; Eccles, pp. 355-6.

patronage, Googe made the wily decision to dedicate his next work (a translation of Christopher Ballista's *The Overthrow of the Gout*, 1577) to the Queen's physician, Richard Masters. Cecil was at this time suffering greatly from the affliction.²⁷

Beyond his literary engagements, Googe's long-term connection with William Cecil reveals itself in other ways. In 1564, Googe married Mary Darrell (presumed to be the 'Mistress D.' of his 1563 'Sonettes'), who was the daughter of the Kentish esquire and recusant, Thomas Darrell of Scotney Castle (d. 1598). Mary had been previously engaged to the son of an eminent lawyer, Sampson Lennard, who was deemed by her father to be a more respectable and financially stable individual than Googe. In a letter dated 16th October 1563, Googe wrote to Mary's uncle of the 'state of ye case... between m. lennard' and himself in which he appeals for reprieve from the 'martiall furniture yt hathe benne prepared ageynst me, and ye Italyon inventyons yt have binne menaced towards me' by the Darrell family.²⁸ Due to the interventions of Cecil and Matthew Parker, the marriage between Googe and Mary Darrell went ahead.

Although scholars often refer to Googe's appointment as 'first server for [the Queen's] first meal' on her visit to Theobalds in 1572,²⁹ Googe's main act of service under Cecil came in 1574 when he travelled to Ireland, from where he was to report back on the Essex expedition. Googe returned to Ireland again in 1582 for a three-year tenure as Provost Marshall of Connaught, though in having to 'moyl amonge the Boggs', he regarded this as a rather miserable affair. His problems were worsened when he caught dysentery, which he claimed was cured by drinking water

²⁷ 'Attacks of the gout, increasingly frequent, forced two stays in Buxton Spa in 1575 and 1577 as well as briefer absences from council.' It was very probably this that led to Cecil's death in 1598: Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'William Cecil, first Baron Burghley (1520/1-1598)', *ODNB*. For an edition of Googe's translation, see Simon McKeown, ed., *The Overthrow of the Gout and A Dialogue Betwixt the Gout and Christopher Ballista translated by Barnabe Googe from the Latin of Christopher Ballista* (London: Indelible Inc., 1990).

²⁸ British Library, London, Lansdowne MS 7.41, fol. 83.

²⁹ Richard C. Barnett, *Place, Profit, and Power: A Study of the Servants of William Cecil, Elizabethan Statesman* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), p. 66.

from a rusty helmet.³⁰ On the death of his stepmother in 1587, Googe claimed his full inheritance and was able to sell his military office for the sum of one hundred pounds. It was one year later, in 1588, that the final edition of the *Zodiake of Lyfe* was issued from the press, and was once again dedicated to Cecil ‘with good and assured hope’ that Cecil ‘in no worse accept it then heretofore [he] haue done’ before.³¹ This was the last work to be printed in Googe’s lifetime. He died in 1594 at the age of fifty-five, survived by his wife and eight children, one of whom (also named Barnabe) went on to become Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge in 1611.

With Elizabeth’s Secretary of State firmly on his side, Googe was never without the support of a ‘circle of learned and friendly readers’.³² In the case of the *Zodiake of Lyfe*, this circle was located around the community of Cambridge University. Cambridge had established itself as a hotbed of Protestant activity in the mid-Tudor period and in 1559 – the year that Googe left to continue his education at Staple Inn – William Cecil was elected the university’s Chancellor. In the year prior to Cecil’s appointment, twenty-five men from the university had died as martyrs, with almost three times that number fleeing into exile.³³ More especially, it was at Christ’s College – a ‘puritan seminary in all but name’³⁴ – that concerns arose regarding the religious outlook of its students. The performance of Thomas Kirchmeyer’s *Pammachius* (‘an interlude wherein the popish manner of Lent fastinges and the ceremonies were exposed’) in 1545 led to an inquiry by the then-chancellor Stephen Gardiner into whether the university was promoting radical views. As Paul Whitfield White has shown, the performance was a formidable factor in the university’s self-made identity as a ‘reformed Protestant institution’.³⁵ Googe matriculated pensioner of Christ’s College,

³⁰ CSP (Ireland) 63/45 (2 April 1574), fol. 138; Eccles, p. 369. See also O’Sullivan, pp. 1-39.

³¹ Barnabe Googe, *The Zodiake of Lyfe* (London: R. Robinson, 1588), sig. ¶2r-v.

³² Shannon, p. 444

³³ Harry Culverwell Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), pp. 71; 80.

³⁴ Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Cape, 1967), p. 22.

³⁵ White, ‘The *Pammachius* Affair’, p. 290.

Cambridge in 1555.

The first overt reference to Googe's time at Christ's College appears in the *Zodiake's* second edition of 1561, when he refers to seeking 'the aid and apeale' of men from 'famous Christes college in Cambridge (wherof I was ons an vnprofitable membre) and the ancient mother of learned men the newe Colledge in Oxforde' (sig. *1r). Oxford's New College was at this time 'divided between strong reformers and equally determined opponents', although it is not entirely clear whether Googe was ever a student there.³⁶ The paratexts to the *Zodiake of Lyfe* also contain a number of poems by Christ's College students and alumni, which serve to uphold the social and religious character of the volume. The first edition (1560) contains a Latin verse acrostic by Gilbert Duke who had matriculated at Christ's two years prior to Googe in 1553.³⁷ The second edition (1561) retains the original verse acrostic by Duke, with the addition of two new verses by key Cambridge men and advocates of reform: the chaplain Edward Dering (Christ's College fellow between 1560 and 1570) and William Chadderton (former fellow of Christ's and later bishop of Chester and Lincoln).³⁸ The third edition (1565), extended to comprise all twelve books of Palingenius' original poem, was also expanded to include four verses by more Cambridge alumni and members of the Kentish gentry.³⁹ The prefatory apparatuses of the *Zodiake's* several editions thus show an increasing attempt by Googe and his contemporaries to place the *Zodiake of Lyfe* at

³⁶ Joan Simons, *Education and Society in Tudor England*, new edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1979), p. 259. A few accounts of Googe's life make reference to New College, Oxford, but by this point, Googe was married and living in Kent.

³⁷ 'Gilbert Duke (c. 1535-1633)', *Cambridge Alumni Database* <<http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/acad/2016/search-2016.html>> [accessed 19 April 2016]. The first edition of the poem also contains an address to William Cromer (a possible kinsman of Googe), Ralph Hayman (a wealthy Kentish esquire) and Googe's cousin, Thomas Honeywood. It is instructive to note that these three men comprise the surviving offspring of key members of the 1554 rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger. See Peter Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent (1500-1640)* (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1977), p. 52; McKeown, pp. 142-3.

³⁸ Patrick Collinson, 'Edward Dering (c.1540-1576)', *ODNB*; Christopher Haigh, 'William Chaderton (d. 1608)', *ODNB*.

³⁹ Namely, David Bell, Christopher Carlisle, Richard Stephens and James Yeitswert. On the connections between these men, see McKeown, pp. 142-57.

the centre of new learning and Protestant reform.

As well as dedicating his translation to the chancellor of Cambridge University, Googe's translation of the *Zodiacke of Lyfe* employs what has been described by scholars as the 'Cambridge doctrine of plain English', first espoused by the Cambridge intellectuals and reformers, Roger Ascham and John Cheke.⁴⁰ Whilst he still supported the use of Greek and Latin, Cecil was also a firm proponent of those, like Googe, who sought to 'rectify' the English language through the use of plain terms and styling and in the elimination of so-called 'inkhorn' terms. It was in response to C. S. Lewis' 'drab age' proposal that Yvor Winters identified Googe as one of the period's exemplary writers in the 'plain style'.⁴¹ In the second edition of the *Zodiacke of Lyfe* (1561), Googe distinguishes between two types of writing: the 'plain and smooth style' of prose and the 'haughty and heavenly' style of verse, and he recounts his struggles within the poem's dedicatory materials to reconcile the two.⁴² The title page to the third edition also describes the text as 'plainlye declaring the pleasaunt pathway unto eternal lyfe... both pleasaunt and profitable' (1565, sig. (‡)1r). By the fourth edition of 1576, the *Zodiacke of Lyfe* gained a glossary of hard words, presumably another part of Googe's desire to support the same cause that was so greatly championed by his patron.⁴³

Like the Inns of Court translators of Seneca, Googe employed the fourteener in his translation of Palingenius' *Zodiacke of Lyfe*. The fourteener was one of the most commonly-used methods for verse translation and a form through which the Protestant principles of plainness and moral utility could also transpire. Though scorned for its 'tedious' and 'clumsy' nature and for

⁴⁰ In particular, see Ian Lancashire, 'William Cecil and the Rectification of English', in *The Languages of Nation: Attitudes and Norms*, ed. by Carol Percy and Mary Catherine Davidson (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2012), pp. 39-62.

⁴¹ As Yvor Winters writes, 'Googe at best writes poems which are touching and honest exercises in a period of poetic depression': *Forms of Discovery: Critical & Historical Essays on the Forms of the Short Poem in English* (Chicago, IL: Alan Swallow, 1967), p. 20.

⁴² *The Firste Syxe Bokes of the Mooste Christian Poet Marcellus Palingenius, called the Zodiacke of Lyfe* (London: J. Tisdale, 1561), sig. *5v.

⁴³ As Lancashire explains, Cecil 'promoted the acquisition of a class of hard words... which filled genuine gaps in the language' (p. 40).

‘repel[ling] readers who have not the patience to accustom their ears and nerves to its beat’,⁴⁴ the fourteeners bears the capacity to fulfil a range of rhetorical and artistic requirements, as more recent scholarship has shown. The fourteener was also one of many resorts to ‘archaism’ in this period and was used in ways that could serve to emphasise an author’s ‘Englishness’.⁴⁵ More specific for our purpose, the fourteener established a reputation as a ‘poetic signifier of national identity, and was widely referred to as “English” metre’.⁴⁶ Even more exclusive to Googe, the fourteener expands Palingenius’ hexameter line by one foot which, as Mark Beckwith has shown, is one of several attempts made by Googe to signal his difference from the Latin and to ‘purge’ the original text of all heretical content.⁴⁷ Beyond its use in the dream vision Preface, the fourteener was suited to a range of other requirements for Googe, from the epitaphs on Edmund Sheffield, Edward Shelley and Thomas Phaer (included in the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* of 1563), to practical advice, both on farming (as in his translation of Conrad Heresbach’s *Foure Bookes of Husbandrie* (1577)), and medicine (*The Overthrow of the Gout*, 1577, originally by Christopher Ballista). The mnemonic rhythms and pace of the rhyming fourteener were also what made it a particularly memorable choice for translation.⁴⁸ It had been employed by Thomas Phaer in his 1558 translation of Virgil’s *Aeneid*, (‘converted into English Meter’), and was used later by George Chapman in his translation of Homer’s *Iliad* (1598). Although Jessica Winston believes that Googe ‘did not have ambitions to be a national poet’ and did not ‘follow Virgil’s example and move to epic’,⁴⁹ we see

⁴⁴ K. W. Grandsen, ed., *Tudor Verse Satire* (London: Athlone Press, 1970), p. 28; T. S. Eliot, *Selected Essays: 1917-1932* (London: Faber, 1932), p. 51

⁴⁵ Lucy Munro compares its use across the works of Chapman, Phaer, Shakespeare and Robert Southwell, in its ability to convey a range of ‘national, confessional and political identit[ies]’ (*Archaic Style in English Literature, 1590-1674* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 136).

⁴⁶ Munro, p. 118.

⁴⁷ Beckwith, ‘Barnabe Googe’s *Zodiacke of Life*’, pp. 97-107.

⁴⁸ In Heywood’s Preface to *Thyestes*, the mnemonic effect is enhanced by alliteration, giving the lines an incantatory feel which enables the poet to summon the spirits of Tantalus and Megaera. See especially Mike Pincombe, ‘Tragic Inspiration in Jasper Heywood’s Translation of Seneca’s *Thyestes*: Melpomene or Megaera?’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama*, ed. by Tom Betteridge and Greg Walker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 531-46.

⁴⁹ Winston, ‘Lyric poetry at the Inns of Court’, p. 229.

below that Googe considered his translation of the *Zodiacus Vitae* in epic terms. Beset by the ‘boysterous Boreas’ blasts of winter (1560, sig. *5r), the narrator seeks refuge in his chamber where, in order to keep warm, he crouches behind a pile of books. The Nine Muses then appear before him dressed in ‘Mantels gyrt of comely grace’, with ‘bookes in hande’ and their heads crowned with laurel (sig. *5v).⁵⁰ Of the Muses, it is Calliope – the Muse of Epic – who steps forth as the poet’s ‘suter’ and commands him to translate the works of a writer who, until now, ‘lives unknowne’ and lacks his ‘juste and right reporte’ (sig. *7r). But the narrator angers her, claiming that ‘In England here a hundred headdes / more able nowe thereby / Thys same to doe...’ and he fears that, being among the worst of writers, he will bring this work nothing but ‘immortal shame’ (sig. *7v). The Muse then thrusts a copy of Palingenius’ poem into the poet’s hands with the assertion: ‘thou hast none other choyse’ (sig. *7v). The poem ends with the sudden flight of the Muses from the chamber when, after a brief pause, the poet realises the importance of his calling, takes up his pen, and writes.

The *Zodiake’s* Preface is an original addition, and it too is completed using the fourteener metre. The long heptameter line of Googe’s translation is split into alternate lines of ‘eight and six’ syllables, a method usually employed by printers to fit the lines to the column of the page and, as in many dream vision poems of the mid-Tudor period, the Preface begins in winter:⁵¹

When as syr Phebe with backward course,
 The horned gote had caught,
 And had the place from whence he turnes,
 his lofty face out sought
 Amid the entraunce of the grades.
 of Capricorn he strode,
 And distance far from him away
 was Marrs with fiery mode. (sig. *5r).

⁵⁰ All quotations from the Preface to the *Zodiake of Lyffe* are taken from the 1560 edition of the poem: *The Firste Thre Bokes of the Most Christian Poet Marcellus Palingenius, called the Zodyake of Lyffe* (London: J. Tisdale, 1560) (STC 19148) unless otherwise stated.

⁵¹ For a detailed overview of this topos and its significance, see Alan T. Bradford, ‘Mirrors of Mutability: Winter Landscapes in Tudor Poetry’, *English Literary Renaissance* 4.1 (1974), 3-39.

While in its use of pastoral conventions and modes, Googe's *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* (1563) seems to point in the direction of epic, Googe's use of the dream frame in the *Zodiake's* prefatory material seems to suggest a vernacular and characteristically 'English' alternative to the *rota Vergiliana*.⁵² The dream vision Preface of 1560/1, I argue, signals Googe's first exercise in 'Chaucerian' verse form, through which Googe is called on by the Muse of Epic.

SIR GEOFFREY CHAUCER, LEARNED MASTER BALE,
AND THE 'MEN OF MUSES KYNDE'

Before we attend more closely to Googe's use of the dream vision in the first two editions of the *Zodiake of Lyfe* and – perhaps more intriguingly – why he chose to abandon the dream frame for the later editions, it will be helpful to offer a more detailed overview of the ways in which Chaucer's example might have informed Googe's concept of translation, and the ways in which this might have also informed his conception of a literary career. Not only does the dream vision carry with it the implicit influence of Chaucer, but beyond his use of genre, Googe explicitly calls on Chaucer in the *Zodiake's* broader paratextual apparatuses. As Simon McKeown explains, '[i]t was natural at a time when cultural renewal was on the agenda to draw attention to the attainments of a past master of English poetry'.⁵³ The first edition of the *Zodiake of Lyfe* (1560), which opens with a dream vision Preface filled with images and ideas of regeneration and renewal, also concludes after the third book with what, in William H. Sherman's words, may be defined as 'terminal paratext',⁵⁴ here entitled 'The Translatour to the Reader'. It begins as follows:

If Chaucer nowe shoulde live,

⁵² Katherine Craik makes a similar case in her discussion of Spenser, although she identifies the first step of the Chaucerian path with the love complaint. See 'Spenser's *Complaints* and the New Poet', *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 64.1/2 (2001), 63-79.

⁵³ McKeown, p. 239.

⁵⁴ This is term used by William H. Sherman to describe material such as 'tables of contents, addresses to the reader and dedicatory epistles or verses' that by later standards would appear at the front ('The beginning of "The End": terminal paratext and the birth of print culture', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 65-90 (p. 66)). As Sherman explains, 'the words and signs that signal the final boundary of a text, telling its readers that it is a discrete and in some sense complete unit, do more to make it a book, and to announce it as such, than any other feature' (Ibid.).

whose eloquence divine,
 Hath paste y^e poets al that came
 of auncient Brutus lyne.
 If Homere here myght dwell,
 whose praise the Grekes resounde
 If Vergile myght his yeares renewe,
 if Ovide myght be founde:
 All these myght well be sure
 theyr matches here to fynde.
 So muche doth England florishe now
 with men of Muses kynde (1560, sig. [H]7v-[H]8r).

The language used here signals the continuation and rejuvenation of the English literary canon through the topoi of ‘flourishing’ and growth, also found in the editorial paratexts to the printed editions of Chaucer’s *Works* and other contemporary works in translation.⁵⁵ The allusion to the ‘men of Muses kynde’ also indicates Googe’s initiation into what Laurie Shannon describes as an early modern ‘cult of the Muses’,⁵⁶ and find a resounding echo in Jasper Heywood’s command to ‘goe where Minerva’s men, / And finest wits do swarm’ within his dream vision Preface to *Thyestes* (1560):

There shalt thou see the self-same North, whose work his with displays,
 And Dial of Princes paint, and preach about his praise.
 There Sackville’s sonnets sweetly sauced and featly finèd be;
 There Norton’s ditties do delight, there Yelverton’s do flee
 ...There hear thou shalt a great report of Baldwin’s worthy name,
 Whose Mirror doth of magistrates proclaim eternal fame. (ll. 89-96).

Googe and Heywood were working on their translations at roughly the same time, but from the outer margins of the Inns of Court; Googe at Staple Inn and Heywood at All Souls College,

⁵⁵ In his address to Henry VIII, Brian Tuke expressed the opinion that it should be considered a marvel that ‘suche an excellent poete in our tonge [i.e. Chaucer] shulde as it were (nature repugnyng) spryng and aryse’ at a time when ‘whan doutlesse all good letters were layde a slepe throughout the worlde’ (‘The Preface’ in *The Workes of Geffray Chaucer newlye printed* (London: R. Grafton, 1542), sig. A2v). The analogy was given much pithier definition in Stow’s 1561 *Works*, which opens with the following epigram: ‘Vertue florisheth in Chaucer still / Though death of hym hath wrought his will’: *The Woorkes of Geffrey Chaucer, newlye printed, with diuers addicions, whiche were neuer in printe before* (London, J. Kyngston, 1561), sig. A1r. The topos is also used in the context of translation. The verse of ‘M. H.’ prefacing Geoffrey Fenton’s translation of the *Tragicall Discourses* of Matteo Bandello opens with the following lines: *Flornit antiquo Galfridus tempore Chaucer / Scripsit & eximio permagna volumina versu* (*Certaine Tragicall Discourses written out of Frenche and Latin* (London, T. Marshe, 1567), sig. *8r).

⁵⁶ Shannon, p. 437.

Oxford.⁵⁷ By naming Googe alongside Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton (members of the Inner Temple and co-creators of the neo-Senecan play *Gorboduc*, 1561), as well as Thomas North of Lincoln's Inn, Thomas Blundeville and Christopher Yelverton of Gray's Inn and William Bavand of the Middle Temple, Heywood's Preface initiates Googe into this wide and influential circle.⁵⁸

Previous accounts of the prefatory materials to *Thyestes* and the *Zodiacke of Lyfe* call attention to the poets' 'laureate' ambitions.⁵⁹ So it is appropriate, then, that the Inns of Court and Chancery also represent something of a 'cult' of Chaucer during the middle part of the sixteenth century. There is plenty of evidence to show that the *Works* of Chaucer were being actively read, used and imitated by the law students of the time. We can locate at least one printed copy of the 1561 *Works* (signed by 'Geo. Greeks') to London's Staple Inn,⁶⁰ which is where Googe began translating the *Zodiacke of Lyfe*.⁶¹ Another student at Staple Inn – and another near-contemporary of Googe – was the translator and poet Timothy Kendall (*fl.* 1572-1577). Kendall inscribed a thirty-six-line poem within the Vernon family copy of the printed *Works*, entitled 'An Epitaphe vppon the deathe of the right excellent poet Syr Geffrey Chauser.' In Kendall's poem, the Muses are called upon to

⁵⁷ Although Heywood may have spent some time at Gray's Inn during the early 1560s, in 1562 he moved to the Jesuit college in Rome and was ordained in 1564: Dennis Flynn, 'Jasper Heywood (1535-1598)', *ODNB*. It is also very possible that Heywood was interested in the interpretation of dreams. Upon his arrival in Rome, he was required to declare all of his possessions and books, chief of which was Macrobius' *Commentary* on the *Dream of Scipio*. Scholars have also seen in Heywood's Preface an early sign of the translator's temperament that would culminate in visions and night terrors. See Dennis Flynn, "'Out of Step": Six Supplementary Notes on Jasper Heywood', in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits*, ed. by Thomas M. McCoog (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 235-6; Peter Happé, "'The restless mind that would never raging leave": Jasper Heywood's *Thyestes*', *Medieval English Theatre* 27 (2005), 16-33; Pincombe, 'Tragic Inspiration in Jasper Heywood's Translation of Seneca's *Thyestes*', p. 542.

⁵⁸ Heywood cites Thomas North's *Dial of Princes* (1557), Thomas Blundeville's rendition of Plutarch's *Moralia* (entitled *Three Moral Treatises*, 1561) and William Baldwin, chief instigator of the *Mirror for Magistrates* (1559). See Ker and Winston, p. 143n.

⁵⁹ Ker and Winston, eds., p. 36n.

⁶⁰ Alison Wiggins, 'What did Renaissance readers write in their printed copies of Chaucer?', *The Library* 9.1 (2008), 3-36 (p. 22).

⁶¹ The first edition of the poem is signed 'From Staple Inne at London the eighte and twenty of march' (1560, *3r).

mourn the death of Chaucer, ‘captain chefe / and prince of poets’.⁶² George Gascoigne, a Gray’s Inn stalwart, also shows how an affected posture of remorse might follow in Chaucer’s vein.⁶³ The Preface to Gascoigne’s *Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (1573) also refers to ‘that worthy and famous Knight Sir Geffrey Chaucer’ and laments, perhaps with some irony, that the ‘toward wittes’ of the day show little or no interest in following his example.⁶⁴

In addition to this, the early editions of Chaucer’s *Workes* contained a number of spurious texts that led many to believe that Chaucer had attended the universities of Cambridge and Oxford and, perhaps at some point, received formal training in the law.⁶⁵ Along with the account of Chaucer’s alleged altercation with a Franciscan friar, Thomas Speght’s 1598 edition of the *Workes* included allusions to Chaucer’s education at the Inner Temple following periods at university, thus proving himself ‘a singular man in all kind of knowledge’ (sig. B3v). These factors remained a firm part of Chaucer’s biography for many years. Although scholars have since tested the strength of

⁶² *The Workes of Geffray Chaucer* (London: N. Hill, 1550) (Folger Library: Copy 2, fol. 68v). See Alison Wiggins, ‘Frances Wolfreston’s Chaucer’, in *Women and Writing c. 1340-1650: The Domestication of Print Culture*, ed. by Philippa Hardman and Anne Lawrence-Mathers (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2010), pp. 77-89 (pp. 87-8).

⁶³ Kevin Laam, ‘“Lyke Chaucers boye: Poetry and Penitence in Gascoigne’s *Grief of Joye*’, *Early Modern Literary Studies* 14.1 (2008), 1-26.

⁶⁴ John W. Cunliffe, ed., *The Complete Works of George Gascoigne*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907-10), I, p. 491.

⁶⁵ The protagonist of the anonymous *Court of Love* (c. 1535), for example, is a scholar at Cambridge. Speght writes that Chaucer ‘frequented... the Colledges of the Lawyers, which there interpret the laws of the lande, and among them he had a familiar frend called Iohn Gower... It seemeth that both these learned men were of the inner Temple: for not many yeeres since, Master Buckley did see a Record in the same house, where Geoffrey Chaucer was fined two shillings for beating a Franciscane fryer in Fleetstreete’: *The Works of our Antient and Larned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer* (London: A. Islip, 1598), sig. B3r-B3v.

The debate surrounding Chaucer’s education at the universities and the Inns of Court continues to this day. Though without any definitive evidence to the contrary, it is important to remember that the Inns of Court were not the same form of institution in Googe’s day as they were in the fourteenth century. In Chaucer’s day, the Inns of Court served ‘only as places for lodging of lawyers – not places of education for law students’: Joseph A. Hornsby, ‘Was Chaucer Educated at the Inns of Court?’, *The Chaucer Review* 22.4 (1988), 255-68 (p. 256). See also Edith Rickert, ‘Was Chaucer a Student at the Inner Temple?’, *The Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1923), 20-3; D. S. Bland, ‘Chaucer and the Inns of Court’, *English Studies* 33.1 (1952), 145-55; Ann Astell, *Chaucer and the Universe of Learning* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 4-6, 39-41; Mary Flowers Braswell, *Chaucer’s ‘Legal Fiction’: Reading the Records* (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 2001).

Speght's claims, Speght typifies a mode of thinking current throughout the century concerning Chaucer's reputation for proto-Protestantism, chivalry and new learning. It is, therefore, with little doubt that Chaucer was considered a suitable role model for the ambitious young men and poets at the sixteenth-century Inns of Court.

But it is within the academic dramas, particularly those plays and interludes that were written and performed within the first decade of Elizabethan rule, that Chaucer's influence at the universities and the Inns of Court was at its most vibrant and politically charged. During the 1560s, the issue of succession was a hot topic amongst the students and lawyers, and greatly enhanced by the performance of Sackville and Norton's *Gorboduc* during the 1561 Christmas revels at the Inner Temple.⁶⁶ The 1560s also saw the performance of John Phillip's *Commodye of Pacient and Meeke Grissill* (c. 1561, printed in 1569) and *Palamon and Arcite* a two-part adaptation of Chaucer's *The Knight's Tale* by Richard Edwards, performed on Queen Elizabeth's visit to Christ Church, Oxford in 1566. Drawing at least some of their inspiration from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, these academic interludes may be seen as part of what Paul Raffield identifies as the institute's attempt to replicate, through 'pantomimic expression' and ceremony, the image of 'Merrie England'.⁶⁷ The

⁶⁶ The performance of *Gorboduc* and the so-called 'Masque of Beauty and Desire' have been the subject of enormous scholarly interest and debate. The main studies on this subject are: D. S. Bland, 'Arthur Broke, Gerard Legh and the Inner Temple', *Notes and Queries* 16.12 (1969), 453-5; Marie Axton, 'Robert Dudley and the Inner Temple Revels', *The Historical Journal* 13.3 (1970), 365-78; D. S. Bland, 'Arthur Broke's Masque of Beauty and Desire: A Reconstruction', *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 14 (1976), 49-55; Susan Doran, 'Juno versus Diana: The Treatment of Elizabeth I's Marriage in Plays and Entertainments, 1561-1581', *The Historical Journal* 38.2 (1995), 257-74; Henry James and Greg Walker, 'The Politics of *Gorboduc*', *English Historical Review* 110 (1995), 109-21; Norman Jones and Paul Whitfield White, '*Gorboduc* and Royal Marriage Politics: An Elizabethan Playgoer's Report of the Premiere Performance', *English Literary Renaissance* 26.1 (1996), 3-16; Mike Pincombe, 'Robert Dudley, *Gorboduc*, and "The masque of Beauty and Desire": A Reconsideration of the Evidence for Political Intervention', *Parergon* 20.1 (2003), 19-44; Kevin Dunn, 'Representing Counsel: *Gorboduc* and the Elizabethan Privy Council', *English Literary Renaissance* 33.3 (2003), 279-308; Jessica Winston, 'Expanding the political nation: *Gorboduc* at the Inns of Court and succession revisited', *Early Theatre* 8.1 (2005), 11-34.

⁶⁷ Paul Raffield, 'The Inner Temple revels (1561-62) and the Elizabethan rhetoric of signs: legal iconography at the early modern Inns of Court', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, pp. 32-50 (p. 41). See also Raffield's *Images and Cultures of Law in Early Modern England: Justice and Political Power, 1558-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Despite the title of Phillip's play, Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson state that 'the influence of Chaucer... is negligible': *British Drama 1533-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012-18), I, p. 371.

(albeit contested) evidence for a later performance of *Troilus and Cressida* and, even more interestingly, a rendition in Welsh entitled *Troelus a Chresyd*, at the Inns of Court may reveal even more about the role of these texts in constructing the Inns of Courts' autonomy and sense of identity.⁶⁸ Not only did the writers and performers of these interludes see in Chaucer's works a potential script for entertainment, but in rewriting these texts, they were engaged in the celebration and legitimation of their institutions' origins and the place and purpose of its members within the English commonwealth.

The 'Chaucerian' aspects of the Inns of Court entertainments can be even further appreciated with reference to Gerard Legh's *Accedens of Armory* (1562). The text is said to have been based on *The Passetyme of Pleasure* (1509), a dream vision poem by the Henrician court poet Stephen Hawes, republished both in 1554 and 1555. *The Passetyme of Pleasure* has presented scholars with the chance to reconstruct the 'Masque of Beauty and Desire' accompanying the performance of *Gorboduc* at the Inner Temple.⁶⁹ Although what exactly the 'many thinges... handled of marriage' during this performance actually were is very difficult to know,⁷⁰ the evidence within Legh's *Accedens of Armory* points more clearly toward the Inns' interest in chivalric display, heraldry and quasi-medieval ritual, and their roles in defining the lawyers' sense of community and self-identity. Describing his progress through the Inner Temple, Legh also makes reference to a 'howse called Fame' built by 'S. Geffreye Chaucer' as the mythical origin for both the institution and its armorial emblem: the device of Pegasus.⁷¹ Other aspects of Legh's portrait of the Inner Temple

⁶⁸ I am grateful to Sue Niebrzydowski for bringing the latter to my attention. See William R. Elton, *Shakespeare's 'Troilus and Cressida', and the Inns of Court Revels* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); Sue Niebrzydowski, "'Ye know eek that in forme of speche is change withinne a thousand yeer": Chaucer, Henryson and the Welsh *Troelus a Chresyd*", paper presented at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, 16 April 2014.

⁶⁹ Ostensibly organized by the Inner Temple's Lord of Misrule and Master of the Horse, Robert Dudley, the masque is said to have promoted Dudley's fitness for marriage to Queen Elizabeth, though recent research indicates that this may not necessarily have the case. In particular, see Pincombe, 'Robert Dudley, *Gorboduc*, and "The masque of Beauty and Desire"', pp. 19-44.

⁷⁰ Quoted in Jones and White, p. 17.

⁷¹ Gerard Legh, *The Accedens of Armory* (1562), in John Nichols's *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, 5 vols, ed. by Elizabeth Goldring Faith Eales,

reveal the influence of Chaucerian texts, allusion and imagery. For example, the High Constable of Pallas Athena, Pallaphilos, is instructed by the figure of Desire, to ‘Let Troylus bee to you herein a Myrrour, how oft he languished wrapt in Venus bandes’.⁷² Legh is also led through a series of chambers and, behind the arras which is ‘curiously wrought conteynynge the siege of Thebes’, sees an assembly of knights, ‘passing the tyme at chesse [and] Philosophers and Astronomers who droue the daye a waye with theyr Studiouse games’.⁷³ Legh’s *Accedens of Armory* not only serves to establish what Raffield defines as a convivial ‘dreamland of perfect order’.⁷⁴ In describing the many ‘bookes’ housed at the Inner Temple (the ‘Cronicles of countres and histories of sundry sortes’, together with the role of its librarian, in ‘Studiouslye keeping those monumentes from wormie wemes’),⁷⁵ the *Accedens* also establishes the Inner Temple as a centre of humanist learning that could potentially rival and outstrip the monasteries of their scholastic heritage.

Given an evident interest in Chaucer within the academic circles of Googe’s day, the paratexts to the *Zodiake of Lyfe* represent a more complex and purposeful appropriation of Chaucer as a vernacular classic to be imitated and admired. Googe’s poem, ‘The Translatour to the Reader’ (beginning, ‘If Chaucer nowe shoulde live’), assumed new pride of place when it was published at the start of the *Zodiake*’s second edition of 1561, immediately before Googe’s new dedication ‘To the righte honorable and his singular good Master, sir William Cecil, Knight’ (sig. *5r). Placing the verses in this order set a new standard for Googe’s works, as evidenced by the *Egløgs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* of 1563. Alexander Neville (Googe’s cousin on his mother’s side, Gray’s Inn member and translator of Seneca’s *Oedipus*) supplies the first poem of the collection, in which he acknowledges the measure of Googe’s achievement in the following terms:

Elizabeth Clarke and Jayne Elisabeth Archer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), I, p. 213. All further quotations from Legh’s *Accedens of Armory* refer to this edition.

⁷² Legh, p. 219.

⁷³ Legh, p. 220.

⁷⁴ Raffield, *Images and Cultures of Law in Early Modern England*, p. 99.

⁷⁵ Legh, p. 218.

By this doth famous *Chaucer* lyue,
by this a thousande moore
Of later yeares. By this alone
the olde renowned Stoor
Of Auncient Poets lyue... (sig. A5v).

Emulating the opening lines of ‘The Translatour to the Reader,’ Neville’s poem confirms the ‘mutually reinforcing’ potentials of poetic composition and translation,⁷⁶ and the ability for Chaucer to live on in Googe’s verse.

There are further signs of borrowing from ‘The Translatour to the Reader’ within Googe’s later works. The printed miscellany, *A Gorgious Gallery, of Gallant Inuentions* (1578) contains an unattributed poem entitled ‘In the prayse of the rare beauty and manifold vertues of Mistres D’. It is very likely, if not certain, that the poem is written to the same ‘Mistress D.’ of the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes*, whom we can presume was Googe’s eventual wife, Mary Darrell.⁷⁷ Positioned in *A Gorgious Gallery* between poems on inconstant women and advice on ‘How to choose a faythfull friende’, this unattributed poem embodies the miscellanists’ combined emphasis on male social values, their ‘ambivalent attitude to love’ and ‘potential contribution in building a native literary heritage’:⁷⁸

IF *Chaucer* yet did lyue, whose English tongue did passe,
Who sucked dry *Pernassus* spring, and raste the Iuice there was:
If *Surrey* had not scalde, the height of *Ioue* his Throne,
Unto whose head a pillow softe, became Mount *Heblycon*:
They with their Muses could, not haue pronounst the fame,
Of *D.* faire Dame, lo, a staming stock, the chéeffe of natures frame.⁷⁹

Perhaps the most frequent – and evidently ‘Chaucerian’ – trope within the printed miscellany, and through which the patriotic, masculine values of the contributors were negotiated and confirmed

⁷⁶ Shrank, ‘Matters of love as of discourse’, p. 41.

⁷⁷ There are three poems in the ‘sonettes’ section of the *EES* directly addressed to women: ‘To Maystresse A.’, ‘Of Mistress D. S’ and ‘To Maystresse D.’ The latter of these is most likely addressed to Mary Darrell, Googe’s eventual wife. The lines: ‘But nearer hence this token coms, from out the Dungeon deepe, / Where neuer Plutto yet dyd raygne nor Proserpyne dyd sleepe’ (sig. G3v) contains a hidden pun on Dane-John Manor (‘Dungeon’), where Googe spent his formative years.

⁷⁸ Shrank, ‘Matters of love as of discourse,’ pp. 39; 48.

⁷⁹ Thomas Proctor, *A Gorgious Gallery, of Gallant Inuentions* (London: W. How, 1578), sig. H5r.

was through the figure of Criseyde, ‘the paradigm of fallen womanhood’.⁸⁰ As a variation to this, ‘Mistres D’ within Googe’s poem is rather an example of female constancy in her ability to match the standard set by Penelope, the wife of Odysseus (sig. H5r). Although perhaps still ‘a trope for solidifying male homosocial bonds’,⁸¹ the figure of ‘Mistres D’ also allows Googe to elevate himself above his native literary predecessors – ‘*Chaucer*’ and ‘*Surrey*’ – and resume, ultimately, their task of purifying the ‘English tongue’ (sig. H5r).

Googe’s interest in the vernacular to match – if not outdo – the language of the classics is the subject of further reflection within the *Zodiacke*’s third edition, published in 1565. Although the decision was made to leave out the dream vision Preface and ‘The Translatour to the Reader’ (the significance of which is addressed below), Googe’s prose address ‘To the vertuous and frendely Reader’ captures the basic essence of the original poems, replicating key features of language, imagery and tone. Googe notes that,

since the time of our excellent countreyman sir Geffray Chaucer who liveth in like estimation with us as did olde *Ennius* wyth the Latines there hath flourished in England so fine and filed phrases, and so good & pleasant Poets as may counteruayle the doings of *Virgill*, *Ouid*, *Horace*, *Iuuenall*, *Martiall*, *Lucan*, *Perseus*, *Tibullus*, *Catullus*, *Seneca*, and *Propertius*. Amongst thome (as most inferior to them all) I haue for thy commoditie brought into English verse this virtuous Poet *Palingen*. (1565, sig. (‡)3v-4r).

As Kevin Pask observes, Googe classifies the works of the Latin poet Ennius and ‘our excellent countreyman sir Geffray Chaucer’ as two ‘outmoded pre-classics’; a connection that serves to elevate the English vernacular ‘to the prestige of the language of the school’.⁸² As Simon

⁸⁰ Allen J. Frantzen, *Troilus and Criseyde: the Poem and the Frame* (New York: Twayne, 1993), p. 25. In Proctor’s *A Gorgious Gallery, of Gallant Inuentions*, Criseyde’s name is mentioned no fewer than nine times in the discussion of female inconstancy. On Criseyde within the printed miscellany, see Elizabeth Heale, ‘Misogyny and the Complete Gentleman in Early Elizabethan Printed Miscellanies’, *The Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003), 233-47 (pp. 237-8). The term ‘Chaucerian’ here is deliberately intended to include both *Troilus and Criseyde* and Henryson’s *Testament of Cresseid*, on which many of these depictions were based.

⁸¹ Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 40.

⁸² Pask, p. 29.

McKeown also explains, ‘Eschewing the scholarly language of Latin, Chaucer had admirably demonstrated that the vernacular tongue was both serviceable for the communication of advanced ideas, and capable of supporting sophisticated literary forms’.⁸³ Within this same edition, an anonymous commendatory verse in Greek translated into Latin draws a further line of comparison between the classical languages, the authority of ‘*Aequent Chaucer?*’ (sig. *6v) and, by implication, Googe’s own achievement in translating the *Zodiacke of Lyfe*. The movement from Greek into Latin and finally, into the English vernacular, assimilates Googe into a sequence of *translatio imperii*. Another verse, written by Christopher Carlisle (a close kinsman to Googe through marriage), makes the terms of this process even more explicit:

*Alter Chaucerus fama super aethere notus,
Alter Gogeus, posteritatis honos
Ambo virtutes, virtutis praemia pandunt
Ambo: artes omnes ambo docere parant* (1565, sig. *3r).⁸⁴

Another poem by former Cambridge student David Bell, entitled, ‘*In Barnabae Gogei Pallinginium?*’, continues in this vein by concluding with a Latin variation of the conventional Chaucerian *envoi*, ‘Go little book’: ‘*Vade libelle igitur Gogei clara suppellex / Et monstres nomen traxeris vnde tuum?*’ (1565, sig. *5r).⁸⁵ As the discussion below makes clear, Googe’s use of the dream vision frame in the *Zodiacke*’s first two editions was an important move in establishing the connection made by Googe’s friends and Cambridge alumni in the later editions between the translation of Palingenius and the eloquence and dignity of Chaucer.

Yet mid-Tudor writers were not unanimous in their support of Chaucer’s example.

Thomas Wilson famously wrote in *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553) that ‘the fine Courtier wil talke

⁸³ McKeown, p. 239.

⁸⁴ This translates as follows: ‘On one side the heavenly fame of that most famous Chaucer / On the other Googe, the honour of his posterity / The greatness of each man and their rewards spread out, / Sharing their teaching in all the arts’.

⁸⁵ ‘Therefore may you go forth distinguished little book of Googe on bended knee / And may you draw respect to your name’. For comparable use of the ‘Go little book’ *envoi* in the works of Gascoigne and Howell, see Shrank, ‘Matters of love as of discourse’, p. 49.

nothyng but Chaucer’, and criticised the use of ‘straunge ynkehorne termes’ and ‘outlandish English’.⁸⁶ Some years later, the printer and grammarian William Bullokar also wrote that he ‘studied rather to vse the most playn and famylier englishe speche, then ether Chaucers words (which by some reason of antiquitie be almost out of vse)’.⁸⁷ William Cecil’s notorious clash with Spenser during the 1580s and 90s might have also been a result of the ‘many *Chaucerisms*’ used by Spenser throughout his work.⁸⁸ Similar to Wilson and Bullokar, Cecil expressed a similar aversion to extravagant language and inkhorn terms in his support of the ‘Cambridge doctrine of plain English’. But there were many others like Googe who gave emphasis to the simple plainness of Chaucer’s style and his distinctly native appeal. This was backed up by biographical readings of a number of (mostly apocryphal) works, including the *Plowman’s Tale* and *Jack Upland*, as proof of Chaucer’s proto-Protestant views. In *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586), William Webbe also wrote of Chaucer’s ‘blunt & course’ style beneath which ‘a man shall perceiue thereby euen a true picture or perfect shape of a right Poet’ (sig. C3r), while Googe’s Inns of Court contemporary, George Gascoigne, appropriated the plain and rustic tones of the Parson, claiming in his *Certayne Notes of Instruction* (1575) that,

...it is not inough to roll in pleasant woordes, nor yet to thunder in *Rym, Ram, Ruff*, by letter (quoth my master *Chaucer*) nor yet to abounde in apt vocables, or epythetes, unlesse the Invention have in it also *aliquid salis*.⁸⁹

In his compliments to ‘our excellent countreyman sir Geffray Chaucer’ (1565, sig. (‡)3v), Googe joins in a widespread project of establishing Chaucer as the nation’s premier poet and chief source of a vernacular literary tradition. In turn, it is Googe’s adoption of the dream frame in the Preface itself that becomes a key element in his method of self-presentation and signals a further attempt

⁸⁶ Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (London: R. Grafton, 1553), sig. Y2r-Y2v.

⁸⁷ From William Bullokar, *Bullokar’s Booke at Large* (1580), quoted in Derek S. Brewer, ed., *Chaucer: The Critical Heritage*, 2 vols (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), I, p. 102

⁸⁸ Lancashire, p. 54. The term is taken from the entry for Edmund Spenser in Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London: J. G. W. L. and W. G., 1662), p. 379. On Cecil’s clash with Spenser, see Bruce Danner, *Edmund Spenser’s War on Lord Burghley* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

⁸⁹ Cunliffe, I, p. 465.

by Gooze to follow Chaucer's example.

In addition to Chaucer's cultural and linguistic influence, there is some very convincing evidence to suggest that Gooze's family were active readers of Chaucer's verse. A late fifteenth-century manuscript of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (namely, University of Texas, Harry Ransom Center MS 143, otherwise known as the 'Cardigan Chaucer'), which includes a text of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* and *Churl and Bird*, contains the signature of Gooze's uncle on his mother's side, Thomas Mantell (fols. 200r, 237r), and several other members of the Mantell family.⁹⁰ Further to these names, the text contains the record of a debt of ten pounds owed to 'Bar. Goge' by one 'Thomas Gyllys' of Eastry in Kent (fol. 262r). According to Manly and Rickert, '[t]his can hardly be any other than the writer Barnabe Gooze'.⁹¹ These inscriptions point not to the reading, but rather to the *use* of Chaucer as a place for recording names (as in the inscriptions of Joyce and Henry Mantell on fols. 15r, 192v and 200v) and (potentially) for the practice handwriting, as well as a financial ledger.⁹²

The Mantells were important to Gooze for reasons other than their interest in Chaucer. Gooze's uncle, Walter Mantell of Horton Priory (d. 1554), was executed along with his son for his part in Wyatt's rebellion. An account of their trial and execution is contained in John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*.⁹³ In his dedication to Mantell's mother (that is, Gooze's grandmother, Lady Margaret Hales of Dane-John Manor), Gooze points to the role of his surviving uncle, Thomas

⁹⁰ These include, 'Joyce Mantell' (fol. 15r), 'Henry Mantell' (fols. 192v; 200v) and 'Mantell' (fols. 179v-80r).

⁹¹ John Matthew Manly and Edith Rickert, *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1940), p. 76. In addition to the Mantell provenance, Manly and Rickert note several other Kentish names in the manuscript, including those of Buckland and Dowland (fols. 82v; 308v). The names appear throughout the text, together with a number of unattributed English and Latin inscriptions (i.e. 'Thys ys a Good Boke amen', fol. 225r). See also Daniel W. Mosser, 'Cardigan Chaucer: A Witness to the Manuscript and Textual History of the *Canterbury Tales*', *Library Chronicle N. S.* 41 (1987), 82-111.

⁹² On this subject, see Seth Lerer, 'Medieval Literature and Early Modern Readers: Cambridge University Library Sel. 5.51-5.63,' *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 97.3 (2003), 311-32. See also Wiggins, 'What did Renaissance readers write in their printed copies of Chaucer?', pp. 3-36.

⁹³ See 'The Apologie of M. Mantell the elder' in John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London: J. Day, 1583), sig. Pppp4r-v.

Mantell (the same Thomas Mantell of the Cardigan MS) in encouraging him to work on his translation of the *Zodiake of Lyfe*. The 1560 edition explains how Googe embarked on the work of translation,

a yere now passed, but through ye great dispraise of my selfe I gave it over tyll the. xii. of December last, at which time beyng thereunto moved, by the perswasions of divers of my frendes, (namely my cosine Honiwood,⁹⁴ my uncle Mantel and learned Maister Bale) I tooke the matter new in hande, and have thus finished these three bookes, no lease rashly then rudely. (sig. *2v-*3r).

The family connection does much to enhance the communal, Protestant spirit of the volume. Perhaps the most revealing piece of information is the reference here to Googe's 'learned Maister', John Bale. It is very possible that Bale had laid his hands on a copy of the *Zodiacus Vitae* during his time in exile. The 1537 edition was printed in Basle, where Bale spent a significant period of his time abroad, and the 1557/9 editions of Bale's *Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Scriptorum... Summarium* were also published there. Googe's efforts to bring the works of Palingenius to light reflect many of Bale's own principles as a translator, bibliographer and reformer. Indeed, Googe's claim to have selected Palingenius for his denigration of 'the corrupte and vnchristian liues of the whole Colledge of contemptuous Cardinales, the vngracious ouerseings of bloudthyrsty Bishops' and the 'filthy fraternitie of flattering friers' (1565, sig. *7r-v) evokes Bale's alliterative style of anticlerical critique. It is perhaps more than a coincidence that Googe started translating the poem 'a yere now passed', in 1559. The year coincides with Bale's return home from exile to assume the post of Prebendary at Canterbury Cathedral.

Googe continued to reflect Bale's interests in his *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* (1563). The 'Eclogues' section of the volume draws on the example of Virgil, as well as the Italian poet, Baptista Mantuan (1447-1516). As John N. King explains, 'Mantuan's bucolics had been drawn anachronistically into the library of Protestant propaganda in a manner similar to pre-reformist

⁹⁴ Googe's 'cosine' – Thomas Honeywood – was the nephew of Lady Hales' third husband and related by marriage to Googe's friend and later dedicatee, William Lovelace of Gray's Inn.

English authors such as the *Piers Plowman* poet, Chaucer, and Skelton'.⁹⁵ Bale had translated *A Lamentable Complaynte of Baptista Mantuanus* (published in 1550), and also 'radicalized' his message by 'interpreting him as a "crypto-Protestant"'.⁹⁶ In Bale's *The Image of Bothe Churches* (1548), Mantuan is included in a list of fifty-one 'notabile doctors', whose 'famouse wryttinges called upon the churches reformation'.⁹⁷ Gooze's translation of Thomas Kirchmeyer's *The Popish Kingdom* in 1570 also continues in the vein of his 'learned Maister'. Kirchmeyer's *Pammachius* – the interlude that had caused major uproar when it was performed at Christ's College in 1545 – had been translated by Bale in around 1539. A more overt tribute to Bale appears in Gooze's poem entitled 'To Doctor Bale', published in the second section of the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* (1563):

Good aged *Bale*: that with thy hoary heares
 Doste yet persyste, to turne the paynefull Booke,
 O happye man, that hast obtaynde suche yeares,
 And leavst not yet, on Papers pale to looke,
 Gyue ouer now to beate thy weryed brayns (sig. C6r-v).

The lines prompt comparison with the depiction of Bale on the title page of his *Illustrium Majoris Britaniae Scriptorum... Summarium* (1548).⁹⁸ The appearance of this poem in Gooze's *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* is made all the more poignant by Bale's death in November 1563.

We can draw a number of conclusions from this summary of the *Zodiake's* paratextual apparatus. The first edition gathers the support of men and women from Gooze's family, the academic communities of Christ's College, Cambridge and the Inns of Court, as well as the wider circles of Protestant reform. The *Zodiake's* paratexts shape Gooze's translation into a collaborative work of profound intellectual, national and religious importance. The role of Chaucer is central

⁹⁵ John N. King, 'Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* and Protestant Pastoral Satire', in *Renaissance Genres: Essays on Theory, History and Interpretation*, ed. by Barbara Kiefer Lewalski (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 369-98 (p. 371).

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ John Bale, *The Image of Bothe Churches* (London: R. Jugge, 1548), sig. Aa8v.

⁹⁸ Cathy Shrank, 'John Bale and reconfiguring the "medieval" in Reformation England', in *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, ed. by Gordon McMullan and David Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 179-92 (p. 181).

to these aims, and presents a major source of inspiration to Googe in the art of English translation. But instead of calling on Chaucer's authority as the *graunt translateur*, Googe displays a much closer affinity with what scholars would today recognise as Chaucer's early verse. As the next section will show, the dream vision Preface to the *Zodiake of Lyfe* can be very usefully conceived in terms of an English alternative or conduit to pastoral verse. As an allegorical representation of both Googe's translative method and his initiation into a canon of contemporary poets, the Preface itself undergoes a profound shift of emphasis when Googe's loyalties shifted away from his family and friends to William Cecil in 1561. Although the dream vision was still flexible enough to accommodate this shift, by the third edition in 1565 it was no longer suited to Googe's requirements and was dropped from this and all subsequent editions of the *Zodiake of Lyfe*. The reasons why should become clear in the course of this analysis.

‘PARATEXTUAL CHAUCERIANISM’
GOOGE’S PREFACE TO THE *ZODIAKE OF LYFE* (1560/1)

It is important to note that, unlike Heywood's dreamer in the Preface to *Thyestes* (1560), the narrator of Googe's Preface never falls asleep. The poem is thus more akin to a dream vision analogue or ‘waking vision’; what the narrator himself defines as a ‘syght’ (sig. *5v).⁹⁹ This is not at all unusual, as the examples of Lydgate's *Complaint of the Black Knight* (c. 1402) and Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* (c. 1475) show, and Googe's Preface maintains a large share of the genre's characteristic features through a register of amazement and wonder. The fact that Googe's narrator fails to recognise that what he is experiencing is a dream serves only to highlight his ‘Chaucerian’ qualities and inexperience. Indeed, the transition from ‘ignorance’ to ‘knowledge’ is a vital component of the tradition within which the Preface is placed.¹⁰⁰ In the translation of literary texts, this transition

⁹⁹ On the ‘waking vision’ or dream vision ‘analogue’ see Judith M. Davidoff, *Beginning Well: Framing Fictions in Late Middle English Poetry* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1988), p. 135; Dana M. Symons, ed., *Chaucerian Dream Visions and Complaints* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004) <<http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/symons-chaucerian-dream-visions-and-complaints>> [accessed 14 March 2016].

¹⁰⁰ Davidoff, p. 62.

also provides the means by which the narrator – an unmistakable simulation of the poet – can also progress from a reader of ‘old bokes’ into translator of ‘new’ verse.¹⁰¹

As Alan T. Bradford has shown, the Preface to the *Zodiacke of Lyfe* is one of many texts in this period to utilise the ‘prefabricated verbal units’ of the winter night’s vision: the ‘wrathful winter; Boreas’ blustering blasts’ and the ‘frosty-faced Saturn’.¹⁰² By Thomas Nashe’s time, these ideas were a poet’s stock-in-trade, and Nashe warns the young ‘Gentleman Students’ of Oxford and Cambridge in his Preface to Robert Greene’s *Menaphon* (1589) against ‘thinking themselves more than initiated in poets immortalitie’ should they ‘but once get *Boreas* by the beard, and the heauenlie bull by the deaw-lap’.¹⁰³ Yet for Bradford, such imagery is characteristic of the mid-Tudor aesthetic of mutability, and more fitting to the times than the traditional springtime landscapes evoked by two of the period’s most celebrated authors, Chaucer and Surrey.¹⁰⁴ In the context of translation, the contrast between winter and spring can also be read in terms of what Theo Hermans describes as a ‘qualitative difference’ between the new text and the original.¹⁰⁵ While Googe’s Preface takes place in winter, the *Zodiacke* itself begins in March with the Book of aries and thus marks the start of the astrological cycle. Subscribing the 1560 Epistle to Lady Hales, ‘the eighte and twenty of march’, Googe positions the moments of completion at this precise time, though he claims that he began to translate the poem ‘a yere now passed’ and ‘gave it over tyll the. xii. of December’ (sig. *2v-*3r). Noting that he completed the translation at Staple Inn (sig. *3r), Googe sheds important light on the conditions of literary production which, as shown

¹⁰¹ For an account of this latter transition, see Piero Boitani, ‘Old books brought to life in dreams: the *Book of the Duchess*, the *House of Fame*, the *Parliament of Fowls*’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*, ed. by Piero Boitani and Jill Mann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 58-77.

¹⁰² Bradford, p. 13.

¹⁰³ Thomas Nashe, ‘To the Gentlemen Students of both Universities’ in Robert Greene, *Menaphon, Camillas Alarum to Slumbering Euphues* (London: T. Orwin, 1589), sig. **1r.

¹⁰⁴ Bradford, p. 8.

¹⁰⁵ Theo Hermans, ‘Images of Translation: Metaphor and Imagery in the Renaissance Discourse on Translation’, in *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*, ed. by Theo Hermans (London: Croom Helm, 1985), pp. 103-35 (p. 113).

in detail below, can reveal even more about his choice of genre, imagery and setting.

This chapter has already shown that Chaucer was an important role model for the mid-Tudor poets, and a particularly important source of inspiration for writers in and around the Inns of Court. The commendatory materials to Googe's early verse (both the *Zodiake's* first three editions and the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* of 1563) show the ways in which Googe and his friends conceive of Googe as Chaucer's present-day heir: 'By this doth famouse *Chaucerlyue*' (*EES*, sig. A5v). Together with the adoption of a 'Chaucerian' persona, Googe's use of a seasonal landscape offers a more subtle indication of Chaucer's influence on his translative method. The Preface offers an example of what Anne Coldiron defines as 'paratextual Chaucerianism', a strategy used by a number of earlier printers and translators as a means of appropriating and 'naturalising' the 'foreign' for a native, English audience.¹⁰⁶ In the *Zodiake's* preface, the invocation of Chaucerian topoi and phrasing (for instance, in the narrator's mention of 'The lyuely sappe' that 'forsoke the bowgh, and deape the rote it helde', sig. *5v), recall the April showers that 'perced' the droughts of March 'to the roote, / And bathed every veyne in swich licour' in Chaucer's General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* (ll. 2-3).¹⁰⁷ This image also contrasts the wintry setting of Googe's Preface, when the sun's 'beames' 'could not broil from high' and 'life in springing sprigs or plantes / might no where nowe be sene' (sig. *5v), in ways that continue to suggest disparity between the translated text and the original.

As Alice Miskimin reminds us, the "'Chaucer" of English literary history' is an entirely different one to the Chaucer encountered in modern editions.¹⁰⁸ For the mid-Tudor period, and particularly in the context of the printed *Works*, 'paratextual Chaucerianism' is a rather complex

¹⁰⁶ Anne E. B. Coldiron, 'Paratextual Chaucerianism: Naturalizing French Texts in Early Printed Verse', *The Chaucer Review* 38.1 (2003), 1-15 (p. 1). Coldiron's theory applies specifically to Wynkyn de Worde's translation of a French poem, entitled in English *The Fyftene Joyes of Maryage* (1509).

¹⁰⁷ The second book to the *Zodiake of Lyffe* (Taurus) also opens with a lengthy tribute to the April season, when 'The earth againe doth florishe greene' and 'the trees repaire' (1565, sig. B3v).

¹⁰⁸ Alice S. Miskimin, *The Renaissance Chaucer* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1975), p. 227.

phenomenon in that it might embrace not merely the ‘direct engagement with or imitation of Chaucer’, but also ‘an indirect evocation of what would have been loosely recognizable as Chaucerian’.¹⁰⁹ An example of the former is Lydgate’s *Siege of Thebes* – a fifteenth-century continuation of *The Canterbury Tales*, first printed by Wynkyn de Worde (c. 1497). The poem (although attributed to ‘Jhon Lidgate of Burie’) was included by Stow in his 1561 edition of Chaucer’s *Works*, and in all subsequent editions of the *Works* until 1687. The Prologue to the *Siege of Thebes* opens with almost identical phrasing and imagery to Googe’s Preface: ‘Whan bright Phebus passyd was the Ram / Mydd of Aprille... / And Saturne olde with hys frosty face...’ (Cardigan MS, fol. 246r). Although such phrasing and imagery was common currency by the mid-Tudor period, there are valid reasons as to why Googe chose not to cite the Monk of Bury as his source.¹¹⁰ Given Googe’s abiding interest in whom he names ‘our excellent countreyman sir Geffray Chaucer’ (1565, sig. (‡)3v), the Preface to the *Zodiake of Lyfe* underscores the complexities raised by the reception of Chaucer – and of medieval verse more generally – in the mid-Tudor period.

Although Googe’s use of the dream vision frame might also signal what scholarship has come to identify in this period as a form of literary ‘archaism’,¹¹¹ the Preface is also a poem very much of its own time. The language and imagery of Googe’s Preface echoes William Baldwin’s *The Funeralles of King Edward the Sixt* (1553, printed in 1560). Although not a dream vision as such, *The Funeralles* also echoes Lydgate’s *Siege of Thebes*:

When bytter Wynter forced had the Sun
Fro the horned Goat to Pisces ward to run,

¹⁰⁹ Coldiron, p. 13.

¹¹⁰ As mentioned above, the Cardigan MS also contains an edition of the *Siege of Thebes* along with a text of *Churl and Bird*. The aforementioned reference to one ‘Bar. Goge’ (fol. 262r) appears approximately one third of the way through Lydgate’s *Siege of Thebes*. The *Siege of Thebes*, as a continuation of *Troilus and Criseyde*, can be usefully considered an example of what A. S. G. Edwards identifies as Chaucerian *compilatio* (‘Bodleian Library MS. Arch. Selden B. 24: A “Transitional” Collection’, in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. by Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 53-67 (p. 58)).

¹¹¹ See Munro, *passim*.

And lively sap, that greneth gardins soote,
To flye the stocke to save her nurse, the roote,
And sleety Cech¹¹² that blowth by North fro East,
Decayd the health and welth of man and beast.¹¹³

Whereas the events of Googe's Preface locate the period of composition between December and March, the movement of 'the horned Goat' (Capricorn) through Aquarius into Pisces places Baldwin's poem in the next phrase of the astrological cycle. Baldwin borrows elements from both Chaucer and Surrey to amplify further the poem's propagandist goal. The political and religious overtones of this are further enhanced by Baldwin's account in the prefatory material of the poem's occasion; '[P]enned before [the king's] corse was buried, & endeoured since by many meanes to have had been printed: but such was the time, that it could not be brought to passe' (sig. A1v). Elizabeth's ascent to the throne in November 1558 was an unquestionable factor in the publication of Baldwin's most famous and ambitious literary enterprise, the *Mirror for Magistrates*, in 1559.¹¹⁴ It is entirely plausible that Googe had similar notions in mind when he claimed to have delayed his translation of the *Zodiake of Lyfe* for almost a year, before returning to the task in 1559, the same year as the *Mirror's* first edition.

The *Mirror for Magistrates*, we have seen, wielded great importance amongst the academic circles within and the Inns of Court and its surrounding milieu. Thomas Sackville's Induction to the Complaint of Henry, Duke of Buckingham (included in *Mirror's* second edition of 1563), was a major poetic presence in this period, and a source of widespread imitation. The Induction is

¹¹² *Caicias*. The Greek god of the north-eastern winds.

¹¹³ William Baldwin, *The Funerall of King Edward the Sixt* (London: T. Marshe, 1560), sig. A2r. The imagery and phrasing is also very close to a slightly earlier, alchemical poem: William Blomfield's *Blomfield's Blossoms* (c. 1557). Although perhaps less well-known and appreciated today than the work of William Baldwin, *Blomfield's Blossoms* exists in at least sixteen manuscripts from the period. The poem begins 'When Phebus was entered the signe of the ramm, / In the month of march when all doth springe'. Blomfield's dreamer then falls into a 'straunge sleepe' in which he encounters Father Time, Lady Philosophy and the thirteenth-century alchemist, Ramon Llull. See Robert M. Schuler, 'Three Renaissance Scientific Poems', *Studies in Philology* 75 (1978), i-vii; 1-52). Whether Googe knew of this poem, we might never know, though the potential relation between *Blomfield's Blossoms* and the *Zodiake of Lyfe* illustrates the *Zodiake's* importance within the fields of science and new learning.

¹¹⁴ Winston, 'A *Mirror for Magistrates* and Public Political Discourse in Elizabethan England', p. 398.

notable for its use of similar imagery to that used by Googe in the pre-dream frame:

The wrathfull winter proching on a pace,
With blustering blastes had al ybared the treen,
And old Saturnus with his frosty face
With chilling colde had pearst the tender green:
...And soot freshe flowers (wherewith the sommers queen
Had clad the earth) now Boreas blastes downe blewe.¹¹⁵

Although Sackville's Induction has since become one of the period's most admired poems, Googe's Preface can with some confidence be recognised as one of the first in this period to use a winter landscape within the visionary structure.¹¹⁶

As with many dream poems of the period, Googe's Preface is rooted in a classical tradition in which the inspiration to write comes to the author in the form of a dream.¹¹⁷ Yet, as Piero Boitani has pointed out, Chaucer was the first European writer to develop the formula whereby it is the book itself that 'both causes the dream and exists within it'.¹¹⁸ In the *Book of the Duchess*, for example, the narrator reads the tale of Ceyx and Alcyone from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, whereupon he is taken by a sudden 'lust' that causes him to 'slepe... right upon my book' (l. 274). The formula is reiterated in the *Mirror for Magistrates*' several editions and becomes something of a generic commonplace for the period's translators. Heywood's Preface to *Thyestes* (1560), for example, portrays the act of reading in the following terms:

¹¹⁵ Thomas Sackville, 'The Induction' (ll. 1-11) in *The Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. by Lily B. Campbell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), p. 298. All references to this edition are quoted by line number hereafter.

¹¹⁶ Although Heywood alludes to Googe's *Zodiake* in his Preface to *Thyestes*, he dates the moment of inspiration for his translation of Seneca to 'the four and twentieth day of latest month save one' (l. 1), that is, the 24th November, almost a month before the events described in Googe's Preface to the *Zodiake of Lyffe*. Whilst questions have been raised as to which of the two translations came first, Heywood's adaptation of the imagery, structure and dating of the genre engages the translation and publication of *Thyestes* in a playful game of literary one-upmanship with his contemporary.

¹¹⁷ For more on this phenomenon, with a special regard for early medieval literature, see Mary Carruthers *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹¹⁸ Piero Boitani, 'Old books brought to life in dreams: the *Book of the Duchess*, the *House of Fame*, the *Parliament of Fowls*', in *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*, ed. by Piero Boitani and Jill Mann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 58-77 (p. 60).

When (as at book with mazed muse I sat and pensive thought
Deep drowned in dumps of drowsiness as change of weather wrought),
I felt how Morpheus bound my brows and eke my temples struck,
That down I sunk my heavy head and slept upon my book. (ll. 11-14).

George Turberville's Preface to his translation of the *Tragicall Tales*; a collection of Italianate stories taken from Boccaccio and Bandello which, although published in 1589, is usually attributed to 1574, recalls how, after reading Lucan's *Pharsalia* by candlelight, he was overcome by 'heavy sleep' which 'muffled' his eyes, so that he was 'forst' with quill in hand in slumber down to lie'.¹¹⁹ Both writers seem to share in a long-standing literary joke, first articulated by Chaucer in his parodic account of *de casibus* literature within the *Canterbury Tales*. After the Monk has finished telling his tales of several men and women who fell by misfortune, he is criticised by the Knight for his long-windedness and for inciting his audience to 'heavynesse' (l. 2769). The term implies not only 'grievousness of situation', but also 'sluggishness of movement', 'dullness of feeling', 'lack of spirit' and 'drowsiness'.¹²⁰ While Heywood and Turberville's adoption of this trope exercises both modesty and discretion, it also illustrates the usefulness of the dream vision frame when dabbling with politically sensitive themes.

By employing the soporific pose, Heywood and Turberville also recall the traditional depiction of St Jerome, the fourth-century Church father and translator of the Bible. The iconography of St Jerome 'bore a special appeal for humanists of the Renaissance' by evoking an 'ideal of contemplative solitude',¹²¹ and in so doing, may lend an air of divine authority to the translator's task. Yet the action of sleeping on or in the company of books also has much in common with the rhetorical vocabulary of the translator's preface. In his 1985 essay, 'Images of

¹¹⁹ George Turberville, *Tragicall Tales* (London: A. Jeffes, 1587), sig. A6v-A7r; John Erskine Hankins, *The Life and Works of George Turberville* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1940), pp. 36-7.

¹²⁰ 'hevines(se), *n.*', *MED* (2a; 3a; 3b; 3c).

¹²¹ Peter W. Parshall, 'Albrecht Dürer's *St. Jerome in his Study*: A Philological Reference', *The Art Bulletin* 53.3 (1971), 303-5 (p. 303). In addition to Dürer, see the representations of Saint Jerome by Domenico Ghirlandaio (c. 1480) and Vincenzo Catena (c. 1510), in which the image of sleep or contemplative vision is more overt.

Translation’, Theo Hermans assesses a range of metaphors connoting linguistic change (for example, digestion), and the use of images signifying labour (such as the industrious bee), or the translator’s sense of submission or servility to his source. A key instance of this is the image of writers following in the footsteps of their literary forbears.¹²² In the case of Heywood, it is the image of sleep which demonstrates this idea. Sleep, as well as the dream of Seneca that results from this state, is presented as a wholly passive experience that, in Heywood’s case, occurs as the result of the translator’s physical engagement with his book. The verbs ‘struck’ and ‘sunk’ enhance the subservient nature of the act, presenting the dreamer’s total submission to the authority of his source. In Turberville’s Preface to the *Tragicall Tales*, the verb ‘forst’ has a similar effect. The Muses then appear before the translator, warning him that he has aspired too high and that his pen is ‘too playne, with metre mète / to furnish *Lucans* style’ (sig. B2v). Turberville introduces a variation on the soporific pose, for it is in fact his own attempt at translating Lucan’s civil war epic, the *Pharsalia*, that would ‘cloye the cunningst head in court, / and tyre the Iustiest men’ (sig. B2v). Upon waking, Turberville opts for the less demanding task of translating the works of ‘*Boccas*’ and ‘sundrie other moe’ Italian authors (sig. B3r). Although the ‘lighter’ stuff of *novelle* may be a safer alternative to epic verse,¹²³ the dream vision enables a passive stance which, in turn, illustrates the problems associated with works of Italian and, implicitly, Catholic provenance.

Googe’s Preface testifies to the popularity of the soporific pose in ways that set him both alongside and against his literary contemporaries and initial forebears. The narrator is presented not as a reader of ‘olde bokes’, but as a desperate bibliophile in want of the basic necessity of a fire to keep him warm: ‘When down amongst my bokes I sate / and close I crouched for colde’

¹²² Hermans, p. 113.

¹²³ As Catherine Bates explains, ‘he will not be offering his readers anything that has pretensions to be serious or “high” literature: ‘George Turberville and the Painful Art of Falconry’, *English Literary Renaissance* 41.3 (2011), 403-28 (p. 408).

(sig. *5v).¹²⁴ Although comical in its physicality and tone, recent research has shown the use of books for a range of domestic purposes in the early modern period, including beds and furnishing, and the ways in which such practices could reflect, inform and even alter the book's primary function. As Jeffrey Todd Knight explains, 'books formed part of the physical environment that conditioned the intellectual environment of their users'.¹²⁵ To offer one example, the Florentine bibliophile Antonio Magliabechi allegedly,

slept on [his books] wallowed in them; they were his bed and board, his only furniture, his chiefest need. For sleep he spread an old rug over a heap of them and so composed himself; or he could cast himself, fully clothed, among the books which covered his couch.¹²⁶

Although the account of Googe's nocturnal engagement with his books in the *Zodiacke's* Preface is perhaps not so extreme as this, it performs a distinct variation on the conventional generic topos, placing the book in a physical and metaphorical relationship with the narrator in ways that suggest the mental and physical processes involved in the art of translation.

Googe's decision to remain or at least appear to be awake in his Preface introduces yet another variation on the dream vision's generic structure. It is in the decision to adopt a 'waking frame', and thereby privilege a state of wakefulness over sleep, that Googe's attitude to translation and literary activity more generally is also underlined. The significance of this decision becomes more apparent when we turn to Googe's *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* of 1563. Several of the poems within this collection allude to the sins inherent in idleness. In his poem to his friend,

¹²⁴ The moment offers an interesting variation on Robert Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* in which the narrator seeks warmth from the fire and 'armit' himself from the 'cauld... / To cut the winter nicht and mak it schort' (ll. 38-9) in *Robert Henryson: The Complete Works*, ed. David J. Parkinson (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2010) <<http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/parkinson-henryson-complete-works-testament-of-cresseid>> [accessed 8 March 2016].

¹²⁵ Jeffrey Todd Knight, "'Furnished' for Action: Renaissance Books as Furniture", *Book History* 12.1 (2009), 37-73 (p. 51). These ideas stem from the work of Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton in their assessment of reading strategies that would have allowed 'consultation and annotation of multiple volumes simultaneously': "'Studied for action": how Gabriel Harvey read his Livy', *Past and Present* 129 (1990), 30-78 (p. 48).

¹²⁶ See Holbrook Jackson, *Anatomy of Bibliomania* (London: Sencino Press, 1930), p. 133.

Alexander Neville, for instance, Googe wrote ‘If thou canst banish Idlenes, / *Cupidoes* Bowe is broke’ (sig. C3r). Neville’s response to Googe restates the point, declaring ‘vice abounds... vertu quails / By meanes of drowsy Idlenes’ (sig. C3r).¹²⁷ The lines draw on a concern that seems to dominate much of Googe’s verse. In Eclogue Six, for instance, the shepherd Felix advises his friend, Faustus to, ‘Aboue all thynges fly Idlenes, / For this doth dowble strength / To Louers flams, & makes them rage...’ (sig. C1v). The 1576 edition of the *Zodiake of Lyfe* contains a glossary of hard words, as well as marginal annotations, which include a number of pedagogical slogans, such as: ‘what books are meete and couenient for a yong Scholer to be conuersant and occupied in’; ‘Intermission and rest from study is profitable’ and ‘Study hurteth the body’.¹²⁸ Googe’s poem ‘To Doctor Bale’ refines this theme, cautioning Bale that too much study can cause mental stress as well as physical discomfort. The subject is explored further in the *Eglogs’* Preface, written by another of Googe’s friends and Gray’s Inn member, Laurence Blundeston:

The Senses dull of my appalled muse
Foreweryed with the trauayle of my brayne
In scannyng of the argued Bookes diffuse,
And darke for me the glimeryng syght to gayne,
Debated long what excersyce to vse,
To fyle the edgeles partes of Wyt agayne
To cense the heade from sleapy humours slyme.
To rouse the Hart from drowsye Dreames in time. (sig. B2r).

This opening stanza declares that too much study causes fatigue and debilitates the mind. Instead of enlightening the reader, it ‘dulls’ the senses, causing weariness, ‘sleapy humours’ and ‘drowsy Dreames’ (sig. B2r). The ‘excersyse’ that will cure Blundeston’s narrator of his affliction is reading something ‘newe’ (sig. B2r). It soon transpires that the very text to achieve this is the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes*: a ‘Paper buntche... / Of fyled worke of Googes flowing Heade’ (sig. B2v). On reflection, the Preface to the *Zodiake of Lyfe* also suggests that, through staying awake, Googe’s narrator can similarly reject the intellectual dullness and ‘sleapy humours’ that come with its

¹²⁷ For an account of this exchange, see Winston, ‘Lyric poetry at the Inns of Court’, p. 231.

¹²⁸ *The Zodiake of Lyfe* (London: H. Middleton, 1576), sig. M4v, F9v.

conflicting states of idleness and sleep. Such ideas endorse a Christian work ethic of ‘eschewing idleness’, which should also enable Googe to perform the task of translation with an alert and wakeful mind.

It is interesting to note that, much like Googe’s Preface to the *Zodiacke of Lyffe*, the ‘Preface of L. Blundeston’ is also an allegory of literary production. In a manner reminiscent of a number of dream visions before it, the ‘Preface of L. Blundeston’ describes the appearance of three figures before Blundeston’s narrator in the shape of Fancy, Memory and Reason. Although the ‘Preface of L. Blundeston’ is not a dream vision as such, it draws heavily from the vocabulary of sleep. In addition, the figures of Fancy, Memory and Reason each declare the vices and virtues of going to press in a manner akin to other works in the tradition, including Christopher Goodwyn’s *The Maydens Dreame* (a translation of the French *Le Songe de la Pucelle*, printed 1542) and John Hall’s *The Court of Vertue* (1565). In Blundeston’s Preface, the figures of Reason and Memory join forces against Fancy in order to promote the publication of Googe’s verse. The addition of a fourth allegorical figure – ‘Good Wyll,’ who will ‘quyght these works anon’ (sig. B3v) – establishes the collaborative nature of Googe’s verse, showing that the *Eglogs*, *Epytaphes*, and *Sonettes* are highly dependent on a kindly individual (namely, Blundeston) to see them into print. Recalling the lines ‘To the reder’ from *Tottel’s Miscellany* (1557), the prose section of Blundeston’s Preface also declares that in printing Googe’s works he hopes to ‘to styrre vp [the reader’s] Pleasure and further [his] proffit’, condemning those who choose to ‘vnthankfull[y]’ and ‘nigardly keape the[ir works] to their own vse & priuat commoditie’ (sig. B1v).¹²⁹ As Arthur Marotti explains, the *Eglogs*, *Epytaphes*, and *Sonettes* is thus presented as a ‘social benefaction rather than an individual writer’s self-

¹²⁹ The lines from Tottel read as follows: ‘It resteth now (gentle reder) that thou thinke it not evil don, to publishe, to the honor of the english tong, and for profit of the studious of Englishe eloquence, those workes which the ungentle horders up of such tresure have heretofore envied the. And for this point (good reder) thine own profit and pleasure, in these presentlye, & in moe hereafter, shal answer for my defence’: *Tottel’s Miscellany: Songs and Sonnets of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt and Others*, ed. by Amanda Holton and Tom MacFaul (London: Penguin Books, 2011), p. 3.

advertisement'.¹³⁰ More crucially, it is Googe's removal from the social scene depicted in Blundeston's Preface to the 'pathes vnknown' of 'Pyrenei' (sig. B2v) (Googe was apparently away on the Continent at the time of the poem's entry into the Stationers' Register) that offers him a form of protection against detractors and any supposed 'stigma' of going to press.

The lack of authorial agency presented in Blundeston's Preface is displayed in very similar terms through Googe's encounter with the Muses in the *Zodiake's* Preface. These 'Fayre Ladyes nyne' appear 'aloft' with 'bookes in hande' and crowned with 'Laurell leafe' (sig. *5v). The narrator then falls down at their feet. Melpomene – the Muse of Tragedy – is the first of the Muses to speak. She orders the narrator to 'stand up' and 'Reduce to Englishe sence' the *Pharsalia* of Lucan: 'take thy pen in hande / Write thou the Ciuile warres & broyle / in auncient Latines lande' (sig. *5v). As mentioned above, George Turberville also claims to have embarked on such a mission in his Prologue to the *Tragicall Tales*, though he eventually relinquished the task, deeming it 'More meete' for Thomas Sackville (sig. A6v).¹³¹ In a similar vein, Googe considers there to be 'a hundred headdes' in England 'more able' to translate the *Pharsalia* than he (sig. *7r). After the Muse of Tragedy has made her case, Googe is offered the alternate task of bringing more 'worthey bookes' – the *Phaenomena* of Aratus – 'to light' (sig. *6r). The request is delivered by the Muse of Astronomy, Urania, who promises the dreamer fame if he capitulate to her demand.¹³² Although Urania would also appear a suitable Muse for the dreamer in his translation of the *Zodiake of Lyfe* (astrology and astronomy were not entirely separate disciplines at this time), Calliope, the Muse of Epic and 'the loveliest' of all the Muses, steps forth and addresses the other Muses as follows:

¹³⁰ Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 297.

¹³¹ Lucan's civil war epic was a popular text in Europe, with over 100 editions being printed in the years 1469 to 1600, though it was rather less popular in England, and was not translated until 1614. For more on Lucan's *Pharsalia* in early modern England, see Edward Paleit, *War, Liberty, and Caesar: Responses to Lucan's 'Bellum Civile', ca. 1580-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

¹³² The *Phaenomena* by Aratus of Soli (c. 315-240 BC) available by way of Cicero's Latin translation. Editions in Greek were also available, although the first English translation did not appear in print until the nineteenth century.

Sisters quod she and Ladies all
 of Joue his mighty line...
 Chiefe patrons of the Poets pore,
 and aiders of their verse,
 Without whose help their simple heds
 would nothing well rehearse,
 I am become a suter here
 to you my Ladyes all,
 For hym that heare before you standes
 as vnto learning thrall...
 ...graunt me this wyght a while,
 That standeth heare that he may turne
 my Poetes stately style,
 To Uulgar speche in natiue tongue,
 that all may vnderstande. (sig. *6v-*7r).

But Googe's narrator is quick to indicate his faults. This angers the Muses and causes them to frown. They twice bark the order, 'Take thou that work in hand,' with the final stipulation, 'thou hast none other choyse' (sig. *7v), and leave the narrator holding the text – the *Zodiacus Vitae* – from which he must translate.

The Muses' frustrated conferral of the *Zodiake of Lyffe* onto the young translator in Googe's Preface parallels the dreamer's arraignment before Alceste and the God of Love in Chaucer's Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*, in which he is reprimanded for translating the erotic French allegory, *Le Roman de la Rose*, and other works that 'makest wise folk... withdrawe' from Cupid's law (F, l. 331, G, l. 257). The significance of this becomes more apparent when we turn to Googe's later poem, *The Shippe of Safegarde* (1569), which contains a thirty-six-line interpolation from the Middle English translation of the French *Roman de la Rose*, as discussed in the final part of this chapter. In light of the debate between Fancy, Reason, Memory and Good Will described in Blundeston's Preface to the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes*, Googe's own arraignment before the Muses may possess a degree of biographical truth. While the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* includes a dedicatory epistle to William Lovelace of Gray's Inn (in which Googe refers to a 'great number' of his 'famyliar acquintaunce' who were involved in its publication, sig. A5r), the depiction of the three Muses in the *Zodiake's* Preface may similarly remind readers of the three friends ('namely my

cosine Honiwood, my uncle Mantel and learned Maister Bale’) described in the dedicatory epistle to Lady Hales (1560, sig. *3r), and whom Googe claims first ‘persuaded’ him to write. If as I, and others, have argued, Googe partakes of a widespread model of conversation and exchange engendered by the male-male communities of the universities and of the Inns of Court,¹³³ the dream vision Preface combines classical with medieval literary topoi to describe and redefine the roles of male friendship, sociability and collaborative space in the art of literary production. Writing of Lydgate’s *Temple of Glas* (c. 1403) J. Allan Mitchell explains how ‘[s]etting fictional events within a bedchamber in a recent, pseudo-autobiographical past produces a general sense of intimacy, individuality, and gossipy familiarity’.¹³⁴ In signing the first two editions from Staple Inn, Googe simultaneously underlines the poem’s generic roots and its basis in a real, social situation.

The *Zodiake*’s second edition of 1561, however, omits the Epistle to Lady Hales. Whilst this edition retains Googe’s original Preface, the work is dedicated to William Cecil and signed ‘From Staple Inn iii. Ides of January’ (sig. *6r). The claim reinforces the role of the Inns in the world of translation, though it at the same time ascribes the occasion for this newly-expanded version of the *Zodiake* to Cecil’s promotion to Master of the Court of Wards just two days before its completion. Along with the addition of three more books and the movement of the ‘Translatour to the Reader’ (beginning, ‘If Chaucer nowe shoulde live’), to the front of the volume, the *Zodiake*’s second edition is altered in ways that emphasise and give further definition to Googe’s conception of his authorial identity. One of the subtler, though nonetheless striking, alterations occurs in Gilbert Duke’s Latin acrostic poem in praise of ‘BARNABAS GOGUEUS’. Where the ninth line of the poem in the first edition reads ‘*Gogaenus, a Musis, validum munimen habebit*’ (‘Googe will bear the powerful protection of the Muses’) (1560, sig. *4v) in the second edition it reads:

¹³³ See Shannon’s ‘Minerva’s Men’, pp. 437-54 and Winston’s ‘Lyric Poetry at the Inns of Court’, pp. 223-44.

¹³⁴ J. Allan Mitchell, ed., *John Lydgate: The Temple of Glass* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007) <<http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/mitchell-lydgate-temple-of-glas>> [accessed 6 March 2016].

'*Grandi presidio Gogeeum cingente Minervae*' ('The great patronage of Minerva wreathes Googe') (1561, sig. *1v). The shift in tone suggests that, by 1561, Googe had been accepted into what Shannon describes as the Muses' 'cult'.¹³⁵ Similar notions of initiation and acceptance are explored in Gascoigne's *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (1573) by the fictional editor 'G. T.', who explains in a headnote how Gascoigne had,

...(in myddest of his youth) determined to abandone all vaine delightes and to returne unto Greyes Inne, there to undertake againe the studdie of the common Lawes. And being required by five sundry Gentlemen to write in verse somewhat worthye to be remembred, before he entered into their fellowshippe, hee compiled these five sundrie sortes of metre uppon five sundrye theames whiche they delivered unto him.¹³⁶

The act of writing is here implicated in a system of preferment that defines itself in proportion to the structures and rituals of the court.

Although the request for Gascoigne to compile verses 'upon five sundry theames' in order to secure his re-entry into the Inns of Court bears compelling relation to a genuine situation,¹³⁷ scholars have been less quick to acknowledge the possibility of a more direct relation between the Inns of Court and Chancery and Googe's translation of the *Zodiake of Lyfe*. The importance of the poem's place of production (Staple Inn) has been highlighted above, though the ways in which this also connects to Googe's use of setting within the dream vision genre deserves further explanation. As mentioned above, the poem's winter night's setting ties in with Googe's decision to give over the task of translation until the 'xii. of December' (sig. *2v). More specifically, Googe's Preface signals the movement of Phoebus Apollo, god of the sun and poetry ('syr Phebe', sig. *5r) into Capricorn. The move marks the beginning of the winter solstice, which usually falls around

¹³⁵ Shannon, p. 438.

¹³⁶ 'Gascoignes Memories, written upon this occasion' in Cunliffe, I, p. 62. Gascoigne, like Googe, was sent on several diplomatic missions abroad. His *Supposes* and *Jocasta* were composed for the 1566 Inns of Court revels and in 1575, he became a key participant in the courtly entertainments at Kenilworth. The account of 'G. T.' corresponds with Richard Helgerson's notion of the 'reformed prodigal' in *The Elizabethan Prodigals* (Berkeley, CA; London: University of California Press, 1976). On Gascoigne's relation to this model, see Gillian Austen, *George Gascoigne* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), pp. 14-21.

¹³⁷ Winston, 'Lyric poetry at the Inns of Court', p. 237; Shannon, p. 451.

the 12th December.¹³⁸ The Inns of Court revels took place throughout this period, carrying on through until Lent. Along with feasting, music and interludes and the appointment of a Lord of Misrule, the period involved ‘fustian- and mock-orations... mock-government; mock-trials, arraignments and sentencings, mock-counsellings [and] courts of love’.¹³⁹ These were more than just entertainments, but were meticulously orchestrated exercises designed to show an individual’s preparedness for an equivalent role in court.

It is worth dwelling a moment longer on the role of the bedchamber in the Inns’ revels and initiation rites. More particularly, it was whilst a student at Gray’s Inn (in around 1541) that Googe’s patron William Cecil orchestrated a hoax in which he ‘bored a hole in the wall which separated his chambers from those of [an] associate’, to whom he had lost his books and furniture in a bet. Cecil waited until midnight to,

bellow... through his passage threats of damnation and calls to repentance in the ears of the victorious gambler, who lay sweating with fear all night, and refunded his winnings on his knees next day.¹⁴⁰

This arraignment reflects the homosocial atmosphere of the Inns of Court in ways that illustrate the role of the bedchamber in facilitating such forms of festivity and misrule.¹⁴¹ As Winston has shown, these activities also supplied their participants ‘with the incentive, authorisation, and credentials to begin to make contacts in the professional and political world’.¹⁴² In William Baldwin’s *Beware the Cat* (1553, printed in 1570), the space of the bedchamber enables an element of social mobility: ‘for the furtheraunce of such offices wherin ech man as than serued’. *Beware the*

¹³⁸ See Kennedy, p. 188.

¹³⁹ Elton, p. 1.

¹⁴⁰ ‘Nares’s Memoirs of Lord Burghley’, in *Critical, Historical and Miscellaneous Essays and Poems*, 3 vols, ed. by Thomas Babington Macaulay (Chicago, IL: Donohue, Henneberry, & Co., 1890), II, p. 171.

¹⁴¹ For a detailed account of the academic chamber as a social and collaborative space, and the several implications of this, see Alan Stewart, *Close Readers: Humanism and Sodomy in Early Modern England* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997); Jeffrey Masten, *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

¹⁴² Winston, ‘Lyric poetry at the Inns of Court’, p. 240.

Cat begins at Christmas, with the characters of ‘Master Ferres then master of the Kyngs maiesties pastimes’ and the narrator engrossed in ‘setting forth of certaine enterludes, which for the kynges recreation we had deuised and were in learning’.¹⁴³ Heywood’s Preface to *Thyestes* also takes place during this time of festivity and exchange. Seneca explains to the dreamer how this ‘Christmastime’ he should ‘do well a piece thereof to end, / And many thanks in volume small as thee becomes to send’ (ll. 182-4). Verse composition and translation were thus part of a complex system which, like the dramatic interludes, mock-ceremonies and rituals at the Inns of Court, could help its members ‘to take their first steps along a professional path’.¹⁴⁴ The switch in loyalties from Googe’s friends and family to William Cecil in 1561 offers testament to this potential, whilst the dream frame captures the social, material, moral and possible festive motivations governing literary production at this time, and makes full use of its inaugural potential. As Celeste Schenk has shown,

ceremonial poems, even occasional pieces composed under patronage, often bear a vocational subtext, an obsessive concern with the conditions that occasioned them. These works especially, in rigorously predictable symbolic forms, provide a stage on which the poetic imagination willingly submits to seasoning. During the course of such initiatory dramas, poets pronounce epitaphs on literary apprenticeship and articulate... successful passage to mature vocation.¹⁴⁵

But despite the metaphorical importance of the dream vision Preface, both to a new phase in Googe’s patronage and career, the decision was made to leave out the Preface from the third edition of the *Zodiacke of Lyfe* in 1565, and all subsequent versions of the text. The question remains as to why the dream vision was dropped.

Although it is not unknown for early modern books to have multiple prefaces, including both ‘original’ prefaces and materials by the translator, one possible reason for the poem’s elimination lies in the fact that the complete and ‘newly recognish’d’ editions of the *Zodiacke of*

¹⁴³ William Baldwin, *A Maruelous Hystory intituled, Beware the Cat* (London: W. Gryffith, 1570), sig. A4r.

¹⁴⁴ Winston, ‘Lyric poetry at the Inns of Court’, p. 223.

¹⁴⁵ Celeste Marguerite Schenk, *Mourning and Panegyric: The Poetics of Pastoral Ceremony* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), p. 2.

Lyfe could not physically accommodate such apparatus. This is more likely the case by the fourth edition of 1576, when Googe was in a position to translate Palingenius' original Preface to Duke Ercole II d'Este of Ferrara from a Latin edition of the text.¹⁴⁶ This in itself was not uncommon practice. Heywood's Preface to *Thyestes* (1560) was also dropped when the poem was included in an edition of *Seneca his Tenne Tragedies* in 1581. The 1565 edition of the *Zodiacke of Lyfe*, however, contains a number of commendatory poems not found in the earlier editions which serves to weaken this hypothesis. A more plausible reason than that of space is that the dream vision had, by 1565, been stripped of its allegorical value. Where the dream vision Preface presents a harmonious balance between collaborative literary production and Stoic isolation, Googe complains in the third edition of 'not enjoying all the while so quiet a minde as had bene nedefull for such a labour, nor hauing the familiar conference of any studious frends' (1565, sig. (‡)1r). Along with the new prose Preface 'To the right Honorable Sir William Cecill Knighte', the *Zodiacke's* tenth book of Capricorn looks back to these former times with a hint of nostalgia:

Let him wythdraw himselfe forthwith
 from common company:
 And secret liue with two or three
 that good and learned be. (1565, sig. NN3v).

By the time this edition was printed, Googe had not only been away abroad, but he had not followed a career in the law (as his father had hoped), and was now newly-married and residing in Kent. From here, Googe claims to lack both the 'quiet [of] minde' needed for scholarly composition and the 'studious' company that he had formerly enjoyed at Staple Inn. Although we should remain aware of the rhetorical significance of these claims, retaining the dream vision

¹⁴⁶ As noted above, Latin editions of the poem were published by Thomas Marshe in 1569, 1574 and 1575, and by Henry Bynneman in 1572. The 1576 Epistle recalls a time when authors could 'choose some worthy and honourable personage to whom they might dedicate and commend them' (sig. ¶13v). As Sheidley notes, Googe's time during these years was split between Kingston-upon-Hull and Cecil's household. The other works published during this time – namely, the *Foure Bookes of Husbandrie* by Conrad Heresbach (1577) and *The Overthrow of the Gout* (1577) by Christopher Ballista – are read by Sheidley in light of the difficulties faced by Googe's in supporting his wife and eight children (*Barnabe Googe*, pp. 23-4).

Preface for this edition would give a wholly inaccurate impression of the circumstances in which Googe appears to have been living and writing verse in 1565.

Despite the decision to omit the dream vision frame in 1565, Googe's friends still saw in his *Zodiake of Lyfe* a new incarnation of England's premier poet. The *Zodiake's* third edition opens with a number of comparisons between Googe's verse and the ancient wisdom and dignity of Chaucer.¹⁴⁷ Similar praise is offered in the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* by Alexander Neville. This response from Neville is greatly informed by Googe's engagement at an earlier point in his career with Chaucerian verse. As the first original poem to be published in Googe's career, the Preface to the *Zodiake of Lyfe* also captures the religious and moral principles of the plain style, as well as the social and material conditions, and future possibilities, of literary composition and exchange. In picturing his entry and acceptance into the fraternal atmosphere of the Inns of Court, the translator's Preface represents a comparable scene of initiation, ceremony and training. For Googe, this is a scene coloured by a deep and profound commitment to Chaucer's example, as the *Zodiake's* larger paratextual framework makes clear. Although the Chaucer canon underwent significant revision at this time, in its identification with a tradition of verse linked to translation and an early poetic vocation, the dream vision Preface constitutes a characteristically 'English' literary apprenticeship for Googe. The dream vision represents not an alternative, but rather a vernacular 'rite of passage' in preparation for pastoral verse.

Googe did, of course, go on to publish pastoral poems in the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* of 1563. What complicates his vocational path is not only the fact that he did not, as did Virgil and Spenser, proceed onto epic,¹⁴⁸ but that Googe also sustained his interest in the artistic, social and moral potentials of the dream vision form. As the next section will show, Googe's next dream poem, entitled 'Cupido Conquered', performs a crucial function within the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and*

¹⁴⁷ As mentioned above, the edition also contains three references to Chaucer on sigs. *3r, *5r and *6v.

¹⁴⁸ See Winston, 'Lyric poetry at the Inns of Court', p. 229.

Sonettes in its dramatisation of the topics discussed within the volume. If the dream vision Preface to the *Zodiacke of Lyfe* was intended to portray a social situation to correspond with the composition of poetry as a source of self-promotion, then ‘Cupido Conquered’ tackles the moral issues raised by erotic verse, and in which Googe’s Chaucerian interests also take an interesting new turn.

A ‘TO HASTELY FYNISHED DREAME’: ‘CUPIDO CONQUERED’ (1563)

Although the dream vision manifests itself in a variety of ways throughout Googe’s poetic career, it is the use of pastoral in the *Eglogs*, *Epytaphes*, and *Sonettes* that has gained the most critical attention. In Simon McKeown’s words, Googe ‘harnessed the eclogue for his own didactic agenda, using the form to expound moral, political, religious, and sexual dogma’.¹⁴⁹ As Tom Betteridge further explains, ‘Googe deploys pastoral conventions precisely in order to imagine an alternative discourse in opposition to that of the God of Love’.¹⁵⁰ In ‘Egloga Prima’, for example, the shepherd Amintas warns his young protégé of the physically and mentally debilitating effects of being under ‘Venus thrall’ (sig. A4r). The message is reiterated within the eighth and final eclogue, when Cornix instructs his fellow shepherds ‘to leaue *Cupidoes* Camp’ and ‘Remoue Dame *Venus* from your eies’, and to focus their attention firmly on God (sig. C8r). The themes and formal structures of Googe’s pastoral dialogues are recast and reaffirmed within the penultimate section of the volume: the ‘Sonettes’. The section incorporates a number of short lyric poems of varying length, though just one of these (‘Goyng towards Spayne’) conforms to the conservative fourteen-line structure. Googe’s answer poems stage similar discussions to those depicted within *Eglogs*, comprising such matters as ‘romance, duty, discipline, friendship, fidelity [and] pride’,¹⁵¹ this time between Googe and his friends. The poem written ‘To M. Henrye Cobham’, for instance,

¹⁴⁹ McKeown, p. 96.

¹⁵⁰ Betteridge, p. 192. These views are reiterated by Winston when she writes that ‘Googe conforms to the [pastoral] conventions and defies them, altering the bucolic genre into severely moralizing, admonitory, and didactic poetry’ (‘Lyric Poetry at the Inns of Court’, p. 227). For more on Googe’s *EES* and its possible sources (including Jorge de Montemayor’s *Diana*), see Kennedy, pp. 19-23, 151-53, 180-4.

¹⁵¹ Winston, ‘Lyric poetry at the Inns of Court’, p. 229.

combines the conventions of lyric and pastoral to promote a world of friendship and activity as an alternative to moral depravity and inertia of the court, where ‘dwels ydle mynde’ (sig. F5v),¹⁵² where Turberville’s *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets* (1567), a collection clearly modelled on Googe’s volume of occasional verse contains several poems written in response to Googe, including one entitled ‘To Maister Googes fansie’ that begins: ‘Giue Monie mee take friendship who so list’, in which Turberville addresses the poet several times as his ‘friend’.¹⁵³

Where in Googe’s *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* we see a range of alternatives to ‘the world of courtly love’,¹⁵⁴ in ‘Cupido Conquered’, Googe explores precisely how love can be defeated and, more importantly, ‘how to deal with it in poetry’.¹⁵⁵ The poem may thus anticipate the convention of connecting a long narrative poem to a lyric sequence, as seen in Samuel Daniel’s *Delia* (1592) and *A Lover’s Complaint* (appended to *Shake-speares Sonnets*, 1609). In line with the tradition of complaint, the dream vision also employs a first-person perspective, but through which the poet himself (or a version thereof) can explore and develop the concerns expressed in the preceding volume. One major concern for Googe, not only in the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes*, but throughout his verse, is the ongoing association between idleness and love. As I have suggested above, the Preface to the *Zodiake of Lyfe* employs a waking dream frame in order to avoid falling prey to what Googe’s poem ‘To M. Henrye Cobham’ describes as an ‘ydle mynde’. Several of the poems within the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* present these concerns as a topic of conversation and debate. The poem ‘To Alexander Neuell’ advises that, ‘If thou canst banish Idlenes, / *Cupidoes* Bowe is broke’ (sig. G3r). The exchange reveals a particular strand of reformist theology running through the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes*. As Jane Kingsley-Smith explains, what makes Cupid such ‘a controversial, often seductive figure’ in this period is ‘his adversarial relationship to English

¹⁵² Along with Googe, Henry Cobham (son of George Brooke, ninth baron Cobham) had accompanied Sir Thomas Chaloner to the Continent in 1561. Julian Lock, ‘Sir Henry Brooke, (1537-1592)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁵³ George Turberville, *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets* (London: H. Denham, 1567), sig. Q2r-v.

¹⁵⁴ Betteridge, p. 195.

¹⁵⁵ Sheidley, ‘A Timely Anachronism’, p. 163.

Protestantism’; [t]hrough this minor love-deity, matters of grave importance to the establishment of the “true” faith were articulated and debated’.¹⁵⁶ Amintas’ repeated reference in Eclogue One to the Petrarchan ‘flames’ of desire and image of the lover who ‘flies, aboute the flames’ then ‘styll amased standes’ (sig. A3r) may also bring to mind a number of scenes from Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments*.¹⁵⁷ The third eclogue employs similar imagery to describe the death of Dametas, ‘that Martir... / whose soule the heaues haue’ (sig. A7r). As Mike Pincombe notes, this poem ‘can hardly have failed to remind its readers of the Protestant martyrs in the previous reign’.¹⁵⁸ In contrast to this, Stephen Hamrick argues that the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* offer a,

distinct response to the first four years of the new queen’s reign, inaugurating the Elizabethan use of the courtly and Petrarchan discourse of ‘wanton Venus’ to publicly, if covertly, critique the Queen, her court, and her apparent choice of husband, Dudley.¹⁵⁹

For the most part, these readings are based on the evidence contained within the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes*. Though helpful to my analysis, these readings have been made at the expense of the last – and longest – poem in the collection, ‘Cupido Conquered’.¹⁶⁰ Close analysis of this poem

¹⁵⁶ Jane Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 1.

¹⁵⁷ Betteridge, p. 192.

¹⁵⁸ Pincombe, ‘Pastoral Aenigma’, p. 233. The question for Pincombe is whether the martyred shepherds are designed to remind readers of real figures of the time. In sum, Googe’s *Eglogs* comprise a pastoral ‘enigma’ of names that provoke uncertainties for readers who lack the exclusive information needed to navigate its complex allegory. It should be remembered that the death of Googe’s uncle Thomas Mantell and his cousin are also recorded in Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments* (1583), sig. PPPp.iiij. Pincombe also detects a possible allusion within the second eclogue to the death of Dametas (‘Accounte this flud, thy fatall graue, syth time of hope is paste’, sig. A5r) to Googe’s step-grandfather, Sir James Hales: pp. 237-8. Upon the appointment of Stephen Gardiner to Lord Chancellor in 1553, Hales was stripped of his office as Justice of the Common Pleas, a role which was deprived of Gardiner on the accession of Edward VI. Hales was imprisoned, where he attempted to commit suicide. On his release in 1554, he ‘went mad and drowned himself in a stream’: Eccles, p. 354. See also Kennedy, pp. 5-6.

¹⁵⁹ Hamrick, p. 36. Though he neglects to mention ‘Cupido Conquered’, Hamrick argues that Googe’s criticism focuses on the use of pageantry and spectacle in ‘the early cultic celebration of the Tudor queen’: p. 46.

¹⁶⁰ The only scholar to have dealt at any length with the poem is Sheidley, ‘A Timely Anachronism’, pp. 150-66.

should prompt us to reconsider some of these conclusions and open the way for further discussion of Googe's interest in the dream vision form.

Whilst the thirteenth-century French love allegory, *Le Roman de la Rose*, had established the dream vision as a site for amorous discourse and debate, other poems in the tradition used the genre for more overtly didactic or satirical ends. In Jean Froissart's *Joli Buisson de Jonece* (c. 1373), for instance, the dreamer begins as a servant of Cupid but turns away from love toward more noble and godly pursuits. The dreamer in Chaucerian dream poetry is also prone to love sickness and, as a cure for his inertia, seeks the 'mater of to wryte' (PF, l. 572). An even later example of the genre is *Greene's Vision* (1592), a posthumously-printed dream vision in prose attributed to the playwright and pamphleteer Robert Greene. The text depicts Greene on his deathbed, where he is visited by the ghosts of Chaucer and Gower and instructed to turn away from 'wanton conceits' and 'amorous trifles' toward more sober works.¹⁶¹ 'Cupido Conquered', therefore, is not an unusual example of the dream vision genre. Indeed, C. S. Lewis wrote in his *Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (1938) of Googe's 'complete fidelity to the oldest models' of the genre, going so far as to say that '[t]here is nothing in the content of the poem to show that it was not written in the fourteenth, or even the thirteenth century'.¹⁶² As William Sheidley has also shown, the poem owes much to *Le Roman de la Rose*, with fainter traces of William Dunbar's *The Goldyn Targe* (published in 1508) and the *Floure and the Leafe* (c. 1460), an anonymous, female-voiced dream

¹⁶¹ Robert Greene, *Greenes Vision* (London: E. Alde, 1592), sig. C2v.

¹⁶² C. S. Lewis, *Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition*, revised edn, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013 [1938]), p. 321. According to C. S. Lewis, 'Cupido Conquered' manages to escape 'from the worst diseases of the later Middle ages... But it would be an error to regard this transition as an unqualified blessing. Compared with Dunbar or Douglas, or the author of the *Belle Dame Sans Merci*, Googe writes like a schoolboy: his work presupposes a coarser and more commonplace audience than theirs and a far less delicate feeling for language' (*Allegory of Love*, p. 322). In Sheidley's view, the poem is a 'retrospective, scholarly attempt to compose in a fossilized style.' In stark contrast to Lewis, Sheidley regards 'Cupido Conquered' as Googe's 'most original and interesting poetic achievement' ('A Timely Anachronism', pp. 152-3).

vision in which the followers of the leaf (a symbol of loyalty and endurance) are pitted against those who serve the flower; representatives of the inconstant, fickle side of love.¹⁶³

Whilst Googe may have been aware of these earlier poems, 'Cupido Conquered' also borrows a great deal of language and imagery from more recent verse, in particular, *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557).¹⁶⁴ As Sheidley explains, Googe 'takes up the challenge' set by Wyatt and Surrey and 'sets out to prove that Cupid *can* be overthrown'.¹⁶⁵ 'Cupido Conquered' thus finds a near-contemporary analogue in John Hall's *The Court of Vertue* (1565) which opens with a fifty-one-stanza rhyme-royal Prologue in which Hall's narrator is instructed in a dream, 'To make a boke of songes holy, / Godly and wyse, blaming foly' in order to counteract the 'Trim songes of loue' made to Venus.¹⁶⁶ This is one of several allusions to the popular verse miscellany and key source for Tottel, entitled *The Court of Venus* (the surviving fragments of which are dated *c.* 1537; *c.* 1549 and *c.* 1562-3), which includes a number of poems by Wyatt and (potentially) a version of the pseudo-Chaucerian *Pilgrims Tale*.¹⁶⁷ Googe's adoption of a poetic genre typically associated with the court and courtly love in order to satirise its standards was not particularly new, though like Hall's *Court of Vertue*, 'Cupido Conquered' represents another, slightly earlier, form of 'sacred parody': a 'serious attempt to supplant profane loves with divine and turn the devices of secular art to better because more pious uses'.¹⁶⁸ Hall's *Court of Vertue* thus contains a number of spiritual 'redactions' of Wyatt's lyrics, including 'My lute awake and prayse the lord' and 'My pen obey my

¹⁶³ Sheidley, 'A Timely Anachronism', p. 157.

¹⁶⁴ Sheidley has identified a number of similarities between 'Cupido Conquered' and Surrey's 'Complaint of a Lover that defied love, and was by love after the more tormented'. While Surrey's poem begins in the vein of the conventional dream vision, it also differs greatly from Googe's poem and ends with the lover's ultimate submission to the God of Love ('A Timely Anachronism', p. 155).

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. Betteridge follows in Sheidley's vein, stating that Googe 'builds on Tottel's poetic agenda but gives it a specifically Protestant direction', offering the title of 'Wyatt Conquered' as a suitable alternative to the original (pp. 189, 197).

¹⁶⁶ John Hall, *The Court of Virtue* (ll. 16-17, 20-4): Russell A. Fraser, ed., *The Court of Virtue by John Hall* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), pp 15-6.

¹⁶⁷ See Charles A. Huttar, 'Wyatt and the Several Editions of "The Court of Venus"', *Studies in Bibliography* 19 (1966), 181-95.

¹⁶⁸ Rosemund Tuve, 'Sacred "Parody" of Love Poetry, and Herbert', *Studies in the Renaissance* 8 (1961), 249-90 (p. 257).

wyll a whyle'.¹⁶⁹ In 'Cupido Conquered' we also see an attempt by Googe to turn the dream vision's erotic substance to more virtuous ends.

'Cupido Conquered' is in large part a continuation of the poetic styling and techniques employed by Googe in the 1560/1 Preface to the *Zodiake of Lyfe*. As in the earlier poem, 'Cupido Conquered' employs a humble, 'Chaucerian' persona and it would appear that much of what he knows he has learned from his books.¹⁷⁰ Yet the poem, unlike the *Zodiake's* Preface, offers a departure from the wintry setting of the *Zodiake's* Preface by beginning in the month of May:

...when as the Sonne,
Had newly entred *Gemini*,
and warmyng heate begun:
Whan euery tre was clothed greene,
and flowers fayre dyd show (sig. H6v).

Caprivated by the seasonal delights, the narrator settles down to rest beneath 'a stately Lawrell tree' (sig. H8r), where he eventually falls asleep.

One crucial difference between the Preface to the *Zodiake and Lyfe* and this later dream vision lies in Googe's treatment of dreams and sleep. This difference is of the utmost importance in terms of the poem's meaning and structure. The dreamer contemplates in retrospect the potential cause of his sleep as follows:

But whether it was werynes,
with labour that I tooke,
Or Fume y^e from the Spryng dyd ryse,
wherin I late dyd looke.
Or yf it were the sweete accorde
that syngyng Byrdes dyd keepe,
Or what it was, I knowe no whit

¹⁶⁹ Fraser, *The Court of Virtue*, p. xii. Hall parodies three of Wyatt's poems, two of which are to be found in *Tottel's Miscellany* and in the various fragments of the *Court of Venus* (c. 1537; c. 1549; c. 1562-3). Hall also parodies Wyatt's 'Blame not my lute' in a poem entitled, 'Blame not my lute though it doe sounde the rebuke of your wicked sinne', although this does not actually appear in Tottel, nor in the *Court of Venus*. See Russell A. Fraser, ed., *The Court of Venus* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1955). It is perhaps no coincidence that the printer of Hall's *Courte of Vertue*, Thomas Marshe, was also responsible for the final edition of the *Court of Venus*, published two years before.

¹⁷⁰ See Sheidley, 'A Timely Anachronism', p. 164.

but I fell fast a sleepe.
I thynke the woddy Nimphes agreed
that I shuld haue this chaunce,
And that it was their pleasure so,
to showe me thyngs in traunce. (sig. I1r).

The narrator's primary considerations are given to the physical causes of sleep, be that 'werynes' from 'labour', the watery vapours of the spring, or listening to the 'sweete accorde' of 'syngyng Byrdes'. On this basis, the resulting dream – or 'traunce' – might be defined as a Macrobian *insomnium* which lacks the prophetic associations of a dream sent by a divine or otherwise supernatural force. Googe also raises the prospect of a supernatural influence through reference to the Nymphs of the forest, though it is upon the appearance of 'A Person clothed all in whyte, / that held a Rod in hande' (sig. I1r) that Googe's dream more fully enters the bracket of an *oraculum*.¹⁷¹ This figure is Mercury, the god of poets, who has been sent by the Muses with a message, instructing the dreamer to 'flye abroad' in order to learn something that 'shall gyue [him] occasion good' and new material of which to 'wryght' (sig. I3r). The dreamer then sprouts a magnificent pair of wings which allow him to fly to a castle where he is promptly abandoned by his guide.

This opening episode of 'Cupido Conquered' is highly conventional in its suggestions of writer's block, and Googe's flight to the castle also draws from a rich literary tradition, spanning Dante's *Purgatorio*, Chaucer's *House of Fame* and David Lyndsay's *Dreme* (printed in 1528). The topos continues on with Barnabe Rich's *A Right Exelegant and Pleasaunt Dialogue, Betwene Mercury and an English Souldier* (1574), a text discussed in more detail in Chapter Three.¹⁷² Googe pays further homage to the tradition in the depiction of a painted gallery 'all engraued with Storyes fayre of

¹⁷¹ An *oraculum* is described by Macrobius as a dream in which 'a parent, pious or revered man, or priest clearly reveals what will or will not transpire, and what action to take or to avoid' (1.3.8).

¹⁷² Rich's dreamer develops 'a payre of winges of maruailous bignes' and then flies to the Court of Mars to rescue the god of war and his troops from the clutches of Venus (*A Right Exelegant and Pleasaunt Dialogue, Betwene Mercury and an English Souldier* (London: J. Day, 1574), sig. A5r). Googe was acquainted with Rich during his time in Ireland, around the same time that Rich's *Dialogue* was printed. The text is discussed in more detail in Chapter Three.

costlye Imagrye' (sig. I5r). The images depict scenes of 'lust vncleane' taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (sig. I5r). The dreamer's attention focuses on the picture of Actaeon and Diana, and he soon realises that he is standing in Diana's court. He is then rushed along by a messenger to meet the lady herself. Flanked by Dido, Hypsipile, Lucretia and Penelope, she sits 'In lofty Chayre of hie estate... / all clothde in white / Of Syluer hewe', is honoured for her 'Chastitie', 'grace' and 'Sacred Virgins mynd', and speaks with 'heauenly voice' (sig. I5v-I6r). We learn from the messenger that Diana's kingdom is under attack by a 'myghty Prynce' who causes men to leap into rivers, to hang themselves on trees, or commit themselves to 'greuous flames, consumynge long / theyr lyfe at length forgo' (sig. I6r-v).¹⁷³ The martyrological undertones, as in Googe's Eclogues are unmistakable, and the court has assembled to decide on who will bring this enemy to surrender. From her entourage, Diana chooses Hippolytus, the 'vnspotted Pearle of pure Virginitie' (sig. K1v) to lead her army in battle against the God of Love.

The final section of the poem describes the battle between Cupid and Hippolytus. Cupid's army is led by the personified abstractions of 'Idlens', 'Glottonye' and 'vyle Excess' (sig. K3r), while 'Labour', 'Abstinence' and 'Captayne Continence', all 'armed braue in Corsletes white' (sig. K2r-v) lead the troops of chastity into battle. Googe's dreamer is absent from the scene, although sees it all from a far-off vantage point. In the battle, Cupid is thrown from his chariot and begs mercy from his captor. Before Hippolytus has a chance to respond, the dreamer wakes and, as is expected of a dream vision poem, returns home to 'pen' his 'Dreame' (sig. K6v).

Many factors underpin Googe's selection of character, imagery and generic form in 'Cupido Conquered', which all deserve some further explanation. The main hero of the poem seems to have been inspired by the contemporary interest in Seneca. The play of *Phaedra* was one of four Senecan tragedies translated by John Studley in 1567 and published alongside Heywood's

¹⁷³ There are some notable parallels here with the first and third eclogue. In Betteridge's view, these images evoke memory of the 'Christian martyrs at the hands of pagan persecutors' (p. 196).

Thyestes within *Seneca his Tenne Tragedies* in 1581. The play's 'argument' describes Hippolytus as,

the Sonne of THESEVS & ANTIOPA Quene of the *Amazons* [who],
renouncing al Worldly pleasures, and carnall delightes [and] forbearing all
Womens company, and amorous allurements... only vowed himselfe to the
seruice of chaste DIANA, pursuing the Gentlemanly pastime of hunting.¹⁷⁴

In Hippolytus, we see many of the characteristics deemed desirable amongst the men of Googe's social milieu. 'Renouncing' all pleasures, and occupying himself only in 'Gentlemanly' pursuits, Hippolytus is also very much a model of the Elizabethan translator. As Winston argues, the translation of Seneca was not a 'diversion', but a deliberate choice that helped translators 'to form personal and professional connections and to understand the unstable political world of the 1560s'.¹⁷⁵ Just as translation could present the opportunity for patronage and promotion, the figure of Hippolytus – the 'cheyf Lieutenant' of Diana who is rewarded for his 'seruise long' (sig. K1v) – shapes a new paradigm of professional integrity, ambition and masculine virtue for Googe and the men of his milieu.

The selection of imagery within 'Cupido Conquered' also suggests that Googe was dabbling with epic themes. The appearance of Mercury before the sleeping poet beneath the laurel tree recalls a crucial moment within Book IV of Virgil's *Aeneid*, when Mercury advises Aeneas to abandon love for greater things. The topos of sleep within 'Cupido Conquered' is also integral to the poem's moral and religious tone. In particular, it is the Renaissance iconography of sleep-as-

¹⁷⁴ John Studley, *Hippolytus in Seneca his Tenne Tragedies, translated into Englysh* (London: T. Marsh, 1581), sig. H7r.

¹⁷⁵ Winston, 'Seneca in Early Elizabethan England', pp. 34, 52. As Woodbridge further explains, John Studley, 'had a history of resisting authority. A member of the first group of students at the prestigious Westminster School, he was the first of these elected to Trinity College, Cambridge... But his promising career crashed to a halt when he signed a letter protesting the university's anti-Puritan statutes. Charged with religious nonconformity, he resigned his fellowship. As Elizabeth's regime enforced religious conformity, a powerful Phaedra abusing helpless Hippolytus might well have had special meaning' (p. 130). One may also wonder whether the line 'Whose noble Hart culd not agre, to stepdames vyllany' (sig. I5v) bears some relation to the long-term hostility between Googe and his stepmother. Upon his return to England from the Continent in 1563, Googe 'paid for a licence to enter upon his lands, but the survival of his stepmother meant that he could not take up his full inheritance'. This was a source of contention for almost twenty years and, as Lyne suggests, a key reason why Googe 'came to dislike his stepmother intensely' (ODNB).

inspiration (which, in Maria Ruvoldt's words, provides 'a visual shorthand for the identity of the spiritual and intellectual elect' in which sleep leads ideally to 'creation, an active process'¹⁷⁶), that is instilled through Googe's use of the dream vision frame. This contrasts with a more contemporary depiction of sleep as a source of moral depravity; a major feature within Protestant iconography. In Stephen Batman's *A Christall Glasse of Christian Reformation* (1569) – a Protestant exposition on the Seven Deadly Sins – 'The description of Sloth' contains the woodcut of a man tucked up in bed staring vacantly ahead, whilst flames rise up at the window and another man lies dead upon the ground. The image is explained as follows:

He which lyeth a sleepe in hys bed, signifieth sloth...: the fire burning about him, signified Gods wrath, which consumeth hym through hys slothful negligence... and he which lyeth dead, with the varmin creeping from hym, is filthy behauiour and idle life...¹⁷⁷

The next page in the volume depicts a sleeping teacher, whose young pupils have succumbed to 'nothyng but ease and vanities' (sig. F4r). These contrasting states of sleep point to an epistemological distinction between idle ignorance and resourceful activity. As Garrett Sullivan has shown, 'to slumber is to give oneself over to indulgence and the "enticements of lust," while to awaken is to be restored to both one's epic identity and one's quest'.¹⁷⁸ The 'quest' in 'Cupido Conquered' is very usefully understood in terms of the dreamer's desire to transform himself from a lover into a serious and committed poet. The poem eventually comes full circle and the dreamer wakes, returning home with a new understanding, a new identity, and with new material of which to write.

In the first part of 'Cupido Conquered', Mercury explains to the dreamer that he has been appointed by the Muses to send a message to the dreamer, thanking him for his earlier efforts 'In

¹⁷⁶ Maria Ruvoldt, *The Italian Renaissance Imagery of Inspiration: Metaphors of Sex, Sleep, and Dream* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 31, 9.

¹⁷⁷ Stephen Batman, *A Christall Glasse of Christian Reformation* (London: J. Day, 1569), sig. F3r.

¹⁷⁸ Garrett Sullivan, *Sleep, Romance and Human Embodiment: Vitality from Spenser to Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 17.

theyr Affaires' (sig. I1v). The use of generic form in 'Cupido Conquered' thus has some interesting connections to Googe's role as a translator of the *Zodiacke of Lyfe*. The dream vision structure also implies a form of lovesickness, for the Muses 'know, the blynded God / hath some thyne pearced' the poem's dreamer (sig. I2v), although lovesickness would for readers of the dream vision is very frequently employed as a metaphor for writer's block. When the dreamer finally wakes to write his 'Dreame' this is also what makes his 'Muses staye' (sig. K6v). These lines illustrate the self-referential nature of Googe's verse and also, more importantly, show the need to read 'Cupido Conquered' alongside the volume it concludes. This need is most apparent in the poem 'To the Translation of Pallingen' – the twenty-seventh poem within the *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* – quoted here in full:

The labour swete, that I sustaynde in the,
(O *Pallingen*) when I tooke Pen in hande,
Doth greue me now, as ofte as I the se,
But halfe hewd out, before myne eyes to stande,
For I must needs (no helpe) a while to toyle,
In Studyes, that no kynde of muse delight,
And put my Plow, in grosse vntylled soyle,
And labour thus, with ouer weryed Spryght,
But yf that God, do graunt me greater yeares,
And take me not from hence, before my tyme,
The Muses nyne, the pleasaunt syngyng feares
Shall so enflame my mynde with lust to ryme,
That *Palingen* I wyll not leaue the so,
But fynysh the according to my mynd.
And yf it be my chaunce away to go,
Let some the ende, that heare remayne behynde. (sigs. C1v-C2r).

Though still only 'halfe hewd out', the translation of Palingenius is considered by Googe to be more 'swete' in its offerings than the lands of 'grosse vntylled soyle' (sig. C2r). The *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* appeared in the years between the publication of the second and third editions of the *Zodiacke of Lyfe*, when Googe had spent some time on the Continent conducting ambassadorial business alongside Cecil's friend, Sir Thomas Chaloner. The poem 'Goyng towards Spayne' employs the same agricultural conceit used in 'To the Translation of Pallingen' by bidding 'Farwell'

to the ‘fertyll soyle’ of England (sig. H1v), while ‘Commynge home warde out of Spayne’ envisions Googe’s triumphant return home.¹⁷⁹ Though the *Eglogs*, *Epytaphes*, and *Sonettes* as a whole seem to imagine Googe’s re-entry into the Inns of Court community on his return, the third edition of the *Zodiacke*, as already mentioned, was completed without ‘the familiar conference of any studious friends’ (1565, sig. (‡)1r), when Googe was married and living in Kent.

In addition to these self-referential allusions, ‘Cupido Conquered’ is a more involved and complex poem than critics have had tendency to assume. As noted above, the dream vision may have put Googe on the path of a ‘Chaucerian’ vocation. Yet the dream vision in this period is also very similar to pastoral in that it wields a certain ‘obsolescent’ and ‘antiquated’ quality that would render it ‘politically and rhetorically potent’ if used under the right circumstances.¹⁸⁰ The dream vision was also very much a part of the tradition of courtly love, which Googe apparently found ‘morally repugnant’ and ventured to ‘drive... out of poetry’.¹⁸¹ Yet the dream also became part of an increasingly complex discourse whereby poets and aspirant courtiers could also live out their political fantasies and amatory desires. As Helen Hackett’s research has shown, the dream enabled authors to adopt the roles of a number of famous literary dreamers, such as Sir Thopas, King Arthur or Endymion, and thus imagine some form of erotic encounter with the Virgin Queen.¹⁸² One such text begins, ‘From slumber softe I fell a sleepe, / From slepe to dreame, from dreame to depe delight’ and was performed on Elizabeth’s entry into Norwich in August 1578.¹⁸³ The text

¹⁷⁹ The poems do not include the added detail that while in Spain, Chaloner was searched for heretical books, which led Chaloner to request that Googe return home as the safe bearer of his goods (Eccles, p. 359).

¹⁸⁰ Mike Rodman Jones, *Radical Pastoral, 1381-1594: Appropriation and the Writing of Religious Controversy* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 136. For a discussion of the uses of pastoral in the Jacobean period, see Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture: James I and the Renegotiation of Elizabethan Literary Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 15-82.

¹⁸¹ Sheidley, ‘A Timely Anachronism’, p. 152.

¹⁸² Helen Hackett, ‘Dream-visions of Elizabeth I’, in *Reading the Early Modern Dream: The Terrors of the Night*, ed. by Katharine Hodgkin, Michelle O’Callaghan and Susan Wiseman (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 45-65.

¹⁸³ B[ernard] G[arter], *The ioyfull receyuing of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into hir Highnesse citie of Norwich* (London: H. Bynneman, 1578), sig. C3r.

deserves comment for the fact that its author, Bernard Garter (fl. 1565-1579) was – and sometimes still is – mistaken for Googe, most probably on account of their shared initials.¹⁸⁴ There are many more works from the later Elizabethan period in which the dream is used variously ‘to express desire for the Queen’ and to ‘imagine her desiring – that is, bestowing her political favour upon – the dreamer/author’, or to articulate ‘in coded form various political tensions which her rule provoked’.¹⁸⁵ Looking forward to this wide selection of writings and the erotically-charged, political uses of the dream, Googe’s use of the genre in ‘Cupido Conquered’ seems all the more suggestive in its potential and intent.

However, when we look more carefully at the ways in which ‘Cupido Conquered’ is presented to its readers, the conventions of the dream vision are employed and embellished in ways that serve to deflect any indication of improper intent. The most effective means through which Googe manages to disclaim responsibility for his verse is through what Thomas L. Reed describes as an ‘aesthetic of irresolution’, a characteristic feature of the dream vision form.¹⁸⁶ When the God of Love begs Hippolytus for his life, the poet wakes and so the fate of Cupid is never revealed. Though a standard feature of Chaucer’s dream poems, this deferred ending is recognised by Googe as a decisive failure. The reason for the poem’s hurried finale, he explains, was that he, ‘beyng at that tyme oute of the Realme’,

A verye Frende [Laurence Blundeston]... commytted them all togyther vnpolysht to the handes of the Prynter... Desyrynge you herein... especiallye to beare with the vnpleasaunt forme of my to hastely fynysht Dreame, the greater part whereof with lytle aduysse I lately ended, bycause the beginnyng of it, as a senseles head separated from the body, was gyuen with the rest to be prynted. (sig. A6r-A7r).

These lines are clearly rhetorical in their aims, and in ways that suggest that the ending of ‘Cupido

¹⁸⁴ The EEBO entry for *The ioyfull receyving [into] Norwich* lists Garter and Googe as the two main contributors, though such confusion should be avoided, as Bernard Garter does have a biography of his own (Sidney Lee (rev. Matthew Steggle), ‘Bernard Garter (fl. 1565–1579)’, *ODNB*).

¹⁸⁵ Hackett, ‘Dream-visions of Elizabeth I’, pp. 46, 55.

¹⁸⁶ Thomas L. Reed, *Middle English Debate Poetry and the Aesthetics of Irresolution* (Columbia; London: University of Missouri Press, 1990). See also Rosemarie P. McGerr, *Chaucer’s Open Books: Resistance to Closure in Medieval Discourse* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1998).

Conquered' was not the ending that Googe originally had in mind when his 'Paper buntche' of verse went to press. The conceit of a 'senseles head separated from the body' also serves to emphasise the ignorance of the perpetrator, Laurence Blundeston of Gray's Inn, in committing the works to print. Googe's self-confessed absence from England also supplies the metaphor of a dissected anatomy with further meaning, moving him away from the academic environment of the Inns of Court and Chancery at an extremely crucial time, when royal marriage, succession and the prospect of invasion by a foreign prince were central topics of debate amongst its members.¹⁸⁷ Although he neglects to mention 'Cupido Conquered', Hamrick has suggested that the *Eglogs, Epytaphes and Sonettes* are aimed at criticising Robert Dudley (later Earl of Leicester) by presenting King Erik of Sweden as a more suitable candidate for marriage than Dudley, whose 'fiery and chivalric spectacles [namely, the 1561/2 'Masque of Beauty and Desire'] favored and used politically... have driven reason and godly council out of the Court'.¹⁸⁸ For Willy Maley, the poem provides an 'allegory of rural rebellion suppressed by royal power'; the figure of Cupid thus stands for Shane O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone, 'brought to the Elizabethan court as a major publicity coup by [Dudley] against his rival Sussex, the Hipolitus [sic.] of the piece'.¹⁸⁹ Although it is too early to see in 'Cupido Conquered' the sort of praise that went on to typify the 'cult' of the Virgin Queen,¹⁹⁰ by exploiting the conventional postures of ignorance, humility and deferral, Googe's 'to hastily fynshed Dreame' can at once discourage yet nonetheless exhort its readers to discern key

¹⁸⁷ If this is the case, then the 'myghty Prynce' in 'Cupido Conquered' (sig. I6r) (described by Hippolytus as a 'vyle deformed Churle', sig. K4r) presents a major complication to this view.

¹⁸⁸ Hamrick, p. 58.

¹⁸⁹ Maley goes on to describe 'Cupido Conquered' as an 'allegory of rural rebellion suppressed by royal power', which 'suggests that Ireland constituted a pastoral location par excellence for the project of the radical reforming impulse of "puritan" planters' (*Sahving Spenser: Colonialism, Culture and Identity* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 17-8).

¹⁹⁰ The celebration of Elizabeth as Diana began in the mid-1570s, though it was not until 1578 that she was celebrated publicly as England's Virgin Queen. The literature on the cult of Elizabeth is extensive, though the key studies in this area are: Frances Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985); Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977); Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995).

individuals and events within its complex allegorical design.

In ‘Cupido Conquered’ we also witness a move in the direction of ‘chastened’ verse forms.¹⁹¹ In his adaptation of the dream frame, Googe is able to fully harness and discard the throes of idleness and other related sins to which the shepherds of his bucolic works habitually succumb. Such efforts would have been looked on favourably by Cecil who expressed a famous disdain for courtly verse; the ensuing years saw Googe enter a number of lucrative governmental and military posts. Yet in contrast to Googe’s translation of the *Zodiacke of Lyffe*, Chaucer’s influence in ‘Cupido Conquered’ is far less overt, resembling more the ‘indirect evocation of what would have been loosely recognizable as Chaucerian’,¹⁹² blended with material culled from various other sources, including *Tottel’s Miscellany*, Ovid and Seneca, and turning them all to the militant Protestant cause. ‘Cupido Conquered’ also deserves attention insofar as it represents a rather sophisticated piece of paratextual apparatus – and a particularly interesting case, therefore, of ‘paratextual Chaucerianism’. In its ability to summarise the volume’s central argument and creatively cast it into narrative form, the poem looks forward to other instances of the dream vision as a vehicle for complaint (examined in both Chapters Two and Three), and the appending of a long narrative poem to a sequence of short lyrical verse. As William H. Sherman has shown, such paratextual apparatuses are a reminder of the book’s ‘discrete and in some sense complete status’.¹⁹³ ‘Cupido Conquered’ may therefore comprise yet another example of the ‘terminal paratext’, conferring new meanings on the preceding material and drawing the whole volume to a triumphant, if enigmatic, close.

But where the Elizabethan poets’ interest in Chaucer and Chaucerian verse more generally continued to grow, the importance of Chaucer within Googe’s verse became considerably less

¹⁹¹ Sheidley, ‘A Timely Anachronism’, p. 151.

¹⁹² Coldiron, p. 13.

¹⁹³ Sherman, p. 66.

pronounced as the years went on. *The Shippe of Safeguard* (1569) represents Googe's final exercise in 'Chaucerian' and original versification before he returned to works solely in translation. Although the poem is generically different from those works already discussed, the text contains a thirty-six-line interpolation from Chaucer's translation of the French *Roman de la Rose*. The interpolation signifies some of the most patent assertions of Chaucer's proto-Protestant identity within Googe's verse. As we see in the next section, the dream vision also takes a new turn for the importance accorded by Googe to the dream as a conduit to conversion and religious reform.

'FOR IN PLEYN TEXT, WITHOUTEN NEDE OF GLOSE': *THE SHIPPE OF SAFEGARDE* (1569) AND CHAUCER'S *ROMAUNCE OF THE ROSE*

The last of the three texts to be examined here is *A Newe Booke called the Shippe of Safeguard* (1569), an allegorical poem of 219 stanzas dedicated to Googe's 'verie good Sisters [in law] Mistresse Phyllyp Darell, and Mistresse Fraunces Darell, of the house of Scotney' and published by William Seres, one-time partner of John Day and, like Googe, a servant in the household of William Cecil.¹⁹⁴ Seres was a key reformist printer and, in 1571, was granted a special licence to print 'all manner of booke and bookes of private prayers primers psalters and psalmes bothe in greate volumes and small in Englishe or latine'.¹⁹⁵ The Darrell sisters to whom the volume is dedicated were the youngest members of the Kentish Darrell household into which Googe had married in 1563. During the 1570s the house of Scotney Castle in Kent endured substantial alterations in order to become a hideaway for Jesuit priests.¹⁹⁶ Googe claims in the dedicatory epistle that he had

¹⁹⁴ Barnabe Googe, *A Newe Booke called the Shippe of Safegarde* (London: W. Seres, 1569), sig. A2r. For a modern edition of Googe's poem, see Simon McKeown and William Sheidley, eds., *The Shippe of Safegarde (1569) by Barnabe Googe* (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2001). Though beyond the scope of this analysis, it is also worth pointing out that the *Shippe of Safegarde* was republished in 1602 under the title *The Christian Navy* by the notorious plagiarist, Anthony Nixon. See Lambert Ennis, 'Anthony Nixon: Jacobean Plagiarist and Hack', *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 3.4 (1940), 377-401.

¹⁹⁵ Quoted in Peter Blayney, 'William Cecil and the Stationers', in *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade, 1550–1990*, ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), pp. 11-34 (p. 25). See also Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2008), pp. 10-21.

¹⁹⁶ Richard Blount is perhaps the most most well-known of the priests at Scotney, residing there between the years 1591-8. Legend has it that, upon investigation of the castle, Blount was forced to flee by way of the moat. Thomas Darrell was arrested and taken to Newgate prison, where it is presumed that he died.

intended to present his young readers with book entitled ‘the counterfeyt Christian’, but that it was lost by ‘yll favourd misfortune’ (sig. A2v). The current text comes in the form of a Valentine’s gift, which ‘With a scares quiet mind’ Googe ‘hastily’ began (sig. A2v). The language evokes memory, both of the circumstances behind the 1565 translation of the *Zodiake of Lyffe* (when Googe was ‘not enioying all the while so quiet a minde as had bene nedefull for such a labour’, sig. (§)1r), and his ‘to hastely fynshed Dreame’, ‘Cupido Conquered’ (sig. A7r). The practice of exchanging Valentines (not uncommon between family members at this time) is also described with comical disdain in Googe’s earlier poem, ‘Of the vnfortunate choyse of his Valentyne’ (*EES*, 1563).

The *Shippe of Safegarde* describes a voyage wherein the ‘wandring wight’ (sig. A3v) must avoid the dangers of Pride, Greed, Gluttony, Lust, Heresy and Idolatry in order to reach the ‘Haven’ of ‘perfitte joye’ (sig. B1v). Unlike the dreamer of ‘Cupido Conquered,’ the protagonist of the *Shippe of Safegarde* is an Everyman figure, for whom one way is ‘sowre and sharpe, / the other smooth and plaine’ (sig. A3v). The metaphor of the ship finds its origins in the Old Testament,¹⁹⁷ and acquired specific appeal during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, with such works as Skelton’s *Bonge of Courte* (1499) and Alexander Barclay’s translation of Sebastian Brant’s *Ship of Fools* (1509). The publication of the *Shippe of Safegarde* also coincides with Spenser’s translation of Jan van der Noot’s *A Theatre [of] Voluptuous Worldlings* (1569), in which the ship ‘Made all of Heben and white Iuorie’ stands for the excessive wealth of the Catholic Church.¹⁹⁸ Scholarship has also seen in Googe’s poem a potential precursor to Guyon’s journey to the Bower of Bliss in Book

See John Morris, *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers* (London: Burns and Oates, 1872), pp. 187-215; Edward Hussey, ‘Scotney Castle’, *Archaeological Cantiana* 17 (1887), 38-48; David Martin, Barbara Martin and Jane Clubb, ‘An Archaeological Interpretive Survey of the Old Castle, Scotney: Part II’, *Archaeological Cantiana* 132 (2012), 111-51. See also Sheidley and McKeown, pp. xxix-x.

¹⁹⁷ ‘The way of an eagle in the air; the way of a serpent upon a rock; the way of a ship in the midst of the sea; and the way of a man with a maid’ (Proverbs 30:19); ‘But there the glorious Lord will be unto us a place of broad rivers and streams; wherein shall go no galley with oars, neither shall gallant ship pass thereby’ (Isaiah 33:21).

¹⁹⁸ Edmund Spenser, *A Theatre [of] Voluptuous Worldlings* (London: H. Bynneman, 1569), sig. B2v.

Two of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (first published in 1590), as well as the allegorical voyage of Christian in John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678).¹⁹⁹

Unlike Googe's earlier works and *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the *Shippe of Safegarde* is not presented in the form of a dream. Chief amongst the poem's sources, however, we find the French allegorical dream poem, *Le Roman de la Rose*. Thirty-six lines from the Middle English translation of the poem – the *Romaunt of the Rose* – are interpolated just over two-thirds of the way through the *Shippe of Safegarde*, once the ship's pilot has steered away from the Island of Idolatry:

Another thing was done their write,
That seemed like an Hypocrite,
And it was cleped Pope holye,
That ill is she that priuilye,
Ne spareth neuer a wicked deede,
When men of hir taken none heede,
And maketh hir outward precious,
With pale visage and pituous.
And seemeth a simple creature,
But there nis no misadventure,
That she ne thinketh in hir courage,
Full like to hir was thilke Image,
That maked was byt hir semblance,
She was full simple of countnance,
And she was clothed and eke shod,
As she were for the loue of God,
Youlden to religion,
Such seemed hir deuotion,
A Psalter helde she fast in hande,
And busily she gan to fonde,
To make many a faint prayer
To God and to his saints deare,
Ne she was gaye, fresh nor iolliffe,
But seemd to be full intentiffe
To good workes and to faire,
And thereto she had on a haire,
Ne certes she was fat nothing,
But seemed werie for fasting,
Of colour pale and dead was shee,
From hir the gates aye warned bee,
Of Paradyse the blissfull place,
For such folke maken leane their grace,

¹⁹⁹ David Scott Kastan, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of British Literature (Vol. 1: Abbey Theatre to Caryl Churchill)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 436.

As Christ sayth in his Euangile,
To get their price in towne a while,
And for a little glorie vaine,
They lesen God and eke his raigne. (sig. D7v-D8r).

The figure of ‘False Semblant’ appears to have had more appeal in this period than the figure of ‘Pope Holye’ represented here.²⁰⁰ However, the passage is notable for its concern with an explicitly feminised abstraction. Denounced for her pious array and for engaging the practices of corporal mortification and fasting, and for using the Psalter to pray ‘To God and to his saints deare’ (sig. D8r), the figure of Pope Holye was no doubt intended to have an impact on Googe’s female, Catholic readers.

By retaining Chaucer’s original tetrameter lines, the passage provides a clear metrical and visual departure from the ottava rima used for the rest of the poem. However, the passage contains some notable departures from the printed versions of the *Romaunt of the Rose* in circulation at this time.²⁰¹ In addition to a number of archaisms such as ‘hir’ and ‘Youlden’ (which had been modernised by Stow in his 1561 edition of Chaucer’s *Works*), Googe draws several further lines of difference between the interpolated passage from the *Rose* and the text of *The Shippe*. The passage is emphasised through the use of two framing stanzas that place the original ekphrastic depiction of Pope Holy on the wall of Dedit in an entirely new context for, in Googe’s *Shippe*, Pope Holye appears as an iconic ‘Image’, ‘covered all of stone’ and which ‘long since... hath bene plained plaine / By learned Chaucer that gem of Poetrie’ (sig. D7v). The image of Pope Holye thus

²⁰⁰ See especially George Gascoigne’s *The Steel Glass* (1575): ‘Of guilefull wights: *False semblant* was the first’ (Cunliffe, II, p. 144) and George Puttenham’s conception of ‘*Allegoria*, or the Figure of false semblant’ (*Arte of English Poesie* (London: R. Field, 1589), sig. X4v).

²⁰¹ It is worth noting that there is some inconsistency in Googe’s archaizing of the *Romaunt of the Rose*. Though some Middle English terms are reintroduced (namely, ‘hir’ and ‘Youlden’) he also omits the Middle English ‘u’ in the words ‘sembla[u]nce’ and ‘devocio[u]n’. Sheidley and McKeown deem Googe’s source text to have been William Thynne’s 1532 edition (Sheidley and McKeown, p. 90). The sole manuscript copy of the Middle English *Romaunce of the Rose* (MS Hunter 409 [V.3.7]) has a rich provenance, with signs of appropriation and use by William Thynne, but also in the later sixteenth century by one William Ball, writing within ‘flytewoddes chamber’ of the Middle Temple. See Charles Dahlberg, ed., *A Variorum Edition of the Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (Vol. 7: The Romaunt of the Rose)* (Norman, OK.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), p. 47.

commands an ineffable response from its viewer, for which only Chaucer's plain, vernacular authority on the subject will serve:

Thus hath the golden pen of Chaucer olde,
The Image plaine described to the eie...
That each man passing by might plainly know
The perfite substance of that flattring show. (sig. D8r).

As Douglas A. Kibbee notes, the 'battle for the dignity of the English language' was fought in this period with an emphasis 'first on good, plain English, and then o[n] English eloquence... and on notions of worthiness related to Scripture'.²⁰² At an earlier point in the *Shippe of Safegarde* the 'wandering wight' must combat Idolatry through 'scriptures plaine', a 'touchstone true to trie religion vaine' (sig. D3v). The plain-style emphasis harks back to the words of the God of Love in Chaucer's Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*: 'Thou maist yt nat denye, / For in pleyn text, withouten need of glose, / Thou hast translated the Romaunce of the Rose' (F, ll. 327-9, G, ll. 253-5). It is worth considering further that the publication of the *Shippe* also came immediately after the publication of the Bishops' Bible in 1568. Googe therefore connects his poem and its underlying concern with the English vernacular with contemporary debates over the sanctity of the Word: 'Beleve not those same slanderous mouthes untrue, / Who make report how that the books devine, / Corrupted are with false translations new' (sig. D3v). Thus, where Googe previously sought to place Chaucer's vernacular style on par with the classics, by the time of the *Shippe of Safegarde*, his poetry has reached new, almost sacred heights.

While for many years, it was believed that Chaucer was the original author of the *Romaunt of the Rose*, the debate over attribution had already begun with John Leland and John Bale. In his *Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Scriptorum... Summarium* of 1559, Bale demonstrated that the text printed in William Thynne's editions of the *Works* was in fact a translation from the work of Jean de

²⁰² Douglas A. Kibbee, *For to Speke Frenche Treweby: The French Language in England, 1000-1600, its Status, Description, and Instruction* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1999), p. 107.

Meun.²⁰³ In his *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), George Puttenham also acknowledged that only half of the original *Roman de la Rose* was translated by Chaucer (sig. I1v). It was not until Francis Thynne's *Animadversions* of 1598 that Guillaume de Machaut was recognised as having contributed to the original piece. Whether the extant versions and fragments of the *Romaunt of the Rose* are actually Chaucer's work is still a subject of some speculation.²⁰⁴ Although Gooze fashions Chaucer in the terms used by the God of Love ('For in pleyn text, withouten need of glose'), he presents Chaucer not as the translator of the *Rose*, but as its original author: 'Take here therefore what he thereof doth say, / Writ in the Romance of his Roses gaye' (sig. D7v).

At the time of Gooze's poem, French works in translation were also a growing industry: Stephen Bateman's translation of *The Trauayled Pylgrime*, a fifteenth-century allegory by Olivier de la Marche, and Spenser's translation of Du Bellay's *Antiquez plus Songe* and Marot's *Chant des Visions* (published in the *Theatre for Voluptuous Worldlings*) were issued in 1569; the same year as the *Shippe of Safegarde*. Yet concerns were also beginning to emerge over the deleterious effects of reading Continental works. Gabriel Harvey expressed notable disquiet over 'the whole rabblement' of students at Cambridge for their reading of 'Bodin *de Republica* or Le Royes exposition upon Aristotles *Politiques*, or some other like Frenche or Italian Politique Discourse'.²⁰⁵ Many of the 'Italianate' fictions on the marketplace were translations from French romance by the likes of François de Belleforest and Pierre Boaistuau. At the turn of the sixteenth century, Chaucerian frames had been used as a means of 'absorb[ing] the French Other' and granting 'a full and respectable English literary citizenship' to a work in translation.²⁰⁶ Old Anglo-French rivalries were revived by the arrival of Mary Queen of Scots in England in 1568. The 1569 Rebellion of the Northern Earls did little to improve such anxiety, and it is within this climate of unrest that the

²⁰³ See Dahlberg, p. 4.

²⁰⁴ For an overview of the issue, see Malcolm Andrew, *The Palgrave Literary Dictionary of Chaucer* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 245-6.

²⁰⁵ E. J. L. Scott, *The Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey, 1573-1580* (London: Nichols and Sons, 1884), pp. 78-9.

²⁰⁶ Coldiron, p. 12.

dream vision genre also went in new directions, as the next chapter will show. If ‘French faced some competition for the position of most prestigious modern language’ at this time,²⁰⁷ then claiming Chaucer as the author of the *Romaunt of the Rose* overwrites all sign of the poem’s problematic French origin.

Googe’s adoption of the *Romaunt of the Rose* and the *Legend of Good Women* as his model within *The Shippe of Safegarde* can also be seen in light of ‘Cupido Conquered’ and the art of ‘sacred parody’ at the heart of his early poetic endeavours. Chaucer’s *Legend of Good Women* is presented as ‘The Seintes Legende of Cupide’, an unfinished series of tales depicting the stories of nine illustrious women who died for love, which Chaucer writes as a form of ‘penaunce’ for his former misdeeds (F, ll. 479, G, ll. 491). Elaborating on Chaucer’s model, Googe’s *Shippe of Safegarde* includes two Saints’ Lives taken from Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical Histories*: ‘The death of S. Polycarpus Bishop of Smyrna’ and ‘A Priest of Apollo straungely converted’. In the tradition of reformist hagiography represented by Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments*, Polycarpus is the typological predecessor for several martyrs, including Hugh Latimer and John Oldcastle, and ‘a propheticall instructour of our times’ in his ability to receive only heaven-sent dreams (sig. D4r).²⁰⁸ Whilst Googe may have been drawn to Polycarpus’ story due to his personal attachment to a number of men executed for their religious belief (including his uncle and cousin, whose stories are included in Foxe), his selection of stories is particularly relevant for the significance attached to visionary experience. In the first of the two stories, Polycarpus experiences a terrible vision of his pillow ‘all on flame, /

²⁰⁷ Kibbee, p. 102.

²⁰⁸ Polycarpus’ prophecy is described in Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments* as follows: ‘[H]e was thus making his prayers three dayes before he was apprehended, in a vision by night he saw the bed set on fire vnder his head, and sodainly to be consumed. And when he awaked, he told by and by & expounded vnto them that were present, his vision, and told them before what thing should come to passe, that is, how that in ye fire he should lose his life for Christes cause’ (sig. D3v). See also John N. King, *Foxe’s ‘Book of Martyrs’ and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 309. Although Thomas Nashe’s *Terrors of the Night* (1594) is mainly devoted to false dreams, Nashe also admits that under rare circumstances, dreams may descend from God and that ‘the Saintes and Martirs of the Primitiue Church had vnfallible dreames fore-running their ends, as *Polycarpus* and other: but those especially proceeded from heauen, and not from anie vaporious dreggie parts of our blood or our braines’ (*The Terrors of the Night or, A Discourse of Apparitions* (London: J. Danter, 1594), sig. F2r-v).

That round about encompasseth / his head' (sig. E5v), which he takes as a sign of his future death. In his account of 'A Priest of Apollo', Googe also writes how upon one night the priest fell into a 'traunce' and began to 'slome', at which point, a 'God all rudely drest / With ernfull looke' appeared before him (sig. F3v). Greatly disturbed by his experience, the priest chooses to follow 'Christian law, and sweet religion' (sig. F4v).

Googe's selection of material for *The Shippe* reveals an interesting development on his former interest in dreams. Whether as a form of prophetic insight or, in the case of the Priest of Apollo, a conduit to religious conversion, dreams within the Saints' Lives correspond with the theological and rhetorical tenets of reformist thought. Through their inclusion in the volume, Googe also seeks to divest the hagiographic tradition of its Catholic associations and to turn the Lives of Saints to the militant Protestant cause.²⁰⁹ Googe justifies the inclusion of such material because of the Darrell sisters' 'delight in stories' (sig. A2v), claiming that the stories of Polycarpus and the Bishop of Apollo were chosen to ensure that the girls do not spend their time 'evill employed in reading' (sig. A2r). The statement plays witness to the belief in books to have a morally edifying purpose. Whilst *The Canterbury Tales* became a watchword for 'forged fables' and 'fantasies' that 'hold children from play, and old folkes from the chimney corner',²¹⁰ for his young, Catholic readers, Googe turns to the didactic themes represented by Protestant allegory and conversion narrative. In so doing, Googe also takes his final leave both of Chaucerian and original verse.

CONCLUSION

Almost one hundred years after the publication of the *Shippe of Safegarde*, a pamphlet was published entitled *A Prophecie lately transcribed from an old manuscript of Doctor Barnaby Googe that lived in the reign*

²⁰⁹ This is further achieved by de-emphasising the bodily aspects of martyrdom. 'The death of S. Polycarpus' concludes: 'The people all amased, depart, / the corse neglected lies, / The soule reioycing at this day, / vnto the heauen flies' (sig. F3v), a notable variation on Eusebius.

²¹⁰ George Gilpin, trans., *The Bee Hine of the Romishe Church* (London: T. Dawson, 1579), sig. Mm3v; Richard Carew, trans., *A World of Wonders* by Henri Estienne (London: R. Field, 1607), sig. ¶3r-v.

of *Qu. Elizabeth* (1672).²¹¹ The *Prophecie* is a thirty-four-line poem with exhaustive prose commentary on the poem's millennialist symbolism and astrological significance. The poem purports to predict the changing status of Anglo-Dutch relations between the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles II.

It is highly doubtful that Googe wrote such a tract. Prophecies such as this used as propaganda were often forged or misattributed; the predictions of Bede and Merlin, and particularly Mother Shipton (who, 'in the raigne of King Henry the Eighth' apparently foretold 'the death of Cardinall Wolsey, the Lord Percy and others, as also what should happen in insuing times'²¹²) were printed at moments of political and religious crisis throughout the seventeenth century.²¹³ The *Prophecie* presents Googe as a man of ancient, learned authority, a man of manuscript (as opposed to print), and with a unique ability to see into the present times. As a result, some very interesting parallels emerge between the late seventeenth-century representation of 'Doctor Barnaby Googe' and the 'excellente countreyman sir Geffray Chaucer' fashioned by Googe and his contemporaries over a century before. Just as the figure of Chaucer could be adapted to suit the literary, religious and commercial needs of the times, so the name of Googe (a relatively unknown and comparatively antique poet by 1672), was appropriated and refashioned for propagandist necessity in its support of the Anglo-Dutch wars. As shown in the discussion above, Googe's reputation amongst his peers presents him as the contemporary incarnation of Chaucer, a comparison I believe was greatly encouraged by his interest in the dream vision form. We see from this analysis, however, that the dream vision reveals itself in more intricate ways throughout Googe's early verse. The dream vision marks several points of inauguration and departure, and signals important phases in Googe's personal and professional life, as well as his

²¹¹ *A Prophecie lately transcribed from an old manuscript of Doctor Barnaby Googe that lived in the reign of Qu. Elizabeth...* (London: J. C., 1672).

²¹² *The Prophecie of Mother Shipton* (London: R. Lownds, 1641), sig. A1r.

²¹³ On the role of Mother Shipton's prophecies, see Tim Thornton, *Prophecy, Politics and the People in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 145-93.

poetic career. The dream vision is also vital in terms of Googe's legacy. Recognised in his own time for his translation of the *Zodiacke of Lyffe*, and moreso today for his *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes*, Googe did not, according to Winston, have 'ambitions to be a national poet'.²¹⁴ Yet by the late seventeenth century Googe was given – if only for a brief moment – a vatic voice.

²¹⁴ Winston, 'Lyric poetry at the Inns of Court', p. 229.

CHAPTER TWO

‘I KEEPE MY WATCHE, AND WARDE’: RICHARD ROBINSON

When as *Aurora* with rudie chéeckes prepard,
Her Oriental pallace *Phoebus* to receiue:
The Christall skyes, vnto the earth declard,
That *Flora* would restore, what Hyemps did bereue
Which caused birds to brush, them on the bowes,
And many for to walke, their chambers did refuse...

Thus for to féede my gredy eyes at gaze,
By wandring long I weary was at last:
Till sodenly, my witts were in a maze,
My eyes did dazile, and all my sense was past:
I set me downe, a while to rubbe my browes,
The poore Knights pallace of pleasure to peruse.

Richard Robinson, *A Golden Mirroure* (1589).¹

These are the opening lines of an untitled panegyric poem on George Talbot, the 6th Earl of Shrewsbury’s emblem, the Talbot dog. Published in 1589, the poem is the second of several dream visions and ‘prognostications’ published in a collection of poems entitled *A Golden Mirroure* (1589). The poems in this collection are ascribed to a ‘Gentleman of the North Countrey’, a former servant of the Earl of Shrewsbury, Richard Robinson. The structure of the poem is both familiar and distinctly Chaucerian, although the dreamer’s selection of material is not so well known. The text that Robinson’s dreamer sits down to read is *A Poore Knight his Pallace of Priuate Pleasures*, a collection of poems written by ‘A Student in Cambridge’, published in 1579 by one ‘I. C. Gent’ of Gray’s Inn. *A Poore Knight* includes a number of sonnets, love complaints and dream visions, along with three tributes to the author of *A Golden Mirroure* for a previous publication of his entitled *The Rewarde of Wickednesse* (1574).² Robinson returns the compliment to the student ten years later in *A Golden Mirroure*. The three collections of poems and their authors are hence occupied in a long, drawn-out

¹ Richard Robinson, *A Golden Mirroure* (London: R. Ward, 1589), sig. C1r-v. For a facsimile edition of the poem, see Thomas Corser, ed., *A Golden Mirroure by Richard Robinson* (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1851).

² ‘A Student in Cambridge’, *A Poore Knight his Pallace of Priuate Pleasures* (London: W. How, 1579), sigs. B3v, F1r, L4v.

game of intertextual citation, cross-reference and allusion, in which the ‘bookish’ qualities of the genre take on a curiously social dimension.

Although the evidence within *A Poore Knight his Pallace of Priuate Pleasures* shows that Robinson’s *Rewarde* was appreciated in his own time, the poem and its author have suffered neglect in subsequent years.³ Whilst this neglect may be attributed, in part, to the fact that servant writing has not gained significant attention until recent years, there are a number of biographical, bibliographical and generic issues that have prevented a full appreciation of his verse. Much like Googe, Richard Robinson is quite unusual amongst his contemporaries for his use of the dream vision form on not one, but several occasions. This chapter focusses on the two extant works of Richard Robinson here mentioned, *The Rewarde for Wickednesse* (1574) and *A Golden Mirroure* (1589), in the attempt to reveal aspects of the poet’s life and verse that have been hitherto unexplored. The formal model for the first of these poems, *The Rewarde for Wickednesse*, is *A Mirror for Magistrates*.⁴ The poem also contains a large number of narrative borrowings from the *Mirror’s*

³ Whilst the *Rewarde* has gained slightly more scholarly attention than *A Golden Mirroure*, opinion of the former has inclined towards the negative. In the words of William Thomas Lowndes, the *Rewarde* is ‘a dull metrical composition’: *The Bibliographer’s Manual of English Literature*, 4 vols (London: W. Pickering, 1857-64), VI, p. 2111. A. G. Dickens rated Robinson a simultaneously ‘cheerful and vulgar figure’, proposing that the *Rewarde’s* ‘naivety’ occasions ‘excellent reading for modern intellectuals’: *Reformation Studies* (London: Hambledon, 1982), p. 239. Although he acknowledges the *Rewarde* as being ‘more readable than most contemporary moral poetry’, William E. Sheidley also described the poem as an ‘amateurish’ ensemble of ‘botched verses and forced rhymes’: “The Autor Penneth, Wherof He Hath No Prooofe”: The Early Elizabethan Dream Poem as a Defense of Poetic Fiction’, *Studies in Philology* 81.1 (1984), 56-74 (p. 65). Only very recently has Robinson’s *Rewarde* excited more serious attention from scholars. In his online summary of the poem, Mike Pincombe refers to the *Rewarde* as ‘one of the great forgotten poems of the 1570s’ (“The Reward of Wickedness”, HRI Origins <<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/origins/DisplayServlet?id=robinson12112.7&type=print>> [accessed 14 January 2016]). More recent research considers Robinson’s depiction of Helen of Troy which, according to Katherine Heavey, functions not merely to denounce carnal sin, but as a means of extending praise toward the Queen and her virginity: “‘Thus Beholde the Fall of Sinne’: Punishing Helen of Troy in Elizabethan Verse”, *Literature Compass* 9.7 (2012), 464-75. My article, “‘I keepe my watche, and warde’”: Richard Robinson’s *Rewarde of Wickednesse* (1574)”, *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 4 (2015), 71-98, discusses the role of the servant poet and the discourse of service within the *Rewarde*. No scholar has attempted to consider Robinson’s final publication, *A Golden Mirroure*, at length, although the work does gain a brief mention in two recent articles: Lawrence Manley, ‘Eagle and Hound: The “Epitaph” of Talbot and the Date of *1 Henry VI*’, *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England* 26 (2013), 136-55 (p. 136); Hannibal Hamlin, ‘My tongue shall speak: the voices of the psalms’, *Renaissance Studies* 29.4 (2015), 509-30 (p. 523).

⁴ On this particular point, see Willard Farnham, “The Progeny of “A Mirror for Magistrates””, *Modern Philology* 29.4 (1932), 395-410.

literary forerunner, John Lydgate's fifteenth-century translation of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrum* (by way of Laurent de Premierfait's French translation), entitled the *Fall of Princes* (c. 1431-8). Like several editions of the *Mirror*, as well as Googe's Preface to the *Zodiake of Lyffe*, the *Rewarde* begins with a dream vision Prologue. The poem begins in a busy alehouse on a cold December night. The poet falls asleep amongst a company of drunken revelers when he is visited in a dream by Morpheus, the god of sleep, who takes him on a voyage through hell. On their journey, they encounter Pluto, the god of the underworld, who asks the dreamer to record the complaints of twelve illustrious sinners: Helen of Troy, Pope Alexander VI, Tarquin, Medea, Tantalus, Vetronius Turinus, Heliogabalus, the Two Judges of Susanna, Pope Joan, Midas and Queen Rosamond.⁵ Nine of the complaints conclude with the legalistic-sounding device of 'The Bookes Verdict', and each of the twelve complainants is sentenced to some form of torture or punishment according to the nature of their sin. The voyage is then drawn to a finish by a grisly pageant led by Pluto, Proserpine and 'bloodie Boner the Butcher'.⁶ The dreamer then travels to Helicon where he is introduced to the Muses and asked by them to record his experience. The volume closes with the dreamer waking and conveying his desire to abandon his former ways and to lead a life of 'studye' (sig. Q3r).

Although a relatively unknown poem, Robinson's *Rewarde* covers familiar poetic territory. The poem is influenced by the English *de casibus* tradition, most notably represented by Sackville's Induction to the Complaint of Henry, Duke of Buckingham in the *Mirror for Magistrates*' second edition (1563), as well as the classical convention of *katabasis*, the heroic descent to the underworld

⁵ Vetronius Turinus was counsellor to the third-century Roman emperor, Alexander Severus, who was succeeded in 222 AD by his cousin, Heliogabalus. Rosamond is not the 'fair Rosamund' of the English complaint tradition (as in Daniel's *Complaynt of Rosamond*, 1592), but rather the murderous wife of the sixth-century King of Lombardy, Alboin, whose tale is told in Book VIII of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*. All quotations from and references to Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* are taken from Henry Bergen, ed., *Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, 4 vols (London: EETS, 1924-7).

⁶ Richard Robinson, *The Rewarde of Wickednesse* (London: W. Williamson, 1574), sig. P1v. For a modern edition of the poem, see Allyn E. Ward, ed., *The Rewarde of Wickednesse by Richard Robinson* (London: MHRA, 2009).

employed in Virgil's *Aeneid* (Book VI), Dante's *Divine Comedy* and also in Sackville's Induction. The *Rewarde* also shows the influence of the 'otherworld' vision tradition, comprising a large body of devotional works spanning the mid-twelfth to fifteenth centuries. Key texts in this tradition include: *The Vision of Tundale*, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory* (both fourteenth century) and *A Revelation of Purgatory* (c. 1422). These works depict the visionary's journey to the 'otherworld', often in the company of a guide, where he or she is usually,

shown the torments of the damned of the pains of Purgatory, and afterwards admitted to some portion of the realms of the saved, such as the Earthly Paradise or another less localized place of rest or antechamber to Heaven. The visionary... is [then] informed that he must return to his body and tell what he has seen [and], it is usually said, thereafter leads a reformed life.⁷

By the mid-sixteenth century, the doctrine of Purgatory had been outlawed by reformers. The doctrine was condemned by many for its associations with papal abuses and for its origins in mere 'dreames, fantasies and devises of men'.⁸ According to John Véron in *The Huntinge of Purgatory to Death* (1561), the doctrine was 'onely grounded upon the foolishe imaginations and dreames of a sorte of superstitious and covetous persons'.⁹ Though bordering precariously on unorthodoxy, the *Rewarde* classicises the key elements of the 'otherworld' vision: the visionary guide is the mythical god of sleep; the 'torments of the damned' take place in the kingdom of Pluto, and the heavenly realm is 'Noble Helicon', the Muses' paradise. These are just some of several measures whereby

⁷ Robert Easting, *Visions of the Other World in Middle English* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), p. 3. For a useful overview of the tradition, see the Introduction to Edward E. Foster, ed., *Three Purgatory Poems: The Gast of Gy, Sir Owain, The Vision of Tundale* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004) <<http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/foster-three-purgatory-poems>> [accessed 27 January 2016].

⁸ Henry Ainsworth, *An Animadversion to Mr Richard Clyfftons Advertisement* (Amsterdam: G. Thorp, 1613), sig. O1v.

⁹ John Véron, *The Huntinge of Purgatory to Death* (London: J. Tisdale, 1561), sig. A4v. For more on the debates, see C. A. Patrides, 'Renaissance and Modern Views on Hell', *The Harvard Theological Review* 57.3 (1964), 217-36; Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001); Peter Marshall, 'The Reformation of Hell? Protestant and Catholic Infernalisms in England, c.1560-1640', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 61.2 (2010), 279-98.

Robinson adjusts and adapts the familiar characteristics of the form to suit his agenda. As the title-page explains, the *Rewarde* is intended, primarily, to relate,

the sundrye monstrous abuses of wicked and ungodlye worldelings: in such sort set downe and written as the same have beene dyversely practised in the persones of Popes, Harlots, Proude Princes, Tyrauntes, Romish Byshoppes, and others. With a lively description of their severall falles and finall destruction. (sig. A1r).

Although the *Rewarde* would seem, initially, to protest against ‘bad moral behaviour’ and ‘sins normally attributed to the Catholic Church’,¹⁰ the poem is far more complex than this in its use of the visionary framing trope. As demonstrated below, the dream vision is used by Robinson in a number of ways to address concerns of a social and political nature, as well as those of a more local significance.

In addition to the ‘otherworld’ vision tradition described above, the *Rewarde* can also be understood as part of a growing trend of satirical literature identified by Benjamin Boyce as the ‘news from hell’ genre.¹¹ Finding acclaim in the 1590s, works of this type employ, to varying degrees, the forms of dream vision, complaint and debate although, unlike the *Rewarde*, the majority of these texts were completed in prose. As Boyce notes, some are ‘transcriptions of a conversation on earth with a ghostly traveller’ (as in *Tarltons Newes out of Purgatorie*, 1590), ‘some are letters sent from Hell by post to London’ (or from London to Hell, as in Henry Chettle’s *Kind-Hartes Dreame*, 1593), whereas others ‘are dialogues in [H]ades between two or more of the dead, or between a living visitor and the dead’, of which Robinson’s *Rewarde* is an early example.¹² These texts resist easy classification, and have suffered some neglect (presumably due to their ephemeral nature),

¹⁰ Ward, pp. 4; 1.

¹¹ Benjamin Boyce, ‘News from Hell: Satiric Communications with the Nether World in English Writing of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (1943), 402-37.

¹² Boyce, p. 406.

though they have gained some much-needed attention in recent years.¹³ As we will see below, the communication of ‘news from hell’ is also key to understanding the satirical context of Robinson’s *Rewardē*, as well as the nature of the poem’s composition, transmission and reception.

Although little is known of Richard Robinson, the evidence within the *Rewardē*’s paratexts suggest that he was a servant in the household of George Talbot, the 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, during his time as Mary Queen of Scots’ keeper. The first section of this chapter addresses the evidence contained within the *Rewardē*’s paratexts, along with other contextual information, to construct a more comprehensive biographical profile for the poem’s author. New evidence points to Robinson’s precise role within the Earl of Shrewsbury’s household, as well as offering the indication of both social and geographical mobility. The *Rewardē*, which Robinson dedicates to Gilbert Talbot (1552-1616, the Earl of Shrewsbury’s son by his first marriage to Gertrude Manners), also contains a number of allusions to the circumstances of Mary Queen of Scots’ imprisonment in Sheffield Castle, where she was placed under the Earl’s protection in the winter of 1573. The second part of this chapter discusses Robinson’s use of the dream vision frame in regards to his stated duty of keeping ‘watche, and warde’ over the Scottish Queen. The third and fourth sections of this chapter then turn to a critical assessment of two pairings of ‘wicked’ characters: Helen of Troy and Medea, and Tantalus and Midas. These figures have been selected for their relation to the issues of source material, context and form, and close readings of these complaints can reveal much more about the *Rewardē*’s political intentions than previously assumed.

When read against Robinson’s later publication, *A Golden Mirrour* (1589), the dream vision becomes increasingly pertinent to the poet’s connections to the Shrewsbury household. Like the

¹³ See Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 46-81. For recent studies of these works, see Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Kirk Melnikoff and Edward Gieskes, eds., *Writing Robert Greene: New Essays on England’s First Notorious Professional Writer* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); R. W. Maslen, ‘Dreams, Freedom of Speech, and the Demonic Affiliations of Robin Goodfellow’, *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 1.1 (2009), 1-23.

Rewarde of Wickednesse, *A Golden Mirroure* was dedicated to Gilbert Talbot. As shown in the final part of this chapter, the collection of poems known as *A Golden Mirroure* contains a ‘prognostication’ of England’s defeat of the Spanish Armada, as well as a number of eulogies dedicated to important figures in the north, including the Earl of Shrewsbury, Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange (later 5th Earl of Derby), as well as ‘divers worthy personages inhabiting the gentle natured countrey and Countie of Chester’ (sig. A3r). A total of nine out of the sixteen poems within *A Golden Mirroure* are examples of the dream vision genre. My discussion here will focus on just three of these poems, two of which are untitled (but are identified here as the Armada poem and the Talbot poem), as well as ‘The last Dreame that Morpheus did showe vnto the Author’. In turn, this chapter will address the authorial, generic and political issues precipitated by Robinson’s contribution to the dream vision tradition throughout his career.

RICHARD ROBINSON (fl. 1570-1589)

Who was Richard Robinson? This is a question that scholarship has failed to answer with absolute certainty for, not only is the name of Richard Robinson extremely common for this period, but the author here concerned had, for a long time, been confused with a better-known contemporary of the same name, Richard Robinson of London (fl. 1576-1599).¹⁴ Based on the dedicatory materials to *The Rewarde of Wickednesse* (1574) and *A Golden Mirroure* (1589), scholarship usually accepts that the Richard Robinson concerned here was a northerner and worked as a household servant to George Talbot (1528-1590) and his second wife, Elizabeth Cavendish (1527-1608), better known as Bess of Hardwick.¹⁵ Based on information in the Stationers’ Register, scholarship

¹⁴ George McGill Vogt, ‘Richard Robinson’s *Eupolemia* (1603)’, *Studies in Philology* 21.4 (1924), 629-48. For a brief account of our Robinson’s life and works, see Brian Cummings, ‘Richard Robinson (fl. 1573–1589)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁵ Regrettably, the name ‘Richard Robinson’ does not appear amongst the otherwise extensive lists of Shrewsbury’s employees. The name of ‘Robinson’ is, however, scattered throughout the Talbot and Hardwick archives in a range of positions relating to the service profession. I am particularly grateful to Alan Bryson and Felicity Maxwell for their assistance in the matter of identifying the servants of the Shrewsbury household. For more on the nature of service in the Hardwick household, see Felicity Maxwell, ‘Enacting Mistress and Steward Roles in a Letter of Household Management: Bess of Hardwick to Francis Whitfield, 14 November 1552’, *Lives and Letters* 4.1 (2012), 75-92. John Daniel Leader’s account

has also ascribed to Robinson a work entitled *The Ruefull Tragedie of Hemidos and Thelay* (1570) (which many assume to have been a play), as being his first publication, although the text is now presumed to have been lost.¹⁶ In the *Rewarde*'s dedicatory Epistle to Talbot's son, Robinson describes the publication as his 'second worke' and presents himself as being bound by 'good will' to 'present some other noveltie, more fitter to feede' the 'fantasie' of his audience (sig. A3r). The promise is fulfilled by *A Golden Mirroure* (1589) which, like the *Rewarde*, is dedicated to the Earl of Shrewsbury's son, Gilbert Talbot. Although the poem was published anonymously, the name 'RICHARD ROBINSON OF ALTON' emerges at the end of *A Golden Mirroure* through a concluding acrostic verse. The appellation has led scholars to question whether Robinson initially hailed from or ended up in Alton, the Staffordshire seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury, or whether if this epithet refers in fact to the places of either Halton or Oulton (both in Cheshire), as both of towns were affiliated with members of *A Golden Mirroure*'s primary audience. However, there is also room for dispute over or indeed whether there is any truth at all in Robinson's new claim to gentry status in this later collection, and the extent to which *A Golden Mirroure* is all his own work. These concerns are some of the many issues that will be addressed in further detail below.

One of the main points that scholars agree upon is based on the claim within the *Rewarde*'s dedicatory materials that Robinson worked as a 'seruaunt in housholde to the right Honorable Earle of Shrowsbury' (sig. A1r). Yet for the antiquarian Joseph Hunter, the *Rewarde*'s 'extent and variety' of sources still presents us with an anomaly 'that can hardly be expected from one of the ordinary servants of the earl'.¹⁷ This led Hunter to believe that the author of this poem was related

of Mary's Stuart's time in captivity also suggests that a man named George Robinson was selected from among Shrewsbury's servants to serve as messenger to John Leslie, the Bishop of Ross: *Mary Queen of Scots in Captivity: A narrative of events from January 1569 to December 1584, whilst George Earl of Shrewsbury was the guardian of the Scottish Queen* (Sheffield: Leader & Sons, 1880), pp. 126n, 208.

¹⁶ See Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson, eds., *British Drama, 1533-1642: A Catalogue*, 10 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012-2018), II, p. 52.

¹⁷ Joseph Hunter, *Hallamshire: The History and Topography of the Parish of Sheffield in the County of York* (London: Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones, 1819), p. 59.

to one Dr John Robinson, a former tutor to the Earl of Shrewsbury's children.¹⁸ Although there is no evidence to either accept or reject this connection, quite what 'ordinary' means is a matter for further discussion.

The first thing to bear in mind is the frequency with which the service topos was deployed in this period by those who were not employed in conventional household roles. Service was an act of almost total ubiquity in this period and the discourse of service was regularly deployed by much more socially elevated figures than their apparent status would suggest. Notions of service within literature were also extremely flexible, incorporating 'chivalry, Petrarchanism and relationships with one's political betters and with one's God'.¹⁹ Whilst such claims carried great rhetorical weight, there were also those who opted to exploit their position within a household or other social unit within their verse. Authors such as Isabella Whitney (fl. 1567-1573) and the lesser-known James Yates (fl. 1582) turned the experience of domestic service to imaginative and profitable use on a number of occasions in their verse.²⁰ This also points toward the importance of service as a real, 'occupational identity', for several writers of this period.²¹

¹⁸ The Earl of Shrewsbury later recommended Dr Robinson as the Dean of Lincoln. See Lambeth Palace Library, London, MS 3198 ('Talbot Papers'), fol. 245 (12 April 1584).

¹⁹ Matthew Steggle, 'James Yates, Elizabethan Servant Poet', *Studies in Philology* 101.1 (2004), 48-58 (p. 58). For more on the early modern topos and discourse of service, see Frank Whigham, *Ambition and Privilege: The Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984); Mark Thornton Burnett, *Masters and Servants in English Renaissance Drama and Culture* (London: Macmillan, 1997); David Evett, *Discourses of Service in Shakespeare's England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2005); Laurie Ellinghausen, *Labor and Writing in Early Modern England, 1567-1667* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Elizabeth Rivlin, *The Aesthetics of Service in Early Modern England* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2012).

²⁰ Yates is identified on the title page to his 1582 collection of dream visions and occasional verse, *The Castell of Courtesie*, as a 'servingman', and the work is dedicated to 'his approoued good Master, and Friend, Master Henrie Reynolles, Esquire' (James Yates, *The Castell of Courtesie whereunto is adioyned the Holde of Humilitie* (London: J. Wolfe, 1582), sig. A2r). One of these poems, entitled 'Verses written upon a dreame which was dreamed on Sundaie night, the x. of April, and written vnto Mistresse F. W.', foretells the wedding of Frances Withypoll. The Withypolls were connected to Yates' patrons through marriage. The Withypolls had important literary links, both to Gabriel Harvey and George Gascoigne. A second poem, 'Giuen vnto Mistresse F. W. when shee Went to waite' commemorates Frances Withypoll's own entry into domestic service.

²¹ Ellinghausen, p. 1.

The *Reward*'s prefatory materials describe Robinson as being 'one of the simplest of a hundreth in my Lordes house' and he requests his reader to ascribe the volume's present state to 'the busie lives, that all my Lorde my Maisters men do leade in the service of our Sovereigne Lady, the Queenes Maiestie' (sig. A3r). There is little speculation as to the bearing these claims would have on Robinson's own intentions for reward. Robinson also writes in his Epistle to Gilbert Talbot that the *Reward* was,

begunne and ended in my Lord your Fathers house: my singuler good Lord and Maister, for whome, and my good Lady my Mistres, I and al mine, dayly pray, as we are many waies bound to doe (sig. A2v).

In signing the Epistle 'From my Chamber in Sheffield Castle / The xix of Maie, 1574' (sig. A3r), Robinson locates the poem's composition firmly within the walls of Sheffield Castle during Mary's second period of imprisonment there between November 1573 and September 1574.²²

Yet the *Reward* also poses a major challenge to the notion that servants 'did not generally write or commit themselves to print'.²³ Servants were often employed to carry out scribal tasks and other secretarial roles within the household, and were a vital yet sometimes overlooked part of the early modern literary scene.²⁴ An example near to Robinson's home turf, the Shrewsbury-born son of a farmer, Thomas Churchyard (c. 1520-1604), can offer an interesting case in point. Churchyard entered the service of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, at the age of about fourteen, whereby he

²² Unless otherwise stated, the information and dates pertaining to Mary's captivity derive from Patrick Collinson, *The English Captivity of Mary Queen of Scots* (Sheffield: Sheffield History Pamphlets, 1987). The woodcut emblem for the *Reward*'s colophon is dated 1573. Pincombe notes that the printer, William Williamson, probably overlooked this detail ('The Reward of Wickedness', HRI Origins). I can find no reference in the Stationers' Register of the *Reward*'s publication, except for the mention of 'The rewarde of wickednes' in a list of works and 'Ballettes', whose licence to print was handed from Williamson to John Charlewood in 1581/2: John Payne Collier, ed., *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company*, 2 vols (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1849), II, p. 157.

²³ Burnett, p. 12.

²⁴ Recent work recognises the role of servants in the production of manuscripts and conventionally 'non-literary texts', such as letters, diaries, household books and the household interior. See especially Marcy L. North, 'Household Scribes and the Production of Literary Manuscripts in Early Modern England', *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 4 (2015), 133-57. Heidi Brayman Hackel also cites the example of Lady Anne Clifford who employed her servants to decorate her chamber with excerpts from her favourite books (*Reading Material in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 38).

obtained the literary skills that enabled him to become one of the period's most prolific writers, producing over forty printed works in almost every genre imaginable.²⁵

As was the case with Churchyard, the more educated servants within a noble household usually descended from lower-gentry families, or those of the 'middle sort'.²⁶ Such positions were often granted as a means of furthering one's personal, social and familial connections. The example of John Kniveton, a servant-turned-kinsman to the Earl of Shrewsbury through his brother's marriage to Bess of Hardwick's half-sister, Jane Leche, suggests that a servant's formal responsibilities and status could also be improved by virtue of such bonds. Bess of Hardwick's steward, Thomas Pusey, was also appointed Sheriff of Nottingham, a position which then 'enabled him to arrange advantageous marriages for his daughters'.²⁷ The connections enabled by the service profession might also develop into or out of important literary ties, which also brought with them the opportunity for social or geographical mobility. Once again, the Shrewsbury household can provide us with a good example. In 1563, Talbot's servant, Thomas Howell (*fl.* 1560-1581) went to work in the then Herbert (and later Sidney-Herbert) household at Wilton, following the marriage of Talbot's daughter, Katherine, to Henry Herbert, the 2nd Earl of Pembroke.²⁸ Howell went on to dedicate his first publication, *The Arbor of Amitie* (1568) to Henry Herbert's sister, Anne, the wife of Francis Talbot and Shrewsbury's daughter-in-law. The inclusion of sonnets and short lyric poems within *The Arbor of Amitie* (one of many single-author miscellanies published at this time) follows the example set by Googe in his *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* (1563) and, as Elizabeth Heale's has shown, illustrates that the exercise of amorous versification was '*de rigueur* for one who

²⁵ Raphael Lyne, 'Thomas Churchyard (1523?-1604)', *ODNB*.

²⁶ Ann Kussamaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 7

²⁷ James Daybell, "'Suche Newes as on the Quenes Hye Wayes We Have Mett': The News and Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (c. 1527-1608)", in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by James Dayell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 130n; Burnett, p. 175.

²⁸ Cathy Shrank, 'Thomas Howell (*fl.* 1560-1581)', *ODNB*.

wished to recommend himself to courtly as well as scholarly employers'.²⁹ Howell later sought the patronage of Anne's Talbot's sister-in-law, Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke.

Although they were not as well known for their literary patronage as were the neighbouring Stanleys of Derby and their relatives by marriage, the Sidney-Herberts at Wilton, the Talbots financed a large number of other artistic pursuits, including architecture, needlework and music.³⁰ As Lord Lieutenant of three counties, and with a long reputation for loyalty to the crown, George Talbot, the 6th Earl of Shrewsbury was also considered fit for the responsibility of housing Mary Queen of Scots following her flight into England in 1568. After their marriage earlier that year, George Talbot and Bess of Hardwick were in possession of the largest noble household of the period. Their lands covered a large portion of the northwest of England, including Staffordshire, Yorkshire and the Peak District, and were deemed sufficiently distant from both London and the Scottish border for Mary's safekeeping. This somewhat crucial aspect of the Talbots' reputation becomes the subject of reflection in Robinson's 'Aucthour to the Reader' prefacing the *Reward*:

Sith the protection of the Scottische Queene was committed to my saide Lorde
in charge, whose true and duetifull service therein, to his Prince both night and
daie: as well by the travaile of his Honours owne Person, as also all them that
serve him: I doubt not but FAME hath tolde it to all the Princes in EUROPE

²⁹ Elizabeth Heale, 'Misogyny and the Complete Gentleman in Early Elizabethan Printed Miscellanies', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003), 233-47 (p. 239).

³⁰ The most notable case in point is the building of New Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire, the later home of Arbella Stuart. Bess of Hardwick also commissioned a number of tapestries, known as the 'Noble Women of the Ancient World' series. The tapestries have been the subject of discussion among scholars due to the potential role of Mary Stuart in their design and construction. In particular, see Margaret Ellis, 'The Hardwick wall hangings: an unusual collaboration in English sixteenth-century embroidery', *Renaissance Studies* 10.2 (1996), 280-300; Gillian White, 'that whyche ys nedefoulle and nesenary': the nature and purpose of the original furnishings and decoration of Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2005). On the Talbots' patronage of music, see David C. Price, 'Gilbert Talbot, Seventh Earl of Shrewsbury: An Elizabethan Courtier and His Music', *Music & Letters* 57.2 (1976), 144-51. Ferdinando Stanley (Lord Strange), 5th Earl of Derby was a notable patron of the theatre. He is commemorated in a later poem, presumed to have been written by Robinson, entitled 'Verses pend vpon the Etimologie of the name of the right honorable, Fardinando, Lord Strange' and published as one of several dedicatory poems within *A Golden Mirrour* (1589). Through punning use of the Stanley motto ('*Sans changer ma verité*'), Robinson praises the family's loyalty as landlords, as the following lines from the poem show: 'Let poore men iudge, that want refuge, / That find their Landlords change, / He takes th'olde rent, and is content: / Which may be called Strange' (sig. C4r). E. A. J. Honigmann compares these lines with Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* (5.2.209-10) in which he notices a number of 'little local jokes' (*Shakespeare: The Lost Years* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), p. 65).

and noble subjectes: as it were to bee a Mirrour to the rest, that shall serve in credite of their Prince. (sig. A3r).

Although initially housed at Tutbury Castle in Staffordshire, various circumstance and events within the Shrewsbury household meant that Mary was shuttled between the Earl's various estates during the fourteen years that she was under their protection. But in seeking to promote the Earl of Shrewsbury's disposition for 'true and duetifull service... to his Prince both night and daie', these passages might also be read as a response to speculation concerning the Earl's fealty to the crown, a matter that has major bearing on my discussion below.

The location and timing of the *Reward* were crucial for other reasons as well. In addition to housing Mary Stuart, the Talbots were also required to accommodate her sizeable entourage and to personally cover her expenses, including a number of costly trips to the spa in the Peak District town of Buxton. The family's desire to show that their prisoner was being given the treatment befitting a queen has been described as an example of 'semi-publicity'; a campaign designed to appease Mary's supporters in her ruling country and amongst a large Catholic following in the north.³¹ These efforts also led to a number of desperate appeals on the Earl's part for monetary assistance from Queen Elizabeth that would enable him to accommodate his royal guest in the suitable manner. As one scholar suggests, despite the fact that the Earl was the second wealthiest man in England, 'what mattered was that... he *felt* poor'.³² Adding to Shrewsbury's financial predicament were a number of incidents of disloyalty, including several plots to aid Mary in her escape, many of which involved servants from the Shrewsbury household. These problems caused the number of watchmen stationed at Sheffield Castle (initially set at forty) to oscillate frequently over the years of Mary's captivity. In the spring of 1573 – one year before the *Reward*'s

³¹ On the campaign of 'semi publicity', see James Emerson Phillips, *Images of a Queen: Mary Stuart in Sixteenth-Century Literature* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 55.

³² Stephen E. Kershaw, 'Power and Duty in the Elizabethan Aristocracy: George, Earl of Shrewsbury, the Glossopdale Dispute and the Council', in *The Tudor Nobility*, ed. by G. W. Bernard (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), p. 269 (original emphasis).

publication – a Privy Councillor had questioned Shrewsbury’s son about the security at Sheffield Castle. Gilbert Talbot is said to have replied with the following assurance:

there good numbers of men, continually armed, watched hir day and nyght, and both under hir windowes, over her chamber, and of every syde of hir; so that, unles she could transforme hirself to a flee or a mouse it was impossible that she should scape.³³

When the security of Sheffield Castle was in question, Robinson’s claim to keep his ‘watche, and warde’ (sig. A2v) over the Scottish Queen would have clear repercussions. The watch were fully armed and required to stand in pairs ‘at the stair foot of the said Scots Queen’s lodging’, with eight additional soldiers stationed within and without the castle walls.³⁴ The majority of these men were drawn from the Sheffield yeomanry, although Shrewsbury’s more senior servants were allowed to pass through the castle quarters on his ‘speciall busynesse’.³⁵ Although it is not clear in what exact capacity Robinson was employed, the specific details contained within the *Reward* initially point to a role similar to that of the yeoman servant or armed guard.

During the time of Mary’s captivity in the north of England, the Earl of Shrewsbury was almost entirely absent from London and the court, returning on just one occasion in January 1572 for the trial and execution of Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk. Gilbert Talbot, was also kept away from Sheffield at this time and was required to remain in London by royal request. Gilbert considered writing from the court a special duty that he owed his father and stepmother during this period of separation.³⁶ Members of the larger household unit – including family, kin and servants – would also act as agents, transmitting news between the country and the court. The

³³ Lambeth MS 3197, fol. 79 (11 May 1573).

³⁴ Leader, pp. 236-9.

³⁵ Arthur Clifford, ed., *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler, Knight-Banneret* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1809), p. 125.

³⁶ See for instance, Gilbert’s Talbot’s letter to Bess of Harwick (28 June 1574) in which he writes ‘To fulfill your Ladyship’s commandement, & in discharge of my duty by wryting rather then for any matter of importaunce that I can learne...’: (*Bess of Hardwick’s Letters Online* <<https://www.bessofhardwick.org/letter.jsp?letter=80>> [accessed 20 April 2016]). All references to *Bess of Hardwick’s Letters Online* will use the short form ‘BHL’ hereafter.

aforementioned John Kniveton, servant and kinsman to the Earl, was one key representative of the family during this time.³⁷ Another of the Earl's servants, Thomas Baldwin, was another such intermediary, and who was required to settle the debts incurred by the Earl as a result of Mary's over-exuberant diet.³⁸

Given Robinson's stated duty of keeping his 'watche, and warde', could he also have been a part of the Talbot news-nexus? The final episode of the *Reward*, entitled 'Retourning from Plutos Kingdome, To Noble Helicon: The place of Infinite Ioye', may suggest so. In this final episode, Morpheus explains to the dreamer how the nine Muses of Helicon had requested him to deliver 'newes' (sig. P3v). Upon his arrival at Helicon, their first question is, 'Why hast thou bene so long... what newes hast brought with thee?' (sig. P4v). The paratextual 'Booke to the Aucthour' also alludes to the demands put upon a news-intelligencer: 'And must I needs be packing hence, about such newes to beare'; 'But speede, as speede maye, abroad I will attempte in haste' (sig. A4r). The parallels between the *Reward* and the satirical 'news from hell' sub-branch of the dream vision are particularly apparent and, like these later texts, the *Reward* also seems to exploit the volume's 'strange' and enticing nature, as the title-page makes clear:

*Of thinges that be straunge,
Who loueth to reade:
In this Booke let him raunge,
His fancie to feede.* (sig. A1r).

The *Reward*'s epigraph also capitalises on what Adam Fox describes as the period's 'appetite for political discussion'. Indeed, 'What newes out of the northe?' was a question frequently posed in pamphlets and publications, particularly around the time of the 1569 Rebellion of the Northern Earls, a plan led by the Catholic Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland to depose Elizabeth and place Mary on the throne.³⁹ These facts make it reasonable to think that, in catering to a

³⁷ Daybell, p. 123.

³⁸ See Lambeth MS 3198, fols. 26, 33, 47, 53, 61.

³⁹ Adam Fox, 'Rumour, News and Popular Political Opinion in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England',

contemporary demand for news, the *Reward* might also respond to questions surrounding the loyalties of yet another Earl in England's north.

In keeping his promise to bring news of the 'otherworld' to light, Robinson also reveals his wish to find fame and recognition for himself in return. The desire for fame is a key feature of the dream vision genre and a consistent concern throughout the *Reward*. The poem's publisher Richard Smith penned a thirty-six-line commendatory verse to the *Reward*, in which he invokes the Muses of 'Thespyas' and refers to Robinson as their son (sig. A4v). Considering what little we know of Richard Robinson, Smith's depiction of the poet as 'the Rubi red, a Jewell for an Earle' and his celebration of the poet's removal to 'Pernassus hill / Where he... [c]ontrites the time both daye and night, in service of the same' are instructive. The poem by Smith also contains references to other works by Robinson (presumably lost), including 'pleasaunt Poemes, and Sonettes' (sig. A4v). In addition to the *Reward*, Smith was responsible for the publication of the works of George Gascoigne, including *The Steele Glas* (1576), as well as Henry Constable's *Diana* (1594) and George Chapman's *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* (1595).

While Smith's invocation to the Thespian Muses may suggest Robinson's affiliation with the theatrical arts (perhaps an allusion to *The Ruefull Tragedie of Hemidos and Thelay*), it may also indicate Robinson's affinity, if not in reality then certainly in spirit, with the writers operating in and around the Inns of Court. The invocation to the Muse was a tactic employed by Googe in his Preface to the *Zodiake of Lyfe* (1560/1) and by Heywood in his command to 'go where Minerva's men, / And finest wit do swarm' in the Preface to *Thyestes* (1560), as shown in Chapter One.⁴⁰

The Historical Journal 40.3 (1997), 597-620 (p. 600). On the ballads of the Northern Rising, see James K. Lowers, *Mirrors for Rebels: A Study of Polemical Literature Relating to the Northern Rebellion, 1569* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1953); Krista J. Kesselring, "A Cold Pye for the Papistes': Constructing and Containing the Northern Rising of 1569', *The Journal of British Studies* 43.04 (2004), 417-43; Edward Wilson-Lee, 'The Bull and the Moon: Broadside Ballads and the Public Sphere at the Time of the Northern Rising (1569-70)', *The Review of English Studies* 63.259 (2012), 225-42.

⁴⁰ Jasper Heywood, 'The Preface' to *Thyestes* (ll. 83-4) *Elizabethan Seneca: Three Tragedies*, ed. by James Ker and Jessica Winston (London: MHRA, 2012), p. 142. On the invocation to the Muse, see Laurie Shannon, 'Minerva's Men: Horizontal Nationhood and the Literary Production of Googe, Turberville, and

Robinson echoes Heywood's lines, declaring the 'Gentleman' poets of the Inns of Court as his main source for comparison:

Your Honours have in Th'innes of Court, a sort of Gentlemen,
That fine would fit your whole intentes, with stately stile to Pen.
Let Studley, Hake, or Fulwood take, that William hath to name
This peece of worke in hande, that bee more fitter for the same. (sig. Q3r).

These lines refer to a number of near-contemporary writers, whom Robinson believes are better equipped than him to complete the task of composing the *Reward*. These include: John Studley, the translator of numerous Senecan plays, including *Agamemnon* and *Medea* (first printed in 1566), Edward Hake, a law student at both Gray's Inn and Barnard's Inn (c. 1564-7) and author of *Newes out of Paules Churchyard* (1567; republished in the same year as the *Reward*), and William Fulwood, the author of *The Enimie of Idlenesse*, published in 1568. The lines quoted above appear in the *Reward*'s finale, 'To Noble Helicon', an episode typical of the dream vision genre, in which the dreamer is led through a gallery containing the portraits of Homer, Virgil and Ovid, Chaucer, Skelton and Lydgate; poets who all command a strong influence throughout the *Reward*, although there are a number who also appear to have gathered within the gallery itself: William Wager, Church of England minister and playwright,⁴¹ Jasper Heywood and 'Barnabe Googe', 'With diuers other English men, whose names I will omit' (sig. Q2r). Whilst the poetic roll-call is an established feature of the dream vision poem, in seeking the approval and support of not three, but six *living* authors, Robinson also seeks to establish his connection to a burgeoning canon of modern-day English poets.

Beyond the use of genre, what else can we learn from Robinson's connections to the Inns of Court? An interesting link can be found within the later publication, *A Poore Knight his Pallace of Priuate Pleasures* (1579). This work is evidently modelled on *Tottel's Miscellany* and more recent

Gascoigne', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485-1603*, ed. by Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 437-54.

⁴¹ Peter Happé, 'William Wager (1537/8?-1591)', *ODNB*.

examples of the single-author volume of lyrical poems such as Googe's *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* (1563). The text also exploits a contemporary fashion for Italianate forms, as represented by such works as William Painter's *The Palace of Pleasure* (1566) and George Pettie's *A Petite Pallace of Pettie His Pleasure* (1576). In addition to this, *A Poore Knight his Pallace of Prinate Pleasures* also testifies to the popularity of the *Reward* and its use as a source of inspiration among the early modern academic community. Published by the furtive figure of 'I. C. Gent' of 'Grayes Inn' and penned by 'A Student in Cambridge',⁴² it contains three separate episodes in which Robinson is praised by the Student for his *Reward*.⁴³ As Morpheus says of Pope Joan in one of *A Poore Knight's* several visionary episodes:

...this is shee which all the Church beguilde,
Whom all men thought to bee a man, till that shee had a childe.
Pope Ioane shee hath to name, whom once within the Lake,
I shewed vnto *Robinson*, as our viage wee did make. (sig. B4r).

Some new and firmer evidence pertaining to the name of 'Robinson' and the Inns of Court can also be found among the papers of Bess of Hardwick. A document recording covenants of indenture (dated 17th January 1573) invites us to consider that there may have been a connection between Robinson and Bess's eldest son, William Cavendish (1552-1628). The document mentions the sum of £600 owed to Cavendish, a student at Gray's Inn at this time, by a Thomas Barley of Stoke. Among the recorded witnesses were Thomas Kniveton (brother to the aforementioned Shrewsbury servant, John Kniveton), 'Robarte Bagshawe' (a common name, although sources

⁴² The identity of 'I. C. Gent' is unknown, though it is very possible that the initials I.C. or J. C. refer to John Charlewood, publisher of a number of 'Italianate' works (notably, the works of Giordano Bruno), as well as F.T.'s *The Debate betweene Pride and Lowlines* (1577), Samuel Daniel's *Delia* (1592) and one of several English translations of Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia: The Strife of Loue in a Dreame* (1592) by Robert Dallington.

⁴³ The text has also generated some confusion over attribution, with a number of sources (including EEBO) citing Richard Robinson as the author of *A Poore Knight his Pallace of Prinate Pleasures*. See, for example, Scott Oldenburg, *Alien Albion: Literature and Immigration in Early Modern England* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2014), p. 54. There is evidence to suggest that *A Poore Knight* is the anonymous 'Student's' first and possibly only foray into print. In the final poem, 'The poore Knight his farewell to his Booke', he describes his work as his 'eldest Sonne' and requests him to not 'Disdaine... this viage to begin' (sig. L4v).

suggest that he was a yeoman from one of the Shrewsbury estates), and one ‘Richard Robinson’.⁴⁴ Although the individual mentioned here cannot with true certainty be identified as our poet, it is not unreasonable to suppose that this was he. If Robinson did accompany Cavendish to London in 1573, then this places him in the outer vicinity of the Inns of Court, and therefore a short distance away from Saint Paul’s Churchyard, where the *Rewarde* was later printed by William Williamson in 1574.

With the precise details of the *Rewarde*’s publication and its author somewhat clearer than before, we are in a much better position to consider the poem itself. Whilst, in moving away from history into classical mythology, the *Rewarde* reflects the direction taken by later editions of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, less obvious perhaps is the way that the *Rewarde*’s use of genre and poetic form foregrounds some of the more topical aspects of the volume. While the dream is a complex generic device through which Robinson is able to account for a range of issues relating to the poem’s composition, as demonstrated below, Robinson’s dream vision Prologue also speaks to concerns surrounding Mary Queen of Scots’ imprisonment, including rumour and revolt, as well as a more ethically- and indeed personally-motivated desire to express his own sense of duty.

‘WHEN MEN DELIGHT TO KEEPE THE FIRE SIDE’:
THE PROLOGUE

Where, as shown in the previous chapter, the dream vision proved a suitable paratext to translation for a number of authors during the 1560s, the *Rewarde*’s Prologue is in many ways quite different to Googe’s Preface to the *Zodiacke of Lyfe* and other examples of the visionary Preface. Unlike the mid-Tudor prefaces to translation, the Prologue to the *Rewarde* both initiates and encompasses the central material. It consists of thirty-six rhyme-royal stanzas, a form used by Thomas Sackville in his Induction of 1563, and typically reserved for ‘grave discourses’.⁴⁵ Like Sackville, Googe and

⁴⁴ Nottinghamshire Archives 157 DD/P/51/6 (17 Jan 1573).

⁴⁵ George Gascoigne, ‘Certayne notes of Instruction’ in *The Complete Works of George Gascoigne*, ed. by John W. Cunliffe, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907-10), I, p. 471.

Heywood before him, Robinson also begins his poem in winter and, more specifically, December, ‘when daies be short and colde’ (sig. B1r). Along with the conventional classical and astrological allusions found within the visionary frame, the *Rewardé’s* Prologue goes on to elaborate on this well-known and well-used poetic formula:

On eyther side the hilles when blastes doe rise,
As sharpe as thornes the naked skinne doth hit,
And *Saturne* to the earth doth shewe his frosen eyes,
Whose wrath doth pinch eache creature to the quicke,
Which oft doth cause both young and olde fall sicke,
With cough, and colde, and stopping rheumes also,
Quotidians, feures, diseases many mo: (sig. B1r).

Through reference to the harsh conditions of the winter months, these opening lines create an atmosphere characterised by mutability and disease.⁴⁶

Whilst Robinson’s use of generic form and setting may prove a fitting induction to tragic complaint, these expectations are subverted within the seventh stanza of the Prologue through the withdrawal of Robinson’s persona indoors. Although this is also a regular feature of the form (as evidenced by Sackville’s Induction and Googe’s Preface), Robinson chooses not to locate his Prologue within the confines of a study but, like Chaucer’s Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* and Skelton’s *Bonge of Court* (1499), within a tavern, ‘When mery mates be met’ (sig. B1v). The Prologue abounds with Skeltonic tones, enhanced by colloquialisms, alliteration and rhyme, for amongst the clinking jars of ‘Nutbrowne Ale or Bere’, the patrons ‘tosse the pottes and playe the flitting boules, / Then pay their pence, and packe with dronken noules’ (sig. B1v). These lines find their origin in oral folk tradition, with Feste’s closing song in Shakespeare’s *Twelfth Night* offering a suitable point for comparison:

But when I came unto my beds,
With hey, ho, the wind and the rain,
With tosspots still had drunken heads,
For the rain it raineth every day. (5.1.393-6)

⁴⁶ For more on this topos, see Alan T. Bradford, ‘Mirrors of Mutability: Winter Landscapes in Tudor Poetry’, *English Literary Renaissance* 4.1 (1974), 3-39.

In turn, the *Rewardé's* Prologue entails a movement away from the world of the tragic toward the communal world of festive comedy.

The formality of going to bed described in this scene also lacks the sense of Stoic isolation displayed in other examples of the dream vision form, as indicated by the passage below:

The shot was gathered, and the fyre rakte vp,
Eache man to his lodging began for to draw:
Some stackering stumbled as mad as a Tup,
Some crept vnder the mattresse into the strawe.
Another sort began to pleade the common lawe.
I lookt about and sawe them so dight,
Put out the candle and bad them goodnight. (sig. B2r).

This passage is interesting for a number of reasons. As Alec Ryrie explains, Reformed Protestants experienced a 'spiritual struggle with sleeping and dreaming'; 'The ambition was to have your mind focused on godly matters as you fell asleep'.⁴⁷ In this climate of ritual piety surrounding sleep, the 'stackering' and stumbling patrons of Robinson's alehouse display a notable lack of concern for the material and spiritual conditions needed for a proper night's rest.

Although the precise location of these events is unclear, there is something peculiarly northern about the Prologue's use of language in the *Rewardé's* Prologue. The expression 'mad as a Tup' (meaning 'angry as a ram') is a phrase distinctive to Derbyshire,⁴⁸ and the word 'saft' (sig. B2r; a dialectical variation on 'soft'), is more commonly associated with the Midlands and the north. More significant still is that the alehouses in the north of England, where the events of the Prologue would appear to take place, were also considered one of the prime locations for conspiracy and the beginnings of revolt. As Krista J. Kesselring writes in her account of the 1569 Rebellion of the Northern Earls, Queen Elizabeth ordered,

that local justices keep a close eye on fairs and markets and interrogate any who spread seditious tales. She demanded that they seize vagrants, who both

⁴⁷ Alec Ryrie, 'Sleeping, waking and dreaming in Protestant piety', in *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 73-92 (p. 75).

⁴⁸ Thomas Ratcliffe, 'As Mad as a Tup', *Notes and Queries* 9.8 (1901), 501.

contributed to the general sense of disorder and were thought especially prone to spreading dangerous reports far and wide. In response to these repeated injunctions the Councillors of the North gathered inn holders and taverners before them and asked whether they had ‘heard talk in the houses by any manner of person of any news, tales, reports, or rumours between the Queen’s Majesty and her nobles...’. Similar enquiries occurred throughout the realm.⁴⁹

Although the 1569 rebellion ultimately failed, rumour spread in the immediate aftermath that the Catholic Duke of Alba would invade the country and lead another rebellion in the north. The intention was to assassinate Elizabeth and to have Mary marry Elizabeth’s cousin, Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk. As discussed in more detail below, *A Golden Mirroure* (1589) looks back to these events and their repercussions. In light of such pressures, the advice ‘trust not an alehouse frend’ for ‘Of forrein frayes they tell a bloody tale’ within the final poem in Robinson’s *A Golden Mirroure* (1589, sig. H1r) is highly instructive.

The tavern in Robinson’s *Reward* is in itself suggestive of rumour, ‘When men delight to keepe the fire side, / And winter tales incline their eares to heare’, as it is of residual Catholic belief:

In this season it was my lotte to fall,
Among a masque chosen for the nonce,
Some reelde, some fell, some helde them by the wall,
... Some sang, some chid, and sware gogs precious bones,
(Quoth one to me) friende camst thou from saint Jones?
what penance hast thou done, thou art so leane & pale (sig. B1v).

The allusion here to performing the sacrament of ‘penance’ is a part of the *Reward*’s broad anti-Catholic theme. The sharing of ‘winter tales’ – a contemporary byword for rumour – also provides a variation on the dream vision form, transforming the standard pre-dream trope of reading

⁴⁹ Krista J. Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion of 1569: Faith Politics and Protest in Elizabethan England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 146, quoting from *York Civic Records* (Vol. 4), ed. by Angelo Raine (York: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1945), p. 160. The communal qualities of the *Reward*’s Prologue have some affinity with what Wilson-Lee describes as a ‘fledgling version of the public sphere’ (p. 226). The notion derives from Jürgen Habermas’ ‘public sphere’ model, which he relates to ‘the [eighteenth-century] world of letters, whose institutions were the coffee houses, the salons, and the *Tischgesellschaften* (table societies)’: *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: an inquiry into a category of Bourgeois society*, trans. by Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press; Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 1989 [1962]), p. 30. On the relationship between gossip and the alehouse in this period, see Bernard Capp, ‘Gender and the culture of the English alehouse in late Stuart England’, *COLLeGIUM: Studies across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences* 2.2 (2007), 103-27.

explored and parodied by Googe in his Preface to the *Zodiake of Lyfe* into a profoundly aural experience that is laden with connotations of both gossip and superstition.⁵⁰

As has been demonstrated throughout this thesis, the transition from ‘ignorance’ to ‘knowledge’ is a characteristic feature of the dream vision form. The foundations for this structure are laid in the first few stanzas of the Prologue to the *Rewarde* for, by falling in with this ‘rablous route’ (sig. B3r), Robinson presents himself as a particularly gullible figure. In describing how his ‘heade was layde full saft’ (sig. B2r), a localised expression which may denote something that produces an ‘agreeable or pleasant sensation; characterised by ease and quiet enjoyment’ or, more particularly, one who is ‘more or less foolish, silly, or simple; lacking ordinary intelligence or common-sense; easily imposed upon or deceived’,⁵¹ the narrator’s folly is further amplified. Robinson’s narrator is as equally susceptible to overindulgence, having satisfied himself at the ‘good Ale feast’ (sig. B2r).

Such vulnerability and excess may serve to underline not only the dreamer’s ignorance, but also present an epistemological dilemma. Food and alcohol (particularly wine) were renowned for inciting troublesome dreams. In Skelton’s Prologue to the *Garlande of Laurell* (c. 1495) the narrator is unsure whether his dream was caused by ‘ymagynacyon / Or of humors superflue’ caused by ‘drynkyng ouer depe’.⁵² Although a dream arising from drunkenness may be placed in the lowest category of interpretation (the *insomnium*), these expectations are challenged within the Prologue to the *Rewarde* by the appearance of a dream guide – a god, no less – ‘Dasht all in golden raies’, who appears at the door of the dreamer’s chamber, dazzling his eyes and causing all other senses

⁵⁰ As Catherine Belsey explains, winter tales are also suggestive of continuing belief in folklore and ghost stories that ‘successive doctrinal prohibitions and appropriations were unable to suppress’: ‘Shakespeare’s Sad Tale for Winter: *Hamlet* and the Tradition of Fireside Ghost Stories’, *Shakespeare Quarterly* 61.1 (2010), 1-27 (p. 8).

⁵¹ ‘soft, *adj.*’, *OED* (1.a; 18.a).

⁵² John Skelton, ‘The Crowne of Lawrell’, in *Pithy Pleasaunt and Profitable Workes of Maister Skelton, Poete Laureate* (London: T. Marshe, 1568), sig. A1v.

to depart (sig. B2r). The entrance of Morpheus, the god of sleep, introduces the possibility for Robinson's dream to come under the more authentic category of an *oraculum*, 'in which a parent, or a pious or revered man, or a priest, or even a god clearly reveals what will or will not transpire, and what action to take or to avoid' (*Macr.* 1.3.7-8). Morpheus then goes on to rebuke the dreamer for his laziness in a manner reminiscent of other Chaucerian figures: 'Slugge, why sleepest all the night?' (sig. B2r).⁵³ By urging Robinson's dreamer out of his inactive state, Morpheus then reveals his own ability to reveal, through dreams, the 'secrets deepe':

And knowe (quoth he) that euerie night and daye,
 Who shutteth vp his eyes, his heade to feede with sleepe,
 His wandering spirite attendes on me alwaye,
 To trudge and trauell, where I shall thinke it meete,
 As well to mounte the skies, as in the secrets deepe,
 As swifte as thought, what God hath greater poure,
 Then all that is or was, to shewe thee in an houre? (sig. B2v).

Reprising his former role in the *Book of the Duchess*, Morpheus is a liminal figure, enabling the 'wandering spirite' to traverse 'Countrie, Courte', 'skies' and the 'deepe'. The thrice-repeated verb to 'shewe' here stresses the ability for dreams to also 'unfolde' and reveal 'all that is or was' (sig. B2v). Such revelations can both provide the dreamer with the matter of which to write, and thereby cure him of his idle and foolish ways. With Morpheus as his dream guide, Robinson then embarks upon his journey to the infernal realm.

We know from Googe's 1563 dream poem 'Cupido Conquered' that such accusations of idleness could carry both moral and artistic weight. Robinson refers in 'The Aucthour to the Reader' to 'Idlennesse' as 'the daughter of destruction... to be abandoned of all men, that loue to

⁵³ See Wyatt's 'Ye that in love finde luck and swete abundance' ('Arise for shame, doway your sluggardy', l. 3) in *Tottel's Miscellany: Songs and Sonnets of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt and Others*, ed. by Amanda Holton and Tom MacFaul (London: Penguin Books, 2011), p. 55. The main source for these lines comes from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (Book VII, ll. 92-4), with echoes of Pandarus' advice to Troilus in Book II of *Troilus and Criseyde* (ll. 111-2). See also Dunbar's *Thryssil and the Rois* ('Slugird! ... awalk anone for schame, / And in my honour somthing thou go write', ll. 22-3) in *The Poems of William Dunbar*, 2nd edn, ed. by W. Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Mercat Press, 1990), p. 108. The Muse of Tragedy in Robinson's later collection, *A Golden Mirroure*, also employs a similar phrase: 'arise thou slugg, why sleep'st thou here' (sig. D4v).

leade the life of good and honest members of a common wealth' (sig. A3r). These claims have a definite bearing both on Robinson's use of genre and on his proclaimed status within the Shrewsbury household. They also reflect the words of William Fulwood, who is listed alongside Edward Hake and John Studley in the final part of the *Rewarde*. Fulwood's *The Enimie of Idlenesse* (1568), a textbook describing 'the maner and stile how to endite, compose, and write all sorts of Epistles and Letters', promotes the activity of writing 'at vacant tymes when leisure permitteth', and through which an individual will 'both purchase frendship, increase in knowledge and also drive away drowsy dumps and fond fantasies from thy heavy head'.⁵⁴ The dedicatory epistle to the *Rewarde* echoes Fulwood's terms, describing the *Rewarde* as a 'Drousie Dreeming peece of work' (sig. A2v). By exploiting the moral pressures behind the need to occupy himself in study, Robinson's use of the dream vision frame goes one step further than this. Upon waking from his dream at the volume's close, the narrator is notably displeased at his companions' drunken behaviour, describing his decision to spend 'the time in studie' and his determination that his news of the 'otherworld' then reach the printer's hands with 'haste' (sig. Q3v). In shaking off his idle habits, the dreamer abandons all other forms of sin. We may presume that, as for numerous visionaries before him, he 'thereafter leads a reformed life'.⁵⁵

The contrast between sleep and study is also addressed in the *Rewarde's* dedicatory materials. Robinson claims in his Epistle to Gilbert Talbot, that he composed the poem whilst he 'serue[d] in watche of the Scottishe Queene' (sig. A2v). As Ryrie points out, the verb to 'watch' bore spiritual connotations at this time: 'its primary late medieval and early modern meaning was to be or remain deliberately awake'; an ascetic practice that Ryrie deems on a par with fasting.⁵⁶ Robinson is careful to emphasise in his Epistle to the Reader that he 'euery night collected some part' of the poem, 'to thend that nowe it might the better appeare, that I vsed not altogether to

⁵⁴ William Fulwood, *The Enimie of Idlenesse* (London: H. Bynneman, 1568), sig. A1r; A6r-v.

⁵⁵ Easting, p. 3.

⁵⁶ Ryrie, p. 76.

sleepe' (sig. A2v). These claims reinforce Robinson's claims to avoid idleness, with the effect of promoting his competence and devotion to his duty of keeping watch over the Scottish Queen.

To provide some further substance to these claims, Robinson requests his audience,

to take in good part this simple trauaile of mine, which to eschewe Idlenes, and speciallye at the which times, gentle reader, I collected this together, faining that in my sleepe MORPHEVS tooke me to PLVTOS Kingdome in a Dreame: The which deuice, I mistrust not, but thou shalt thincke well of. (sig. A3r).

The unequivocally fictional nature of the dreamer's encounter with Morpheus adds another level of complication to an already complex picture. For, despite the imaginary nature of Robinson's alehouse slumber, he makes the claim slightly earlier in his Epistle to Gilbert Talbot that, on one of many 'watchfull nightes', he was guilty of some negligence and that he did in fact 'chance...to take a slumber'. It was this that inspired him 'to compile this fiction of *Poetry*' (sig. A2v). Although the dream-as-inspiration topos may furnish the poem with a degree of classical authority, the question remains as to whether any of this material should be accepted as true. We have seen above how Robinson's dream covers the middle-ground between the *oraculum* and *visum*. Such epistemological concerns are addressed in greater detail within 'The Booke to the Aucthor':

Wherefore I greeue these Dreames to tel, ifte were in me to choose,
Thinkst thou theyle credite Dreames these daies, that Christ wil scarce beleuee?
No, no, I doubt it ouermuch: then blame not mee to greeue
... And if I chaunce to speake amisse, thy pardon here I craue,
repentaunce at the sinners hande, Is all Christ seekes to haue. (sig. A4r).

The *Reward's* prefatory materials are evidently designed to engage the reader's imagination. At the same time, they seek to absolve the author of any responsibility for the material that then follows. That these apologetic gestures were deemed necessary in themselves suggests material of a contentious nature. The fact that six out of the *Reward's* seven paratextual items (namely, the title-page, the two prefatory Epistles, 'The Aucthour to the Booke', 'The Booke to the Aucthour' and the Prologue) engage in some way with the conventions and attitudes surrounding dreams makes it clear that volume's creator wished for these disclamatory remarks to not go ignored.

Despite the many issues raised by Robinson's use of a fictional frame, the dream also provides a practical solution to a very real problem. As Robinson explains in the Epistle to the Reader, the *Reward* had 'escaped' his 'handes, not altogether so wel plained and polished, as [he] purposed it should haue beene' (sig. A3r). Whilst such claims of rudeness and simplicity are in accord with rhetorical convention, the *Reward* does in fact fail to observe a standard principle of organisation.⁵⁷ Although the text reveals a clear desire on the part of the author to establish some form of narrative coherence, many of these attempts have been overlooked by the printer. For example, at the end of Medea's complaint, the dreamer and Morpheus look forward to the next section of their journey by alluding to 'two men...tormented woefullye' (sig. G2v). These lines suggest that this episode should be followed by the Two Judges of Susanna when it is in fact followed by the complaint of Tantalus. Similarly, the episode entitled 'Newes betwene the Pope and Pluto' begins, 'Thus leauing Helen in endlesse woe and paine, / Through yrkesome vale from crag to crag we crept' (sig. N1v). The episode does not come after the complaint of Helen (the first in the *Reward*'s sequence), but is instead placed tenth in the sequence, after the complaint of Pope Joan. These are just some of many structural inconsistencies in the *Reward*, and it would appear that no amount of reordering can produce an adequate solution.⁵⁸

Although these errors may have been due to negligence on the part of Robinson's printer, part of Robinson's aim within the framing section of the *Reward* is to account for the volume's haphazard appearance. In addition to the *Reward*'s many structural irregularities, the poem displays great metrical variety, including the rhyme-royal stanza (as used in the Prologue, the complaints of Tarquin, the Two Judges of Susanna), the eight-line ballad stanza (Helen of Troy; Pope Alexander

⁵⁷ Ward, p. 11.

⁵⁸ Ward's MHRA edition puts the complaints and episodes of the poem in the following order: Helen of Troy, 'Newes between the Pope & Pluto', Medea, Pope Alexander VI, Heliogabalus, Tarquin, Tantalus, Turinus, Two Judges of Susanna, Pope Joan, Midas, Rosamond. This arrangement does not follow the order implied by the original. For example, the complaint of Rosamond begins 'When from this Pope we were depart and gone' (sig. O2v), though in the MHRA edition it is preceded by the complaint of Midas. The complaint of Rosamond is most definitely the last in the sequence, though it should (as it does in the original) follow on from the complaint of Pope Joan.

VI; Medea; Heliogabalus), the sestet stanza (Turinus; Pope Joan; Rosamond) and the fourteener (Midas; 'To Noble Helicon'). This may further imply that the poem was compiled in piecemeal fashion. As Robinson states in 'The Aucthour to the Reader', the *Rewarde* was composed 'as time appointeth it to mee' (sig. A3r). Robinson also refers to the art of 'collecting' his material on two occasions, both in the address to Gilbert Talbot (sig. A2v) and in 'The Aucthour to the Reader' (sig. A3r), and his sources range widely to include everything from classical mythology, chronicle history to the Bible. The text thus assumes a shape not unlike that of a miscellany or printed commonplace book.⁵⁹ It is therefore interesting to note that, unlike Googe's Preface to the *Zodiacke of Lyffe*, the Prologue to the *Rewarde* omits to mention books, the raw materials of the dream-poet's verse. Instead, the Robinson's *Rewarde* might be the result of what Mary Carruthers describes as 'memory work'.⁶⁰ This has an important relation to the dream vision tradition. As Carruthers explains, lying in bed in a state of wakefulness was 'thought to induce the mental concentration necessary for... recollective, memorative composition'.⁶¹

Further comparison between the *Rewarde* and the *Mirror for Magistrates* reveals that Robinson was not alone in his use of the dream vision as a mnemonic aid. It was by reading an earlier edition of the *Mirror* that its 1574 editor, John Higgins, claims to have fallen asleep and seen with his mind's eye, the fallen men and women of the past. The *Mirror*'s 1578 editor, Thomas Blenerhasset, criticised Higgins for his reliance on sleep for inspiration. Blenerhasset, by contrast, did not require '*Morpheus*', but had 'diligent *Inquisition*, who can finde out al things, and *Memorie*, who knoweth al thinges' on his side.⁶² These later editions of the *Mirror* provide yet another point

⁵⁹ As Pincombe also notes, 'the poem on Tantalus... is unusual in that it has two longish passages of general moralisation, with sources given in the margin...presumably...from Robinson's commonplace-book, or maybe some such compilation as William Baldwin's *Treatise of Moral Philosophy* (1547)' ('The Reward of Wickedness', HRI Origins).

⁶⁰ Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 174.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Thomas Blenerhasset, *The Seconde Part of the Mirrour for Magistrates* (London: R. Webster, 1578), sig. *4v.

of comparison with Robinson's *Rewarde*. Drawing on the stories of Brutus, Cadwallader and Uther Pendragon, the editions of Higgins and Blenerhasset moved increasingly away from history toward the stuff of legend. This movement led Paul Budra to believe that such tales were 'sufficiently distant from English politics' so that direct comparisons with the present day were not easy or even intended to be forged.⁶³ While responding, in part, to a universal problem of sin, Robinson's *Rewarde* is more specific in its aims. Through careful selection and manipulation of character and source, the poem seems designed to both speak to and conceal concerns of a more topical nature.

That Robinson places such importance on Helen of Troy – the first of his twelve complainants and an example to all 'that live in godlie fere' (sig. D1r) – is all the more interesting when we consider Helen of Troy's position within sixteenth-century English culture. Synonymous with ideas of matchless beauty, infidelity and the fall of empire, Helen of Troy attracted attention from a large number of writers, both of the page and the stage. For example, in Thomas Proctor's *A Gorgious Gallery, of Gallant Inuentions* (1578), a collection of miscellaneous poems modelled on *Tottel's Miscellany*, Helen of Troy is the epitome of 'Whoredom' and, similar to Robinson's *Rewarde*, voices her complaint 'From Limbo Lake'.⁶⁴ In Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (1592), she bore the 'face that launched a thousand ships'.⁶⁵ Along with Robinson's *Rewarde*, these texts all seem to participate in a widespread programme of depicting Helen of Troy's posthumous fate. In Katherine Heavey's view, this interest was inspired both,

by the apparent connections between Britain and Troy, and by a desire to praise not just anonymous women who are unlike Helen, but in particular, the epitome of chastity, Elizabeth herself. Such an intention, whether conscious or unconscious, would underline the extent to which these poems are at once indebted to classical and medieval models, and are of their own time,

⁶³ Paul Budra, *A Mirror for Magistrates' and the 'De Casibus' Tradition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), p. 32. In contrast to this, Scott Lucas suggests that the *Mirror's* readers were encouraged to discern parallels between the events described in the complaints and present-day affairs (*A Mirror for Magistrates' and the Politics of the English Reformation* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009), p. 15)

⁶⁴ Thomas Proctor, 'The reward of Whoredome by the fall of Helen' in *A Gorgious Gallery, of Gallant Inuentions* (London: W. How, 1578), sig. L1r.

⁶⁵ Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus: The A-Text* (5.1.90) in *Christopher Marlowe: Doctor Faustus and Other Plays*, ed. by David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

inextricably entwined with Elizabethan culture and concerns.⁶⁶

Placed alongside Medea, Pope Joan and Queen Rosamond, Helen's presence in the *Reward* participates in a complex literary discourse on female conduct, chastity and fame. More specifically, however, it is her presence alongside Medea that suggests concerns of a far more pressing nature than previously assumed. As shown in the section below, the *Reward* adopts the form and styling of the propaganda levelled against Mary Queen of Scots, particularly the works published in the wake of her alleged involvement in the death of her husband, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, in 1567. The issues of gender, genre and source are thus central to our understanding not only of Robinson's position within the Shrewsbury household, but also the extent to which the *Reward* was written with the political events and concerns of the day in mind.

SENTENCE FIRST, VERDICT AFTERWARDS:
HELEN OF TROY AND MEDEA

In *A Poore Knight his Pallace of Priuate Pleasures* (1579), in a section entitled 'Justice and Judgement, pleaded at Beauties Barre', Helen of Troy is one of a number of famous lovers to stand before the eponymous judge. After Menelaus and Oenone have delivered their grievances against Helen, she is then handed her sentence and led away. The reader, however, must refer to '*Robinson*' in order to discover her fate, for he 'should tell, / As well her paine, as where this Lady dwell' (sig. F1r). Those with the means of cross-referencing *A Poore Knight his Pallace of Priuate Pleasures* with the *Reward* will discover that, in Robinson's account, Helen suffers 'endles paines', and that 'hissing Serpentes swarme as thicke as haile... / With whetted stinges this Lady to assaile' (sig. C4r). Her punishment in hell's 'flaming Seas' revives a Dantean formula of 'Howe fornicatours... rewarded bee' (sig. C4v). These graphic images also illustrate the extent to which anti-Catholic literature, like the *Reward*, would draw on pre-Reformation religious imagery to add force and clarity to its message. In the highly popular *Kalendayr of the Shyppars* (first published in 1503), for example, those

⁶⁶ Heavey, p. 473.

guilty of sloth suffer the bites and stings of ‘a great multitude of serpentes bygge and small... wounding them to the hart with inextinguible payne’.⁶⁷ The sin of sloth (and more specifically, idleness) was considered a direct partner of unchaste behaviour.

The events described in *A Poore Knight his Pallace of Priuate Pleasures* also revive the legal procedures employed by Robinson in the *Reward*. Of the *Reward*’s twelve complaints, a total of nine conclude with a section entitled ‘The Bookes Verdict’.⁶⁸ Though the verdict can do little to change the course of justice, ‘The Bookes verdite vpon *Hellen*’ hopes to persuade its reader in other ways:

Is any heart so harde, that woulde not melt to heere?
You Ladies doe you not regarde, the fall of bewties peere?
And haue you locked vp salt flooddes within your eyes?
... Loe these [i.e. virtuous Ladies] are they and such, that ought with shamefaste looke,
To be abasht when they shall touche, or vew this simple booke. (sig. D1r).

By justifying the punishments meted out to Helen, ‘The Bookes verdite vpon *Hellen*’ also transforms the poem’s readership into a posthumous jury for Helen’s complaint. Although the *Reward*, as its title-page states, is a work ‘Verye profitable for all sorts of estates to read and look upon’ (sig. A1r), the example of Helen of Troy is aimed squarely at a female audience.

In her discussion of reading practices of this time, Heidi Brayman Hackel explains that,

[w]omen’s experiences as readers [were] circumscribed by legal and cultural injunctions for silence. For women’s reading, like women’s writing and speaking, aroused controversy, and attracted comment throughout the period, and the pressures of the patriarchal state on female readers can be felt in legal statuses, educational practices and conduct books.⁶⁹

Through the controversial and highly popular figure of Helen of Troy, Robinson’s *Reward* speaks to these injunctions. Her complaint is not only ventriloquised by a male author (thereby

⁶⁷ Robert Copland, *The Shepards Kalender* (London: T. Este, 1570), sig. E8r.

⁶⁸ Three sections that do not conform to this standard are the complaints of Tarquin, Midas and Rosamond.

⁶⁹ Hackel, p. 197.

accentuating the nature of her silence), but she is held up as an example of feminine misconduct. The way for Robinson's readers to learn and implement her lesson is by being faithful to their husbands. As Helen herself explains:

Although it doth abashe eache daintye Dame,
to reade of mee, or yet to heare mee read:
I am the marke for you to shun like shame,
disdaine me not though hygh you beare your head,
You that of Husbandes all this while bée sped,
bee true to them in all your conuersation:
Beware take héede, defile no time theyr bed,
among the Gods it's great abhomination. (sig. C1v).

Robinson's female readers should learn from Helen's example by being faithful to their husbands. But in order for all 'daintye Dames' to 'reade' or 'heare' Helen's tale, she must herself become the 'marke' of sin.

In an allusion to Ovid's *Heroides*, Robinson locates the most damning evidence against Helen within her letters to Paris: 'I layde him letters, in secrete holes and noukes, / for to attempte the venture for my sake' (sig. C3r). But the proof of her guilt rests, ultimately, in the publishing:

And then when Fame hath sounded vp hir trumps,
and publisht all your deedes and filthy life: ...
your Husbandes shall disdaine to call you wife.
Your friendes shall blushe to heare you namde (sig. C3v).

The recurrent references to blushing and shame within Helen's complaint evoke the responses desired in the (female) reader upon reading her tale. The metaphor of the female body-as-text is a thoroughly conventional one, though it is transformed in 'The Bookes verdite vpon *Hellen*' into an irrevocable image of blotting. As the 'Booke' confirms, Helen's is the 'face' that 'did staine the rest, of all that earthly were' (sig. D1r).

These concerns with female chastity, textuality and fame extend throughout the *Reward*. Although seemingly intended to counsel 'proude princes' and 'tyrauntes' (sig. A1r), the complaint of Tarquin concludes with the following admonition to all 'Ladies, Wiues and Maides': 'No doubt

although Lucrecia bée gone, / As myrrour maye remaine, this storye when you sée. / So may you learne the gifte of chastitye...’ (sig. K1r). Lucrece is one of a long list of chaste and virtuous women cited by Robinson in his *Rewarde*. ‘The Bookes verdite vpon *Hellen*’ itself includes a catalogue of exemplary good women which, although excluding Lucrece, offers several other examples of virtuous classical figures to counter and compare with Helen of Troy:

Ulissee wife doth lose no fame nor honour here:
 No, No, nor any one of those, that liue in godlie fere.
 Nor yet the good *Alcest*, doth catch no blotte nor staine:
 Nor *Griseld* doth not lose the least of Hippos happie gaine,
 I am assured this, that *Cleopatra* winnes
 Through Fame a triple blisse...
 For *Creseid* she is one, whose face may blush to heare,
 Of *Hellens* life, that now is gon, vngracious *Circes* peere. (sig. D1r).

Although Cleopatra may strike the reader as a rather enigmatic inclusion in this list, she serves here, as in Chaucer’s *Legend of Good Women*, to illustrate a more equivocal concern with fame.⁷⁰ Criseyde is yet another curiously Chaucerian choice. Whilst for many miscellanists of the period Criseyde was a paradigm of female inconstancy,⁷¹ in the *Rewarde* she too ‘may blush to heare’ (sig. D1r) of Helen’s transgressions.

While Robinson’s inclusion of five exemplary good women in ‘The Bookes verdite vpon *Hellen*’ is in firm keeping with the *de casibus* and visionary traditions in which the *Rewarde* is placed, (a tradition which spans Boccaccio, Chaucer, Lydgate and the *Mirror for Magistrates*), it also has some rather more intriguing links to the household of his employment. The 1601 Inventory of Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire includes the mention of,

Fyve peeces of hanginges of Cloth of golde velvett and other like stuffe
 imbrodered with pictures of the vertues, one of Zenobia, Magnanimitas and
 prudentia, an other of Arthemitia, Constantia and pietas, an other of Penelope,

⁷⁰ An instructive comparison can be drawn with the concluding poem of Robinson’s *A Golden Mirrour* (1589): ‘Of poyson Poets write, that *Cleopatra* dyed, / No, no, (quoth Lambe) it is a lye in deed: / Her death came thus, in stories as I read, / By a bodkin that she bought, her heart did bleyd: / With which she vs’d, to curle her golden haire’ (sig. H1v).

⁷¹ See Heale, ‘Misogyny and the Complete Gentleman’, pp. 237-8

prudentia, and sapientia, an other of Cleopatra, fortitudo, and Justitia, an other of Lucretia, Charitas and liberalitas.⁷²

These hangings, otherwise known as the ‘Noble Women of the Ancient World’ series, were commissioned by Bess of Hardwick during the 1570s. Whilst scholarship has alluded to the possibility of Mary Queen of Scots’ involvement in their design and construction there is no question as to the contribution made by Bess of Hardwick’s servants, including her ‘grooms, women and some boys [she] kept’, in their production.⁷³ Though Robinson’s list of exemplary good women in the *Reward* may be nothing more than a recourse to convention, given the nature of his employment at this precise time, it is entirely plausible that he would have had knowledge of the hangings in some way. If so, then ‘The Bookes verdite vpon *Hellen*’ is far less assertive of the coded ideals of ‘virtuous feminine authority’ expressed therein.⁷⁴ ‘The Bookes verdite vpon *Hellen*’ concludes instead with a direct deterrent to feminine ambition and desire: ‘Sith *Hellens* faultes are knowne, and yours in secret hyd: / Take heede least you be ouerthrowne...’ (sig. D1r).

There is another figure in the *Reward* who is emphatically not like Helen of Troy. After Morpheus and the dreamer have departed from Tarquin, they hear the ‘ruffull voice’ of a woman, railing on ‘whoredome’ (sig. F2r). The figure is Medea who, according to mythology, was abandoned by her husband Jason for the younger and more beautiful Creusa, who Medea then murdered along with her sons in a fit of jealous rage. The first stanza of Medea’s complaint begins with the assertion: ‘I knowe thou camst from place where *Hellen* rowes’ (sig. F1v). Despite the sense of narrative continuity enabled by Medea’s reference to the *Reward*’s opening complaint, hers is in fact the fourth in the sequence. Although this may be one of many structural errors in

⁷² Quoted in Sanina M. Levey and Peter Thornton, eds., *Of Household Stuff: The 1601 Inventories of Bess of Hardwick* (London: The National Trust, 2001), p. 47. See also Richard Pick, ‘The Worthy Ladies of Hardwick Hall’, *Theatre History Studies* 13 (1993), 115-34; Ellis, ‘The Hardwick Wall-Hangings’, pp. 280-300; Susan Frye, *Pens and Needles: Women’s Textualities in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

⁷³ Quoted in Frye, p. 63.

⁷⁴ Frye, p. 71.

the *Rewarde*, this arrangement has the effect of magnifying Medea's jealousy toward her rival. As Medea states, 'my desertes much worse then *Hellens* was' (sig. F2v).

Such jealousy is somewhat typical of the women portrayed within the English *de casibus* tradition. Samuel Daniel's Rosamond Clifford, whose complaint concludes *Delia*, Daniel's 1592 collection of sonnets bewails her reputation and fate in the following terms:

Shores wife is grac'd, and passes for a Saint;
Her Legend iustifies her foule attaint.
Her well-told tale did such compassion finde,
That shee is pass'd, and I am left behinde.⁷⁵

Michael Drayton's Matilda (first printed as *Matilda. The Faire and Chaste Daughter of the Lord Robert Fitzwater*, 1594), also complains that 'Shores wife is in her wanton humor sooth'd, / And modern Poets, still applaud her praise'.⁷⁶ Whilst the function of the dream vision within the late Elizabethan complaint tradition is reserved for more detailed discussion in Chapter Three, it is worth mentioning that Medea's remarks on Helen of Troy draw a close parallel with the responses made to Jane Shore, another matchless beauty within the tradition of the female-voiced lament. Comparing her state to that of Helen of Troy is a self-censuring act that reveals Medea's jealousy and tragic flaw, and thereby exposes her audience to the true nature of her offence.

Medea was an important figure within the Ovidian and Senecan traditions, both of which experienced a revival during the Elizabethan period.⁷⁷ However, as with much of the *Rewarde*, Robinson's main source is Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, and Robinson emphasises key elements of

⁷⁵ Samuel Daniel, *Delia. Containing certaine Sonnets: with the Complaynt of Rosamond* (London: J. Charlewood, 1592), sig. H3v.

⁷⁶ Michael Drayton, *Matilda. The Faire and Chaste Daughter of the Lord Robert Fitzwater* (London: J. Roberts, 1594), sig. B2r. For an account of these figures in relation to jealousy, female speech and trust, see Richard Helgerson, 'Weeping for Jane Shore', *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 98.3 (1999), 451-76; Richard Danson Brown, "'A Talkatiue Wench (Whose Words a World Hath Delighted in)": Mistress Shore and Elizabethan Complaint', *The Review of English Studies* 49.196 (1998), 395-415.

⁷⁷ Seneca's *Medea* was translated by John Studley (whom Robinson goes on to praise later on in the *Rewarde*) and printed in 1566. Translations of both the *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses* were published in the following year.

Medea's complaint in accordance with his medieval source. For instance, whereas in Ovid and Seneca, Medea inflicts her revenge by sending a poisoned cloak and chain to Creusa, in the *Reward*, Medea produces a 'cofer... inuented with diuers Jewels moe: / Subtillye contriued of a straunge fashion' (sig. G1r).⁷⁸ This is much closer to Lydgate than to the classical tradition; the coffer is presented to Creusa which, upon its unfastening, immediately 'flewe foorth fire, that burnde both man and child. / Consumde to dust this Ladye fresh and gaye' and 'burnde all the pallas fiue yardes within the grounde' (sigs. G1r-v), which against Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* indicates some amount of borrowing:

The fir brast out a ful large space,
 Brent Creusa bi ful gret violence,
 Set a-fire pleynti al the place
 Benchaument; ther was no resistance
 Al wente afire that was in his presence. (Book I, ll. 232-6)

The response from Jason in both Lydgate's *Fall* and the *Reward* is 'vengeaunce'.

As Robinson makes clear within the prefatory apparatus, the *Reward* was composed during many times spent 'in watche of the Scottishe Queene' (sig A2v). When we turn to the near-contemporary representation of Mary Queen of Scots, particularly within contemporary propaganda, some instructive parallels emerge between the events described in the *Reward* itself. Following the discovery of Lord Darnley's half-naked body on 10 February 1567 in the grounds of Kirk O' Field in Edinburgh, rumour soon spread as to the cause of his death. The body exhibited no signs of injury, despite the suggestion that it had been blown in an explosion from the building in which Darnley that night had slept. Rumours led to a torrent of libels, broadsides and placards posted under cover of darkness. One such placard depicts Mary in the form of a mermaid, a conventional image of prostitution, supplemented by the motto, *Mala Undique Clades* ('Destruction awaits the wicked on every side').⁷⁹ Initially critical of Mary's failure to punish the

⁷⁸ In Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, Medea fashions 'A litil coffre' decorated with 'jewelis' (Book I, ll. 2325-6).

⁷⁹ See Debra Barrett-Graves, 'Mermaids, Sirens, and Mary, Queen of Scots: Icons of Wantonness and Pride, in *The Emblematic Queen: Extra-Literary Representations of Early Modern Queenship*, ed. by Debra Barrett-

culprits, the campaign of libel went on to accuse Mary and her favourite, James Hepburn, the 4th Earl of Bothwell, of both adultery and murder. This accusation was only fuelled by their marriage three months later in May 1567.

A large part of the campaign against Mary was led by the Edinburgh printing partnership of Robert Sempill and Robert Lekpreuik. Their ballads, published in the late 1560s and early 70s, draw repeated parallels between Mary and other unchaste, ‘wicket *wemen*’ such as Jezebel and Clytemnestra.⁸⁰ The ballad ‘declaring the Nobill and Gude inclination of our King’ (1567), for example, bids its audience to ‘fle fra from Clitemnestra fell, / For sho was neuer lyke Penelopie’ (ll. 143-4). The ballad goes on to name ‘our Scottis Quene’, as the cause of this ‘wofull dyte’ (l. 155). Placing Mary in direct contrast to other women of the ancient past, including Dido and Creusa (‘The worthy wife of dowchtie Duik Jason, / Quha brint was in ane garment wrocht be slycht / Off Medea’, ll. 166-7), the ballads claim the Scottish Queen as the origin of contemporary misfortune, thereby inciting revenge for the death of Lord Darnley and ‘fomenting the violent passions of civil war’.⁸¹ Whilst for John D. Staines, the parallel between Mary and Medea had a disempowering effect, ‘reducing Mary to a mad lover instead of a tyrant abusing her power’,⁸² this comparison was to become the most pervasive and damning of all literary representations of Mary Queen of Scots.⁸³

Whereas London publishers were prohibited from producing anything that directly

Graves (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 69-100.

⁸⁰ ‘Heir followis the testament and tragedie of umquhle King Henrie Stewart of gude memorie’ (l. 109) in James Cranstoun, ed., *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1891), I, p. 42. On the campaign against Mary, see Phillips, *Images of a Queen*; Tricia McElroy, ‘Imagining the “Scottis Natioun”: Populism and Propaganda in Scottish Satirical Broadside’, *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 49 (2007), 319-39; John D. Staines, *The Tragic Histories of Mary Queen of Scots, 1560-1900: Rhetoric, Passions and Political Literature* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 45-79; Cathy Shrank. “This fatall Medea,” “this Clytemnestra”: Reading and the Detection of Mary Queen of Scots’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73.3 (2010), 523-41.

⁸¹ Staines, pp. 53-4, 25.

⁸² Staines, p. 46.

⁸³ Shrank, ‘Reading and the *Detection* of Mary Queen of Scots’, pp. 523-41.

offended the Scottish Queen, George Buchanan's *Ane Detectioun of the Duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes* (1571) evaded censure by masquerading as a Scottish translation of a French text entitled *De Maria Scotorum*. The work was in fact printed by the reformist English printer, John Day, and most probably commissioned by William Cecil, appointed in the very same year to the title of Lord Burghley. The text also included the infamous casket sonnets, hitherto concealed within 'one small gilt cofer nat fully ane foote lang, beyng garnishit in sondry places with the Romaine letter F under ane kyngis crowne', as well as Mary's letters to Bothwell, notoriously branded as those 'quhairin sche maketh hir selfe Medea'.⁸⁴ Although Helen of Troy was not cited explicitly within the Scottish libellers' attempts to defame Mary Stuart, her instructions in the *Rewarde* to cast off 'Golden Rayes, and ritche attyre' and adopt the semblance of chastity in the form of 'mourners weedes' (sig. C1r), reveal subtle traces of Buchanan's *Dectioun*. In one passage, Buchanan explains how Mary (on hearing the news of Darnley's death) had,

attemptit a disguisit maner of mournyng. But the myrth of her heart far passing the fayned sorrow, she shut the dores in ded but... within fower dayes she threw away hir wayling weede, and gane to behald baith sunne and open skye agayne. (sigs. E2v-E3r).

Mary was also condemned for eloping under 'a marvelous fine inventioun god wote, that Bothwell should ravishe and take [her] away... by force' (sig. F2v). The final complaint within the *Rewarde*, entitled 'The rewarde that Rosamond had in hell, for murdering of hir husbände Albonius and living vitiouslie in hir husbändes dayes', addresses concerns of a similar nature. As Rosamond declares,

I polluted filthilye my Husbändes bedde,
With one of his seruauntes, whome after I made
Most Traiterously to smite of his head,
As hée laye a sléepe with his owne sworde or blade.
And so tooke his Treasure, and to the Seas wée fled,
There leauing my Husband wounded to dead. (sig. O4r).

⁸⁴ John Buchanan, *Ane Detectioun of the Duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes* (London: J. Day, 1571), sig. O2r, G2r.

Again, Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* provides Robinson with his source, though Robinson departs from Lydgate by conflating the figures of the King's assassin and Rosamond's lover into one and the same man: the servant Melcheus. In further contrast to Lydgate's *Fall*, the *Rewarde* presents the King as unarmed and sleeping at the time of the attack in which his own weapon is used as the instrument of murder. Rosamond's 'vile duplicitye' swells into pride as she then focuses her affections on the ruler of Ravenna. Having no further use for her servant, she taints his wine with poison. Although it is too late for Melcheus to save himself, upon realising that he has been betrayed by his former lover, he forces Rosamond to drink from the same cup, thus bringing about their mutual demise.

Like the Edinburgh ballads,, plays of this time were also safe from censure. As explained in the preceding chapter, the productions of *Gorboduc* (1561/2) at the Inner Temple, and of Gascoigne and Kinwelmarsh's *Jocasta* at Gray's Inn in 1566 offered their contributors the chance to comment on and potentially intervene in contemporary political affairs.⁸⁵ *A Newe Enterlude of Vice* (1567) by John Pickering of Lincoln's Inn was one such means of intervention and may have also been performed at court. Audiences of Pickering's play need not have looked far to see a connection between Mary and Clytemnestra (sister of Helen), Lord Darnley and the murdered Agamemnon, and the play's protagonist, Orestes, and the infant Prince James.⁸⁶ The play's continual calls for revenge convey a message that would resound throughout anti-Marian propaganda, and by further extension, through Robinson's *Rewarde*.

We have seen already the possibility of a link between Robinson and the Inns of Court, between the translations and tragic dramas carried out by the law students of this time. The use of

⁸⁵ Amongst many authorities on the subject, see Jessica Winston, 'Seneca in Early Elizabethan England', *Renaissance Quarterly* 59.1 (2006), 29-58; Linda Woodbridge, 'Resistance Theory meets Drama: Tudor Seneca', *Renaissance Drama* 38 (2010), 115-39; James Ker and Jessica Winston, eds., *Elizabethan Seneca: Three Tragedies* (London: MHRA, 2012).

⁸⁶ Phillips, pp. 46-9; Staines, p. 64-73.

the dream vision by Heywood and Googe not only aligned their works with the English *de casibus* tradition, newly-popularised by the *Mirror for Magistrates*, but proved particularly useful in presenting ideas on English nationalism, tyranny and succession within a relatively safe poetic form. The Edinburgh ballads also signal their connection to the *de casibus* tradition in both implicit and more explicit ways, as this stanza from ‘Ane Ballat declaring the Nobill and Gude inclination of our King’, shows:

War Johne Bochas on lyue as he is deid,
Worthy workis wald wryte in hir contempt,
Alswell of tresoun as of womanheid:
Thairto his pen wald euer mair be bent
Hir for till shame, and bludie Bothwell shent (ll. 193-7).

More implicit parallels between the Edinburgh ballads and the *de casibus* tradition are revealed in the way that many of the ballads adopt the formal qualities and conventions of the dream vision form. To take one example, in ‘Ane Tragedie, in forme of ane Diallog betwixt Honour, Gude Fame, and the Author heirof in ane Trance’ (1571), the dreamer is met by Morpheus who leads him ‘Captiue, vnto Maister Slumber’ (l. 8). The ghost of Mary’s brother, James Stuart (the recently-assassinated Earl of Moray), then appears before the dreamer in a manner akin to Baldwin’s Richard, Duke of York,

Paill of the face, baith blaiknit, blude and ble,
Deid eyit, dram lyke, disfigurat was he;
Nakit and bair, schot throw pudding and panche,
Abone the Nauil, and out abone the hanche. (ll. 15-18).

The complaint is not spoken by the poem’s main subject, but by the ghosts of his parents, ‘Twa graif lyke persounis of greit maiestie’ (l. 23). After relating the events of their son’s life and death, they depart, leaving the dreamer ‘sair hairtit’ (l. 394). Instead of penning his experience, the dreamer’s Lady, ‘Quhais horsis at the foir zet were alreddy’ hurries off to Edinburgh ‘with hart full soir’, with the message: ‘Reuenge his deith ze Lords! I say na moir’ (ll. 395-8).

Although the use of the dream vision permits a level of unaccountability on the part of

the narrator/poet, the Edinburgh ballads were extremely audacious, both in their prophetic insinuations and in the representation of the recently deceased. The dreamer in the abovementioned ‘Tragedie, in forme of ane Diallog’, for instance, declares ‘Allace!... I find my Dreame ouer trew, / And that full sair, all Scotland sone will rew’ (ll. 389-90). Another ballad entitled ‘The Tressoun of Dunbartane’ (1570) begins ‘In Mayis moneth... / Quhen luffaris dois their daylie obseruance / To Venus Quene’ (l. 1-3). Although the setting and imagery invite the initial suggestion of a dream, the events of this ballad are set very much in the waking world. ‘The Bischoppis lyfe and testament’ (1571) similarly begins on the curiously precise date of 7th of April. The narrator is ‘plungit in to cair’, when a ‘pious spreit’ appears within his ‘thocht’ (l. 14). He is unsure, therefore, whether it be an ‘Illutioun’ or a product of ‘fantaseies’ (ll. 17-8). Other ballads show great precision in terms of location and topography. The narrator of ‘Ane Ballat of y^e Captane of the Castell’ (1571), for example, sits ‘Musing’ on the banks of Edinburgh Castle –

With paper, pen, and inke in hand,
 ... Of þe sudan decay,
 That vnto þis puir natiune
 Apeirandly dois come (ll. 1-8).

– and contemplates the ways in which he might ‘mend þis grit mischance’ (l. 59). Despite the fictional associations of the dream, the balladeers were extremely daring, meticulous, and highly provocative in handling the conventions of the form.

In addition to the Edinburgh ballads, the dream manifests itself in other ways within anti-Marian propaganda. A manuscript poem entitled ‘Maister Randolpes Phantasey: a breffe calgulation of the procedinges in Scotland from the first of Julie to the Last of Decembre’ (c. 1565/6) describes the appearance of Mary Queen of Scots within a dream.⁸⁷ Like the *Reward*, the poem is heavily indebted to Sackville’s *Induction* and the *Mirror for Magistrates*.⁸⁸ The initial part of

⁸⁷ The poem is also included in Cranstoun, I, pp. 1-29. For more on ‘Maister Randolpes Phantasey’, see Phillips, pp. 36-9; Lucas, *A Mirror for Magistrates’ and the Politics of the English Reformation*, pp. 232-3.

⁸⁸ As Cranstoun states, the author was ‘at best a literary cockroach stealing the sweets stored by the industry of others... The long discourse put into the mouth of Queen Mary is sorry doggerel...

'Maister Randolphes Phantasey' describes the narrator musing on Lady Fortune and on the actions of the Scottish nobles who warned Mary against her marriage to Lord Darnley. The second part of the poem describes a dream in which Mary appears before the narrator to confess how she had ignored the advice of her councillors and that the 'wanton delight of effemynate force' now rules her court (l. 17). Ostensibly the work of Thomas Randolph, the English Ambassador to Scotland, 'Maister Randolphes Phantasey' implies an element of close intimacy and trust between the poem's dreamer and the Scottish Queen. Mary appears before her servant and asks him to record her complaint, 'because thy expert yeres / Dailie attendant may truelie reveale / a whole dyscourse how I did prevale' (ll. 332-4). On her discovery of the poem, Mary called for the immediate exile of the Ambassador, whom she mistakenly believed to be the poem's author. The sole extant copy of the poem, however, contains the signature of a servant of Randolph, a Yorkshireman named Thomas Jenye.⁸⁹ Elizabeth's knowledge of what she described in a letter to Mary as 'Le Songe' led her to promise that, 'even if but a dream and not written, she will not think [the perpetrator] worthy of living in her realm',⁹⁰ although no evidence of the case having gone further survives. The evidence points strongly in favour of 'Maister Randolphes Phantasey' as being the product of English state propaganda.

Robinson's debts to the English *de casibus* traditions are clear. But in the use of classical exemplars and form, the *Rewarde* draws much closer to the Edinburgh ballads and other forms of anti-Marian propaganda. It is additionally important, therefore, that for the complaints of Helen of Troy and Medea, Robinson also adopts the eight-line ballad stanza, as was often used for the Edinburgh ballads. The ballads enjoyed circulation beyond the Scottish borders, despite

Considered as a whole, what with its minute historical details, moral reflections, and unblushing plagiarisms, "The Phantasey" must be pronounced one of the most curious productions of its own, or indeed of any age' (I, pp. xxiv-v).

⁸⁹ Jenye was later involved in the 1569 Rebellion of the Northern Earls. He escaped to the continent and worked for the Spanish secret service, for which he received a generous pension. See Cranstoun, I, pp. xvii-xxiv; Sarah Clayton, 'Thomas Jenye (fl. 1565-1583)', *ODNB*.

⁹⁰ CSP (Scotland) 52/12, fol. 69 (13 June 1566).

Elizabeth's injunctions, and were used by Privy Councillors as evidence for the political climate in Scotland.⁹¹ But where the ballads call for vengeance and civil war, the *Rewarde* seems to show that justice has been done. At the end of her complaint, Medea is subjected to a 'double paine and woe' and is pierced by 'Deuilles with fiery speares' before being sliced into pieces and condemned to 'fry' in 'endles flames' (sig. G2r).

After her capture in 1568, Mary's presence in England was nonetheless the source of anxiety. Her supporters in Scotland and the north, along with a number of Shrewsbury's servants, tried continuously to aid her escape. This led to the aforementioned assurance made by Gilbert Talbot that a 'good number of men, continually armed, watched hir day and nyght... so that, unles she could transforme hirself to a flee or a mouse it was impossible that she should scape'.⁹² But because they were on good terms with the Scottish Queen, the Talbots were also suspected of harbouring Marian sympathies. The marriage in the summer of 1574 between Bess of Hardwick's daughter, Elizabeth Cavendish, and Darnley's brother, Charles Stuart, the 1st Earl of Lennox, did much to exacerbate these concerns. The marriage also resulted in the birth of Arbella Stuart (1575-1615), a strong contender to the throne. But perhaps the most crucial piece of evidence against the Talbots appeared in 1586, with intelligence of a conspiracy to assassinate the Queen. Both of the key accomplices in the plot were former servants of the Earl of Shrewsbury: Anthony Babington, previously a page in his household, and Thomas Morgan, a man formerly 'put forth' from Shrewsbury's house for smuggling letters between Mary and her Catholic followers.⁹³

⁹¹ As Cathy Shrank notes, 'the exposure and accusation... of Mary Stewart was a concern that spread well beyond her erstwhile kingdom': Shrank, 'Reading and the Detection of Mary Queen of Scots', pp. 525-6. For more on this issue, see Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Crossing the Border: Scottish Poetry and English Readers in the Sixteenth Century' in *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), pp. 59-76.

⁹² Lambeth MS 3197, fol. 79 (11 May 1573).

⁹³ Under interrogation, Morgan implicated four other men including an attorney, a schoolmaster and a porter, who were believed to 'haunt one Gree's house in Stanyng Lane, in London': CSP (Scotland) 53/8, fols. 40; 43 (28 February 1572); 53/10, fol. 1 (16 Jan 1575); fol. 3 (21 Jan 1575); fol. 37 (30 April 1575). See also BHL 225 (13 October 1571); Collinson, p. 25; Leader pp. 126n; 208.

The reasons why, at this critical time for the Earl and his household, Robinson claimed to keep his ‘watche, and warde’ over the Scottish Queen should be much more apparent. But in order to fully understand why these claims were necessary, and why they were published in their particular form, we must look to the other complaints within the *Rewarde*. While Robinson’s selection of source material and genre continue to respond to the issues surrounding Mary’s imprisonment in Sheffield Castle, the complaints of Tantalus and Midas present the *Rewarde* in a slightly different light, this time in terms of tyranny and social disorder. The complaints can provide much further insight into the purpose and meaning of the *Rewarde* and Robinson’s later exercise in visionary form, *A Golden Mirroure* (1589).

RUMOUR AND RENOWN

In the monyth of Iune / I lying sole alon
 Vnder the vंबर of an Oke / with bowes pendaunt
 Whan Phebus in Gemyny / had his course ouergoon
 And entred Cancer / a sygne retrogradaunt
 In a mean measure / his beames Radyaunt
 Approchyng Lion / than mused I in mynd
 Of ffikkellnes of ffortune / and of the Course of kind

George Cavendish, *Metrical Visions* (c. 1552-8).⁹⁴

Predating the *Mirror for Magistrates* by some years, the *Metrical Visions* by George Cavendish (c. 1552-8) marks an important phase in the English *de casibus* tradition. The poem begins in June with the narrator ‘lyeng sole alon / Vnder the vंबर of an Oke’. Musing on Fortune, he is visited by the ghosts of key players in the English Reformation, including Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn, Cromwell and Wolsey. Each of these figures deliver an account of their rise and fall, with the ultimate purpose ‘that all estates myght se / What it is to trust to ffortunes mutabylite’ (l. 56). It is relevant to note that Cavendish was gentleman-usher to Wolsey for a period of eight years. Appended to the holograph manuscript copy of Cavendish’s poem we find *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey* (c.

⁹⁴ A. S. G. Edwards, ed., *Metrical Visions by George Cavendish* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1980), p. 25 (ll. 1-2). All further quotations are taken from Edwards’ edition and are referenced by line.

1554-8), which serves in giving what A. S. G. Edwards describes as a ‘tragic shape’ to the rise and fall of Cavendish’s long-term master and patron.⁹⁵ This text also contains a prophecy made by Wolsey on his deathbed ‘to which only Cavendish and one or two others were privy’.⁹⁶ In writing the *Life of Wolsey*, Cavendish aimed to counter rumour and ultimately repair Wolsey’s reputation, and thus remain true to his master long after his demise.

Although neither the *Metrical Visions* nor the *Life of Wolsey* were printed in Cavendish’s lifetime, scholars have entertained a wide readership for the latter of these two works.⁹⁷ Given that George Cavendish was Bess of Hardwick’s brother-in-law by her second marriage in 1547 to George’s brother, William, there is a strong possibility that Robinson was aware of these works. The younger Cavendish brother was himself well-connected, one of his key associates being Lord Henry Stafford, a noted bibliophile, who also backed the publication of the first and second editions of the *Mirror for Magistrates*.⁹⁸ The generic links between the *Mirror*, the *Metrical Visions*, and the English *de casibus* tradition have led scholars to query the extent to which Baldwin and his collaborators were aware of Cavendish’s poem. Given the nature of Robinson’s connection to the family, as well as the use of the dream frame, the prospect of some influence on the *Rewarde* is just as plausible.

There are also a number of similarities between the *Metrical Visions* and the *Rewarde* that make the connection seem even more likely. Unlike Boccaccio and Lydgate before him, Cavendish could, due to his role as Wolsey’s servant, lay claim to a genuine relationship with almost each of

⁹⁵ A. S. G. Edwards, ‘George Cavendish (b. 1494, d. in or before 1562?)’, ODNB; R. S. Sylvester, ed., *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey written by George Cavendish* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1905).

⁹⁶ Mike Pincombe, ‘A Place in the Shade: George Cavendish and *de casibus* Tragedy’ in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature: 1485-1603*, ed. by Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 375. See also Richard Britnell, ‘Service, Loyalty, and Betrayal in Cavendish’s *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*’, *Moreana* 42.161 (2005), 3-30.

⁹⁷ Along with the three extant versions of the *Metrical Visions*, over thirty manuscripts of the *Life of Wolsey* have survived. Evidence also shows that the historiographers Edward Hall and John Stow drew heavily on the *Life*. See Paul L. Wiley, ‘Renaissance Exploitation of Cavendish’s *Life of Wolsey*’, *Studies in Philology*, 43.2 (1946), 121-46.

⁹⁸ Pincombe, ‘A Place in the Shade’, p. 373.

his complainants. Although the evidence suggests that Robinson held a rather less elevated position than gentleman-usher within the Shrewsbury household, that the *Rewarde* was composed whilst keeping ‘watche, and warde’ over the Scottish Queen serves to emphasise his proximity to a major player in Scotland’s recent troubles. These references also serve to highlight Robinson’s sense of obligation to his master, George Talbot, whose own sense of ‘true and duetifull service’ was oriented toward ‘his Prince’, Queen Elizabeth, ‘both night and daie’ (sig. A3r). We may wonder, then, whether Robinson also sought – like Cavendish – to vindicate his master, and whether the *Rewarde* also responds in some way to negative feeling surrounding the Talbots’ loyalty to the crown.

These concerns are acutely apparent when we look more closely at the complaints of Tantalus and Midas, the *Rewarde*’s titular ‘tyrants’. The first of these, entitled ‘The wordes of tormented Tantalus, being rewarded for his extortion and couetousnes: Oppressing of the poore people of his Countrey: And for other wicked actes’, is the fifth of the *Rewarde*’s complaints, appearing immediately after complaint of Medea (although, as with many of the items in the *Rewarde*, this arrangement was most probably made in error).⁹⁹ According to myth, Tantalus was sentenced to the lowest echelons of the underworld for offending the gods by attempting to feed them the flesh of his son. Although Robinson portrays Tantalus trapped in ‘floodes with swelling waues vpon his chinne’ (sig. G4v), and therefore observes the classical portrait found in Homer and Ovid, more unusual perhaps, is the fact that Robinson’s Tantalus is not condemned to hell for this crime, but for ‘extorcion and famishing of the poore’ (sig. H2r), a clear departure from the usual account. This departure is given some qualification, however, as Tantalus himself declares, ‘the cause of my plague the Poets haue mistolde’ (sig. H1r). It is therefore the task of Morpheus

⁹⁹ The complaint of Medea concludes with a reference to ‘twoo men...tormented woefullye’ (sig. G2v), suggesting that the next complaint in the sequence should in fact be that of the Two Judges of Susanna.

and his companion to offer some redress and provide their readers with the correct version of Tantalus' fall.¹⁰⁰

Although the complaint of Tantalus omits the cannibalistic crimes for which he is best known, his tyrannical methods are presented in equally unpalatable terms: 'ambition is a priuie poison' and 'The nourishe of enuie, the fountaine of treason, / The mouthe of make bate' (sig. G3v). Likening himself to the cormorant, a conventional symbol of greed, Tantalus explains how he also 'famishte the countrey with fines and double rent', how he 'gapte for gobs of Golde', and left 'a thousand hungry soules' without 'meate and drinke' (sigs. H1v-H2r). Tantalus ascribes his downfall to both an appetite for ambition and a taste for gossip, erstwhile spread amongst his councillors and servants, 'Whose whispering tales, were Gospels in mine head, / And thus in steede of trueth, with falsehood was I fed' (sig. H2v). These transgressions spread not through Tantalus' bloodline, but amongst those serving his household. As Mark Thornton Burnett has shown, a desire for preferment fuelled myths of the 'false steward', a Biblical idea employed to encompass contemporary concern over social ambition and pride.¹⁰¹ Describing how such upstart individuals 'fed' him 'with fables' and 'Wicked Counsell' in order to 'bring theyr purpose to passe' (sig. H1v), Tantalus sets the blame on those seeking to overcome the restrictions of their estate.

With 'Tom Teltale... appointed in a Turret to watche' and 'Laurence Lurcher a Baylife to snatche and to catche' (sig. B3r), Robinson's image of hell is also a place of social transgression. On first entering the realm of Pluto, Robinson records what seems more like an estate descended into disarray than the classical or Biblical hells that would have been more familiar to his readers. In order to tap further into the source of social unrest, 'The Booke's Verdict' on Tantalus contains a passage that is highly reminiscent of the words of the Poet Collingbourne, first published in the

¹⁰⁰ The complaint of Tantalus also differs from many others in the *Reward* for the number of glosses and printed annotations within the margin. The glosses point the reader in the direction of a large number of sources, ranging from Pliny, Plutarch and Seneca, to the early church fathers.

¹⁰¹ Burnett, p. 184.

1563 edition of the *Mirror for Magistrates*. The 'Booke' counsels its readers in the following terms:

Lende not your eares in any wise, to Peter Pickthankes schole.
His flattering fetche doth robbe you al, of famous honour due,
Whose painting pensels euermore, reprocheful colours hewe.
And causeth curses of the poore, whose plaints the Lord doeth heare,
Redressing streight their care & grief, throughout the earth echewhere (sig. H4r).

Robinson here echoes Baldwin's reference in the Complaint of the Poet Collingbourne to the 'pelting poetes in theyr rymes' who 'taunt, and iest, or paynt' the 'wicked wurkes' of tyrants,¹⁰² with reference to the 'painting pensels' of Peter Pickthank (sig. H4r): 'an officious parasite or flatterer, whose tongue can paint and glose'.¹⁰³ This satirical figure appears many times throughout Robinson's poetry, often in the company of Tom Teltale.¹⁰⁴ The presence of Peter Pickthank within the *Reward* may also be a parody of the 'Piers Plowman' persona, a conventional spokesman of agrarian reform. Indeed, the Pickthank figure appears on time in the *Reward* under the name of 'Piers'. Though perhaps one of several typographical errors, it is nonetheless fruitful, if not intended, for us to read Robinson's use of the dream vision frame as another gesture toward the tradition of estates satire epitomised by Langland's *Piers Plowman*.¹⁰⁵ Where 'The Bookes verdite vpon *Hellen*' aims to educate a female audience, 'The Booke's Verdict' on Tantalus is directed against the 'muckscrapers' and those 'not content, but proule for more & more'. In turn, the Tantalus episode within the *Reward* works towards confirming the rights of those in power: 'Marke this wel you mighties whome, the Lord appointes to rule' (sig. H4v).

¹⁰² William Baldwin, 'Howe Collingbourne was cruelly executed for making a foolishe rime' (ll. 36-7) in *The Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. by Lily B. Campbell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1938), p. 348.

¹⁰³ Corser, p. 66n.

¹⁰⁴ 'Piers Pickthanke and Tom Teltale, will devise a thousand waies, / Tibbe Tittiuilly, that lowring Lasse, some yll on mee wil raise' (sig. A4r). See also sig. H2v, H4v and *A Golden Mirroure*, sig. A4r. In *1 Henry IV* (1598), Prince Hal also speaks of 'tales', 'Which oft the ear of greatness needs must hear / By smiling pickthankes and base newsmongers' (3.2.23-5).

¹⁰⁵ The 1570s and 80s saw the publication of a number of 'English Satyrs' that also drew on the *Piers Plowman* tradition, in particular, Thomas Wharton, *Wharton's Dreame* (1578), as well as Gascoigne's *The Steele Glas* (1576). See Andrew McRae, *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 83.

‘The Booke’s Verdict’ on Tantalus also draws a link to another of the *Rewarde’s* tyrants, King Midas, stating how Tantalus was unable to hold off ‘from *Midas* muck’ (sig. H4v). The lines look forward to the ‘muckhill Mates, which whispred’ in Midas’ ear (sig. O2r), leading similarly to Midas’ downfall. Unlike Tantalus, however, Robinson’s Midas reveals that he was quick to banish those who offered him false counsel. Although the complaint of Midas lacks the ‘Booke’s Verdict’, found elsewhere in the *Rewarde*, it includes an authorial explanation as to why Robinson chose to deviate from the conventional account of Midas’ fall:

For they that reade the Poetes workes, shal here of *Mydas* much,
And how he crau’de all to be golde that he might féele or touche.
But though the Poets fabled so, and I in dreames doe faine,
Yet let not Tyrauntes better trust, but taste of *Plutos* paine.

The language in these lines refer the reader back to the prefatory material in which Robinson claims that ‘faining’ in his sleep, he was taken to ‘PLVTOS Kingdome in a Dreame’ (sig. A3r). As in the complaint of Tantalus, the force and meaning of the message is very real: avoid rumour, ‘And speciallye the number that of mightie honor bee’ (sig. O2v).

When we look to the broader historical context of the *Rewarde*, further light can be shed on the intention and impact of these complaints. The enclosure movements of the sixteenth century introduced immense change, not merely to England’s geographic landscape, but also to the old feudal relationship between landlord and tenant. Mass evictions of peasants and labourers also led to a need to discriminate between those with an established place in the hierarchy and the ‘masterless men’ – rebels, vagabonds and other ‘idle persons’ – who wandered on its periphery.¹⁰⁶ More specifically, the once ‘apparently impregnable position’ of George Talbot was threatened by his failure to uphold custom, a product of his inventive yet ruthless efforts to claw back some of the revenue lost during his time as Mary’s keeper. As rumours of Shrewsbury’s reputation for

¹⁰⁶ For a useful summary of the literature of enclosure, see McRae, pp. 80-109. For a reading of enclosure as a form of early modern trauma, see Jim Ellis, ‘Embodying Dislocation: *A Mirror for Magistrates* and Property Relations’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 53.4 (2000), 1032-53.

sympathy toward the Scottish Queen grew, so too did his reputation for tyranny. This reputation was fuelled by marches on London by the ‘clamoruse people’ of the Earl’s estate of Glossop in the Peak District in 1579.¹⁰⁷

Rumour was a major cause of rebellion, and evidence shows that the preoccupations that kept Shrewsbury away from the court during his time as Mary’s captor had allowed a ‘bruit’ to spread of his household’s sympathy for the Scottish Queen. These events took place at the exact time described in the Prologue to the *Reward*:

In December when daies be short and colde,
And irkesome nights amid the storms gan rore...
When men delight to keepe the fire side,
And winter tales incline their eares to heare (sigs. B1v-B2r).

Indeed, in the expectation that Shrewsbury would be absolved of his office and Mary released, it was in December 1573 that two chaplains from the Earl’s estate made their way to court armed with libels alleging carelessness and disloyalty on the part of Shrewsbury. The Earl decried their ‘foule and evyll reports’ as attempts to not only ‘deface’ his ‘dutiful heart and loyalty’, but also to bring about ‘the rooting up’ of his house and the ‘utter overthrow and destruction’ of his ‘lineal posterity’.¹⁰⁸ His final response to such ‘weked speches’ is recorded in April 1574, the same year as the *Reward*, in a letter addressed to Lord Burghley:

How can it be imagenyd I shuld be desposed to favor this Queen for hur cleme to succede the Quenes Majestie? My delynge towards hur hath shoid the contrare: I know hur to be a strangar, a Papyste, and my enemy.¹⁰⁹

The discovery of spies operating from within the Shrewsbury household continued to provoke

¹⁰⁷ Kershaw, p. 276. Such a reputation sits in pointed contrast to that of another northern landowner, Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange. The contrast between George Talbot and Lord Strange is accentuated by the fact that Talbot also descended from the ancient line of L’estranges of Shropshire and the Welsh Marches. The Earl had thence inherited the title of ‘Lord Strange of Blackmere’, whilst the title ‘Lord Strange of Knokyn’ went to the Stanley line. The old Talbot-Stanley alliance is depicted in *1 Henry VI*. See Manley, pp. 136-155.

¹⁰⁸ Lambeth MS 3206, fol. 691 (16 April 1574). See also M. S. Rawson, *Bess of Hardwick and her Circle* (London: Hutchinson, 1910), pp. 114-18.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

fears on the part of Burghley and Elizabeth that the family had fallen sway to the ‘cunning practices of the Scots Queen and her friends’.¹¹⁰ The Earl was also accused of infidelity and was forced to make what has been described as a ‘humiliating statement’ in court affirming his loyalty to the English crown.¹¹¹ It was predominantly on account of these suspicions that the custody of Mary Stuart was eventually handed over to Sir Ralph Sadler in 1584.

In light of such turmoil, how are we to understand Robinson’s *Rewarde*? Was it the case that this servant’s reputation was also at risk? There is some evidence to support this conjecture. In 1571, the messenger to John Leslie, the Bishop of Ross, had been punished and imprisoned in a house in Sheffield for delivering letters to and from the Scottish Queen. The man concerned was one George Robinson, a man selected from the Earl of Shrewsbury’s entourage to serve as envoy to the bishop. On another occasion, George Robinson was interrogated along with Thomas Morgan, Henry Cockyn and Alexander Bog for smuggling books (specifically, More’s *Utopia*) and letters in cipher within his shoes.¹¹² In addition to these incidents of disloyalty, in a letter dated 29th March 1576, Bess of Hardwick wrote to Lord Thomas Paget of ‘one Robinson my servant’ who was implicated in the death of a man by ‘great misfortune’, and for whom Bess stood at the assize in Stafford.¹¹³

Although we cannot with any certainty relate the author of the *Rewarde* to either of these two servants, the evidence strongly suggests that the name of Robinson had been tainted by recent

¹¹⁰ Lambeth MS 3197, fol. 47 (30 January 1574).

¹¹¹ ‘Letters from Gilbert Talbot, May-June 1574’ in *John Nichols’s The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 5 vols, ed. by Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, Jayne Elisabeth Archer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), II, p. 190n.

¹¹² Lambeth MS 3197, fol. 47 (30 January 1574), c.f. 3197, fol. 77; 3198, fol. 290; 3206, fols. 673, 679, 691; Rawson, pp. 114-8.

¹¹³ The letter reads as follows: ‘your Lordship and other the Quenes Justices shall have the hearing and determening of an offence to the lawe, for the deathe of a man by the great misfortune of one Robinson my servant. I am in his behalfe, standing at theis assyses in Stafford upon tryall of lyfe most earnestly to crave your Lordship’s favour towards him, according to the true evidence already brought before the Coroner by men indifferent: and the same I trust is to be geven againe at the foresaid tyme before your Lordships. Truly my Lord I would gladly do the pore man good in this case: and therefore trust your Lordship will the rather at my request stand his good Lorde’ (BHL 103, 29 March 1576).

events. As Mike Pincombe notes, in the opening part of the *Reward*, Robinson writes of ‘envious ill-wishers and hints that he has already been the victim of “the Trumpe of Detraction” [sig. A2v],¹¹⁴ and the *Reward* makes a number of attempts to defend or potentially clear Robinson’s name. To take one example, in ‘To Noble Helicon’, Morpheus presents Robinson to the Muses as a man ‘sproong of *Robins* blood’ (sig. Q1v). The robin is not only a symbol of self-sacrifice but, in English folklore, the figure of Robin Goodfellow was also very frequently the representative of legal injustice, as R. W. Maslen has shown. For instance, in *Tell-Troth’s New Year’s Gift* (1593) (another example of the ‘news from hell’ pamphlet genre), he unites with the eponymous narrator to ‘denounce the operations of jealousy or envy at every level of the English commonwealth’.¹¹⁵ In several of these so-called ‘cony-catching’ pamphlets, the dream vision allows characters to enter an underworld of crime and deceit, and to lay bare these things which, to the ordinary eye, go unseen.¹¹⁶ As a means of blurring the ‘boundary between fact and fiction,¹¹⁷ the use of the dream within the ‘news from hell’ pamphlets also catered to a discussion of the place and status of art and the artist in society as a whole. Henry Chettle’s *Kind-Hartes Dreame* (1593) begins, much like Robinson’s *Reward*, within an alehouse: a ‘Taphouse of Antiquity’.¹¹⁸ In his sleep, the dreamer is visited by the ghosts of a balladeer, a mountebank, a juggler (an alias for cony-catcher), as well as

¹¹⁴ ‘The Reward of Wickedness’, HRI Origins.

¹¹⁵ Maslen, ‘Dreams, Freedom of Speech, and the Demonic Affiliations of Robin Goodfellow’, p. 7. Due to his associations with dreams, trickery and the supernatural, Robin Goodfellow also acquired affinities with the Catholic faith. This, as Maslen explains, was a faith ‘defused of the terrors of damnation with which it had been charged by Protestant dogma’ (p. 4).

¹¹⁶ Raymond, p. 17. Another text in this tradition, though often overlooked, is *The Blacke Dogge of Newgate* (1596), written by the highwayman, Luke Hutton, who was committed to London’s notorious Newgate prison in 1596. *The Blacke Dogge of Newgate* employs a dream vision framework in order to reveal the identity of the titular black dog, and the ‘knaverie, villainie, robbetrie and Cunnicatching committed daily by [the] attendants at Newgate’: *The Blacke Dogge of Newgate* (London: G. Simson and W. White, 1596), sig. D2r. The broadside ballad, ‘Luke Huttons lamentation which he wrote the day before his death’ (first printed in 1598) explains that Hutton was later transferred to York, where he was hanged for his crimes. See Cathy Shrank, ‘Luke Hutton (d. 1598)’, ODNB. *The Blacke Dogge of Newgate* was printed under the title of *The Discovery of a London Monster* on two later occasions: first in 1612 (along with new prose material debating the origins of the black dog legend), and again in 1638, though with the omission of the dream vision poem. The popularity of the poem may have inspired the play, *The Black Dog* (c. 1602-3), of which there are no extant editions. See Wiggins and Richardson, V, p. 3.

¹¹⁷ Raymond, p. 17.

¹¹⁸ Henry Chettle, *Kind-Hartes Dreame* (London: J. Wolfe and J. Danter, 1593), sig. B2r.

the popular actor Richard Tarlton and the playwright and pamphleteer, Robert Greene. Each of these five figures present the dreamer with a handwritten bill in defence of their respective trades. *Kind-Hartes Dreame* is in fact one of several attempts to seek redress for what many felt was an unjust end for the famous author and playwright, Robert Greene. Shortly after the death of Greene in 1592, Gabriel Harvey launched an attack condemning him for his riotous life, his ‘impudent pamphleteering’ and his sordid demise,¹¹⁹ prompting fierce retaliation from Greene’s friends and literary allies.

There is a definite case to be made for Robinson’s *Reward* as being a precursor to the use of dream as a vehicle for both political satire and self-exoneration. The *Reward* displays a clear interest throughout in distinguishing between rumour and fame, as well as true and false stories and their tellers. Chaucer’s *House of Fame* is a clear influence here, as it is in other examples of the early modern dream poem. As Richard Smith writes in his dedication to the *Reward*, it is through Robinson’s poem that the ‘trumpe of truth hath blowen abroad’, and resounds throughout the ‘hilles and Dales’ (sig. A3v). The emphasis in the poem’s final episode, ‘To Noble Helicon’, turns more explicitly to the prospect of fame; Robinson’s incentive for writing the *Reward*. In promising Robinson a place alongside the great authors of the past and the present (including Googe and Heywood), the Muses state, ‘Loe heare you see, howe wée acquite our seruauntes at the last’ (sig. G3r).

¹¹⁹ Gabriel Harvey, *Four Letters and Certain Sonets* (London: J. Wolfe, 1592), sig. B2v. The text was written in response to Greene’s *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592) and several other works were published in response to Harvey’s letter, including *Greenes Vision* (1592), *Greenes Groats-worth of Witte* (1592) and *The Repentance of Robert Greene* (1592). Aside from Chettle’s *Kind-Hartes Dreame*, a number of literary dreams and visions also appeared. These include: Barnabe Rich, *Greenes Newes both from Heauen and Hell* (1593), John Dickenson’s *Greene in Concept* (1598) and Samuel Rowlands’ *Greenes Ghost Haunting Conie-Catchers* (1602). See also Thomas Dekker, *A Knights Coniuring* (1607) and *Tom Nash his Ghost* (1642). For more on the pamphlet debates, see Steve Mentz, *Romance for Sale in Early Modern England: The Rise of Prose Fiction* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 207-19. See also Arul Kumaran, ‘Satiric Mimicking in Henry Chettle’s *Kind-Hartes Dreame*’, *Studies in Philology* 109.4 (2012), 429-54.

The *Reward*'s interest in fame, reputation and renown applies not only to its author but, more crucially perhaps, to the household of his employment, which for many years was held in suspicion. As described above, 'what newes out of the northe?' was a question posed by pamphleteers, particularly around the time of the 1569 Rebellion of the Northern Earls.¹²⁰ The *Reward* seems to respond to this demand, as demonstrated by a number of passages and references to 'newes' throughout. In the episode entitled 'Newes betwene the Pope and Pluto, and of the Proclamation about the Ladder twixt Hell and Heauen', Robinson provides a more explicit answer to that demand:

... toward the North Pole Gods word is so embraste:
That no man for pardons will giue mony nor ware,
(In Englande especially) he is vtterly disgraste
Except among a fewe here and there that are plaste.
That with their friendes in nowkes and odde holes,
Sing a masse of *Requiem* for al christian soules. (sig. Q2v).

Robinson's later collection of poems, *A Golden Mirrour* (1589), signifies a much clearer and perhaps more ambitious attempt to shield the northern counties against the charge of religious dissent. The volume includes epitaphs on the Earl of Shrewsbury and Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange (later 5th Earl of Derby), a man also believed to harbour Catholic sympathies, as well as 'divers worthy personages inhabiting the gentle natured countrey and Countie of Chester' (sig. A3r). These include Lady Juliana Holcroft of the Vale Royal and Sir Edmund Trafford, as well as members of the ancient Cheshire families of Ashley, Brereton, Legh and Warburton.¹²¹ Although long associated with the founding of Britain, the palatinate county of Cheshire was also held in suspicion for clinging to the old faith.¹²² Recalling John 8: 7, Robinson implores the reader in his Epistle dedication to 'cast no more stones, at this gentle Countrey, then thou would haue throwen

¹²⁰ Fox, p, 600.

¹²¹ For biographical information pertaining to each of these figures, see Corser, pp. 76-85.

¹²² These tensions are reflected in the county's semi-autonomous identity which, though 'shaped and altered under the early Tudors', emerged 'adapted but not fundamentally undermined at the accession of Elizabeth I': Tim Thornton, *Cheshire and the Tudor State: 1480-1560* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society/Boydell Press, 2000) p. 5.

at thy selfe', and cautions that 'if necessitie should constraine thee to make trial of the good Nature of this Countrey, thou wouldest... finde my reports to be of troth' (sigs. A3r-v). Similar to the *Rewarde*, *A Golden Mirrour* shows a clear desire to protect the Earl of Shrewsbury against slanderous claims. In addition to this, Robinson's use of the dream vision throughout *A Golden Mirrour* demonstrates the genre's ability to address issues specific to the time, and ones that are also of great national, as well as provincial, importance.

A GOLDEN MIRROUR (1589): PROPHECY AND PANEGYRIC

In contrast to the *Rewarde*, the title page and materials prefacing *A Golden Mirrour* omit all sign of attribution. The publisher, John Proctor, identifies the author as being a 'Gentleman of the North Countrey' (sig. A2r). Recalling Robinson's former strategy of concluding the *Rewarde*'s complaints with the legalistic device of the 'Bookes Verdict', a twenty-two-line acrostic poem, entitled 'The Authours name in Verdict' towards the volume's close reveals the identity of this northern 'Gentleman' as being 'RICHARD ROBINSON OF ALTON'.¹²³ While this new, gentrified status raises the possibility that Robinson had achieved a degree of social advancement in the interim between the *Rewarde* and *A Golden Mirrour*, scholarship has also entertained the possibility that Robinson had died by 1589, and that *A Golden Mirrour* was a posthumous publication.¹²⁴ The volume was dedicated, like the *Rewarde*, to the Earl of Shrewsbury's son, Gilbert Talbot, who went on to inherit his father's title in the following year.

¹²³ As noted above, it is possible that Robinson originally hailed from the village of Alton near Stafford (the Staffordshire seat of George Talbot), or Halton or Oulton, both in Cheshire. Sir John Warburton (father of Peter Warburton, to whom one of the poems in *A Golden Mirrour* is addressed) was seneschal at Halton and Sheriff of Chester under Henry VIII. Oulton Park, approximately thirteen miles east of Chester, was the home of the Egerton family. *A Golden Mirrour* contains two poems addressed to Lady Egerton of Ridley, whose daughter was married to Peter Warburton's nephew. For more information on these individuals, see Corser, pp. 80-2.

¹²⁴ Corser, p. ix. This is based on the evidence of a ten-line verse at the volume's close in which the poet dwells on his age and frail condition: 'My lennow limmes grow dry & stiffe, my bones be full of payne: / My former pleasures workes me woe, I chaunge to dust againe' (sig. P4r).

Despite these connections with the *Rewarde*, questions must also be raised as to how much of *A Golden Mirrour* is in fact Robinson's own work. As Proctor states in his Epistle dedication:

Hereto bee adioyned of the foresayd Authours doynge also, certaine Verses penned vpon the name of my Lord Straunge, and sundry others, vpon the names of diuers worshipfull, whiche, for that they are tending vnto vertue and prettie inuentions full of wittie sentences, I haue thought good to adde vnto the former Treatise (sig. A2v).

It was not unusual for printers and publishers to supplement a publication with texts of a similar nature, particularly if profit was to be had from their labours. Chaucer's *Works* offer major case in point, though there are other examples.¹²⁵ The 'certaine pretie poemes' described on the title page of *A Golden Mirrour* are presumably the verses on the etymologies of the gentlemen and gentlewomen of Cheshire. Whether these were also the 'foresayd Authours doynge' is an issue that warrants further investigation, though much of it goes beyond the scope of this analysis. My focus here turns to a poem that we can with some confidence connect to the author of the *Rewarde*. The second item in *A Golden Mirrour* is an untitled poem but which for ease of reference I will refer to as the 'Talbot poem'. This poem is, like the *Rewarde* and many other verses within *A Golden Mirrour*, a dream vision. As the next section will show, this dream vision becomes far more than an instrument of patronage and praise, but a potent political statement about the Earl's allegiances at yet another time of need.

The Talbot poem is the second item in *A Golden Mirrour*. Completed in twenty six-line stanzas it begins, like many dream visions, in the setting of a *locus amoenus*. The narrator, tired of studying indoors and eager to 'feede' his 'gredy eyes' moves outside in order to 'peruse' his copy of 'The poore Knights palace of pleasure' (sig. C2r), a collection of sonnets, epitaphs, occasional

¹²⁵ The printed miscellanies offer some of the best instances of this, though the practice also extends into drama. As Tiffany Stern points out in her discussion of Thomas Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece* (1608), 'the publishers – or, at least, the printers – are ready in principle to integrate songs by different authors into one text, advertising on the title-page... that "the severall Songes... by Valerius, the merrie Lord" will be situated "in their apt places", where it will be difficult to see what is by Heywood and what is not' (*Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 132).

verse, and dream poems written by ‘A Student in Cambridge’. This is one of many indications as to the authorship of the Talbot poem. As mentioned above, the author of *A Poore Knight his Pallace of Prinate Pleasures* (1579) compliments Robinson for his *Rewarde* on at least three occasions. As also noted above, Robinson appears to repay the compliment to the Student by incorporating his book within the structural and conceptual design of his own collection of poems, *A Golden Mirrour*. Yet the scene of reading within the Talbot poem, however, is wholly different to the image of a man working on his verse during the brief moments snatched from duty painted in the *Rewarde*. This variation on the dream vision form plays a crucial role in fashioning Robinson’s claims to gentlemanly status.

The Talbot poem begins with a six-line invocation to Diana, ‘the Godesse chast’ who is ‘much abus’d by vermin that deuoure: / In forrest, park, and chace, her galland Game’ (sig. C1v). Within the poem itself, the narrator scales the ‘ragged hills’ (sig. C2r) from where he views a hunt. The pursuit is led by a pack of hounds bearing the names of Diligence, Duty, Find-All, Holdfast, Obedience and finally, the huntsman’s favourite, Talbot. The poem is one of a number of works to employ the Shrewsbury family emblem within its design. As a clear statement of the family’s identity, the (now extinct) hunting dog was employed in a variety of literary and artistic contexts. For example, Thomas Howell’s *Arbor of Amitie* (1568), dedicated to Shrewsbury’s daughter, Anne Talbot, contains an attractive canine woodcut with the following verse accompaniment:

The Talbot true that is,
 And still hath so remaynde:
 Lost neuer noblenesse,
 By sprinck of spot distaynde.
 On such a fixed fayth
 This trustie Talbot stayth.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ Thomas Howell, *The Arbor of Amitie* (London: H. Denham, 1568), sig. A9v. See also *A Short Treatise of Hunting* (1591), which utilises the same image. This latter text, like Robinson’s *Rewarde* and *A Golden Mirrour*, is dedicated to Gilbert Talbot and the author, Thomas Cockaine, had served under Gilbert’s grandfather, Francis Talbot, 5th Earl of Shrewsbury. See Hunter, pp. 58-9.

Like the Devonshire Hunting Tapestries of the fifteenth century, the Talbot poem engages in a strong and sustained effort to influence opinion concerning the family's nobility and, more particularly, its reputation for loyalty to the English crown.¹²⁷ From the tenth stanza on, Robinson's paean to the Talbot's heraldic emblem resounds with the sound of the huntsman's cry – 'here Talbot, take it, for thou art ever trew' – in the form of a refrain. But when the game is caught, the huntsman foregoes its slaughter and the dogs persist in driving the 'wolfe, and foxe' and 'wicked wéesels' from England's 'Stately Grounds' (sigs. C3r; C1v). It is perhaps no coincidence, then, that the publisher of *A Golden Mirroure*, Roger Ward, was himself a Shropshire man and had, until 1585, sold books at the sign of the Talbot dog in Holborn.¹²⁸

A Golden Mirroure opens with an untitled poem which, in a way not dissimilar to the Talbot poem, depicts 'a virgin, in rich attire clad, / Whose vertues causde all men her name to know: /...Whose giftes of grace, her Royall race bewrayes' (sigs. B1r-v). Whilst in a poem such as Barnabe Googe's 'Cupido Conquered' (1563), the correlation between the Virgin Queen (Diana) and Queen Elizabeth is both equivocal and, potentially, anachronistic, the correlation between these two figures in the dream vision poems of *A Golden Mirroure* is far less ambivalent. As the Queen 'passed from an age when her marriage and motherhood existed as potentials', and, as Helen Hackett observes,

to an age where marriage was unlikely and physical motherhood an impossibility, symbolic nobility and fertility came all the further to the fore, and came to represent a triumph over time, a myth of perpetual youth and beauty. It was as if she were eternally frozen in a bridal moment of virginal purity... [H]er combination in one person of virginity and symbolic fertility was a mystical paradox, figuring divine wholeness and self-sufficiency'.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ The Talbot's reputation for loyalty was also portrayed on the stage. As Manley has shown, Shakespeare's *Henry VI* plays celebrates the beginnings of the old Stanley-Talbot alliance (pp. 136-54). The Talbot dog emblem was appropriated by Bess of Hardwick and appears throughout the decorative interior of New Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire.

¹²⁸ Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640, A.D.*, 5 vols (London: Stationers Company, 1875-77), I, p. 130.

¹²⁹ Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), p. 111.

This sense of the Queen's paradoxical status – her perpetual stasis and 'self-sufficiency' – is perfectly enshrined within the dream vision form.¹³⁰ Like the Talbot poem, the opening ('Armada') poem employs a visionary framework within the same six-line ballad form. The poem describes the triumphs of Francis Drake (the 'valiaunt Drake') and Martin Frobisher ('Eolus Furbisher') against the Spanish navy, whilst the Hound (the Earl of Shrewsbury) and the Eagle (the Earl of Derby), and whom 'the Lyon well may trust', sig. B2v), stand as the nation's domestic guardians. As Lawrence Manley explains 'the pairing of Talbot and Stanley, Hound and Eagle, was a patriotic gesture geared to the preservation of local power and interests'.¹³¹ Whilst dream visions of Elizabeth reveal themselves, first and foremost, as a form of royal panegyric, these Armada and Talbot poems within *A Golden Mirroure* preserve the interests of the northern Earls and depict a community equipped to defend the nation against its Catholic opponents.

This sense of a community defined by its mutually provincial and patriotic interests is reflected in the way that many of the poems within *A Golden Mirroure* are linked together, and no more so than in their use of genre. The Armada is in fact the first of several dream poems in this collection. The second is the Talbot poem, which echoes the Armada poem by closing with the dreamer being awoken by a 'friend' who finds him asleep (sig. C3v). The next poem, addressed to the Earl of Derby's son, Ferdinando Stanley (Lord Strange) begins: 'Fame in her flight, by chance found me / Asleepe vpon a banke' (sig. C3v). The opening Armada poem similarly concludes with the dreamer waking to telling his story to 'maister Leigh of Ridge, a Gentle Squire' (sig. C1r). Later on in the volume, we find verses addressed to 'Sir Peter Leigh of the linne [i.e. Lyme Hall, Disley in Cheshire], Knight' and Master Thomas Legh of Adlington, both of whom descended from the same familial line. *A Golden Mirroure* not only uses the dream's panegyric potential with the aim of

¹³⁰ For more on early modern dreams of Elizabeth, see Hackett's essay: 'Dream-visions of Elizabeth I', in *Reading the Early Modern Dream: The Terrors of the Night*, ed. by Katharine Hodgkin, Michelle O'Callaghan and Susan Wiseman (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 45-65.

¹³¹ Manley, p. 148.

preserving both local and national interests, but also forges important links between the poems and their subjects by way of embellishing key conventions of the form.

Whilst many of the families within *A Golden Mirrour* were linked either by marriage or by blood,¹³² the community described within the volume was also defined by its hostility toward the Scots.¹³³ Along with the parliamentarian and landowner, Sir Thomas Holcroft (husband of Lady Juliana Holcroft of the Vale Royal, to whom Robinson dedicates the fourth poem within *A Golden Mirrour*), Peter Legh's father, Sir Thomas Legh, was knighted in May 1544 following the Burning of Edinburgh.¹³⁴ That these figures were both important players in the Dissolution of the Monasteries is not without some importance to Robinson's larger aims. Under Henry VIII, it was George Talbot's father, Francis – the 5th Earl of Shrewsbury – who gained preeminence in the north, taking part in the invasion of Scotland in 1547. As Tim Thornton writes, 'Cheshire men were led to war by Talbots'.¹³⁵ By the time of *A Golden Mirrour*, the Talbots' reputation for military prowess had significantly waned. Yet the Shrewsburys, along with many of the Cheshire men and women named in *A Golden Mirrour*, had made a significant financial contribution in the wars against Spain. With the Armada poem at its head, *A Golden Mirrour* seems geared toward remembrance of that fact, and the volume as a whole represents a potent political statement declaring the area's semi-autonomous identity and its collective support of the English crown.

¹³² See Corser, pp. 78-9.

¹³³ Writing in *The Particular Description of England* (published in 1588), William Smith wrote of the people of Cheshire as follows: '[T]hey are of a stomach stout, bold and hardy; of stature tall and mighty; withal impatient of wrong, and ready to resist the enemy or stranger that shall invade their country; the very name whereof they cannot abide, and namely, of a Scot' (quoted in Thornton, *Cheshire and the Tudor State*, pp. 232-3). Another means of self-definition came through verse. 'The Song of Lady Bessie', as well as the alliterative poems *Flodden Feilde* and *Scottish Feilde* (c. 1513), include several of the characters associated with *A Golden Mirrour*, including the Breretons and the Stanley Earls of Derby who probably commissioned the work. See Ian Forbes Baird, 'Poems concerning the Stanley family (Earls of Derby) 1485-1520' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 1989); Manley, pp. 146-8.

¹³⁴ Compared to the other families mentioned in *A Golden Mirrour*, the Holcrofts were relative newcomers. The Vale Royal Abbey in Cheshire, which Robinson describes in his poem to Lady Juliana, had been granted to Thomas Holcroft after he was awarded his knighthood in 1544 (Thornton, *Cheshire and the Tudor State*, pp. 33, 231).

¹³⁵ Thornton, *Cheshire and the Tudor State*, p. 22.

Although *A Golden Mirrour* was printed in 1589, Proctor states that it was in fact two years prior to this that he ‘chaunced’ to have been presented with what he describes as ‘this present Treatise’ (sig. A2r). There are several reasons as to why this delay is important. Compared against the *Rewarde*, which concludes with the image of the servant poet, eager ‘To haste the same to Printers handes’ (sig. Q3r), such enthusiasm might also violate social etiquette and would thus seem far less befitting the status accorded to Robinson by his publisher of ‘Gentleman of the North Countrey’.¹³⁶ A second reason for this delay is that it would have also allowed the Armada poem to acquire prophetic substance, the importance of which is outlined below.

Another reason why this delay was important has much more to bear on what we know of Robinson as the author of the *Rewarde* and as servant to George Talbot. The year that Proctor claimed to have received *A Golden Mirrour* – 1587 – was also the year of Mary Queen of Scots’ execution. The year marked only the second time in fifteen years that the Earl had been able to make an appearance in court. The first time was in January 1572 for the trial of Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, for his part in a conspiracy to assassinate Elizabeth, later known as the Ridolfi Plot. The paean to Talbot within *A Golden Mirrour* concludes with the message that traitors will be ‘brought to reape their iust reward at last’ (sig. C3v), a message that resonates with the words of *An Homily Against Disobedience and Willful Rebellion* (1571), published in the wake of the Ridolfi Plot. The homily warns that rebels will be ‘rewarded with shameful deaths, their hands and carcasses set upon poles, and hanged in chains, eaten with kites and crows, judged unworthy the honor of burial’.¹³⁷ Robinson adapts these words to his overriding allegorical theme within the seventeenth stanza of the Talbot poem:

The heads and quarters of these Carrens vile

¹³⁶ As J. W. Saunders explains, ‘Haste in rushing into print was the cardinal sin; if the poet could claim that some kind of decorous *delay* had been observed, the offence was apparently more venial’: ‘The Stigma of Print: A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry’, *Essays in Criticism* 1.2 (1951), 139-64 (p. 144, original emphases).

¹³⁷ Quoted in John Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 34.

I did beholde, where kites and Crowes did eate,
A marke for many that do themselves exile
From Dueties doctrine, and deale by deepe deceit. (sig. C3v).

The poem's political meanings are inherent in the way that it employs the emblem of the hunting dog. Such devices were at an especial high around the time of the 1569 Rebellion of the Northern Earls.¹³⁸ Although they adopt a public tone of address, the ballads that arose around this campaign were most likely commissioned by and aimed at an elite audience.¹³⁹ The ballads of the Northern Rebellion are also interesting for the way that they employed prophetic language and riddle which, as Edward Wilson-Lee has shown, promise audiences 'access to privileged information'.¹⁴⁰ The use of similar strategies in the Talbot poem suggests an attempt to establish the Earl's symbolic inclusion in what Wilson-Lee defines as the 'elite economy of power' defined by the court.¹⁴¹ Through the addition of a ballad-like refrain, 'here Talbot take it, for thou art ever trew', the Talbot poem strikes at the very heart of Shrewsbury's perennial pledges of allegiance to Elizabeth, backing his claims to a 'dutiful heart and loyalty' and 'lineal posterity' over the long and troubled years spent in her service.¹⁴²

Due to their spurious origins, the ballads of the Northern Rebellion evaded injunctions preventing the publication of prophetic verse. Later, in 1583, *A Defensatiue Against the Poyson of Supposed Propheesies* by the Earl of Northampton, Henry Howard, condemned what were described as,

olde paynted bookes, expositions of Dreames, Oracles, Revelations... or any
other kinde of pretended knowledge whatsoever [which] haue beene causes of

¹³⁸ Ballads such as *Northumberland Newes* and *Ioyfull Newes for the True Subiectes* (both c. 1570) present the leaders of the rebellion, the Earl Northumberland, Thomas Percy and the Earl of Westmorland, Charles Neville as the 'Man in the Moon' and the 'Westmerland Bull', toppled by the Bear (Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick) and the Lion (Queen Elizabeth). See Wilson-Lee, pp. 225-42.

¹³⁹ Wilson-Lee, p. 237. In addition to *An Aunswere to the Proclamation of the Rebels in the North* (1569), Thomas Norton's *A Warning Agaynst the Dangerous Practises of Papistes* (1570) was also sponsored by Burghley.

¹⁴⁰ Wilson-Lee, p. 233.

¹⁴¹ Wilson-Lee, p. 238.

¹⁴² Lambeth MS 3206, fol. 691 (16 April 1574).

great disorder in the common wealth, and cheefely among the simple and vnlearned people.¹⁴³

The controversy surrounding prophecies and dreams and their ability to deceive ‘the simple and vnlearned people’ is the subject of discussion within ‘The last Dreame that Morpheus did showe vnto the Author’, the final poem within *A Golden Mirroure*. This poem identifies the dreamer on two separate occasions as ‘Robinson’, who is then met by the figure of a ‘Lambe’ who speaks in Latin, who ‘scrape[s] his clawes’, and counsels him through the aid of his ‘glasse of Skill’ (sig. G4v). Readers would have no doubt seen the connection with the New Testament phrase, ‘Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves’ (Matthew 7: 15).¹⁴⁴ It has been suggested by the poem’s 1851 editor that this anthropomorphic figure relates to Dr John Lambe (c. 1545-1628), a ‘noted astrologer and fortune-teller’ from Worcester.¹⁴⁵ Based on the lines ‘This Lambe that knewe this newes before / Did bid the Lyon begin to rore’ in the broadside ballad entitled *Newes from Northomberland* (c. 1570),¹⁴⁶ the figure of the Lamb might also relate to Katherine Bertie, Duchess of Suffolk (1519-1580), who raised her concerns in October 1569 over brewing troubles in the north.¹⁴⁷ There are many other plausible contenders, including the Cheshire visionary, Robert Nixon.¹⁴⁸ Despite the uncertainty over who

¹⁴³ Henry Howard, *A Defensatiue against the Poyson of Supposed Prophecies* (London: J. Charlewood, 1583), sig. A1r. Alexandra Walsham has also shown how astronomical predictions and other prophetic signs could be ‘transformed into pro- as well as anti-Protestant propaganda’ (*Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 176).

¹⁴⁴ Soon after the publication of *A Golden Mirroure*, Proctor financed the production of an anti-Catholic tract which quotes from Matthew 24:24, in that ‘there shall arise false Christes, and false Prophets [that] shall shew great signes, and wonders to deceiue (if it were possible) the verie elect’ (C[hristopher] S[hutte], *A Briefe Resolution of a Right Religion* (London: R. Ward, 1590), sig. B1v). The poem was printed by the *Rewarde’s* printer, Roger Ward.

¹⁴⁵ Corser, pp. 86-7. Dr Lambe was also physician to George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham. He was chased and beaten to death in London in 1628, which prompted a number of ballads and libels describing the scandal. In particular, see Alastair Bellany, ‘The murder of John Lambe: crowd violence, court scandal and popular politics in early seventeenth-century England’, *Past & Present* 200.1 (2008), 37-76.

¹⁴⁶ William Elderton, *Newes from Northomberland* (London, 1570?).

¹⁴⁷ Wilson-Lee, p. 236. Whilst Lord Burghley is another potential candidate, Wilson-Lee notes that ‘no lambs appear in his heraldry’ (p. 236), although the same can also be said for Katherine Bertie.

¹⁴⁸ Many of Nixon’s prophecies were concentrated around the area of the Vale Royal and may prove a fruitful source for further investigation (Thornton, *Prophecy, Politics and the People in Early Modern England*, pp. 98-144). Corser describes the the ‘glasse of Skill’ as a beryl stone ‘used by astrologers to delude the weak and ignorant, who were led to believe that upon looking into this glass of skill, they would see

or what the ‘Lambe’ may signify, the effect of ‘The last Dreame’ is one that casts the trustworthiness of prophecies, dreams and their interpreters into considerable doubt.

Containing a dream that ‘foretold (as it were) the comming of the Spanyards and their ouerthrow to our great vnspeakable good’ (sig. A2r), *A Golden Mirroure* would have been a risky endeavour for any publisher. These risks are amplified by the fact that the poem’s printer, Roger Ward, would reportedly ‘print any book, however forbidden by the queen’s privilege, and made it his practice to print all kinds of book at his pleasure’.¹⁴⁹ Ward had previously owned a bookshop in Shrewsbury, though this was seized in 1585 and Ward imprisoned on numerous occasions for printing and selling books without licence. Amongst the many titles seized from his Shrewsbury shop were: ‘i Rewarde of wikednes’, as well as ‘i poore knight & his pallas’, ‘i Boccas of fale of princes’ and numerous editions of the *Mirror for Magistrates*.¹⁵⁰ It is intriguing to know that the publisher of *A Golden Mirroure* would choose a printer with such a turbulent past, given his many efforts to exonerate the author and himself of all charges of sedition. In his Epistle to Gilbert Talbot, Proctor explains how,

...dreadyng least I might be ouer rashe in committynge it to the Print, especially before I had fully seene into the end and purpose of the writer, whom I vnderstood to bee a Gentleman of the North Countrey: yet now after long deliberation, I finding this same both pleasaunt and profitable, haue aduentured the charge of Printynge it. (sig. A2r).

Although the passage serves to emphasise the volume’s moral and artistic benefits, Proctor revisits this issue toward the close of his Epistle, turning more specifically to a defence of the author’s formal and generic choices:

If any will contend, that such graue matters as in the former part be intreated of, ought not be expressed vnder a colour of Dreames, let him but read Cicero

things past and future (p. 87). The glass might also relate to other seeing stones, such as the obsidian mirror, allegedly used by John Dee.

¹⁴⁹ C. H. Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing: with the Progress of Literature, ancient and modern* (London: H. Johnson, 1839), pp. 410-1.

¹⁵⁰ Alexander Rodger, ‘Roger Ward’s Shrewsbury Stock: An Inventory of 1585’, *The Library* 13.4 (1958), 247-68 (p. 251).

his worke *De somnio Scipionis*, & he shall find there most graue & pithie matters, touching the well vsage of a Common weale, concerning the vnstablesse and inualiditie of riches in comparison to vertue, with the blessed ende of good men, and the wofull miserie of the wicked, all effectually discoursed vnder the name of a Dreame. (sig. A2v).

By again stressing the volume's utility (what Chaucer defines in his *Parliament of Fowls* as the 'comune profyt', l. 47), Proctor also serves to vindicate the author's use of the dream vision frame. This was a discerning, if not necessary, move, given contemporary suspicion regarding prophetic verse. As Bernard Capp has shown, it was only in the aftermath of the Armada that predictions and prognostications 'fus[ing] apocalyptic excitement and patriotic fervour' were considered in a positive light.¹⁵¹ The underlying implication of Proctor's message is that, being written by a 'Gentleman of the North Countrey', the publication might incite apprehension amongst its readers. This apparent delay in printing meant that Robinson's prophecy had in fact been fulfilled, and that both Ward and Proctor could fulfil a new and legitimate demand for patriotic propaganda in the wake of England's victory over the Spanish Armada.

CONCLUSION

If *Robinson*, which hath no cause to feare,
Did stand in dout, that hee should haue a rome:
Where *Cheryll* keepes, that hee I say euen there,
Should stand and tell, what Poets thither come:
Behinde the doore, there *Cheryll* tels his case,
And whips the dogges, out of that sacred place.

A Poore Knight his Pallace of Priuate Pleasures (sig. L4v).

These lines from 'The poore Knight his farewel to his Booke', the final poem in *A Poore Knight his Pallace of Priuate Pleasures* (1579), offer testament to the reception of Robinson's *Rewarde*, and a parallel reassurance that Robinson's place in the poet's hall of fame, though marginal, is secure. Just as the author of *A Poore Knight* pays tribute to Robinson in his portraits of Helen and Pope Joan, these closing lines hark back to the *Rewarde's* finale, 'To Noble Helicon', where Robinson

¹⁵¹ Bernard Capp, 'The political dimension of apocalyptic thought', in *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature: Patterns, Antecedents and Repercussions*, ed. by C. A. Patrides and Joseph Antony Wittreich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), pp. 93-124 (p. 97).

observes a great number of classical and English poets inside the Muses' Paradise. His place is not reserved alongside Chaucer, Lydgate and Skelton, nor Heywood and Googe, but is located behind the door next to the notoriously bad Athenian poet, Choerilus (sig. Q2v). Yet the anonymous 'Poore Knight' – A Student in Cambridge – fashions a far more appreciative readership for the *Rewarde* than Robinson had imagined. Whilst we can locate a copy of the *Rewarde* to Roger Ward's clandestine bookshop in Shrewsbury, it also reached audiences much further away from the household of Robinson's employ. Should the identity of the 'poore knight' and his publisher, I. C. Gent of Gray's Inn, be revealed, then many other unresolved issues should also come to light.

Although this chapter has aimed to construct a clearer biographical profile for Richard Robinson, his poems offer more in the way of questions than answers. Although we know that a number of Robinsons were employed in a whole range of capacities within the Shrewsbury household, which of these (or any) was, or was somehow related, to our poet, remains unknown. Whilst the 'seruaunt in housholde' seems to cut a rather different figure by the time of *A Golden Mirroure*, it is my own suspicion that this is yet another part of the poem's fiction. Within the dream vision form, this new gentry status allows Robinson to step outside of his study, to participate in the pursuits of hunting and hawking, and to read his book of poetry wherever he may wish. As a 'Gentleman of the North Countrey', Robinson has a far more legitimate stake in these interests than the household servant of the *Rewarde*. This unlocks the further possibility that these poems were written by different individuals, and that the creators of *A Golden Mirroure*, as in the 'news from hell' tradition, assumed the name and identity of Richard Robinson for commercial or otherwise political aims. As Cathy Shrank has shown, 'cheap print was not a medium insulated from the political debate and actions that concerned the governing elite, but was an instrument that partisans in these contexts could, and did, deploy'.¹⁵² Given the choice of printer, a man with

¹⁵² Cathy Shrank, 'Trollers and Dreamers: Defining the Citizen-Subject in Sixteenth-Century Cheap Print', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 38.1/2 (2008), 102-18 (p. 118).

a direct investment both in Shrewsbury town and in the Talbot emblem, the family's involvement in the project seems almost certain.

Despite many uncertainties that still remain, what is clear is that the *Reward* and *A Golden Mirrour* present a constant interest in the creative potentials and challenges of the dream vision form. These texts draw on a range of literary models and modes, both medieval and contemporary in kind, ranging from Chaucer, Langland, Lydgate, Skelton and the 'otherworld' vision tradition, to the broadside ballad, *de casibus* complaint, political prophecy, royal panegyric and state propaganda. Through the use of the dream vision form across these titles, we also see a continuity between elite and popular literary genres and forms, as well as the dream's continued utility as a poetic disclaimer, as an instrument of satire, and as a statement of allegiance and courtly prestige. Perhaps most interestingly of all, Robinson counts Heywood and Googe among his exemplars. These influences make it possible to see an equally wide array of social, political and perhaps even commercial motivations behind the figure of 'Richard Robinson', especially where the reputation of George Talbot, his household, and the gentlemen and women of the north were concerned.

CHAPTER THREE

FORTUNA AND VIRTÙ: THOMAS ANDREWE

[B]oth in other nations and ours, before poets did soften us, we were full of courage, given to martial exercises, the pillars of manlike liberty, and not lulled asleep in shady idleness with poets' pastimes.

Philip Sidney, *Apology for Poesie*.¹

Before his death in 1612, Henry Stuart, Prince of Wales, was immortalised in a painting by the court portraitist, Robert Peake. The painting depicts the young Prince beneath an oak, a conventional symbol of fortitude and, for the more discerning viewer, Peake offers a small glimpse of the newly-refurbished Richmond Palace in the right-hand corner.² With the prince atop his shield and ready to draw his sword, the portrait offers a striking contrast to several other literary and visual portraits, including Chaucer's 'Man in Black', the 'melancholy Jacques' and Henry Percy, the 'Wizard Earl'.³ Peake's painting of 1612 transforms the melancholy pose depicted in these images to fashion a new and potent image of chivalry and masculine identity. Despite King James' policy of peace, the ethos of Protestant militarism reigned within the so-called 'Academy' of his son. Led by the assumption that the prince would rally those troops remaining in the Low Countries and lead them once more into battle against the Catholic enemy, contemporaries considered Henry to be a 'new Elizabeth', and nostalgia for the chivalry of her age figured prominently, both in the iconographical representation of the young prince, and in works of many writers who were becoming increasingly disenchanted with the new regime.⁴

¹ Geoffrey Shepherd, ed., *Philip Sidney, An Apology for Poetry or The Defence of Poesy*, 2nd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 123.

² For a discussion of this image see Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales, and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), p. 84. See also Robin Headlam Wells, "'Manhood and Chevalrie': *Coriolanus*, Prince Henry, and the Chivalric Revival', *The Review of English Studies* 51.203 (2000), 395-422.

³ Nicholas Hillyard, *Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland (c. 1590-5)*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

⁴ The seminal study of Elizabethan nostalgia is D. R. Woolf's 'Two Elizabeths? James I and the Late Queen's Famous Memory', *Canadian Journal of History* 20.2 (1985), 167-92.

This chapter concerns a relatively unknown poem of this time, Thomas Andrewe's *The Vnmasking of a Feminine Machiauell* (1604), a dream poem published at the start of James I's reign, and one that I argue in this chapter responds to the issue of peace through the combination of two intentionally 'archaic' literary forms: the dream vision and complaint. The first part of this chapter locates *The Vnmasking of a Feminine Machiauell* at the end of an Elizabethan vogue for complaint. More specifically, I am concerned with a subgenre of this trend known as the 'visionary complaint', used by such writers as Michael Drayton, Edmund Spenser and Thomas Lodge. While the dream vision and complaint both share a long history of origin, and may therefore be considered an example of 'literary archaism' (and therefore something that readers would have considered 'outmoded or old-fashioned'⁵), the authors here concerned employ these forms in ways that are thoroughly in tune with contemporary artistic and political developments, and no more so than in the case of Andrewe's *Vnmasking*. As an extension of this, the second part of this chapter considers the relationship between *The Vnmasking of a Feminine Machiauell* and the reception of Machiavelli in early modern England. Contrary to received belief, *The Vnmasking* represents less a 'distortion' of Machiavellian thought than a clear espousal of his political philosophy and, more especially, his ideas on Fortune. In the third part of this chapter, I consider *The Vnmasking* in light of what we know of Andrewe and his literary and social milieu. The poem's readers vary widely, from members of Andrewe's family to key members of the literary scene, including Samuel Rowlands, John Beaumont and Michael Drayton. The final three parts of this chapter will then turn to *The Vnmasking* itself, covering the poem's use of gender, persona and voice; its central subject matter (the Battle of Newport); and its conclusion, all of which appear within the elaborate framework of the dream vision form. With Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* as the poem's main generic influence, *The Vnmasking* constitutes yet another example of 'post-Chaucerianism', as identified by

⁵ Lucy Munro, *Archaic Style in English Literature, 1560-1694* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 3-4.

Anne Coldiron.⁶ But where Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* is, principally, an elegy on the death of Blanche of Lancaster, the sense of loss explored in Chaucer's poem applies in the newly-topical contexts of love and war. Although the figure of the 'feminine Machiavel' conveys some of the poem's most politically sensitive ideas, Andrewe's adoption of the melancholy persona of 'Andrea' and his use of an 'archaic' and outmoded literary forms connected, both in time and tenor, with the Elizabethan age, become more telling in light of the frustrations felt by military men in times of peace.

THE VISIONARY COMPLAINT

In the simplest of terms, a complaint represents a poetic form or 'mode' 'expressing grief or lamentation for any variety of causes: unrequited love, the speaker's affairs or the sorrows of the human condition'.⁷ Although the complaint has a very long history, going far beyond Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*, a new fashion was established in the 1590s for attaching a complaint – usually in the voice of a woman – to a collection of sonnets. The subject of the late Elizabethan complaint is almost always gendered female, and a combination of feminine beauty and male sexual and 'dynastic desire' act as the main factors in her downfall.⁸ Although the use of a female speaker may arouse sympathy in the poem's audience, the way in which the complaint is presented (often by way of a male auditor or scribe) also opens the text to important questions of agency, 'truth-telling'

⁶ Anne E. B. Coldiron, 'Paratextual Chaucerianism: Naturalizing French Texts in Early Printed Verse', *The Chaucer Review* 38.1 (2003), 41-67 (p. 13).

⁷ Hugh Maclean, "'Restlesse anguish and unquiet paine": Spenser and the Complaint, 1579-1590', in *The Practical Vision: Essays in English Literature in Honour of Flora Roy*, ed. by Jane Campbell and James Doyle (Waterloo, Canada: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1978), pp. 29-48 (p. 30). For an overview of the tradition, see John Kerrigan's 'Introduction' to his *Motives of Woe: Shakespeare and 'Female Complaint': A Critical Anthology* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991). For an account of the medieval tradition and conventions of complaint, see Wendy Scase, *Literature and Complaint in England, 1272-1553* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). See also Dana M. Symons, ed., *Chaucerian Dream Visions and Complaints* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004) <<http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/symons-chaucerian-dream-visions-and-complaints>> [accessed 14 March 2016].

⁸ The term 'dynastic desire' is employed by Danielle Clarke in her essay, 'Ovid's *Heroides*, Drayton and the articulation of the feminine in the English Renaissance', *Renaissance Studies* 22.3 (2008), 385-400 (p. 386).

and trust.⁹ The popularity of the *Mirror for Magistrates* was a major factor in the resurgence of interest in the complaint, with Thomas Churchyard's legend of *Shore's Wife* (included in the *Mirror's* 1563 edition) shaping a poetic 'paradigm into which all subsequent portrayals of women were made to fit'.¹⁰ The main originator of this new trend for complaint during the 1590s was Samuel Daniel, whose *Complaynt of Rosamond* was appended to *Delia*, his 1592 collection of sonnets. Combining Senecan and Ovidian modes with shades of Petrarchan discourse, the complaint employs a subjective speaking voice. Daniel's *Complaynt of Rosamond* went on to establish an important pattern for poets in their depictions of other fallen women from the medieval and ancient past. Later additions to the complaint tradition include: Thomas Lodge's *Tragicall Complaynt of Elstred* ('annexed' to *Phyllis*, 1593) and Richard Barnfield's 'Cassandra' (*Cynthia, with Certaine Sonnets*, 1595), amongst many more. By dramatising the dangers of reading erotic verse, *A Lover's Complaint* (appended to *Shake-speares Sonnets*, 1609) marked the simultaneous revival and terminus of this predominantly late Elizabethan poetic trend.¹¹

Although evidently indebted to the contemporary if, by 1604, diminishing 'vogue' for complaint, *The Vnmasking* also presents a strikingly new variation on this tradition in its use of a male speaker. The roles of the female 'victim' and the male sexual aggressor are reversed, and 'the manipulative faculties' of the woman 'exaggerated to mock-heroic disproportions'.¹² According to Götz Schmitz, 'such inversions serve a moralising purpose: the perversion of what was thought to

⁹ For more on the issue of validity in the tradition of complaint, see Katharine A. Craik, 'Shakespeare's *A Lover's Complaint* and Early Modern Criminal Confession', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 53.4 (2002), 437-59.

¹⁰ Paul Budra, *'A Mirror for Magistrates' and the 'De Casibus' Tradition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), p. 66. See also Richard Danson Brown, "'A Talkatiue Wench (Whose Words a World Hath Delighted in)': Mistress Shore and Elizabethan Complaint", *The Review of English Studies* 49.196 (1998), 395-415; Richard Helgerson, 'Weeping for Jane Shore', *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 98.3 (1999), 451-76.

¹¹ The authorship of *A Lover's Complaint* has been variously disputed, though for reasons of relevance is not my concern here. For a useful overview of the authorship debate, see Shirley Sharon-Zisser and Stephen Whitworth, 'Generating Dialogue on Shakespeare's *A Lover's Complaint*', in *Critical Essays on Shakespeare's 'A Lover's Complaint': Suffering Ecstasy*, ed. by Shirley Sharon-Zisser (Aldershot: Ashgate 2006), pp. 1-54.

¹² Götz Schmitz, *The Fall of Women in Early English Narrative Verse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 217.

be the natural, god-given order of things is emphasised'.¹³ The use of a male speaker also places *The Vnmasking* in line with the lover's complaints of the late medieval period. The poem's clearest generic source is Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*, from which Andrewe borrows a number of structural and conceptual features. Although Andrewe (re)introduces the dream vision frame that other authors, in their imitation of Chaucer's poem (namely, Lydgate in his *Complaint of the Black Knight* (c. 1402), and Spenser's *Daphnaïda*, first published in 1591), chose to omit, *The Vnmasking* is not entirely unusual in this respect. Thomas Lodge's *Tragicall Complaynt of Elstred (Phillis, 1593)*, for example, describes the narrator's experience as a 'wofull vision' and one that causes 'amazement' in the narrator.¹⁴ The boundary between sleep and waking is never apparent, though Lodge still maintains the sense of distance and scribal necessity usually found in the dream vision poem. *A Lover's Complaint*, a poem published slightly later than *The Vnmasking* in 1609, also invokes the conventions and motifs of the form, including the natural landscape and the poet as 'voyeur', but instead of confronting his subject face-to-face, the narrator is placed at a distinct remove from his subject and the role of auditor displaced onto a 'reuerend man' (l. 57). As Dana M. Symons has shown,

one effect of placing dream vision conventions in the context of a complaint or debate without the mediation of a dream is to suggest the revelation of a real private experience while, at the same time, the distance provided by the dream is to some extent maintained.¹⁵

Although Symons' discussion is restricted to poets of the fifteenth century, complaints of the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean eras employ a range of techniques whereby the accuracy of the complainant's report – 'the revelation of a real private experience' – is often compromised or rendered a challenge. A rather striking example of this is achieved in Spenser's *Daphnaïda* (1591),

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Thomas Lodge, *Phillis:...where-vnto is annexed, the Tragicall Complaynt of Elstred* (London: J. Roberts, 1593), sig. H4r.

¹⁵ Symons, 'Introduction' to *Chaucerian Dream Visions and Complaints* <<http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/symons-chaucerian-dream-visions-and-complaints-introduction>> [accessed 17 January 2016].

a pastoral elegy for Douglas Howard, the wife of Arthur Gorges. It has been said of *Daphnaïda* that the absence of the dream frame provides a structural reflection of the poem's elegiac concerns which, when compared with its source (again, Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*), underlines Spenser's desire to deny the reader any sense of resolution or emotional closure.¹⁶

By raising the expectations inherent in a dream vision poem, Lodge's *Tragicall Complaynt of Elstred*, Spenser's *Daphnaïda* and *A Lover's Complaint* all show an awareness of the genre's limitations and potential redundancy, particularly in the face of extreme loss and grief. That being said, a number of authors of the late Elizabethan age still continued to exploit the potential of the dream frame in the context of complaint. Such contributions to the tradition include: Thomas Fenne's *Hecubaes Mishaps* (1590), John Ogle's *The Lamentation of Troy for the Death of Hector* (1594) and Michael Drayton's *The Tragicall Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy* (1596). These poems comprise a discrete, though not entirely separate, sub-branch of this literary trend: the 'visionary complaint'.¹⁷ Probably the best-known of the period's visionary complaints is Spenser's *Ruines of Time* (1591). Although the structural and generic elements of the *Ruines* are rather too complex to be described in full, Richard Danson Brown identifies in the poem's lack of consistency a 'valid expression of the psychology of dreams' and, on this basis, describes the *Ruines of Time* as one of the most 'coherent' examples of a dream vision poem.¹⁸

¹⁶ See in particular Duncan Harris and Nancy L. Steffen, 'The other side of the garden: an interpretive comparison of Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* and Spenser's *Daphnaïda*', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8.1 (1978), 17-36; Glenn Steinberg, 'Idoltrous Idylls: Protestant Iconoclasm, Spenser's *Daphnaïda*, and Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*', in *Refiguring Chaucer in the Renaissance*, ed. by Theresa M. Krier (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1998), pp. 128-46; David Lee Miller, 'Laughing at Spenser's *Daphnaïda*', *Spenser Studies: A Renaissance Poetry Annual* 26.1 (2011), 241-50.

¹⁷ The term 'visionary complaint' is also used by Richard A. McCabe in his explanatory notes to *The Ruines of Time* in *Edmund Spenser: The Shorter Poems* (London: Penguin Books, 1999), p. 582n. The 'visionary complaint' is therefore a separate entity to those works in which the dream vision serves as an overarching frame for a collection of stories or *de casibus*-style complaints (as in the *Mirror for Magistrates* and Robinson's *Rewarde of Wickednesse*).

¹⁸ Richard Danson Brown, 'A "Goodlie Bridge" between the Old and the New: The Transformation of Complaint in Spenser's "The Ruines of Time"', *Renaissance Forum* 2.1 (1997), 1-64 (p. 19). The essay is replicated in Brown's monograph, *The New Poet: Novelty and Tradition in Spenser's Complaints* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), pp. 99-132, although the citations here refer to the original article.

Although Spenser did not necessarily replace Chaucer as the nation's literary father, for many poets of the seventeenth century, Spenser was their main exemplar and model.¹⁹ Visionary tropes and apparatuses find their way into a number of Jacobean works, most notably the *Visions* of William Browne of Tavistock (c. 1616) and Michael Drayton's *The Owle* (1604). Although pastoral was the predominant mode through which these authors, and many others, negotiated their literary inheritance and political position, other Spenserian modes supplied a ready source for articulating frustration with the Jacobean court.²⁰ Browne's *Visions*, to take one example, have a close affinity with Spenser's *Ruines* and the *Visions* of Bellay and Petrarch, but is far more overt than these in its use of the dream as a framing trope:

(Wearyed with thoughts) the leaden god of sleepe
 With silken armes of rest did me entwine:
 While such strange apparitions girt me round,
 As need another Joseph to expovnd.²¹

The 'strange apparitions' described in this opening sonnet assume the form of a series of idyllic situations, which are then exposed to decay through pride, ignorance and spite, and in ways that 'hint at specific topical allusions'.²² The extent to which *The Unmasking* can be viewed in the context of an emergent poetic opposition to King James, and one that is modelled chiefly on Spenserian

There is also a possibility that the poem comprises or consists of Spenser's lost 'Dreames' (see my General Introduction).

¹⁹ Amongst the several authorities on this subject, the following studies have been particularly helpful to this analysis: Joan Grundy, *The Spenserian Poets: A Study in Elizabethan and Jacobean Poetry* (London: Edward Arnold, 1969); David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984); Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture: James I and the Renegotiation of Elizabethan Literary Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Michelle O'Callaghan, *The 'Shepherd's Nation': Jacobean Spenserians and Early Stuart Political Culture, 1612-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000).

²⁰ Like Browne's *Visions*, many of these circulated in manuscript form, most notably John Hoskyns', 'Mee thought I walked in a dreame' (c. 1614), as discussed in the General Introduction to this thesis.

²⁰ Sukanta Chaudhuri, 'William Browne of Tavistocke (1591?-1643?)', in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. by A. C. Hamilton (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1990), pp. 115-16 (p. 115)

²¹ William Carew Hazlitt, ed., *The Whole Works of William Browne*, 2 vols (London: Roxburghe, 1868-9), II, p. 229.

²² Sukanta Chaudhuri, 'William Browne of Tavistocke (1591?-1643?)', in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. by A. C. Hamilton (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1990), pp. 115-16 (p. 115).

verse, is something that becomes more apparent when we consider more closely the poem's use of genre, imagery and visionary form.

What do we already know of Thomas Andrew's *The Vnmasking of a Feminine Machiavell*? Published in 1604, the text is most probably the 'booke conteyninge a Dreame loved and lo[a]thed', recorded in the Stationers' Register as of December of that year.²³ The latter part of this description seems to have established itself within the modern reception of *The Vnmasking* for, like many of the poems discussed in this thesis, the text has been rather poorly received amongst scholars. The nineteenth-century bibliographer William Thomas Lowndes labelled *The Vnmasking* a 'poetical tract of little merit',²⁴ whilst Samuel Egerton Brydges described the work as a 'dull poem' with a befittingly 'drowsy end'.²⁵ In more recent years, however, *The Vnmasking* has received some more serious attention, though this usually in reference to the period's better-known authors and their works.²⁶

The initial part of *The Vnmasking* is summarised in the prefatory 'Argument of this Booke', a verse of sixteen iambic tetrameter lines, quoted here in full:

Possest with sleepe, in silent night,
Me thought I found a wofull wight,
Whose heart was heauy, looke was sad,
In sorrowes colours being clad,
In a vast desert all alone,
For his desaster making mone,
Filling with plaints the tender ayre,

²³ Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640 A.D.*, 5 vols (London: Stationers Company, 1875-77), III, p. 278.

²⁴ William Thomas Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature*, 4 vols (London: W. Pickering, 1857-64), I, p. 41.

²⁵ Samuel Egerton Brydges, *Censura Literaria: Containing Titles, Abstracts, and Opinions of Old English Books*, 10 vols (London: Longman & Co.; J. White, 1805-9), VII, p. 51.

²⁶ Edward Meyer, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama* (Weimar: Verlag von Emil Felber, 1897), p. 102; Napoleone Orsini "'Policy": Or, the Language of Elizabethan Machiavellianism', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 9 (1946), 122-34 (p. 132); Schmitz, p. 217; David Mann, *Shakespeare's Women: Performance and Conception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 156; Alessandra Petrina and Alessandro Arienzo, 'Introducing Machiavelli in Tudor and Stuart England', in *Machiavellian Encounters in Tudor and Stuart England: Literary and Political Influences from the Reformation to the Restoration*, ed. by Alessandra Petrina and Alessandro Arienzo (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 1-12 (p. 1).

Who, when to him I did repayre,
 His various fortunes and estate,
 To me did mournfully relate:
 And did desire I would vnfold,
 What vnto me by him was told.
 Haplesse *Andrea* was he call'd,
 Whose heart with sorrowes deepe was gal'd.
 What e're I saw in that strange dreame,
 My Muse hath chosen for her theame.²⁷

The poem itself consists of 904 lines of iambic pentameter couplets. It begins on a 'gloomy night', with the narrator suffering from some sort of malady approximating melancholy or writer's block (sig. B1r). On falling asleep, the narrator finds himself within an idyllic landscape filled with the sound of birdsong. Delight soon turns to distress when he hears the sounds of a man – the 'Haplesse *Andrea*' identified in the synopsis – lying on the ground and railing against Fortune. The man, we soon discover, has suffered at the hands of a cruel and conniving woman, the poem's titular villain, in whose 'working head, / Dwell damned thoughts to mischief... / And in her brayne are all illis resident' (sig. C2v). After relating his misfortunes in love, Andrea then explains that he took up the life of a soldier, travelling to the Low Countries with the hope of restoring his honour and reputation. He describes with great vigour, the battle fought by the English and Dutch armies against the Spanish on the beach at Newport on 2nd July, 1600. Soon after the battle, Andrea returned home, 'Free from the losse of limbs that others felt' (sig. E2r). Although initially welcomed by his friends, he soon found himself isolated from their company; his name 'bespotted' by the 'feminine Machiavel' (sig. E2v). With the dreamer on his side, he seeks his revenge against the cause of his misfortune. The poem concludes with descent to hell led by Morpheus, the god of sleep, where the complainant and the dreamer consider together the punishments in store for the poem's villain. They eventually agree that the Machiavel must not suffer, but atone for her crimes. The dreamer wakes to record what is even now a dwindling 'memory' of this disturbing and 'strange vision' (sig. F2v).

²⁷ Thomas Andrewe, *The Vnmasking of a Feminine Machiauell* (London: S. Stafford, 1604), sig. B1r.

The Vnmasking was dedicated to Andrewe's uncle, John Langworth, Archdeacon of Wells, and is prefaced with a sonnet addressed 'To the vertuous, Mistris Judith Hawkins' whose fame, the author states, must 'liue when vulgar names shall sterue' (sig. A2v). Compared with Googe and Robinson, Andrewe was not supported by a wealthy patron or employer, nor writing with the intentions of gaining support from members of the court. Along with the prose address to John Langworth and the poem addressed to Judith Hawkins, *The Vnmasking* includes three other commendatory verses, the first written by the Anglican clergyman, Robert Hunt of Heathfield, followed by two sonnets by 'E. B. Gent' and the poet and pamphleteer, Samuel Rowlands, all of whom make some reference to the poet's plight. A. H. Bullen concluded from *The Vnmasking's* prefatory materials and obscure allegory that it 'could never have interested any but a few private friends'.²⁸

While the precise connections between the poem's primary audience and the poet will be addressed in more detail below, Andrewe nonetheless imagines a much wider audience for *The Vnmasking* than is suggested by the poem's prefatory materials. In his address 'To the Reader', Andrewe anticipates that those 'opionate, far [and] wide' will venture to 'wrest' meaning from his allegory, something that he aims to curtail, and thereby evade the accusation of malicious intent:

Some may imagin, I haue written of malice to some particular person, by reason of my Titles strangenes, wherin whosoeuer is opionate, is far wide: yet if any guilty conscience (that perhaps I know not) will wrest my writings, & interpret my meaning in other then the right sence, I am not to bee blamed. (sig. A3r).

More specific to our purpose, is that potential profits could also be made from works that employ what Wendy Wall describes as a 'female title'.²⁹ The example used by Wall is, quite appropriately, Samuel Rowlands' *'Tis Merrie When Gossips Meete*, a pamphlet dialogue between a Wife, a Widow, and a Maid, published in 1602. Although unlike *The Vnmasking*, Rowlands' pamphlet was

²⁸ A. H. Bullen, 'Thomas Andrewe (fl. 1604)', ODNB (archive).

²⁹ Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 204.

immensely popular and enjoyed republication throughout the seventeenth century, Andrewe's poem employs a comparable discourse of scandal, sexual rivalry and exposure, in ways that might have appealed to a broader readership than the one suggested by the preliminary materials.³⁰ The dream vision frame not only enhances the poem's enigma, but enables the poem's larger audience to inhabit an equivalent role to the poem's dreamer and to follow the numerous requests within the poem to remove 'the whited maske' from 'falshoods face (sig. B2r). *The Vnmasking* – to use Wall's terminology – is a 'case' to be solved.³¹

The Vnmasking hints strongly at a personal grievance and sense of injustice, which only a select number of individuals might have understood. That readers of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century approached texts 'allegorically and looking for contemporary allusions' means that it is worth entertaining some of the possible figures behind the Machiavel's 'whited maske'.³² In the late sixteenth century, Machiavellian discourse found especial currency in Scotland. The Sempill-Lekprevik ballads discussed in the previous chapter describe Mary Stuart's followers as 'Men of Macheuillis Scuellis',³³ whilst John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, criticised William Cecil for converting England into a 'Machiavellian State and Regiment'.³⁴ By 1604 (James' first full year in power), Machiavelli's long-contested theories on kingship and policy attained a powerful new resonance.³⁵ Although this might invite a royal or courtly connection to Andrewe's villain, it is worth mentioning that in the wake of the Gunpowder Plot, the poem's method of 'unmasking'

³⁰ Wall, p. 209.

³¹ Wall, p. 208.

³² Meredith Anne Skura, *Tudor Autobiography: Listening for Inwardness* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008), p. 3.

³³ 'My Lord Methwenis Tragedie' in *The Sempill Ballattes: 1567-1583*, ed. by Thomas George Stevenson (Edinburgh: T. G. Stephenson, 1872), p. 146.

³⁴ John Leslie, *A Treatise of Treasons against Q. Elizabeth* (London: J. Fowler, 1572), sig. Å5v.

³⁵ On this particular subject, see Alessandra Petrina, 'The Travels of Ideology: Niccolò Machiavelli at the Court of James VI', *The Modern Language Review* 102 (2007), pp. 947-59; Morna R. Fleming, 'Machiavelli at the Court of James VI', in *Fresche Fontanis: Studies in the Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. by Janet Hadley Williams and J. D. McClure (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp. 345-60.

gained much greater momentum. A poem entitled *Trayterous Percyes & Catesbyes Prosopopeia* (1606) – a dream vision poem by the sixteen-year-old student of Westminster, Edward Hawes – also begins with this theatrically-inspired gesture:

Of late, since Treasons face vnmasked was,
And rumours 'gan throughout the streets to flye,
Wondering, and ioying at things that came to passe,
And wearied much, to bed I did apply:
Where sleeping, me dreames suddenly affrighted,
Obiecting shapes of things that were recited.³⁶

The poem is clearly indebted to the *Mirror for Magistrates* (the speaking subjects in *Trayterous Percyes & Catesbyes Prosopopeia* being the severed heads of the two main conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot) and, like *The Vnmasking*, was also printed by Simon Stafford. Others works of this class include: *The Diuell of the Vault. Or, The Vnmasking of Murther* (1606) and John Rawlinson's *The Vnmasking of the Hypocrite* (1616), though numerous other texts testify to the popularity of this particular form of exposure, whether to posit the identities of Catholic conspirators or the whereabouts of recusant groups. These titles include: John Lewis, *The Vnmasking of the Masse-priest* (1624); Matthew Sutcliffe, *The Unmasking of a Masse-monger* (1626); Henry Burton, *The Baiting of the Popes Bull. Or An Vnmasking of the Mystery of Iniquity* (1627) and Lewis Owen, *The Vnmasking of all Popish Monks, Friers, and Iesuits* (1628). Andrew's engagement with a range of established and emerging polemical strategies and techniques informs his aim in *The Vnmasking* which, in turn, underscore the poem's underlying political theme.

While this chapter considers *The Vnmasking* in terms of its relationship to a number of poetic and polemical traditions, the poem's relation to the Italian political philosopher and statesman, Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) and his works is another factor that should be taken into firm account. In their recent collection of essays entitled *Machiavellian Encounters in Tudor and Stuart England* (2013), Alessandra Petrina and Alessandro Arienzo consider *The Vnmasking* as one

³⁶ Edward Hawes, *Trayterous Percyes & Catesbyes Prosopopeia* (London: S. Stafford, 1606), sig. A3r.

of the most ‘extreme’ examples of a ‘generalized attitude that saw in Machiavelli a modern, possibly lay version of the Vice of medieval drama’.³⁷ Similar views are expressed by David Mann, for whom the Machiavel in Andrewe’s poem represents yet another exaggeration: she can ‘outdo’ the stage villain in her ‘capacity for dissimulation’.³⁸ Like other ‘she-wolves’ of the early modern stage, Andrewe’s Machiavel presents a ‘dangerously enticing vision of sexual equivalence, of variety, and change’.³⁹ These interpretations are not unfounded, and there is some demonstrable evidence that Andrewe’s ‘feminine Machiavel’ took much inspiration from the popular stage-villain:

With the *Hienaes* voyce can she beguile,
 And weepe, but like the *Nile* bred *Crocodile*,
 That on the pray she instantly deuoures,
 Dissembling teares in great abundant powers.
 With the *Cameleon* can she change her hiew,
 Like euery obiect that her eye doth view.
Proteus was neuer halfe so mutable,
 As she vnconstant, of her word vnstable:
 Her eyes like *Basilisks* dart poyson out:
 Her oyled tounge assists to bring about
 Her plots to their ineuitable end,
 Which to contriue, she all her time doth spend. (sig. C2v).

In comparing the Machiavel’s characteristics with the hyena’s laugh, the crocodile’s tears and the chameleon’s changing hue, the lines borrow directly from the most Machiavellian figure ever to grace the stage, Shakespeare’s Richard III:

Why, I can smile...
 And wet my cheeks with artificial tears,
 And frame my face to all occasions.
 I’ll drown more sailors than the mermaid shall;
 I’ll slay more gazers than the basilisk...
 I can add colours to the chameleon,
 Change shapes with Proteus for advantages,
 And set the murderous Machiavel to school. (*3 Henry VI*, 3.2.182-93)

Yet an altogether different relationship between *The Vnmasking* and the works of the Florentine

³⁷ Petrina and Arienzo, p. 1.

³⁸ Mann, p. 156.

³⁹ Ibid.

political philosopher becomes clear when we look more closely at some of Machiavelli's maxims and views, particularly those regarding women, war and Fortune. Attention to these connections should enable a much better understanding of the possible intentions and meanings behind Andrewe's poem.

THE MANY FACES OF MACHIAVELLI

It was alleged that on his deathbed, in 1527, Niccolò Machiavelli experienced a dream in which he saw a group of poor men dressed in rags. Upon asking them where they were going, the men replied that they were on their way to Paradise. Machiavelli then saw in his dream a group of philosophers and historians, including Plato, Plutarch and Tacitus, all of whom had been damned to hell.⁴⁰ Machiavelli declared upon waking from his dream that, rather than languishing in heaven with the blessed poor, he would prefer to go to hell where he might converse with the great men of the past.⁴¹ Although most certainly a fictitious tale, this account of 'Machiavelli's Dream' offers testament to the intriguingly complex and controversial history of Machiavelli's posthumous reception. Since the 1530s, Machiavelli's works had been available in England, both in manuscript form and through a number of continental imprints. Like Palingenius' *Zodiacus Vitae*, the most famous of these – *Il Principe* (c. 1513) and *Il Discorsi* (c. 1517) – were placed on the Papal Index of 1559, and were also banned in England. It was in the 1580s, however, that Machiavelli's English reception took a decisive new turn.⁴² From John Wolfe's surreptitious editions of *The Prince* and *The Discourses* in 1584 (which he printed under the pseudonym, 'Antonielli degli Antonielli'), to Christopher Marlowe's Machiavellian Prologue to the *Jew of Malta* (c. 1589), it would seem that the

⁴⁰ Gennaro Sasso, 'Il celebrato sogno di Machiavelli', *Cultura* 14 (1976), 26-101.

⁴¹ Maurizio Viroli, *Niccolò's Smile: A Biography of Machiavelli* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001), pp. 3-4. As the Gospel states, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven' (Matthew 5:3).

⁴² Although the publication of Innocent Gentillet's *Contre-Machiavel* (1576), an attack of the court of Catherine de Medici following the Bartholomew's Day massacre of 1572 is considered to be a factor in this, the extent to which the text influenced the publication of Machiavelli's works in England has been widely contested.

Florentine's political views were 'no longer the sole preserve of "Italianate" Englishmen'.⁴³

It was on the early modern stage, however, that Machiavelli's influence was its most profound. The emergence of the popular stage villain, the 'Machiavel', who revelled in mischief and villainous deeds, led to the long-standing critical view that, in England at least, there was a split between Machiavelli's 'learned' and 'popular' audiences.⁴⁴ More recently, however, scholarship has recognised much greater nuance in Machiavelli's English reception: 'Sixteenth-century readers', as Victoria Kahn has shown, 'were capable of reading *The Prince* as a defense of tyranny or an ironic critique of it, just as they could see the *Discourses* either as subverting religion or as offering pragmatic advice for preserving the state'.⁴⁵ From both sides of the religious divide, Machiavelli's example was invoked by writers and polemicists in order to debate their own particular cause. As mentioned above, the polemical claim to 'unmask' the identities of political and religious non-conformists drew on the established discourse of dissimulation and disguise. John Hull's *The Vnmasking of the Politike Atheist* (1602), a work published just two years before Andrewe's poem, explains that, 'to forswear, dissemble, and deceaue is a commaundement' of the 'good Lord Machiauell'.⁴⁶ In one of many anti-papal tracts written by George Abbot, (later Archbishop of Canterbury), 'those who are ordinarily called by the name of Iesuits... play al trickes of Machiavel, to conspire the death of Princes'.⁴⁷ Abbot's tract, published in 1604, bore the subtitle:

⁴³ Felix Raab, *The English Face of Machiavelli: A Changing Interpretation, 1550-1700* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964), p. 53.

⁴⁴ This was the view expressed by Meyer in his *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama*. For more on Machiavelli's English reception, see Mario Praz, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethans* (London: H. Milford, 1928); Peter Samuel Donaldson, *Machiavelli and Mystery of State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Sydney Anglo, *Machiavelli: The First Century: Studies in Enthusiasm, Hostility, and Irrelevance* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2005); Alessandra Petrina, *Machiavelli in the British Isles: Two Early Modern Translations of 'The Prince'* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), and the chapters included in *Machiavellian Encounters in Tudor and Stuart England*.

⁴⁵ Victoria Kahn, 'Machiavelli's afterlife and reputation to the eighteenth century', in *The Cambridge Companion to Machiavelli*, ed. by John M. Najemy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 239-55 (p. 240).

⁴⁶ John Hull, *The Vnmasking of the Politike Atheist* (London: F. Kyngston, 1602), sig. E3v.

⁴⁷ George Abbot, *The Reasons which Doctour Hill hath brought, for the vpholding of Papistry, which is falselie termed the Catholike religion* (London: J. Barnes, 1604), sig. F2r.

‘the Catholike religion: vnmasked...’. By the early part of the seventeenth century, Machiavelli name was synonymous with disguise, trickery and views of a politically subversive nature.

The issue of Machiavelli’s English reception becomes even more interesting when we consider more closely some of Machiavelli’s works and the nature of their transmission in the period. Peter Whitehorn’s translation of *Dell’Arte della Guerra* – the *Arte of Warre*, first published in 1563 – was evidently popular, and was published again in 1573 and 1588. Several other titles stemmed from Whitehorn’s translation, including Roger Williams’ *A Briefe Discourse of Warre* (1590) and Edward Davies’ *The Art of War and Englands Training* (1619), works that took a similar approach to Machiavelli by drawing on classical and contemporary sources and applying their teaching to present-day military affairs. In 1604, the year of Andrew’s poem, the politician Dudley Digges authorised the posthumous publication of his father, Thomas Digges’, *Foure Paradoxes, or Politique Discourses concerning Militarie Discipline*, to which he added a second chapter entitled, ‘On the worthnesse of warre and warriors’. Based on the writings of Machiavelli, Plutarch and Livy, and the examples of notable military leaders, the text is evidently in favour of military action. The opening ‘Paradox’ begins, ‘That no Prince, or State doth gaine, or saue by giuing too small entertainment vnto Souldiers, Officers, or Commaunders Martiall’, and the reading of Digges’ maxims should themselves ‘keepe those...as they did them that wrote them, from idlenesse’.⁴⁸

Books dealing with the art of war had generated lucrative business throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century, and scholarly emphasis has since been placed on the role they played in the development of military professionalism, both in early modern England and abroad.⁴⁹ The comportment and skills necessary in a soldier were often instilled through reference to classical

⁴⁸ Thomas Digges, *Foure Paradoxes* (London: H. Lownes, 1604), sig. *1r, A1r.

⁴⁹ On the role of military books and the ‘literature of war’, see Maurice Cockle, *A Bibliography of English Military Books up to 1642 and of Contemporary Foreign Works* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., 1900); Barbara Donagan, ‘Halcyon days and the literature of war: England’s military education before 1642’, *Past and Present* 147 (1995), 65-100; David R. Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603-1645* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); David Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart News Pamphlets* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2008)

exemplar. A particularly apt example of this is that of Sir Francis Vere, the English commander in the Battle of Newport, who was said to have been inspired by Caesar's *Commentaries* on the eve of battle.⁵⁰ Texts such as George Whetstone's *Honourable Reputation of a Souldier* (1585) also advertised the benefits of reading 'the liues, documents, and disciplines, of the most renowned Romaine, Grecian, and other famous Martialistes' to the common soldier.⁵¹ The importance of scholarly composition has already been highlighted in earlier chapters, and it is not surprising, therefore, that the exclusive blend of humanist thought and Protestant ideology influencing the dream poets' use of genre, also influenced the representation of the military profession, so much so, it was considered,

a most honorable vertue, and a necessarie duty in a Souldier, at leasurable times to be studious in matters of pollicie, and alwayes when his hands are idle to haue a working minde. (*Honourable Reputation of a Souldier*, sig. E4r).

Such study could be conceived as an aspect of training in itself, and by 'occupying his time with suitable reading, the soldier would probably be better able to inflict harm on the enemy in time of need'.⁵² For a writer and soldier such as George Gascoigne, the act of composition was itself occasioned through 'stelth', and Gascoigne claims to have worked on his poetry at times when he 'Loytered from service'.⁵³ Andrew's use of the dream frame, as shown in more detail below, is aligned with the Christian ethic of 'eschewing idleness' in ways that reinforce the additional notion of peace as an effete and effeminising force.

⁵⁰ Stephen Porter, 'Sir Clement Edmondes (1567/8?-1622)', *ODNB*. Vere recorded his military experiences in the form of a memoir, published in 1657 under the classically-inspired title, *The Commentaries*, to which the publisher added accounts of the Battle of Newport and the Siege of Ostend, written, respectively, by Lieutenant-Colonel John Ogle and Vere's page, Henry Hexham. As Vere's biographer observes, 'The resultant work is not only a key source for Vere's life, but one of the major sources for the history of England and the Netherlands in this period': D. J. B. Trim, 'Sir Francis Vere (1560/61-1609)', *ODNB*.

⁵¹ George Whetstone, *The Honorable Reputation of a Souldier* (London: R. Jones, 1585), sig. A1r.

⁵² Rory Rapple, *Martial Power and Elizabethan Political Culture: Military Men in England and Ireland, 1558-1594* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 79.

⁵³ John W. Cunliffe, ed., *The Complete Works of George Gascoigne*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), I, p. 473; II, p. 140.

Many soldiers were themselves the authors of the period's writings on war. The military captain Robert Hitchcock (fl. 1573-1591), for example, sponsored the publication of a work entitled *The Arte of Warre* (1591), a 'corrected and finished' version of his friend, William Garrard's work of the same name. The work's Machiavellian-inspired title is perhaps no accident. Hitchcock's *The Quintessence of Wit* ('being a corrant comfort of conceites, maximes, and politicke devises'), printed in 1590, draws from a long list of sources, including Francesco Sansovino's *Concetti Politici* (1578) and Machiavelli (thinly-concealed as 'Historie fiorentine'), and contains over 180 maxims and precepts from Machiavelli's works.⁵⁴ Hitchcock enjoyed contact with a close circle of friends and acquaintances, including the soldier poets, Thomas Churchyard, George Gascoigne and Barnabe Googe, who were among the work's first potential readers.⁵⁵ These men, Valentine Lepri states,

shared both the practice of writing and tragic military experiences, and approached the political issues raised by Machiavelli with an interest conditioned by the contingency of war, and in general by the requirements of the army.⁵⁶

The matters of authorship and the 'tragic' nature of military experience are of considerable importance to Andrewe's use of complaint in *The Vnmasking*. While Andrea's account of the Battle of Newport raises a number of concerns over narrative veracity and trust, it is not unlikely that the author of *The Vnmasking* was a member of Machiavelli's early modern English audience; an audience comprised largely of military professionals and poets.

In addition to Machiavelli's writings on war, there are several clues in *The Vnmasking* itself as to Andrewe's knowledge of the Florentine's political works. Throughout his works, Machiavelli

⁵⁴ Valentina Lepri, 'Machiavelli in *The Quintessence of Wit* and his English Military Readers', in *Machiavellian Encounters in Tudor and Stuart England: literary and political influences from the Reformation to the Restoration*, ed. by Alessandra Petrina and Alessandro Arienzo (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 47

⁵⁵ Lepri, p. 54; D. J. B. Trim, 'Robert Hitchcock (fl. 1573–1591)', *ODNB*. As Trim also explains, 'The soldier-writers in late sixteenth-century England formed a close circle... [Hitchcock] was a member, albeit a marginal one, of a group that was of great importance in the English literary renaissance' (*ODNB*).

⁵⁶ Lepri, p. 56.

imparts the reader with advice on how to combat Fortune. These ideas are most clearly articulated in *Il Principe* (first printed in English in 1640, though available in French, Italian and Latin editions, and several manuscript translations before), where Fortune is attired as ‘mistresse’, whom Machiavelli explains it is ‘necessary to keepe... in obedience, to ruffle and force’.⁵⁷ The triumph of masculine *virtù* (that is, ‘energy, effectiveness, and virtuosity’⁵⁸) over feminine *Fortuna* is a guiding principle of Machiavelli’s works, but one of several precepts condemned by Machiavelli’s seventeenth-century translator, Edward Dacres, who responded to the advice as follows:

Our cunning Author for all his exact rules he delivers in his books, could not fence against the despight of Fortune... Man can contribute no more to his actions than vertue and wisdom: but the successe depends upon a power above. Surely there is the finger of God or as Prov. the 16. v. 33. The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord.⁵⁹

Dacres’ response reflects the widespread opinion that Machiavelli was a neo-pagan atheist, along with a constant – if not growing – conviction in the role of Providence in order to make sense of man’s place within the divine order.⁶⁰ Thomas Andrewe presents a rather different view to this, and one that chimes more readily with the views expressed in *The Prince*. His conception of Fortune is presented in *The Unmasking* in the following terms:

...Fortune that respectlesse Dame,
 Conspir’d to worke the downfall of my fame:
 Yet of all other why should she torment me,
 That neuer gaue me wherewith to content me?
 To tread on him, no glory can she gayne,
 That to lay lower, she but striues in vayne,
 To insult o’re me a wretch, can neuer rayse her,
 But will make all men iustly to dispraise her,

⁵⁷ Edward Dacres, trans., *Nicholas Machiavel’s Prince* (London: R. Bishop, 1640), p. 209. Dacres’ terms of ‘ruffle and force’ (the former connoting both the ‘impairment of one’s reputation’, as well as physical force is a far more restrained version of Machiavelli’s ‘*batterla & vrtarla*’ (*Il Prencipe di Nicolo Machiaueli* (London: J. Wolfe, 1584), sig. F5v); ‘ruffle, *n.*’, *OED* (I.1); ‘ruffle, *v.*’ (I.1.a; b).

⁵⁸ See Hanna Pitkin, *Fortune is a Woman: Gender and Politics in the Thought of Niccolò Machiavelli* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984).

⁵⁹ Dacres, trans., p. 210-11. Another commentator labelled those ‘that belch out this accursed theoreme of Machiauel, namely, that the heathenish religion made men couragious’ as ‘foolish sots’ (William Vaughan, *The Golden-Groue Moralized in Three Bookes* (London: S. Stafford, 1600), sig. C5r).

⁶⁰ See David Randall, ‘Providence, Fortune, and the Experience of Combat: English Printed Battlefield Reports, circa 1570-1637’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 35 (2004), 1053-77.

And hold her base, that on so poore a wight,
Would exercise her cruelty and spight:
For when sh'ath done her worst, & deadliest frownd,
She cannot driue me lower then this ground (sig B3r).

While the identity of the Machiavel is – undoubtedly – a part of the poem's elaborate design, it is also, at times, almost inextricable from the goddess Fortune. According to Hannah Pitkin, the feminisation of Fortune presents a major challenge to men in terms of their masculine identity.⁶¹ Paradoxically, perhaps, *The Vnmasking* aims to put Machiavelli's advice into action. By opting to trace the cause of his speaker's woe to a female origin, *The Vnmasking* takes on additional connotations that are appropriate to its politicised themes.

The passage quoted above is also notable for reasons of source. The line 'To tread on him, no glory can she gayne' is supplemented by a Latin proverb in the margin, '*Qui iacet in terram, non habet unde cadat*' ('He that lies on the ground can fall no lower'). The Latin quotation is one of several indications of another source for *The Vnmasking*: Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, first published in 1587. Andrew here borrows from the Viceroy's lament against Fortune in Act One, Scene Three:

Qui iacet in terra non habet unde cadat...
Suppose that she could pity me, what then?
What help can be expected at her hands,
Whose foot is standing on a rolling stone
And mind more mutable than fickle winds?
Why wail I then, where's hope of no redress?
O yes, complaining makes my grief seem less. (1.3.15-30).⁶²

That *The Vnmasking* depicts one of the final stages in the Anglo-Spanish wars is of some significance to Andrew's use of this particular source, for audiences of the *Spanish Tragedy* were

⁶¹ Pitkin, p. 293. For a detailed discussion of the relationship between *virtù* and *Fortuna*, see the essays in Maria J. Falco, ed., *Feminist Interpretations of Niccolò Machiavelli* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), chapters 3, 6, 9, 10 and 11, especially.

⁶² David Bevington, ed., *The Spanish Tragedy by Thomas Kyd* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 32. In his 1901 edition of *The Spanish Tragedy*, Frederick Boas notes several verbal links between Kyd's play and *The Vnmasking*, including Andrea's description of the Battle of Newport (sig. D4r-v) and the concluding descent to hell, from which Andrew 'borrows suggestions from the Induction to the play' (*The Works of Thomas Kyd* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), p. xcvi).

well versed in the politics behind Kyd's play. The year of Andrewe's poem (1604) marked a major change in English foreign policy and the start of almost twenty years of peace between England and Spain. Although most certainly an allusion to the poet's name, the character of 'Andrea' is also an indication of Andrewe's debt to his source. *The Spanish Tragedy* opens with the characters of Andrea, a soldier killed in war, and the Vice-like figure of 'Revenge', who remain on stage throughout the play. More significant perhaps, is the fact that both 'Andrea' and 'Andrewe' derive from the Greek word *anthropos*, meaning 'human', and more specifically, *andreia*, one of the four cardinal virtues connoting 'manhood' or 'courage'.⁶³ As we will see below, the conventions of dream vision and complaint give the 'Haplesse *Andrea*' of Andrewe's poem the chance to restore not only his reputation, but also his sense of masculine identity and *virtù*.

Despite several suggestions that *The Vnmasking* describes a personal grievance, there are more suggestive and potentially universal connotations in the poem's use of the name 'Andrea'. In addition to this, almost everything we know about 'Thomas Andrewe', a common name for this time, has been gleaned from his poetry, as indicated by his entry in the *ODNB*:

The machiavellian female of the title seems to have inveigled Andrewe out of his virginity and a substantial amount of money, but although their relationship was intimate... it does not seem to have been one of lover-mistress. He tells that from avarice she perjured herself and 'Her owne child a Polygamist she made' [sig. E2v]. She also wore hired jewellery and borrowed an old coach, thus evidently posing as wealthy to the inexperienced youth. Perhaps Andrewe was tricked into what he thought was a marriage to her daughter.⁶⁴

The issue of biography becomes a greater challenge when we consider Andrewe's use of the dream frame. Chaucer, the great master of literary hoaxes, set a pattern whereby the distinction between fact and fiction, narrative and truth becomes an impossible, if not superfluous, aim. By portraying seemingly historical, real-life events through the self-consciously fictional form of the dream, *The*

⁶³ For a useful overview of the term and its application, see the essays contained within Ralph M. Rosen and Ineke Sluiter, ed., *Andreia: Studies in Manliness and Courage in Classical Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

⁶⁴ Julia Gasper, 'Thomas Andrewe' (*fl.* 1600-1604), *ODNB*. Gasper's entry is an updated version of Bullen's 'Thomas Andrewe (*fl.* 1604)', *ODNB* (archive).

Vnmasking locates itself in the borderland between history and fiction. The genre repeatedly asks readers to identify the poem's dreamer with the poet, even as it makes the attempt to resist such an identification. Andrea's use of several literary sources in relating his misfortunes also exposes biographical uncertainties. Yet, as Meredith Skura observes: 'It has always been through "fiction" that the significance of a life has been understood'.⁶⁵ As the commendatory poem by Samuel Rowlands states: 'No fiction is the subiect of thy Rime, / But a damn'd monster of deformed euill' (sig. A4v). My intention in what follows is to consider what other 'facts' are known of Andrewe's life and works, and the extent to which these inform his use of a literary genre in which the lines between fiction and fact are, by convention, knowingly obscured.

THOMAS ANDREWE (fl. 1602-1604)

Aside from *The Vnmasking*, there are only a handful of poems that have – and not without some level of uncertainty – been attributed to Thomas Andrewe. The first of these is entitled *The Massacre of Money* (1602). The poem is addressed 'To the Worshipfull, vertuous, and most worthy Gentlemen, M. William, and M. Frauncis Bedles' and signed 'Your approued friend and seruant: T. A.' (sig. A2v).⁶⁶ *The Massacre of Money* (1602) follows the structural principles of the dream vision form, although it resembles more a poetic nocturne than a dream vision proper; the former of these gained prominence during the latter part of the sixteenth century.⁶⁷ The 'waking' portion of

⁶⁵ As Skura explains: 'Factual verification is often beside the point in early autobiographical writing... It has always been through "fiction" that the significance of a life has been understood, and the deepest roots of Western autobiography lie in the ambiguous literature written before the modern divide between history and fiction (p. 3).

⁶⁶ T. A., *The Massacre of Money* (London: T. Creede, 1602), sig. A2r. If we are to assume that William and Frauncis were brothers, then they can be narrowed down to two pairings: either the sons of William Bedell of Great Catworth in Cambridgeshire (1537-1621), or his nephews, also named William and Francis, and sons of Thomas Bedell of Stoneley, Cambridgeshire (d. 1621). William Bedell of Stoneley (later Spaldwick) died in 1684, which would make him very young at the time of the poem's publication. I am therefore inclined toward the former, though the nature of Andrewe's connection to this family still remains unclear. See John Bedells, *A Procession of Beadles* (Bromley: J. Bedells, 1986), pp. 224-39; Karl S. Bottigheimer and Vivienne Larminie, 'William Bedell (bap. 1572, d. 1642)', *ODNB*.

⁶⁷ Chris Fitter, 'The Poetic Nocturne: From Ancient Motif to Renaissance Genre', *Early Modern Literary Studies* 3.2 (1997), 1-61 (p. 24). Alan Brissenden and Richard Kennedy have noticed a number of links between *The Massacre of Money* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, including the reference to 'ye rude Mechanicalls' (sig. B2v). See Alan Brissenden, 'An Allusion to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, IV.i.100-124',

the dream consists of an eight-stanza Proemium addressed to the ‘Mother of darkenesse, Queene of secrecie’ and the narrator appeals to his Muse for ‘A thought conceiued dreame to canonize’ and to ‘sing my dreamed Moneys Massacre’ (sig. A3r). The invocation to Night thus provides a suitable pre-text for the evocation of Chaos within the poem itself:

Before the Sunne knew his ecliptique line,
Or the round balles of fire their wheeling spheares,
Before the forked Moone began to shine,
Or any Comet in the ayre appears (sig. A4r).

Emulating the language, imagery and anaphoric technique of Chaucer’s ‘The Former Age’, the poem then paints the image of an idyllic, pre-lapsarian world:

No towne was circled with entrenched walles,
No trumpet gaue alarum to the fight:
No sword was knowne, nor vsed: no Iron balles
From out the wherring Cannons mouth tooke flight.
No plow did cut the entralles of the earth,
Yet all of corne did neuer know the dearth. (sig. A4v).⁶⁸

Through what William Hazlitt described as ‘a sort of satire on the love of gain’,⁶⁹ the *Massacre of Money* goes on to relate the attendance of Avarice, Liberality and Prodigality at the court of Lady Pecunia, a ‘Sacred, vnspotted, and maiesticall’ woman dressed ‘all in siluer’ and conveying a ‘celestiall’ beauty (sig. B1v, B2v). These figures each declare and contest the value of money in their attempt to win the approval of their ‘Faire Queene’ (sig. C3r). They are then challenged by three ‘Nymphs’ by the names of Virtue, Fortune and Vice. A battle is arranged to settle the dispute, and the land of ‘Time-honour’d *Albion*’ is the chosen arena (sig. F1v). Through the interventions

Notes and Queries 35 (1988), 466-7; Richard F. Kennedy, ‘Some new Shakespeare allusions’, *Notes and Queries* 47.4 (2000), 464-7.

⁶⁸ This stanza from *The Massacre of Money* may anticipate Andrea’s description of the ‘deadly Cannons... from whose blacke lips, / Flew forth the black Ambassadors of death’ in *The Vnmasking* (sig. D4r-v). Compare the following lines from Chaucer’s ‘The Former Age’: ‘Yit was the ground nat wounded with the plough, / But corn up-sprong, unsowe of mannes hond, / The which they gnodded and eete nat half ynough... / No marchaunt yit ne fette outlandish ware. / No trompes for the werres folk ne knewe, / Ne toures heye and walles rounde or square’ (ll. 9-11, 22-4).

⁶⁹ See Hazlitt, II, p. 363.

of Jove and Pallas, Virtue emerges victorious, and the poem ends with a concluding tribute ‘T’our more then mortall Queene, ruler of harts’ (sig. F3v).

The Massacre of Money shows several marked affinities with the poems of its time, most notably Richard Barnfield’s ‘psychomachic’ vision, *The Encomion of Lady Pecunia: or The Praise of Money* (1598). In Barnfield’s version, the combat is staged between ‘Conscience and Couetousnesse’ on a ‘spacious plaine cald *The Minde of Man*’,⁷⁰ and in so doing, combines the conventions of dream vision, satire and what Henry Knight Miller describes as ‘paradoxical encomium’ to considerable effect.⁷¹ The dream was a popular device both in poetic and theatrical form toward the latter part of Elizabeth’s reign, providing authors with a means of both complimenting the Queen upon ‘her supposed agelessness while implicitly critiquing the sterility and stasis of her régime’.⁷² As Sarah Skwire and Steven Horwitz explain, Barnfield is ‘well aware of the complexities of a paradoxical genre where praise is meant to be critique’; *The Praise of Money* is not merely a whimsical poem, as scholars have sometimes assumed, but provides ‘whimsically couched yet substantive cultural commentary’.⁷³

Close attention to *The Massacre of Money* reveals a message that would have been inappropriate – and most probably censored – in the reign of King James:

Vice they imprison’d, oh would they had slaine her,
For she corrupted strait the Iaylors hart;
Indeed what closest prison could detaine her,
Who with such witching passions acts her part?

⁷⁰ Richard Barnfield, *The Encomion of Lady Pecunia: or The Praise of Money* (London: G. Shaw, 1598), sig. D1r. A ‘newly corrected and enlarged’ edition of the poem appeared in 1605.

⁷¹ The ‘paradoxical encomium’ is described by Henry Knight Miller as ‘a species of rhetorical jest or display piece which involves the praise of unworthy, unexpected, or trifling objects, such as the praise of lying and envy, or of the gout or of pots and pebbles’: ‘The Paradoxical Encomium with Special Reference to its Vogue in England, 1600-1800’, *Modern Philology* 53.3 (1956), p. 145. See also Sarah Skwire and Steven Horwitz, ‘Lady Pecunia at the Punching Office: Two Poems on Early Modern Monetary Reform’, *Journal of Private Enterprise* 30.1 (2015), 107-20.

⁷² Helen Hackett, ‘Dream-visions of Elizabeth I’, in *Reading the Early Modern Dream: The Terrors of the Night*, ed. by Katharine Hodgkin, Michelle O’Callaghan and Susan Wiseman (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 45-65 (p. 65).

⁷³ Skwire and Horwitz, p. 108.

She crept abroad, though with a mortall wound,
But in short space recouer'd and was found. (sig. F3v).

The parallels between the Vice in the *Massacre of Money* and Mary Queen of Scots (and, by implication, the events surrounding Robinson's *Rewarde of Wickednesse* and *A Golden Mirrour*), are clear. By 1602, the poem's readers may have known that Elizabeth's reign would soon come to an end. With England's future once again at stake, the poem's cyclical movements seek to preserve Elizabeth as the nation's undying protector:

Neuer let Fortune crosse thee with annoy.
Neuer let Vertue by Vice suffer death.
Neuer be absent our Elizabeth.

Euer for euer Englands Beta bee,
Feared of Forraines, honour'd of thine owne,
Euer let treason stoope to sou'raigntie.
Euer let Vice by Truth be ouerthrowne.
Euer graunt Heauens Creator, of our Queene,
We still may say she is, not she hath beene. (sig. F3v).⁷⁴

Whilst *The Massacre of Money* delivers simultaneous praise and criticism of the Queen, it inaugurates a form of nostalgia that would become a key unifying feature of literature published after her death and in opposition to the new regime.

As well as adapting the allegorical dream frame and stanza form used by Barnfield in *The Praise of Money*, *The Massacre of Money* employs several additional measures that assist in denying any suggestions of political intervention or critique. The poem employs the humanistic devices of dialogue and debate, and the author's identity is loosely concealed through the initials, 'T. A.'. Although *The Massacre of Money* is addressed to a small, non-courtly audience (William and Francis Bedell were, it would suggest, of middle-gentry, Cambridge stock), the paratextual materials suggest a much broader appeal. In particular, the use of initials 'acted as both a signature and an anti-signature, ciphers that pretended to give information while in reality shrouded a secret identity'

⁷⁴ Hazlitt believed that the true ending of *The Massacre of Money* had been suppressed. The reasons for the poem's abrupt ending are likely generic, though Hazlitt may have been in possession of an incomplete copy. The EEBO edition of *The Vnmasking* (a facsimile of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery edition) ends on sig. F3v with the word 'FINIS'.

that would excite the interests of readers beyond the author's immediate circle.⁷⁵ These strategies became increasingly popular and more complex throughout the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, making the possibility of uncovering the identity of 'T. A.' a difficult task.⁷⁶ It is, therefore, not surprising that a number of candidates for authorship have been proposed. Thomas Corser, in *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica* (1860) put forward the name of 'Thomas Achelley', author of *A Most Lamentable and Tragickall Historie of Violenta and Didaco* (1576).⁷⁷ This can be discounted, as the author of *The Massacre of Money* describes his work as 'youngling Poesie' and 'the first fruites' of his labour (sig. A2r). William Hazlitt also proposed that the author of *The Massacre of Money* was Thomas Aylworth (d. 1615). In William Browne of Tavistock's 'On the vntimelye Death of his euer honor'd & as much beloued as lamented Friend Mr Thomas Ayleworth', Browne makes a rather oblique reference to 'A booke' written by Aylworth 'wherein mens lives so taxed bin', but there is no evidence to link this 'booke' with the *Massacre of Money*.⁷⁸ The case for Thomas Andrewe as being the author of the *Massacre of Money* was initially made by Franklin B. Williams Jr. in 1935, and is supported by a number of verbal, thematic and structural links with *The Vnmasking*.⁷⁹ If we are to sustain the view of the latter, then Andrewe's poetic output is not only doubled in size, but the *Massacre of Money* also makes a significant contribution to and generic development of the known corpus of dream vision poetry from the late Elizabethan period.

Based on my own research, two further poems may also be attributed to the author of *The Vnmasking*. The first appears in Michael Drayton's *Moyses in a Map of his Miracles* (1604), a poetic paraphrase of the Old Testament book of Exodus in the vein of Du Bartas' *Divine Weeks and Works*,

⁷⁵ Wall, pp. 208-10.

⁷⁶ Marcy L. North, *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor-Stuart England* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 70.

⁷⁷ Thomas Corser, *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, Or, A Bibliographical and Descriptive Catalogue of a Portion of a Collection of Early English Poetry* (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1860), p. 6.

⁷⁸ Hazlitt, p. 363. For a transcription of the poem along with descriptive notes, see Gillian Wright, 'A Commentary on and Edition of the Shorter Poems of William Browne of Tavistock in British Library MS Lansdowne 777' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 1998), pp. 328-33.

⁷⁹ Franklin B. Williams, Jr., 'The Massacre of Money', *Times Literary Supplement* (21 Feb 1935), p. 108.

translated into English by Joshua Sylvester and first published in 1605. *Moses in a Map of his Miracles* was entered in the Stationers' Register on 25th June, 1604, and therefore pre-dates *The Vnmasking* by several months. The volume (with its supporting materials) contains a commendatory sonnet signed "Thomas Andrewe / *Ex arduis aeternitas*", entitled "To M. Michael Drayton". The sonnet praises Drayton for his 'immortall rimes' and fame (sig. ¶4v) and is preceded by two other dedicatory poems. The first of these is by the Catholic author Sir John Beaumont (brother of the playwright, Francis), and the second, by Drayton's friend, Beale Sapperton. All of three dedications were reprinted in *The Muses Elizium* (1630), a pastoral collection modelled on Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), and another instance of Jacobean Spenserianism as a vehicle for political commentary.⁸⁰

The second poem that I propose should be attributed to Andrewe can be done with some confidence. It is found within Samuel Rowlands' *A Theater of Delightfull Recreation* (1605), a collection of occasional poems written to and by various of Rowlands' acquaintances, as well as a number of narrative poems on Biblical subjects. Rowlands' *Theater of Delightfull Recreation* was published in October 1605, several months after *The Vnmasking*.⁸¹ The first half this collection concludes with a sonnet, entitled "To Time", which immediately precedes the Biblical material penned by Rowlands. The sonnet's author asks Rowlands' work be saved from the ravages of Time and preserved until the Day of Judgement. The poem is signed "Tho. Andrew" and is included here in full:

Thou great consumer of huge monuments,
 That mak'st stiffe Marble turne to cindry dust:
 Kingdomes subuerter, whom no power preuents,
 With canker fretting brasse, iron with rust.
 Thou that didst bring the pow'rfull Monarchies

⁸⁰ As well as being an example of Drayton's 'Spenserianism', *The Muses Elizium* has been read in light of Drayton's troubled relationship with the court of Charles I. See Thomas Cogswell, 'Path to Elizium "Lately Discovered": Drayton and the Early Stuart Court', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 54.3 (1991), 207-33.

⁸¹ Arber, III, p. 303.

To their full height, then ouerthrewst their pride:
 Thou that the arched Ilion didst surprise,
 Whose townes with ten yeares succors were supplide.
 That in the bosome of fore passed age
 The fruit of many a noble Muse hast found,
 And kept till now, in scorne of enuies rage,
 When in obliuions gulfe great Kings were drownd:
 Do thou preserue this worke vntill that day,
 When earth shall melt, the vniuerse decay.⁸²

The sonnet evokes the conventional mutability theme, though this is also a key theme of Andrewe's poetry. A short verse addressed 'To Detraction' prefaces *The Vnmasking* in which we find the assertion, 'My lynes shall liue, when steele shall weare away' (sig. A3v). The sonnet 'To Time' also echoes a key passage within *The Vnmasking* proper, as spoken by the poem's dreamer:

"Though wrackful time brasse monuments deuoure,
 "Verse shall suruiue vnto the latest houre:
 "And when the proud Pyramides to dust,
 "Age shall outweare, & steele consume with rust (sig. C4r).

The mutability topos is also a key feature of the dream vision genre. In *The Parliament of Fowls*, for example, the dreamer happens upon a 'temple of bras ifounded stronge', on which the images of famous lovers, including Byblis, Dido, Thisbe, Pyramus, Helen of Troy are painted, and 'on that other syde, / And al here love, and in what plyt they dyde' (ll. 293-4). Chaucer's 'House of Fame', however, is built on a 'roche of yse, and not of stel'; 'A feble fundament' on which the names of the famous are engraved, though only those in the shade escape from melting (*HF*, ll. 1130-2).

It would appear that Samuel Rowlands, the author of *A Theater of Delightfull Recreation*, was sympathetic to Andrewe's purpose in publishing *The Vnmasking*. A short verse of twelve lines signed by Rowlands appears in the prefatory pages of the volume, in which the theme of time and the eternising potentials of verse are tailored more specifically to Andrewe's theme:

No hungry vaine of profit or of praise
 Inuites thy Muse salute the Printers Presse:
 Thou doest disdaine those Hackneyes of our daies,
 That pawne their Poetrie of meere distresse:

⁸² From Samuel Rowlands, *A Theater of Delightfull Recreation* (London: A. Johnson, 1605), sig. B1v.

Thy pen is but a quill of recreation,
Which serues not thee in stead of occupation.
But with deare bought experience tuter'st time,
By true vnmasking an incarnate Deuill... (sig. A4v).

The sonnet is addressed to 'his respected and kind affected Friend' (sig. A4v). The sonnet 'To Time' published one year later in Rowlands' *Theater of Delightfull Recreation*, appears to return the compliment, making Andrewe's authorship of this later poem almost certain.

Samuel Rowlands was a prolific and at times controversial author. Unlike Andrewe, for whom Rowlands claims the 'pen is but a quill of recreation' (sig. A4v), Rowlands earned a living by his art.⁸³ Rowlands' connections to a number of important stationers (including Adam Islip and Edward Allde, the printer of the 1592 edition of Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* and Drayton's 1604 dream poem, *The Owle*), would have left no shortage of avenues for Andrewe to follow his friend into the world of print. Like several of Rowlands' works, including *'Tis Merrie When Gossips Meete* (1602) and *The Melancholy Knight* (1615), *The Vnmasking* was sold by George Loftus at the sign of the Golden Ball in Pope's Head Alley. The printer of *The Vnmasking* was Simon Stafford, whose other projects at this time ranged widely, from sermons to ballads, to the works of James I (including *His Maiesties Lepanto* and a Welsh edition of *Basilikon Doron*), as well as another Machiavellian title, *The Practise of Policy* by Lodowick Lloyd (1604). In 1605, Stafford published Drayton's *The True Chronicle History of King Leir*. As mentioned above, Drayton's *Moses in a Map of his Miracles*, also published in 1604, contains a short verse by Andrewe.

The roles played by Samuel Rowlands, Michael Drayton and the printer, Simon Stafford, reveal important information about Andrewe's literary and social connections. Drayton was part of the circle of so-called 'Spenserian' poets, including William Browne of Tavistock and George Wither, men bitterly opposed to the court of King James, and whose sense of disillusion with the

⁸³ Rowlands' earliest publications were met with great disapproval and promptly burned along with 'other popishe bookes'. See W. W. Greg and E. Boswell, eds., *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1576 to 1602, from Register B* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1930), p. 79; Reavley Gair, 'Samuel Rowlands (fl. 1598–1628)', *ODNB*.

new reign manifests in a range of ‘archaic’ and nostalgic literary forms, including pastoral, beast fable, dream vision and complaint.⁸⁴ *The Vnmasking* displays some particularly striking parallels with Drayton’s dream poem, *The Owle* (1604), not only in its use of imagery and form, but also in the fact that both poems were published in the same year. Where Andrewe’s poem begins with reference to the cry of the shriek-owl, a harbinger of ill fortune, Drayton’s *The Owle*, begins with the song of birds, who warble ‘harmonious charmes’.⁸⁵ The owl of Drayton’s poem is a victim of ill-treatment from the other birds, and an innocent bystander to things that they do not see, or otherwise ignore. The main speaker in Drayton’s poem, ‘Spoyl’d of his feathers, mangled, scratcht and torne’ (sig. C2r), also draws an interesting parallel with the figure of Andrea who, with ‘garments rent’, is ‘Despise, disgrac’d, reiected’ and ‘held in scorne’ by his peers (sigs. B4r-v). The volume of Spenser’s *Complaints* (1591), where the main source for *The Owle* (that is, Spenser’s *Prosopopoiia: or Mother Hubberds Tale*) appears, represented an important poetic resource for many other writers of the seventeenth century who failed to find favour in the Jacobean court. Through Stafford and Drayton, Andrewe is brought into contact with a circle of writers linked by their interests in the potentials of archaic literary form and, through their shared and self-conscious interest in Spenser, by a growing disenchantment with the new regime.

Rowlands’ poem ‘To his respected and kind affected Friend’ is in fact the third of three commendatory verses preceding Andrewe’s poem. The first of these is a ten-line Latin verse by the Anglican clergyman and later minister of Jamestown, Virginia: Robert Hunt of Heathfield, West Sussex (1568/9-1608).⁸⁶ The poem praises Andrewe for his martial prowess (*‘hic fuit optima*

⁸⁴ For more on these issues, see Norbrook, pp. 173-98 (‘The Spenserians and King James’).

⁸⁵ Michael Drayton, *The Owle* (London: E. Allde, 1604), sig. B1v. The owl, according to Chaucer, is also the bird ‘that of deth the bode bryngeth’ (*PF*, l. 343).

⁸⁶ See Edward Maria Wingfield, *A Discourse of Virginia* (Boston, MA: John Wilson and Son, 1859), p. 102; James B. Bell, ‘Robert Hunt (1568/9-1608)’, *ODNB*.

Martis?) and new admittance to the Muses' garden (*'Flos nouus en laetis musarum crescit in hortis'*) (sig. A4r). The second of the three dedications is a six-line poem by 'E. B. Gent':

Still may thy vpreard Muses happy fruit
In the faire bosome of this Iland flourish,
And neuer may thy golden tounge be mute,
Whose speech sweet seasond eloquence doth nourish.
Do thou proceed but as thou hast begun,
And thou shalt liue, after thy life is done. (sig A4r).

The author of this prefatory verse is most likely the antiquarian and historian, Edmund Bolton (1574/5-1634?).⁸⁷ Similar to Rowlands, Bolton addresses Andrewe as 'his worthy friend' (sig. A4r). Several years after the publication of this poem, in 1617, Bolton announced plans for a Royal Academy under the patronage of George Villiers, though these plans never came to fruition. Bolton's links to a number of major figures of the time, including Edward Conway, Kenelm Digby and Ben Jonson, as well as John Beaumont and Drayton, draw Andrewe into yet another influential literary circle. Bolton was also a Roman Catholic, with connections to the recusant Hawkins family with which Andrewe also shared a close affinity, as discussed in more detail below.⁸⁸

Although the nature of the connection between Hunt, Bolton and Rowlands is not so clear as the connections established in the prefatory materials to the poems discussed in earlier chapters, these individuals indicate that Andrewe's poem found its initial reception amongst, not unusually, a male audience. The volume as a whole is dedicated to Andrewe's 'worthy and reverend uncle M. D. Langworth, Arch-deacon of Welles' (sig. A2r). The dedication begins with a reference to Plutarch's account of Alcibiades, the Athenian general, and his advice to his cousin Pericles when struggling to settle his financial affairs. Andrewe states that the figure of Pericles 'may not vnfitly be applied to my selfe, that am inuenting what account to yeeld for the receipt of your manifold

⁸⁷ Questions have also been raised by Corser as to whether the 'E. B. Gent' in *The Vnmasking* refers to Edward Benlowes (1602-1676), author of *Theophila, or, Loves Sacrifice* (1652), although the dates make this unfeasible. See Corser, p. 42.

⁸⁸ D. R. Woolf, 'Edmund Mary Bolton (b. 1574/5, d. in or after 1634)', *ODNB*; Anthony R. J. S. Adolph, 'Sir Thomas Hawkins (bap. 1575, d. 1640?)', *ODNB*.

fauours' and presents his poem as 'testimony of my remembrance of your curtesies, as in pledge of my dutious affection' (sig. A2r). The language defines the relationship between Andrewe and the Archdeacon of Wells in terms of an intellectual debt, and Andrewe signs his dedication, 'Your worships louing Nephew' (sig. A2r).

Andrewe's dedication to his 'worthy and reverend uncle' contains some of the most crucial evidence when piecing together the poet's biography. The individual named in the prefatory address can be identified with some certainty as Dr John Langworth (c. 1547-1613), who was Archdeacon of Wells between the years 1589 and 1609. Langworth obtained his doctorate in divinity from New College, Oxford in 1579 and, according to some sources, appears to have originally hailed from the village of Hartlebury, four miles south of Kidderminster in Worcestershire.⁸⁹ In 1568, Langworth held a prebend at Worcester Cathedral, followed by various ecclesiastical posts in Buxted and Chichester in Sussex. He went on to become University preacher of Oxford in 1577 and Prebendary of Canterbury Cathedral in 1578, where he was later buried in January 1614. Langworth's will (included in the Kent Visitation of 1619) indicates that he was survived by five children, although other sources state that he and his wife, Francesca, had eight children in total.

There are several reasons to suppose that Langworth was in a position to offer some form of patronage to the man who describes himself as his 'louing Nephew' in *The Vnmasking's* prefatory

⁸⁹ The information relating to John Langworth is taken from the 1619 Visitation of Kent, included in Joseph Jackson Howard, ed., *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 4 vols (London: Mitchell Hughes & Co., 1894-1904), IV, pp. 204-6. Sources cite John Langworth as being the son of 'Lancelot Langworth of Kertlebury', a probable misspelling of 'Hertlebury', the name used in Camden's *Britannia* to refer to what is now the village of Hartlebury on the outskirts of Kidderminster. See Anthony à Wood and Philip Bliss, *Athenæ Oxonienses: An Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford*, 2 vols, revised edn (Oxford: T. Combe, 1848), II, p. 214. The births of Langworth's two brothers – Arthur and Adam – are recorded in Chaddeley Corbett (approximately four miles east of Hartlebury) in the years 1548 and 1551, respectively, although their father's name is listed not as Lancelot, but as 'Thomas'. The 1619 Visitation also suggests that Langworth's mother was originally named 'Gore', and that she too originated from Worcester. I am especially grateful to Martin Robb for his assistance in tracing the Langworth family tree.

materials (sig. A2r), for he too was something of a poet. A sequence of five religious sonnets dating from around the 1590s are signed by ‘doctor Langeworth’, and can be found within the commonplace book of the cathedral musician, John Lilliat, now housed in the Bodleian Library.⁹⁰ The Langworths were also a relatively affluent family, with a number of properties in the areas of Buxted and Ringmer in Sussex, and with connections in both Warwickshire and Worcestershire. The elder of Langworth’s brothers, Arthur (1548-1606), was also linked to the theatre entrepreneur, Philip Henslowe, with whom he entered into a number of financial arrangements.⁹¹ Further literary links emerge through the marriage of Langworth’s daughter Mary to Richard Hawkins, son of the recusant translator Thomas Hawkins of Boughton-under-Blean in Kent. Thomas Hawkins (1575-1640) was one of eighty-four candidates for the aforementioned Royal Academy proposed by Edmund Bolton.⁹²

There is one other detail concerning John Langworth that should not go without mention. Sources often cite Langworth as being a ‘church papist’, a term used to describe those who ostensibly conformed to the Protestant Church but who remained true to the old faith.⁹³ Prior to his time at New College, Oxford, Langworth attended Hart Hall, a college known for harbouring Catholic sympathies. The accusation of church papacy, however, appears to have been first raised against Langworth after his death in 1615, during the trial of John Howson, a chaplain brought

⁹⁰ Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS 148. The poems are entitled ‘The Pro-eme’, ‘To GOD the father’, ‘To GOD the Sonne’, ‘To GOD the Holigost’ and ‘Adam his fall’ (fols. 104r-106r). See Edward Doughtie, ed., *Liber Lilliat: Elizabethan Verse and Song (Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poetry 148)* (*Liber Lilliat: Elizabethan Verse and Song (Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poetry 148)*) (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1985), pp. 119-22. The work was originally bound into a copy of Thomas Watson’s *Hekatompathia* (1582) and dates from the late 1590s.

⁹¹ R. A. Foakes, ed., *Henslowe’s Diary*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 46, 52-4, 60, 81, 170-3, 190, 229, 236-7, 286.

⁹² Amongst many works, Thomas Hawkins translated the *Odes* of Horace and a number of Saints’ Lives, in addition to a verse dedicated to ‘To the memory of Master Benjamin Jonson’, included in *Jonsonus Virbius* (1638). See Anthony R. J. S. Adolph, ‘Sir Thomas Hawkins (*bap.* 1575, *d.* 1640?)’, *ODNB*.

⁹³ See Antony Charles Ryan, ‘Henry Hawkins (*bap.* 1577, *d.* 1646)’, *ODNB*; Nicholas Cranfield and Kenneth Fincham, eds., ‘John Howson’s answer to Archbishop Abbot’s accusations at his “trial” before James I’, *Camden Miscellany XXIX* (4th series) 34 (1987), 319-41; Michael Questier, ‘Crypto-Catholicism, Anti-Calvinism and Conversion at the Jacobean Court: The Enigma of Benjamin Carier’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (1996), 45-64.

before James I on a similar charge. The prosecution used Howson's connections with Langworth as evidence for Howson's dissent.⁹⁴ In their discussion of the trial, Nicholas Cranfield and Kenneth Fincham also note that 'a Roman priest attended Langworth on his deathbed, although he was not received into the Catholic Communion'.⁹⁵ The allegations against Langworth are also documented in a letter dated 16th March 1614, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and chief prosecutor in the Howson trial, George Abbot. The letter is addressed to the Ambassador in Venice, Dudley Carleton, and reads as follows:

You wrote unto mee once concerning two Lungworths, whose father was a greate Papist, although a Dr. of Divinity. Hee was a notable Hypocrite, and a man suspected all his time, but went to Church, and received the Communion. His second sonne called Arthur is lately dead at Padua, as I am informed. But the other brother is come home, and for his demerith abroad lyeth now in the Gatehouse. So forbearing to bee any further troublesome unto you, with my hartly, commendations to you and to your Lady, I rest your very loving frende.⁹⁶

Padua was a key destination for recusant scholars and informants on English Catholics practising abroad. The 'popish' physician John Hawkins (brother of Richard Hawkins; Langworth's son-in-law) had studied there in the early part of the seventeenth century, as had Henry Cavendish and Gilbert Talbot in a slightly earlier period.⁹⁷ Which of Langworth's returning sons was detained in the Gatehouse prison (whether it be the Anthony, Francis or John) is something that is yet to be confirmed.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Evidence of the trial shows that Langworth had links with Walter Browne, an Arminian tutor at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and the well-known Catholic convert, Benjamin Carier.

⁹⁵ Cranfield and Fincham, p. 341.

⁹⁶ PRO, SP 14/76, fol. 98r (quoted in Cranfield and Fincham, p. 341).

⁹⁷ John Hawkins is listed as one of the 'Popish Physicians in and about the City of London' in John Gee, *The Foot out of the Snare* (London: H. Lownes, 1624), sig. X1v. See also Jonathan Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors: English Students in Italy, 1485-1603* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1998), p. 218; The religious beliefs of the Cavendish and Talbot households were also placed under suspicion, as the previous chapter has shown.

⁹⁸ John Langworth had five sons in total. The eldest of these (Thomas) is not listed in Langworth's will of 1613, which suggests that he may have died before the time of Abbot's letter. The will is reproduced in Howard's *Miscellanea*, p. 204.

The marriages of Langworth's children can reveal even more about the family's religious and social ties. As mentioned above, Langworth's eldest daughter, Mary, married into the recusant Hawkins family of Boughton-under-Blean in Kent. The 1619 Visitation refers to the sale of property by Richard Hawkins to one 'John Bedell', a very possible relative of the William and Francis Bedells to whom Andrewe (if he is the author) dedicated *The Massacre of Money* in 1602. Richard and Mary Hawkins' daughter, Anne, was also one of the founding members of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady at Paris (better known as the Order of Blue Nuns), and many other members of the Hawkins family went on to become Jesuit priests.⁹⁹ In addition to the dedication written to John Langworth, *The Vnmasking* includes a sonnet, in which Andrewe declares 'sure witnes' of his 'spotlesse loue' for 'the vertuous, Mistris Judith Hawkins' (sig. A2v). Judith Hawkins is sure to be a member of the recusant Hawkins family, although her name is not included in the Visitation. Given Langworth's connections to the Hawkins family, this may also explain the identification of Langworth as Andrewe's 'uncle' within the volume's prefatory materials.¹⁰⁰

With these many factors in mind, the name 'Thomas Andrewe' still remains something of a conundrum. Not only is this name of 'Thomas Andrewe' extremely common for this period,¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Interestingly, Anne Hawkins was also educated by the Franciscan nuns at the monastery in Newport in Belgium. See Richard Trappes-Lomax, ed., *The English Franciscan Nuns, 1619-1821, and the Friars Minor of the Same Province, 1618-1761* (Exeter: William Pollard and Son, 1922), p. 132. Further questions over Langworth's religious loyalties emerge through his involvement in the marriage of another of his daughters, Helen, to Nathaniel Spurrett, a man linked to recusants residing in London. My thanks go to Martin Robb for his assistance in this matter.

¹⁰⁰ That the eldest son of Langworth's younger brother, Adam, was also named Thomas (and was therefore Langworth's nephew by blood) can be little more than a coincidence, since he would have been just fourteen years old when Andrewe's poem was published (Howard, p. 204).

¹⁰¹ Although the name 'Thomas Andrewe' is extremely common at this time, it is perhaps more than a mere coincidence that a number of men bearing this name hail from Langworth's home county of Worcestershire. From the evidence contained in Grazebrook's *Heraldry of Worcestershire*, it would appear that a man by name of Thomas Andrewe (d. 1609) inherited the properties of Longdon (near Malvern) in Worcestershire and Ilmington in neighbouring Warwickshire from his father (also named Thomas Andrewe). See Henry Sydney Grazebrook, *The Heraldry of Worcestershire*, 2 vols (London: J. R. Smith, 1873), I, pp. 12-15. Two men by the name of 'Thomas Andrewe', and both hailing from Worcester also joined St Edmunds College, Oxford in 1594. There is an interesting connection here with the area of Somerset. The will of William Pym of Woolavington, Somerset (a village approximately seventeen miles west of Wells) (dated 10th January 1608), indicates that Pym was involved in a heated dispute with a man

but apart from *The Vnmasking*, the name draws no other obvious connection to the families of Langworth and Hawkins. There is a very high possibility, therefore, that the name is in fact a pseudonym. This conjecture can be supported through reference to a work by Thomas Collins entitled *The Teares of Love or, Cupids Progresse* (1615), described on the title-page as a '(passionate) pastorall elegie'. The poem is prefaced by two commendatory sonnets by John Beaumont and Samuel Rowlands, two writers connected with the name of Andrewe in ways highlighted above. Beaumont's prefatory sonnet traces Collins' poetic career in terms of a move away from songs of war and divine poetry in the direction of 'Pastr'all Layes' and is here quoted in full:

From *Newports* bloody battell (sung by thee)
 With *Yaxley's* death (the flow'r of Chialry)
 And from thy well-pen'd *Publican*, to bee
 Transported thus to fields of *Arcady*,
 Shewes that thy Muse is apt for all assayes,
 And thou a man that meriteth renoune.
 Diuine, Poeticall, and Past'all Layes,
 Doe all concurre, thy Browes with Bayes to crowne.
Collins, liue euer, in thy lines liue euer,
 Liue euer honord by the Trumpe of *Fame*:
 And let all those that in these Arts endeauor,
 In their praise-worthy works, still praise thy name:
 Who (in all Subiects) dost so sweetly sing,
 Enuie her selfe to touch thee hath no sting.¹⁰²

Collins' removal to the 'fields of *Arcady*' corresponds with a contemporary effort among those described as the 'self-styled Spenserian poets' to renew 'earlier forms of public poetry to instruct the troubled times'.¹⁰³ Indeed, *The Teares of Love* concludes with a paean to Sidney, Spenser and Drayton, 'and all the rest that wrote of yore'.¹⁰⁴ More specific to our purpose is Beaumont's

by the name of Thomas Andrewe for the fact that both men were married to the same woman. The line 'Her owne child a Polygamist she made' (*The Vnmasking*, sig. E2v) could perhaps carry some extra weight. Virgil M. Harris, ed., *Ancient, Curious and Famous Wills* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown & Co., 1911), pp. 87-8.

¹⁰² Thomas Collins, *The Teares of Loue: or, Cupids progresse* (London: G. Purslowe), sig. A3r.

¹⁰³ See Michelle O'Callaghan, "'Talking Politic": Tyranny, Parliament, and Christopher Brooke's *The Ghost of Richard the Third* (1614)', *The Historical Journal* 41.01 (1998), 97-120 (p. 100).

¹⁰⁴ 'Sidney and Spenser, be you aye renoun'd: / No time hath pow'r your Pastorals to confound. / Drayton, and all the rest that wrote of yore... / On Fames peart tongue be praised for your Rimes' (*Teares of Loue*, sig. G4r).

reference to Collins' literary efforts prior to this pastoral turn: 'Newports bloody battell' and 'thy well-pen'd *Publican*'. The latter of these refers to a slightly earlier poem attributed to Collins entitled *The Penitent Publican* (1610), a long verse paraphrase of Luke's parable of the same name. Other than *The Teares of Love*, this is the only other poem attributed to Collins to have survived.

There are at least two conclusions to be drawn from this poem by Beaumont. First, that 'Newports bloody battell' is another poem by Collins, now lost. Or, that Beaumont is referring here to the 228-line section describing the Battle of Newport in *The Vnmasking of a Feminine Machiauell*. There is some evidence to support the latter. Aside from a short six-stanza section in Richard Niccols' *Englands Eliza* (1610), *The Vnmasking* provides what appears to be the sole extant account of the Battle of Newport in verse. In addition to this, the publisher of *The Teares of Love*, George Purslowe, succeeded Simon Stafford (the printer of *The Vnmasking*) in 1614. Rowlands, in his sonnet prefacing *The Teares of Love* also refers to Collins as 'his affected friend' (sig. A3v), terms that are identical to those used in his commendatory sonnet to *The Vnmasking*. The evidence seems to point in favour of latter of these conclusions. Nonetheless, if we are to follow the former, then this still shows that both Andrewe and Collins moved in similar circles, both in terms of their as chosen style and subject matter, as well as their links to the 'Spenserian' poets. If we are to follow the latter of the conclusions, then one might still wonder why 'Thomas Andrewe' / 'Thomas Collins' would choose to obscure his identity in this way.

The issue of identity becomes crucial to any interpretation of *The Vnmasking*, and one that becomes increasingly difficult to contend with when we consider the poem's use of multiple personae within the dream vision form. Whilst the dream facilitates a form of dialogue or conversation in ways not possible, neither in waking life, nor in other literary forms, the dreamer also strives to create a sense of distance between himself and his fictional surrogate, 'Andrea'. With Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* as its main generic influence, *The Vnmasking* utilises the same conventional frame as Chaucer's dream poem, both to describe Andrea's misfortunes, and to

exercise the redemptive powers of the visionary complaint. *The Unmasking* may therefore constitute another, much later, example of what Coldiron describes as ‘post-Chaucerianism’.¹⁰⁵ But where in the *Book of the Duchess* Chaucer presents a series of ‘recollected experiences’ borne out of ‘extreme love and loss’,¹⁰⁶ Andrewe applies his use of the complaint to a sense of lost masculinity within the new and profoundly topical contexts of Elizabethan warfare and Jacobean peace.

THE DREAMER AND THE ‘MAN IN TAWNY’

The Unmasking begins by employing a range of classical and contemporary images in order to establish the poem’s initial setting and tone:

Blacke vapory clouds, the gloomy night attending,
From *Acheron* to the star’d skye ascending,
Twixt heauens bright lamps, and th’earth were interposde,
Darkning the rayes cleare *Cinthia* had disclosde:
To poynt the wandring Pilgrims out their wayes. (sigs. B1r-v).

These opening lines have some instructive connotations. The ‘blacke vapory clouds’ and ‘smoaky Charriot’ of night (sig. B1v) convey a sense of melancholy which, coupled with Andrewe’s references to the ‘rayes’ of ‘cleare *Cinthia*’ (the moon-goddess), possess some striking iconographic overtones. As is typical of the genre, the poem moves indoors and the narrator goes on to itemise his surroundings as follows:

I seeing thus the sable Curtaynes spread,
Before the glittering Windowes, o’re my head,
Hearing nights Sentinell, the vnluckie Owle,
Shricke lowd, thou feareles of the wondring fowle,
Who in the day pursuing him with spight,
Made him detest and not indure the light. (sig. B1v).

The experience is a profoundly sensory one and offers a bleak contrast to the experience described in Chaucer’s *Book of the Duchess* in which ‘al the wyndowes’ were ‘wel yglassed’ and ‘Ne in al the

¹⁰⁵ Coldiron, p. 13.

¹⁰⁶ William A. Quinn, ‘Medieval dream visions: Chaucer’s *Book of the Duchess*’, in *Readings in Medieval Texts: Interpreting Old and Middle English Literature*, ed. by David F. Johnson and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005), p. 332.

welken was a clowde' (324, 343). Where in the *Book of the Duchess*, the dreamer also suffers a form of insomnia (a cipher for lovesickness or writer's block) in *The Vnmasking*, the dreamer mediates for only a moment the cause of his anguish:

As time requirde, vnto my bed betooke me,
Wherein, poore I, of loue left and forlorne,
Did meane to rest me till the purple morne.
By the shrill musicke of the timely Larke,
Should be awakte, to driue away the darke, (sig. B1v).

Being 'of loue left and forlorne', the dreamer is also a suitable candidate for the lover's complaint. For Chaucer's dreamer, the 'cure' for his melancholy resides in a book – the story of Ceyx and Alcyone from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In *The Vnmasking*, the dreamer does not read, but instead listens to the nightingale, '*Philomel*', who 'did sing, / The lustfull rapine of the Thracian king' (sig. B1v). The line is glossed with reference to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* VI, the first of several Ovidian references in the poem.

The pre-dream prologue to *The Vnmasking* continues to draw from both Chaucer and the classical tradition by underlining the cause and potential function of the dream. The narrator's stress on melancholy emotions suggests, at first, a Macrobian *visum* or apparition, 'caused by mental or physical distress' and encompassing a host of 'diverse things, either delightful or disturbing' (1.3.3, 7), though this interpretation is complicated by several factors:

For when light Morpheus, that gentle god,
Had toucht mine eyes with his sleep-charming rod,
I saw such apparitions in a slumber,
As fild my heart with pity, feare, and wonder.
Do thou, my Muse, my drooping thoughts inspire,
Touch my sad soule with true Promethean fire,
And be propitious to mine Artlesse pen,
That I may shew the visions vnto men,
That in th'obscure and melancholy night,
Were strangely represented to my sight: (sigs. B1v-B2r).

The extract recalls the 'Blacke vapory clouds and 'gloomy night' of the opening lines, though the language and imagery also recall Venus' advice to her son in Virgil's *Aeneid*: 'Behold – for all the

cloud, which now, drawn over thy sight, dulls thy mortal vision and with dank pall enshrouds thee, I will tear away'.¹⁰⁷ As in the classical tradition, the dream's main purpose is to 'shew', and the dreamer's purpose is to relate these visions 'vnto men' (sig. B2r). The dream therefore embraces several of Macrobius' categories of interpretation, including the enigmatic *somnium*, which 'conceals with strange shapes and veils with ambiguity the true meaning of the information being offered, and requires an interpretation for its understanding' (1.3.10), as well as the prophetic and more influential category of the *visio*. Placing the dream's origins in a number of authoritative literary traditions, *The Vnmasking* seems initially concerned with themes of epic importance. Whilst Andrewe's use of the rhyming couplet adds to the poem's epic potential, the form was also a preferred choice for mock-heroic, including Drayton's *The Owle* (1604) and Spenser's *Prosopopoia: or Mother Hubberds Tale* (1591).

One of the many ways in which Andrewe aligns his poem with the traditions of dream vision and complaint is through use of an idyllic setting. As soon as the dreamer enters his dream, he is greeted with the sound of birdsong, a lingering and more pleasant after-effect of the songs of the screech-owl and the nightingale in the pre-dream frame. The scene is dominated by the sounds of the river's 'pleasing murmur' (sig. B2r). The river is a key symbolic feature of the visionary complaint. Spenser's *Ruines of Time* (1591), for example, begins 'beside the Shore / Of siluer streaming *Thamesis*', where he sees 'A Woman sitting sorrowfullie wailing... / And streames of teares from her faire eyes forth railing'.¹⁰⁸ In Lodge's *Complaynt of Elstred* (1592), the narrator meets his plaintiff on the banks of the River Severn. In both instances, the river localises the poem's landscape in ways that draw a connection between the subject of the complaint and England's ancient past. In *A Lover's Complaint* (1609), however, the river, 'Upon whose weeping margin', sits the 'fickle maid', is much less topographically precise (ll. 39, 5). *The Vnmasking* is much

¹⁰⁷ Quoted in Stahl, p. 92 (*Macr.* 1.3.19).

¹⁰⁸ Edmund Spenser, *The Ruines of Time* (ll. 1-2, 9) in *Edmund Spenser: The Shorter Poems*, ed. by Richard A. McCabe (London: Penguin Books, 1999), p. 167.

closer to the latter in its lack of geographical specificity, though more intense than any in its visual detail:

At first me thought vpon a sedgie banke,
Where fennish Reeds, & Bulrushes were ranke...
I stood, where on the Cristall waters brim,
Snow-whiter Swans ruffing their plumes did swim.
Vpon this faire and delectable streame,
Might beauteous *Cithareaes* siluer Teame,
Haue drawne their mistris in her lightsome Carre,
That in the Aire shines like a glorious starre:
So euen and cleare this fluent Riuer was,
As purest Cristall, or the smoothest Glasse,
Through whose transparence piercing with mine eye,
A thousand fishes of all sorts *I* spye. (sig. B2r).

Once again, the focus lies on the aural and visual aspects of the dreamer's surroundings. In line with the complaint tradition, the dreamer then hears the 'earnfull accents' of a figure, deep in the throes of grief and railing against the vagaries of 'Time, of Fortune, and of Fate' (sig. B3r). At first a mere auditor to these cries, the narrator steps forth to occupy the position of a voyeur to the complainant's displays of grief.

The portrait of Andrew's melancholy man, the 'Haplesse *Andrea*' referred to in the synopsis, is drawn from several sources and models, ranging from Sackville's Henry, Duke of Buckingham, to Spenser's Alcyone in *Daphnaïda*, to Shakespeare's 'melancholy Jacques', who 'lay along / Under an oak whose antique root peeps out' in *As You Like It* (2.4.30-1).¹⁰⁹ The dreamer describes his encounter with this figure as follows:

Vnder a broad Oake on the earth he lay,
His head downe cast (as loth to see the day)
His guiltlesse heare was like his garments rent
Such the sharp anguish of his discontent.
Attir'd he was in tawny, as forlorne,
Despise, disgrac'd, reiected, held in scorne.

¹⁰⁹ Compare Sackville's depiction of Henry, Duke of Buckingham: 'His cloke al pilde and quite forworne'; 'His cloak he rent, his manly breast he beat, / His hair all torn about the place it lay' ('Induction', ll. 534, 540-1). See also Spenser's depiction of Alcyone: 'His careless locks, vncombed and vnshorne, / Hong long adowne, and beard all ouer growne, / That well he seemd to be sum wight forlorne' (*Daphnaïda*, ll. 40-3).

The ground whereon he lay, was watred well
 With teares abundant from his eyes that fell:
 His callow chinne did silently declare,
 He was too young to haue to doe with care.
 I comming neere him, he raisde vp his head
 With heauy motion, as a man halfe dead:
 And euen as I was ready for to speake,
 He sigh'd againe, as if his heart would breake. (sigs. B3v-B4r).

Several aspects of this portrait deserve comment. For readers familiar with Andrewe's main generic source, the figure of Andrea draws an instant parallel with Chaucer's 'Man in Black' in the *Book of the Duchess*. In the *Book of the Duchess*, the Man in Black sits beneath 'an ook, an huge tree' (l. 447), a tree frequently associated with fortitude and distinction. As Elaine Tuttle Hansen explains, the Man in Black's 'feminization' is also clear 'from the moment when the dreamer finds him sitting under an oak tree, with his head hanging down'.¹¹⁰ Andrea's placing, 'Vnder a broad Oake' (sig. B2v), establishes this connection, though more implicit links to Chaucer's Man in Black emerge through his physical posture and array. In *The Vnmasking*, Andrea does not sit, but instead lies flat upon the ground which is 'watred well / With teares abundant' (sig. B4r). Andrea's choice of clothing is particularly instructive. Compared with Chaucer's Man in Black and other melancholy men, his trappings are emphatically not black, but 'tawny, as forlorne' (sig. B4r). The inclusion may signal a fashion *faux pas* (as it does for Chaucer's Sir Thopas),¹¹¹ or a poetic blunder: 'The Argument of this Booke' declares that the figure we are about to meet is clad in 'sorrowes colours' (sig. B1r). Like Chaucer's Man in Black, whose 'berd' shows 'but lytel her' (l. 456), the mournful man in *The Vnmasking* also has a 'callow chinne' that shows, 'He was too young to haue to doe with care' (sig. B4r).¹¹² The age of Chaucer's Man in Black is 'foure and twenty yer' (l. 455), and his youthful

¹¹⁰ Elaine Tuttle Hansen, *Chaucer and the Fictions of Gender* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), p. 61.

¹¹¹ On the significance of clothing in Chaucer's Tale of Sir Thopas and other works, see Laura F. Hodges, *Chaucer and Array: Patterns of Costume and Fabric Rhetoric in The Canterbury Tales, Troilus and Criseyde and Other Works* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014), p. 146. The issue of clothing is one to which I will return later on in this discussion, particularly for the ways in which Andrea's tattered and 'tawny' clothing carry a range of additional connotations.

¹¹² The term 'callow' usually meaning bald, though more specifically relating to the down of fledgling birds ('callow, *adj.*', *OED* (3.a); c.f. 'His softe and callow downe' (*The Owle*, sig. C1v).

appearance indicates that he is ‘just on the threshold of manhood’.¹¹³ Events seemed to take their turn for Andrea at the much younger age of fourteen –

Full twice seuen times from my vnhappy birth,
The comfortable Spring had cheerd the earth,
And thawd the frosty bosome of the ground,
Wherein all Plants in Icie cheines were bound...
When by the wan inexorable Death,
My dearest Parent lost his vitall breath,
Whose tender care, whose counsayle being reft me,
Content took leaue, ioyes fled, and pleasures left me: (sigs. D1r-v).

– but by the time of his complaint, he appears to have matured to the age of twenty-one: ‘For now the Sunne hath passed seuen times, / In his progression through the watry signes, / Since ceaslesse grieffe did enter in my brest’ (sig. B3r). This initial portrait comprises an assortment of references and allusions through which Andrea’s posture, appearance and age signify a combination of youthfulness, effeminacy and unbridled grief.

Though generically similar to the works of Chaucer and other examples of the dream vision discussed throughout this thesis, *The Vnmasking* is also different to these works in that it exploits and inverts the ‘affective vogue’ for melancholy which, at this time, could encompass a range of symbolic meanings and associations.¹¹⁴ In his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (first published in 1621), Robert Burton discusses dreams on a number of occasions, explaining in the section entitled ‘Waking and terrible dreams rectified’ that the melancholy man is particularly disposed to ‘fearful and troublesome dreams, Incubus and such inconveniences’.¹¹⁵ The melancholy pose could also be used to express one’s ancestry, status and political allegiance.¹¹⁶ In addition to this, the pose was

¹¹³ Hansen, p. 61.

¹¹⁴ See Elizabeth Goldring, “‘So lively a portraiture of his miseries’: Melancholy, Mourning and the Elizabethan Malady”, *The British Art Journal* 7.2 (2005), 12-22. The pose is depicted in such works as Isaac Oliver’s *Portrait of a Melancholy Young Man* (c. 1590-95) and Nicholas Hillyard’s miniatures of Sir Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland (c. 1595).

¹¹⁵ Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. by Holbrook Jackson (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), II, p. 101.

¹¹⁶ See especially Jan Broadway, ‘Symbolic and Self-Consciously Antiquarian: The Elizabethan and Early Stuart Gentry’s Use of the Past’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 76.4 (2013), 541-53.

also used to convey a sense of dissatisfaction or frustrated ambition and, as several scholars point out, could transform into a ‘more overtly political statement when connected to the social type of the malcontent’.¹¹⁷ The melancholy man in *The Vnmasking* displays his affinities with this cultural stereotype in several ways. In particular, his melancholy is reflected both in his physical appearance and a form of voluntary exile within a ‘Caue deepe mined in the solid ground... / The meeter Mansion for one discontented’ (sig. C1r). The political meanings underpinning this image are clear, if somewhat ambivalent in their initial aims.

According to Robert Burton, there are various different kinds of melancholy, though one ‘distinct from the rest’ and peculiar only to women, who ‘pine away, void of counsel, apt to weep, and tremble’ and ‘take delight in nothing for the time, but love to be alone and solitary’.¹¹⁸ Where the effeminacy of Chaucer’s Man in Black is merely implied, the dreamer in *The Vnmasking* registers the effeminising effects of excessive mourning in the following terms:

Be not too lauish of such deare bought rayne.
We see each day, that the fond prodigall
Liues vnregarded, hauing wasted all.
Stay now thy teares, *tis woman-like to weepe*.
Concealment of thy case no longer keepe; (sig. C1v, original emphasis).¹¹⁹

The lines reflect a desire in this period to establish clear differences between the sexes which, whether according to biological or cultural standards, correlates with the concept identified by Mark Breitenberg as ‘anxious masculinity’.¹²⁰ The issue received extensive treatment both in the drama and polemical literature of the period, particularly in the *querelle des femmes* and cross-dressing

¹¹⁷ Andreas Schlüter, ‘Humoring the Hero: The Uses of Melancholy among Military Nobles in Late Elizabethan England’, *helden. heroes. héros* 1 (2014), 36-46 (p. 30). For more on this latter point, see also James Keller, *Princes, Soldiers and Rogues: The Politic Malcontent of Renaissance Drama* (New York: P. Lang, 1993).

¹¹⁸ Burton, II, p. 116.

¹¹⁹ The dreamer’s admonition, ‘Stay now thy teares, *tis woman-like to weepe*’, may indicate another allusion to Shakespeare; this time, the words of Friar Lawrence in *Romeo and Juliet*: ‘Art thou a man? Thy form cries out thou art. / Thy tears are womanish...’ (3.3.109-10).

¹²⁰ Mark Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). On the *Hic Mulier/Haec-Vir* debates, see Breitenberg, pp. 128-49.

debates of the early seventeenth century. As mentioned above, the name ‘Andrea’ derives from the Greek *andreia*, meaning ‘man’ or ‘manhood’. By stressing his ability to ‘comfort’, ‘counsel’, to offer ‘good aduice’ (sig. C1v), the dreamer draws on the structure of consolation underpinning Chaucer’s *Book of the Duchess*.¹²¹ In so doing, he establishes his authority and difference from Andrea, and a concomitant desire to restore the natural gender balance.

This sense of lost masculinity and gender imbalance is most apparent in the ways in which *The Vnmasking* contains a number of role-reversals. By concentrating his vexations, primarily, onto a woman, Andrea affects the stance of the abandoned lover of the Petrarchan tradition. The ‘cruel mistress’, however, takes the form of the ‘feminine Machiavel’, a figure whose name and actions expose the political qualities and aims of courtly discourse and bring its true intentions to light:

My tragick haps to heare, since thou dost long,
 Ile briefly tell thee. By a Sirens song,
 Or by a voyce worse then the Mermaids sound,
 That made *Vlisses* feare to runne a ground,
 I was allurde to anchor in the roade,
 Where cursed policy made her abode. (sig. C2r).

This intensely feminised version of ‘policy’ (that is, ‘the principle of expediency, or possibly merely of self-preservation’¹²²), has something in common with Spenser’s depiction of Lucifera, who ‘Ne ruld her Realmes with laws, but pollicie, / And strong aduizement of six wisards old’ (*FQ*, 1.4.12).¹²³ The image of the Siren, as quoted above, is then qualified by the sole direct reference in *The Vnmasking* to Machiavelli’s political methods and the elaborate myths surrounding his name:

That damned Politician *Machiauell*,
 That, some say, had his *Maximes* out of hell,
 Had he but beene a scholler vnto her,
 To learne his Arte, need not haue gone so farre.

¹²¹ My understanding of the consolatory ethos within Chaucer’s *Book of the Duchess* derives from a number of readings of the poem. In particular, Helen Phillips, ‘Structure and Consolation in the *Book of the Duchess*’, *The Chaucer Review* 16.2 (1981), 107-18.

¹²² Orsini, p. 129.

¹²³ Thomas P. Roche Jr., ed., *Edmund Spenser: The Faerie Queene*, 2nd edn (London: Penguin, 1987), p. 82.

She of her owne would haue imparted store
Of cursed plots, ne're thought vpon before (sigs. C2r-v).¹²⁴

As explained earlier, Andrea compares the Machiavel's actions with those of the goddess Fortune: 'that respectlesse Dame, [who] / Conspir'd to worke the downfall of my fame' (sig. B3r). In addition to the Machiavellian-inspired discourse of ambition and 'plots', the comparison invites attention to the Machiavellian imperative to enforce male power (*virtù*) over feminine *Fortuna*. As Machiavelli explains to his readers in *The Prince*:

Fortune is a mistresse; and it is necessary, to keep her in obedience, to ruffle and force her: and we see, that she suffers her selfe rather to be masterd by those, than by others that proceed coldly. And therefore, as a mistresse, shee is a friend to young men, because they are lesse respectiue, more rough, and command her with more boldnesse.¹²⁵

The dreamer yokes this key Machiavellian principle together with the immortalising potential of Petrarchan discourse through the use of a mock-blazon:

...it shall be my taske,
Her person so to portreyt with my pen,
As *I* will make her odious vnto men:
The blazon that my vpreard Muse shall giue her,
Shall make her infamy long to out-liue her,
That babes vnborne, which after-times shall breed,
Her shames memoriall in my lines shall reed. (sig. C4r).

The lines establish a metapoetic correspondence between the dreamer and the poet. The dreamer goes on to fulfil this assurance – 'to portreyt with [his] pen' – through the single passage within the poem to adopt a visually discernible technique of bulleting each of the lines with a typographical mark ("), typically used to indicate speech. Through these lines, the dreamer's literary prowess is figured as 'verdant' and 'vnchanged' in ways that reflect the poem's broader preoccupations with masculinity and fame:

¹²⁴ Orsini suggests that the word 'maximes' is used here 'with reference to a precept of political cunning' (p. 132).

¹²⁵ Dacres, p. 209.

“Though wrackful time brasse monuments deuoure,
 “Verse shall suruiue vnto the latest houre:
 “And when the proud Pyramides to dust,
 “Age shall outweare, & steele consume with rust:
 “Then like *Apolloes* Lawrell, euer greene,
 “Shall Verse be verdant, and vnchang’d be seene;
 “Such is the power of high-bred Poesy,
 “That it can euen to perpetuity
 “Eyther make glorious, or as much disgrace
 “The noble minded, or th’abiected base... (sig. C4r).

The passage continues for another sixteen lines in which the dreamer’s role as Andrea’s spokesman and agent is given extra prominence: ‘Such is the power of high-bred Poesy’. The passage then cites a number of ‘glories’ contained within the ‘great Register’ of ‘Poesy’: “*Alcides* labours, *Theseus* lasting fame, / “*Achilles* deeds, and *Hectors* noble name’ (sig. C4v). The references also to ‘*Lucrece* chastity’ and ‘*Tarquins* rape’ are in full keeping with the poem’s Ovidian subtext, and instantly recall the pre-dream image of the nightingale, Philomela, who ‘did sing, / The lustfull rapine of the Thracian king’ (sig. B1v). The dreamer goes on to compare the Machiavel with ‘*Scilla*, *Mirra*, and *Calipsa*’, as well as Messalina (the wife of Nero), Helen of Troy and Medea – key exemplars of female sexual abandon – and the slightly anomalous figure of ‘Bellides’, though perhaps denoting ‘daughter of war’. Such lists of archetypal (bad) women are a common feature of the dream vision genre, as we have seen already in Robinson’s *Rewarde*. The marginal note accompanying this list derives from Ovid’s *Amores*: ‘*Carminae qu[am] tribuent, fama perennis erit?*’ (‘The fame that poetry gives will be everlasting’) (sig. C4r).¹²⁶ Along with the references to Achilles, Tarquin and Theseus, this list of women contrasts a clear attitude to chastity and fame, yet carries with it a degree of ambivalence toward the nature of male heroic deeds.

The strategies involved in restoring Andrea’s honour and fame also reflect his own mission to escape the Machiavel’s influence and find his ‘fortunes’ in the war (sig. D2r). In the context of early modern warfare, the term ‘fortune’ was more often be used to define or make sense of

¹²⁶ Caroline A. Perkins and Maureen B. Ryan, *Ovid’s Amores, Book One: A Commentary* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), p. 19 (1.10.62).

military defeat.¹²⁷ More specifically, Andrea ventured to join the ‘vnconquered bands, / Led by *Nassau*’ in the Battle of Newport, fought against the Spanish armies on 2nd July, 1600. As Andrea explains,

I not contented in this peacefull clime,
To spend my youth determined to range,
Of forreine lands to see the various change:
Youth being full of wandring appetites,
Nature it selfe to nouelties incites...
Made me resolute my freedome to forsake,
My selfe intending solely to betake
Vnto a Souldiers life, hoping to gaine
Honor and Reputation for my paine. (sigs. D1v-D2r).

The second part of Andrea’s complaint, as the next section will show, can be read alongside a number of examples of soldier writing from the Elizabethan period, in which similar feelings of frustration, uncertainty and a sense of masculine identity under threat also reveal themselves through the conventions of complaint and the dream vision form. In the case of *The Unmasking*, a poem published not only after Elizabeth’s death in 1603, but four months after the Treaty of London (signed in August 1604), these ideas take on clear political meanings within the new and equally unsure context of England’s peace under James I.

THE BATTLE OF NEWPORT AND THE SOLDIER’S COMPLAINT

What motivated the men of Andrew’s day to go to war? This question has been the subject of enormous interest amongst scholars, particularly in recent years, and the reasons put forth are varied and many. Whether due to national pride, enforced musters, chivalric ambition or the factors of unemployment or shortage of food, service in war was a viable, if not necessary choice

¹²⁷ As Randall explains, ‘When the news writers described battle field providences, they saw [God’s] providence as the direct cause of otherwise inexplicable human actions and inactions, just as they saw his providence in any action he caused in the world... but the language of providence felt in soldiers’ hearts, immediately related to success on the battlefield, spoke directly to Puritans’: ‘Providence, Fortune, and the Experience of Combat’, 1053-1077 (pp. 1069-70). Andrew’s description of the Battle of Newport is, however, distinctly lacking in the religious overtones found in the reports discussed by Randall.

for men between the ages of sixteen and sixty.¹²⁸ By 1600, when the battle that forms the centre of Andrew's poem came to pass, the 'school of war' was located within the Low Countries. Described by Sir Francis Vere's page, Henry Hexham as the 'Nurcery of Souldierie',¹²⁹ the Low Countries were where the English armies were trained in 'order, drill, discipline and flexibility of manoeuvre on the battlefield', in a manner inspired by the Dutch commander and Prince of Orange, Maurice of Nassau.¹³⁰ In drawing both from classical exemplar and contemporary military developments, Nassau fashioned 'a new ideal for the aristocratic military officer'.¹³¹ His main victories were in the battles of Turnhout (1597) and Newport (1600), which earned him enormous fame throughout Protestant Europe.

Like Andrea, many men travelled to the Low Countries in the hope of finding honour and fame.¹³² Andrea's desire to go to war is evidently inspired by a combination of patriotic duty and a longing for adventure:

It was not want that made me leaue the soile
Where *I* was borne, in Belgia to turmoyle,
For lacke of meanes, but an enflamde desire
To raise my hopes, that did too hye aspire...
In forreine broyles experience *I* should learne,
The feates of Armes expertly to discerne,
That in my countreyes and my Princes right,
I might be able with aduice to fight. (sig. D2r).

¹²⁸ These issues have been discussed in a range of contexts and from an equally wide range of perspectives. In particular, see John S. Nolan, 'The Militarization of the Elizabethan State,' *Journal of Military History* 58.3 (1994), 391-420; Paul E. J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544-1604* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Rory Rapple, *Martial Power and Elizabethan Political Culture: Military Men in England and Ireland, 1558-1594* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). For a helpful overview of these perspectives, see David R. Lawrence, 'Reappraising the Elizabethan and Early Stuart Soldier: Recent Historiography on Early Modern English Military Culture', *History Compass* 9.1 (2011), 16-33. Whilst there was no standing army of the Elizabethan age, the evidence indicates approximately 385,000 soldiers serving between the years 1558 and 1603, a figure which also accounts for the number of mercenaries and privateers. See Hammer, p. 248.

¹²⁹ Henry Hexham, *The Principles of the Art Militarie* (London: M. Parsons, 1637), sig. *2r.

¹³⁰ Roger B. Manning, 'Prince Maurice's School of War: British Swordsmen and the Dutch', *War & Society* 25.1 (2006), 1-19 (p. 9).

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Manning, p. 19.

The image of the English soldier as ‘inexperienced’, ‘inefficient’ and ‘uneducated’ appears in numerous depictions, both contemporary and modern, and early modern English warfare had for many years been seen as moribund and inept in light of military developments abroad.¹³³ Although the wars in the Low Countries present Andrea with an opportunity to learn the arts of warfare, in light of a common emphasis on Elizabethan soldiers’ relative lack of preparedness for war, his youthful desire to gain ‘experience’ and ‘be able with aduice to fight’ (sig. D2r) is also instructive.

The Vnmasking contains two direct references to ‘Newport battell, Iu. 22, 1600’, the first of which appears in the margin against the line, ‘The fight wherein my Fortunes had a share’ (sig. D2v). According to old style dating, the 22nd June corresponds with 2nd July, which in 1600 was a Sunday. Although Andrea draws clear attention to this fact (‘Heauen grieued at that sacred day prophan’d, / That by the Lord for prayer was ordain’d, sig. D3r), the poem lacks the religious language or anti-Catholic overtones expected of such an account. Andrewe’s description is inspired, rather, by epic example:

The morne lookt red, whose blushing did bewray
The fatall bloudshed should ensue that day:
The rackie clouds on th’earth distilled dew,
In pearly drops, which plainly did foreshew,...
Assist my Muse, my fainting tounge direct,
Breathe a new spirit in mine intellect,
That by thy wondrous power and glorious might,
I may be able to vnfold the fight
’Twixt two great Armies both alike engag’d,
Both with sterne furie terribly enrag’d:
The one contending for the Soueraignty,
Th’other resolu’d to die for liberty. (sigs. D2v-D3r).

The battle was fought on the beach at Newport in modern day Belgium, the events of which are documented in the *Commentaries* of the English commander, Sir Francis Vere (published in 1657), as well as a number of surviving letters, pamphlets and ballads.¹³⁴ The Dutch army – led by Nassau

¹³³ Lawrence, ‘Reappraising the Elizabethan and Early Stuart Soldier’, p. 16. This is something that present-day research is taking considerable steps to amend.

¹³⁴ Details relating to the Battle of Newport are taken from the following primary sources: CSP (Domestic) 12/275 fol. 34 (1 July 1600); Francis Vere, *The Commentaries of Sr. Francis Vere* (Cambridge: J.

– was joined by Scottish and English forces to total some 11,400 infantrymen and cavalry against a total of approximately 9,000 soldiers on the Spanish side. The battle took place over three hours at near point-blank range. One eye-witness described the sound of musket-fire as so ‘frighteningly loud’ that ‘one could not hear shots, shouts, drums or trumpets’.¹³⁵ Sources also note the problems of and advantages gained by driving horses across the sandy terrain, which is what gave the conflict its alternative name, the ‘Battle of the Dunes’. Around four hundred Spanish officers and soldiers were captured, whilst those remaining fled. Deaths were high on both sides, with reports ranging between 4,000 and 6,000 Spanish casualties against 1,000 on the Anglo-Dutch side, in addition to some 700 wounded. Francis Vere was shot through the thigh, and eight English captains fell. Eleven days after the battle, Duke Albert of Austria declared that ‘the defeat we suffered has not been as great as we thought. The enemy can only glorify in the fact that he has remained on the battlefield’.¹³⁶ The Dutch forces were eventually forced to head north for Ostend, which was later garrisoned by the Spanish. One of the battle’s main aims was to put a stop to the Dunkirkers operating off the coast of Flanders, but despite the efforts at Newport, they too continued to prosper, leaving questions open as to whether the battle was indeed a lasting success. Just four days after the battle, the Dutch Secretary Everhart van Reyd remarked that, ‘when I think of it, I derive little joy from the outcome’.¹³⁷

Field, 1657), sig. M1r-Q3v; the ballad *Newes from Flaunders* (1600) and the pamphlets, *The Battaile fought betweene Count Maurice of Nassau, and Albertus Arch-duke of Austria* (1600) and *A True Relation of the Famous & Renowned Victorie latelie atchieued by the Counte Maurice of Nassau neere to Newport* (1600). The ballads and pamphlets are reproduced with an introduction in Douglas C. Collins, *Battle of Nieuwpoort, 1600: Two Pamphlets and a Ballad* (Oxford: The Shakespeare Association, 1935). In addition to these sources, see J. P. Puype, ‘Victory at Nieuwpoort, 2 July 1600’, in *Exercise of Arms: Warfare in the Netherlands, 1588-1648*, ed. by Marco van der Hoeven (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 69-113; Geoffrey Parker, ‘The Limits to Revolutions in Military Affairs: Maurice of Nassau, the Battle of Nieuwpoort (1600), and the Legacy’, *The Journal of Military History* 71 (2007), 331-72; Luc Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598-1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 118-121. For pictorial renderings of the battle, see Pauwels van Hillegaert’s *Prince Maurice at the Battle of Nieuwpoort, 2 July 1600* (c. 1632-1640), Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; Sebastian Vrancx, *Batalla de las Dunas en Newport* (1640), Museum of Fine Arts, Seville.

¹³⁵ Quoted in Parker, p. 351.

¹³⁶ Quoted in Duerloo, p. 121.

¹³⁷ Everhart van Reyd to Erasmus Stöver (6 July 1600), trans. Parker, p. 355.

Despite the many interpretive problems raised by the use of the visionary complaint, Andrewe's poem is remarkable in its accuracy and detail concerning the Battle of Newport. Andrea refers to the fact it took place on a Sunday, as well as its precise duration – 'three bloody howers' (sig. D4v) – along with several references to the weaponry, tactics, noise, and the troublesome sand dunes:

Cannons dischargde bullets in fire wrapt round,
 Circled in smoke, whose terror-breathing sound,
 Like the blacke bolt of *Iones* Imperiall thunder,
 With hideous noyse the thin ayre shakes asunder.
 There might you see a deadly shott that strikes,
 In a thicke sand our strong embatteld pikes,
 Renting the rankes, make shattred splinters flie... (sig. D4r).

Andrea's allusions to the 'hie-sprited Vere' and his morale-boosting rhetoric also possess a degree of precision when read alongside contemporary pamphlets and ballads.¹³⁸ Inflation of certain details is a common feature of battlefield memoirs, and Andrea inflates his figures by referencing 'The Battels fury, where ten thousand fell' (sig. E1v). The poem also records the deaths of two of the eight English captains who perished that day, Henry Yaxley and Isaac Honywood: 'O had I dide where *Yaxley*, *Honniwood*, / And more braue Gallants in their hie blood' (sig. E2r). John Beaumont's allusion to '*Newports* bloody battell (sung by thee) / With *Yaxley's* death (the flow'r of Chialry)' (sig. A3r) in Thomas Collins' *The Teares Of Love* (1615) offers a useful comparison. Despite the apparent success of the Dutch, English and Scottish armies against the Spanish troops, Andrea is also surprisingly neutral in his portrayal of the battle's final events: 'In th'armies both was hope, whilst vnto neyther / Proud Victory enclind, but fauour'd eyther' (sig. D4v). but despite such accuracy, Andrea's account of the battle does not add much to the picture already painted in near-contemporary accounts. The four-year lapse between the battle's events and the publication of *The Vnmasking* in 1604 is another issue to bear in mind. Given the poem's many intertextual

¹³⁸ 'Vnto our English Troope, hie-sprited *Vere* / Did vse perswasions to extinguish feare' (sig. D3v); c.f. *The Battaile fought betweene Count Maurice of Nassam, and Albertus Arch-duke of Austria* (London: P. Short, 1600), sig. A4v.

allusions, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Andrewe was drawing on the range of published material for his battlefield account.

Although *The Unmasking* was perhaps not written to satisfy a contemporary demand for military news, the events of the battle would have still been fresh in the minds of some of its readers. The initial intelligence of the battle appeared within the correspondence of Sir John Chamberlain who, writing a week after the events on the beach at Newport, sheds important light on the difficulties in obtaining a valid battlefield account. His source, ‘one [Clement] Edmunds (the translator of *Caesars Commentaries*)’ was apparently ‘so partiall’ in his report ‘it would appear that none struck but the English, and among them hardly any but Sir F. Vere’.¹³⁹ The validity of the soldier’s testimony was just as vulnerable to interrogation. Writing to Lord Gray in February 1602, Sir Robert Cecil describes a pamphlet ‘written by a private soldier (and therefore full of error)’.¹⁴⁰ The news pamphlets printed in the wake of the Battle of Newport seem to respond to this uncertainty in their attempt to remove doubt as to the validity of the report. *The Battaile fought betweene Count Maurice of Nassau, and Albertus Arch-duke of Austria* (1600), for example, is framed as being the account of ‘a gentleman imploied in the said seruice’ of Francis Vere (sig. A2r), whilst *A True Relation of the Famous & Renowmed Victorie [at] Newport* (entered in the Stationers’ Register just eight days after the battle) claims to be not only reliable in its method of report, but also ‘Truly translated out of the Du[t]ch copie’.¹⁴¹

The demand for such news would have faded more and more as time went on and as other military campaigns – and eventually peace – took hold. Memories of the Battle of Newport were, however, revived in the Thirty Years’ War (1618-1648) and in the years leading up to and during

¹³⁹ CSP (Domestic) 12/275, fol. 34 (1 July 1600); Collins, p. xxvii.

¹⁴⁰ ‘Sir Robert Cecil to [the Master of Gray]’ (2 Feb 1602), *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House* (Vol. 14), ed. by E. Salisbury (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1923), *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-cecil-papers/vol14>> [accessed 19 March 2016].

¹⁴¹ *A True Relation of the Famous & Renowmed Victorie latelie atchieued by the Counte Maurice of Nassau, neere to Newport* (London: R. Blower, 1600), sig. A1r.

the English Civil War, when nostalgia for the Elizabethan age was especially strong.¹⁴² While the chance of finding a reliable eyewitness to the events was small, Vere's former page, Henry Hexham, claimed the status of prime 'eye witness' in his *A true and historical relation of the bloody battell of Nieuport*, published in Delft in 1641, and 'better able' to 'render an account thereof to the world, then those who were absent, and tooke it by hear-say'.¹⁴³

The concern with finding a reliable eyewitness is a defining feature of the literature on war. Writers of the period would often employ the soldier's perspective, either for pragmatic or rhetorical ends. Often a source of mistrust, the soldier's voice also, as Elizabeth Heale observes,

produces a tour-de-force of dramatic inconsistency that throws into doubt any clear moral strategy... In so doing, it not only demonstrates the dramatic potential of this new voice in writing of the period, but also suggests wider uncertainties and contradictions in Elizabethan attitudes to war and to the profession of the soldier.¹⁴⁴

The Elizabethan soldier poet, George Gascoigne served in various campaigns in Europe, the details of which are contained in a number of his works, including, *The Spoyle of Antwerpe* ('faithfully reported, by a true Englishman, who was present at the same', published in 1576) and *The Fruites of Warre* (1575). The latter of these, which is subtitled using the Erasmian epithet, *Dulce Bellum inexpertis* ('War is sweet to them that know it not'), was printed in Gascoigne's *Posies*, the title page of which bears Gascoigne's motto, *Tam Marti, quam Mercurio* ('As much for Mars as for Mercury'). In his copy of *The Fruites of Warre*, Gabriel Harvey wrote that it was 'a good pragmatique Discourse; but unseasonable, & most unfitt for a Captain, or a professed Martiallist',¹⁴⁵ although Gascoigne makes it clear throughout his work that, as both a soldier and a poet, he is perfectly equipped to deal with his chosen subject. *The Fruites of Warre* begins with the assertion that, 'To write of Warre

¹⁴² Donagan, p. 74.

¹⁴³ Henry Hexham, *A True and Historical Relation of the Bloody Battell of Nieuport* (Delft: [s.n, 1641), sig. *2r.

¹⁴⁴ Elizabeth Heale, 'The fruits of war: The voice of the soldier in Gascoigne, Rich, and Churchyard', *Early Modern Literary Studies* 14.1 (2008), 1-39 (p. 6).

¹⁴⁵ George Charles Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913), p. 165.

and wote not what it is, / Nor ever yet could march where War was made, / May well be thought a worke begonne amis'.¹⁴⁶ The speaker then goes on to cite the 'Poets, Painters' and 'Astronomers' who can only emulate the subject of war.¹⁴⁷ After almost one hundred stanzas recounting the horrors and hypocrisies of war, one of Gascoigne's many poetic alter-egos interrupts to assert his personal authority on the subject: 'For I have seene full many a *Flushing* straye'; 'So was I one forsooth that kept the towne / Of *Aerdenburgh*'; 'I was againe in trench before *Tergoes*'.¹⁴⁸

By emphasising the poetic 'I', this confrontational speaker in Gascoigne's *Fruites of Warre* anticipates Andrewe's technique in *The Vnmasking*. In Andrewe's poem, such emphasis could not be more transparent: 'It was not want that made me leaue the soile / Where *I* was borne... In forreine broyles experience *I* should learne' (sig. D2r, original emphasis). With the addition of a dream vision frame, the soldier's testimony within *The Vnmasking* is not only compromised, but also able to reconcile the two conflicting sides of his persona in ways that Gascoigne's *The Fruites of Warre* could not. Rather than employing a dream vision frame, as Gascoigne would for his next publication, *The Complaynte of Phylomene* (published in his satirical tract, *The Steele Glas*, 1576), *The Fruites of Warre* splinters into a number of semi-autobiographical sub-sections – *The Fruite of Fetters*, *The Complaynt of the Green Knight* and *His Farewell to Fansie* – and concludes with a Chaucerian *envoi*, 'Go, little Booke'.

The dream frame later used by Andrewe in *The Vnmasking* proved useful to yet another soldier writer, Barnabe Rich (1542-1617). Rich was appointed Captain in the Low Countries in 1574; the same year that he published his prose dream vision, entitled *A Right Execlent and Pleasaunt Dialogue, betwene Mercury and an English Souldier*. Unlike Gascoigne, Rich considered himself first and

¹⁴⁶ Cunliffe, I, p. 141 (st. 1). References to *The Fruites of Warre* are hereafter quoted by stanza number, as in the stated edition.

¹⁴⁷ *The Fruites of Warre*, st. 11.

¹⁴⁸ *The Fruites of Warre*, stz. 95, 97.

foremost a military man, ‘better practised in my pike then in my penne’.¹⁴⁹ *A Right Execlent and Pleasaunt Dialogue* has much to bear on *The Vnmasking* in its articulation of the voice and experience of the soldier through the use of a dream vision frame. In a manner highly reminiscent of Googe’s 1563 dream poem, ‘Cupido Conquered’ (Rich and Googe were known to each other due to their time spent in Ireland), Rich’s dreamer sprouts a pair of wings and flies from his place of rest in search of Mars, the god of war, who has fallen under the yoke of Venus and her crew. The walls of Mars’ palace are ‘curiously described’, ‘inamiled’ and depict in ‘Imagery of pure goulde’ the ‘victorious actes of the most renowned Prince, King Henrye the eyghte’.¹⁵⁰ For the viewer of these ‘monumentes’, the quest for comparable glory in the present day stands in direct antithesis to the true realities of military service, and the rotten ‘fruites by warre’ that are now gained (sig. B4r).

A Right Execlent and Pleasaunt Dialogue, in sum, illustrates the problems of raising knowledge over experience. The main critique of Rich’s text is aimed at the ‘Carpet knights’ (sig. M3r), a term used by a number of writers to describe the products of an unjust system that enables men, often by virtue of their social ties, to bypass all formal training in the pursuit of title.¹⁵¹ The text uses the combined forms of dialogue and dream to present differing views on the martial profession, although the dominant message of Rich’s prose is that the profession has ‘now becom so odious, & the name [of a soldier] so reprochful, as they be disdained’ (sig. A2r), whilst the court appears to generate profit at the mental, physical and mortal expense of the nation’s men. ‘The Vnhappy Mans Deere Adewe’ (published in *A Feast Full of Sad Cheere* in 1592), by another of the period’s soldier poets, Thomas Churchyard, uses the complaint to register similar concerns, though the message is aimed more explicitly at Churchyard’s patrons. The plaintiff in Churchyard’s poem is also soldier who ‘seru’d in field, foure Princes of greate fame’, but in lieu of wages received only

¹⁴⁹ Barnabe Rich, *A Short Suruey of Ireland* (London: N. Okes, 1609), sig. A3r.

¹⁵⁰ Barnabe Rich, *A Right Execlent and Pleasaunt Dialogue, betwene Mercury and an English Souldier* (London: H. Disle, 1574), sig. A7v.

¹⁵¹ For an overview of Rich’s *Dialogue* and the uses of complaint, see Rapple, pp. 63-73.

‘paines’ for his labours.¹⁵² Churchyard’s complainant, much like Andrea, is thus left to wander like a ‘Pilgrim’, ‘compeld, to shunne from natiue soyle’, reaping nothing but ‘losse and toyle’ for his service in the wars (sig. C1v). Churchyard had served under four of the five Tudor monarchs, in France, Scotland, Ireland and the Low Countries, and a number of complaints against a lack of adequate reward emerged from his pen during latter part of Elizabeth’s reign.

According to Elizabeth Heale, Gascoigne, Churchyard and Rich all make use of their experiences in war in order to:

articulate a new perspective in print, that of the middle-ranking serving soldier, to tell stories that were topical, that voiced a sense of grievance and injustice, and that might also serve to promote the writer as deserving and experienced.¹⁵³

In addition to assuming the plain-speaking idiom of the soldier, all three authors utilise a range of literary forms, including dream vision, dialogue and complaint, in registering their concern over the state of the military profession, a concern which is expressed in seemingly equal and impartial measure. Whether returning home as a result of injury, demobilisation or bad behaviour, many other soldiers and soldier-poets used complaint as a means of petition or to seek redress, particularly when the promise of wages and other rewards were left unfulfilled.¹⁵⁴ As Rory Rapple explains, ‘idleness and poverty seemed to be the portion allocated to martial officers’.¹⁵⁵ Martial men were also prepared to become traitors if denied what James Keller calls ‘prosperity through loyal service’.¹⁵⁶ A slightly earlier poem by Churchyard, entitled ‘A Pirates Tragedie’ (1579), was published as a companion piece to *A General Rehearsal of Warres*. The poem illustrates the negative effects that may ensue when rewards fail to be granted in court. A ‘ghostly spright’ appears to the narrator in a dream. Lacking the ancestral means to achieve fame in court, the ghost explains how

¹⁵² Thomas Churchyard, ‘The Vnhappy Mans Deere Adewe’: *A Feast Full of Sad Cheere* (London: W. Holme, 1592), sig. C1r.

¹⁵³ Heale, ‘The fruits of war’, p. 4.

¹⁵⁴ See Rapple, pp. 51-85 (‘Martial Men and their discontents’).

¹⁵⁵ Rapple, p. 50.

¹⁵⁶ Keller, p. 80-1.

he chose to follow the life of a ‘Rouer’.¹⁵⁷ His success is substantial, but inevitably short-lived, and ‘gallows lucke, and ropripe happe’ are the only true rewards for his ‘paine’ (sig. CC3v).

Churchyard’s Pirate provides a striking alternative to the personae depicted in the works of other soldier poets in ways that shed further light on the martial persona of *The Vnmasking*. In Gascoigne’s *Fruites of Warre*, for instance, the second speaker in the poem is identified quite clearly as ‘Gascoigne’ himself.¹⁵⁸ To highlight this relation between the poem’s speaker and its author, Rich’s *A Right Execlent and Pleasaunt Dialogue* also contains a number of puns of the author’s name.¹⁵⁹ While the etymological similarity between ‘Andrea’ and ‘Andrewē’ in *The Vnmasking* is evidently intended for similar effect, in bringing the reader’s attention to the social and economic factors that threaten to destabilise the military profession, the figure of Andrea is far closer to Churchyard’s Pirate than any of these other dreamers and martial personae.¹⁶⁰ Like the figure of Andrea in *The Vnmasking*, Churchyard’s Pirate is also defined by his physical appearance and array:

With horie beard, and scorched face,
With poudred hedde, and heare unshorne:
With hackes and hewes, in euery place,
He seemed like, a man forlorne. (sig. BB4v).¹⁶¹

Comparing these lines with the initial depiction of Andrea in *The Vnmasking* opens the possibility of yet another source which, in turn, opens questions as to the purpose and meaning behind the speaker’s elaborate exterior.

¹⁵⁷ Thomas Churchyard, ‘A Pirates Tragedie’, *A Generall Rehearsall of Warres* (London: J. Kingston, 1579), sig. BB4v.

¹⁵⁸ *The Fruites of Warre*, st. 134.

¹⁵⁹ ‘Rich hath enricht his woork as naught is skant’ (*A Right Execlent and Pleasaunt Dialogue*, sig. A3v).

¹⁶⁰ As Liz Oakley-Brown has shown, the poem depicts ‘the precarious domestic conditions of men unfastened from the jurisdiction of military life’ (‘Taxonomies of Travel and Martial Identity in Thomas Churchyard’s *A generall rehearsall of warres* and “A Pirates Tragedie” (1579)’, *Studies in Travel Writing* 12.1 (2008), 67-83 (p. 75)).

¹⁶¹ Oakley-Brown also points out that the Pirate’s ‘unshorne’ appearance may suggest ‘an emasculating layer of hair that undermines the body’s inscription as wholly masculine’, otherwise indicated by his ‘horie beard’ (p. 79).

Recording several other aspects of Andrea's appearance, the dreamer goes on to note that,

His guiltlesse heare was like his garments rent
Such the sharp anguish of his discontent.
Attir'd he was in tawny, as forlorne,
Despisde, disgrac'd, reiected, held in scorne. (B3v-B4r).

As highlighted above, Andrea is not attired in 'sorrowes colours' (as indicated by 'The Argument of this Booke'), but in 'tawny, as forlorne' (sig. B4r), and how hair can be 'guiltless' remains to be perceived. In particular, it is Andrewe's use of the term 'tawny' which carries suggestions of hypocrisy, as illustrated by the following lines from *1 Henry IV*: 'thou wolf in sheep's array. / Out, tawny coats – out, scarlet hypocrite' (1.3.55-6). Twelve years prior to *The Vnmasking's* publication, the Privy Council's Proclamation 'Ordering Examination of Vagrant Soldiers' (1591/2) noted how, alongside many genuine veteran soldiers, there were,

divers persons pretending to have served in the late wars [...that] have neither been maimed nor hurt nor yet served at all in the war, but take the cloak and colour to be the more pitied, and do live about the city by begging and in disorderly manner.¹⁶²

While this quotation may raise even more questions about Andrea's choice of attire, his rent and ragged clothes relate quite specifically to a later account of the Battle of Newport. Thomas Fuller's *History of the Worthies of England* (published in 1662) describes the overthrow of the Spanish on the beach at Newport in 1600 by a 'Ragged Regiment' of men, adding that, 'so were the English then called from their ragged Cloths'.¹⁶³ While Fuller's account may owe more to mid-century nostalgia than factual evidence, comparisons with Falstaff's army of beggars and 'slaves as ragged as Lazarus in the painted cloth' in *1 Henry IV* (4.2.223), also reveal a potential association between soldiery,

¹⁶² 'Ordering Examination of Vagrant Soldiers: 28 February 1591/92' in *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ed. by Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, 3 vols (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1964-9), III, pp. 105-6.

¹⁶³ Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England (The History of the Worthies of England)* (London: J. Grismond, W. Leybourne and W. Godbid, 1662), p. 331.

poverty and corruption amongst the military ranks.¹⁶⁴ As a result, the ‘disgrac’d’ and ‘despise’ exilic persona in Andrewe’s poem evokes mixed feelings of sympathy and distrust. To recall Heale’s words, *The Vnmasking* fashions a ‘tour-de-force of dramatic inconsistency’, in revealing much larger uncertainties over the present state of the military profession.

These uncertainties are even more pronounced when we turn to a poem by Samuel Rowlands, entitled *The Melancholie Knight* (1615). Like *The Vnmasking*, *The Melancholie Knight* is a dream vision. When ‘obscure darknesse clad in blacke attire, / Had summon’d euery sleeping eye to rest’ and ‘The cloudie curtaines of the heauens were spread’, the dreamer falls asleep.¹⁶⁵ In his dream, he stumbles across a mysterious figure smoking a pipe, his face ‘masked with his hat pull’d downe / And in french doublet without gowne or cloake’ (sig. A3r). The titular speaker goes on to relate his inability to match the standard set by the knights of ages past, whose tales he has ‘red ouer’ in books (sig. B1v). The ‘Knight’ then turns more specifically to the military events of a far less distant past, to ‘talke of *Newport* battaile’ and ‘Seige of *Ostend*’, and to the plight of soldiers who return home from the wars ‘with scarre-becarued skinne’, but deprived of fame and reward:

To golden credite twill him not aduance
Who’le take his word for lodging, or for diet?
He might haue stay’d at home and kept him quiet:
Perhaps will some say, and haue sau’d an arme,
Or Musket shot had done his legs no harme;
And this hath made me neuer venter farre (sigs. C4r-v).

Unlike the injured veterans cited by Rowlands’ ‘Melancholy Knight’, the speaker in Andrewe’s poem is ‘Free from the losse of limbs that others felt’ (*The Vnmasking*, sig. E2r). It has been noted elsewhere that whilst the physical wounds displayed by soldiers could signify their bravery, legs

¹⁶⁴ See Aaron Spooner, ‘Shakespeare’s Itinerant Soldiers and Foreign Wars: The Elizabethan Crisis of Debt in the Economy of Hal’s England’, *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 12.1 (2012), 49-84. C.f. Spenser’s *Prosopopoia: or Mother Hubberds Tale* (ll. 197-200).

¹⁶⁵ Samuel Rowlands, *The Melancholie Knight* (London: R. Blower, 1615), sig. A2v. As Sarah Dickson notes, the single copy of *The Melancholie Knight* (now held by the British Library) was bequeathed to the Bodleian Library in 1640 by Robert Burton (*The Melancholy Cavalier: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Plagiarism*, *Studies in Bibliography* 5 (1952), 161-3 (p. 161)).

become a symbol of cowardice: they are what enable men to run away.¹⁶⁶ Rowlands' knight also prefers not to fight 'vntill [he] cannot chuse' (sig. C4r), and the rewards of service are not worth the mortal risk. *The Melancholie Knight* thus raises a mixture of feelings, bitter, nostalgic and unsure, around the battles that defined the Elizabethan age.

As explained above, there are several connections and correspondences between Rowlands and Andrewe, most notably through Rowlands' sonnet introducing *The Vnmasking*, which he addresses 'To his respected and kind affected Friend, Mr. Thomas Andrewe, Gent'. *The Melancholie Knight* was also sold by the same bookseller, George Loftus, whose recorded stock was mainly limited to the work of Rowlands. There is some evidence to suggest that *The Melancholie Knight* also offers a belated response to and potential parody of Andrewe's poem, as evidenced by a slightly later work by Rowlands: a pamphlet dialogue entitled *Good Newes and Bad Newes* (1622). 'Bad Newes' describes the plight of Sir Nimble-touch, a man who relies on 'ready money' and enclosure to survive. The character calls out to a figure not present elsewhere in the text as follows:

...*Andrew*, I am in the suddes;
I had good tenements, I had faire land,
But of that sute, others haue cleer'd my hand.
And I am left *A melancholy Knight*.¹⁶⁷

The 'Melancholie Knight' of Rowlands' earlier poem offers a powerful indictment of the title in the reign of James I. The honour of knighthood was considered by many to have been degraded by James after he 'promiscuously laid on any head belonging to the yeamandry (made addle through pride and a contempt of their ancestors pedigree)', in awarding an unprecedented number of titles on his coronation.¹⁶⁸ In terms of genre, Rowlands' poem also illustrates the potential for dream vision poetry to translate to a range of situations beyond its immediate occasion. *The*

¹⁶⁶ Patricia A. Cahill, *Unto The Breach: Martial Formations, Historical Trauma, and the Early Modern Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 192.

¹⁶⁷ Samuel Rowlands, *Good Newes and Bad Newes* (London: G. Purslowe, 1622), sig. B3v.

¹⁶⁸ Roger Wilbraham, *The Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham, Solicitor-General in Ireland and Master of Requests for the Years 1593–1616* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1902), p. 56. See Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 74–82.

Melancholie Knight was reprinted in 1654 with a new title-page and dedication, as *The Melancholy Cavalier, Or Fancy's Master-piece*, with Rowlands' references to 'Newport bataille' and 'Seige of Ostend' substituted for the more topically-appropriate 'Edge-hill' and 'Colchester'.¹⁶⁹ In light of its appropriation by Civil War anti-royalists, *The Melancholie Knight* reveals a profoundly oppositional stance to Stuart rule.

As noted above, the Battle of Newport was an important source of nostalgia, particularly during the Civil War years, but also during the initial part of the seventeenth century, when memories 'came to cluster more and more thickly around the memory of the Virgin Queen'.¹⁷⁰ In a relatively unknown play of 1618, entitled *Hans Beer-Pot: His Inuisible Comedie*, translated from Dutch into English by the Warwickshire playwright, Dabridgecourt Belchier, the titular hero is servant to Cornelius Harmants, a veteran soldier-turned-gentleman who claims to have performed his 'last great seruice' under Elizabeth at the Battle of Newport.¹⁷¹ Injury led to Harmants' eventual discharge and a country retirement was his reward. But like the poetry of Sidney and Spenser, which 'Is now growne olde... and made, boue fourscore yeares agoe', such fortunes are now the relics of a distant 'Fayery Land' past (sig. D1r).¹⁷² The play, although never actually performed, was dedicated to Sir John Ogle (c. 1569-1640), himself Lieutenant Colonel in the Battle of Newport and who, in 1610, became governor of Utrecht.¹⁷³ It is interesting to note that Ogle also authored an account of the battle, published in Vere's *Commentaries* (published in 1657), as well as an elegy

¹⁶⁹ J. C.?, *The Melancholy Cavalier. Or, Fancy's Master-piece* (London: C. R., 1654), sig. B3r. See Dickson, pp. 161-3.

¹⁷⁰ Anne Barton, 'Harking Back to Elizabeth: Ben Jonson and Caroline Nostalgia', *English Literary History* 48.4 (1981), 706-31 (p. 710). In her discussion of George Chapman's 1604 play, *Busby d'Ambois*, Barton locates the nostalgic 'phenomenon' to the start of James' reign.

¹⁷¹ Dabridgecourt Belchier, *Hans Beer-Pot: His Inuisible Comedie* (London: B. Alsop, 1618), sig. H1r.

¹⁷² According to Scott K. Oldenburg, *Hans Beer-Pot* emerged when James' promise of peace had started to dissolve, and 'pits a highly idealized masculine martial past against a feminine, cautiousness about the present' in the figure of Harmants' wife, Hanneke (*Alien Albion: Literature and Immigration in Early Modern England* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2014), p. 175).

¹⁷³ The play is described as having been 'Acted in the Low Countries, by an honest company of health-drinkers'. This seems to refer to the events portrayed within the play, as opposed to an actual staged performance. Although published in 1618, Belchier's dedication to Sir John Ogle is dated 14 November 1617. I am grateful to Martin Wiggins for his assistance in this matter.

to Sidney, entitled *The Lamentation of Troy for the Death of Hector* (1594), a visionary complaint modelled on Spenser's *Ruines of Time* (1591).¹⁷⁴ Richard Niccols, another military man who had served in the capture of Cadiz in 1596, depicts the Battle of Newport as one of England's final military accomplishments before Elizabeth's death in 1603 in his conclusion to the *Mirror for Magistrates*, entitled *A Winter Nights Vision [and] Englands Eliza* (1610).¹⁷⁵ The question remains as to whether *The Vnmasking's* account of the Battle of Newport can also be considered a form of nostalgia, given its early date.

Whilst authors of the Elizabethan age had developed a taste for a range of 'archaic' literary forms, these forms preserved some currency in the early part of James' reign. Unlike *The Vnmasking*, however, most other examples of the genre from this time fulfilled a panegyric function. Such works include: *Englands Welcome to Iames by the Grace of God* (1603), an anonymous dream vision poem in rhyme royal; *A Poets Vision, and a Princes Glorie* (1603) by the Town Clerk of Stratford-upon-Avon, Thomas Greene, as well as *Englands Caesar* by Henry Petowe (1603). The first of these poems, *Englands Welcome to Iames*, begins with an epitaph to Elizabeth's memory. *Englands Caesar* also envisions Elizabeth's ascent to heaven, where she is 'Crownd with the wreath of euerlasting blisse', even as it praises King James as the nation's new protector.¹⁷⁶ Although *A Poets Vision* employs a similar framework to these works, Greene's brazen requests for patronage

¹⁷⁴ *The Lamentation of Troy* takes the initial form of a dream in which the Ghost of Troy implores Ogle's narrator to record her plight. The poem borrows heavily from Spenser's *Ruines of Time* (1591) but, where in Spenser's *Ruines*, Verlame accuses Spenser of ignoring her woes, in *The Lamentation*, it is Spenser's very ignorance which enables Ogle to take up the role of Troy's spokesman and scribe: 'Yet had she rather Spencer would haue told them, / For him she calde that he would helpe t'vnfold them. / But when she saw he came not at hir call / She kept hir first man that doth shew them all' (*The Lamentation of Troy, for the Death of Hector* (London: P. Short, 1594), sig. A3v). There are also a number of allusions within *The Lamentation* to Philip Sidney, including references to Hector as 'the flower of all the land', 'whose body was as then vnarmed' (sig. B1r). A more overt obvious allusion to Sidney appears towards the poem's close, when Albion's 'Stella' joins the party of mourners for Hector: 'And such her sighes which Eechoed in the aire, / When she heard say hir *Astrophil* was dead' (sig. D2v).

¹⁷⁵ Richard Niccols' account of the capture of Cadiz is also announced as being 'Recorded by the Author then present': *A Mirour for Magistrates... [A] Winter Nights Vision [and] Englands Eliza* (London: F. Kyngston, 1610), sig. Kkk7r; Andrew Hadfield, 'Richard Niccols (1583/4-1616)', ODNB.

¹⁷⁶ Henry Petowe, *Englands Caesar: His Maiesties most Royall Coronation* (London: J. Windet, 1603), sig. B4v.

and criticisms of the former, ‘corrupted times’ exercised great indecorum.¹⁷⁷ In commending the new monarch, authors would be wise to remember his predecessor in less disparaging terms. This is something that Michael Drayton also failed to do in his panegyric, *To the Maiestie of King Iames* (1603).¹⁷⁸ Although Drayton’s panegyric is not a dream vision poem, Drayton turned to the relative ‘safety’ of the form for his next publication, *The Owle* (1604), a thinly-veiled illustration of Drayton’s hostility toward the court of James I based, in part, on Spenser’s *Prosopopoia: or Mother Hubberds Tale* (1591).¹⁷⁹ Where the dream vision under Elizabeth was used to express either ‘desire for the Queen’ or ‘various political tensions which her rule provoked’,¹⁸⁰ the genre maintained what Curtis Perry describes as a ‘residual prestige’ under James, particularly amongst oppositional writers in their desire to underscore ‘difference between Jacobean and Elizabethan court ideologies’.¹⁸¹

As I have demonstrated throughout this thesis, the ‘winter night vision’ trope was not simply an exercise in imitation but, depending on a range of historical and political circumstances, could assume new and different cultural meanings. After Elizabeth’s death in 1603, the trope would have acquired a wholly different tone when compared with its employment in the early and middle years of her reign. In Niccols’ Induction to *A Winter Nights Vision* (1610), the trees which were formerly ‘crown’d with youthfull greene’ are ‘Now clad in coate of motlie hue’ and ‘maske[d] in poore array’ (sig. Ooo6r) and the nightingale, unable to sing, sits silently on the frozen boughs. With ‘fancie feeding on these thoughts’, the narrator withdraws indoors and takes to bed his copy of *A Mirror for Magistrates*. In reading the tales of the fallen men and women of the past, Niccols’

¹⁷⁷ Thomas Greene, *A Poets Vision, and a Princes Glorie* (London: R. Braddock, 1603), sig. B4r. See Perry, pp. 26-9.

¹⁷⁸ See especially Norbrook, pp. 173-4.

¹⁷⁹ Norbrook, p. 175; 196. The poem was republished in 1619 with new allusions to the contemporary scandal surrounding the death of Sir Thomas Overbury. For more on the dream vision frame as a measure of ‘safety’ in the discussion of political themes, see Budra, p. 34.

¹⁸⁰ Hackett, ‘Dream-visions of Elizabeth I’, pp. 46, 55.

¹⁸¹ Perry, p. 9-10.

narrator contemplates the present day in ways that shed interesting light on Andrewe's purpose in

The Vnmasking:

Is vertue dead? hath daintie ease in her soft armes surpris'd
The manhood of the elder world? hath rust of time deuour'd
Th' *Heröes* stocke, that on your heads such golden blessings showr'd?...
No marvell then, me thought, it was, that in this booke I read,
So many a Prince I found exempt, as if their names been dead, (sig. Ooo7r).

Niccols' edition of the *Mirror for Magistrates* hence includes complaints of King Arthur, Edmund Ironside, Robert 'Curthose', Duke of Normandy and Richard III, though also, quite tellingly, omits a number of poems included in earlier editions of the *Mirror*, including the complaints of 'James I of Scotland', 'James IV of Scotland' and the 'Battle of Flodden Field'. Although in some minds a literary failure, Niccols' *Mirror* pits an effete and effeminised image of present-day peace (which takes the form of *A Winter Nights Vision*) against an image of Elizabethan valour and martial prowess in the form of his triumphant conclusion, *England's Eliza*.¹⁸² The dream vision's panegyric potential is thereby infused with a nostalgia that is at clear odds with the policies of the Jacobean regime.

Reading *The Vnmasking* in light of these slightly later works shows that Andrewe's poem may convey a far less personal – and perhaps more universal anxiety – than originally implied. The nature of these concerns becomes even more apparent when we turn to another of the poem's many potential sources, a contemporary broadside ballad entitled *A Pleasant Song made by a Souldier... or, The Fall of Folly*, the editions of which date between the early 1580s to the mid-seventeenth century.¹⁸³ The ballad draws on the language and imagery typical of the dream vision

¹⁸² For more on *A Winter Nights Vision* in relation to James and the *Mirror for Magistrates*, see O'Callaghan, *The 'Shepherd's Nation'*, p. 71. See also Budra, pp. 56, 72.

¹⁸³ The EEBO editions of the ballad are dated 1614, 1658 and 1664. The ESTC also records the ballad's first entry into the Stationers' Register on 24th April 1588. Another version of the ballad was published under the title of *A Sweete new songe latelie made by a Souldier, and named it the falle of follye*. Bruce Olson dates the ballad to 1583 based on a response, now lost, entitled *Deathes merry answer to the songe of the Soldier*. See Bruce Olson, 'Broadside Ballad Tunes' <<http://www.csufresno.edu/folklore/Olson/BMADD.HTM>> [accessed 25 March 2016]. See also Hyder Edward Rollins, *A Pepysian Garland: Black-letter Broadside Ballads of the Years 1595-1639* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 173.

poem and the lover's complaint, beginning: 'In Summer time when *Phoebus* rayes, / Did cheere each mortall mans delight'.¹⁸⁴ The narrator does not fall asleep, but walks abroad to 'view Dame Natures newcome brood' and to hear the tuneful song of birds. One bird stands out above all others for her melody and for her willingness to sacrifice herself for her honour:

The gallant Nightingale [who] did set,
Her speckled brest against a Bryer,
Whose wofull tunes bewayles as yet,
her brother *Tereus* foule desire'.¹⁸⁵

The Vnmasking's opening frame parallels these lines from *A Pleasant Song*. Listening to the nightingale's song, the narrator then spots a 'wofull man in misery':

He lay along vpon the ground,
And to the heauens he cast his eye:
The bordering hils and dales resound,
the Ecchoes of his pittious cry.
He wailing sore, and sighing, said,
O heauen, what endlesse grieffe haue I?...

When Nature first had made my frame,
And let me loose when she had done:
Steps Fortune in that fickle Dame,
to end what Nature had begun.¹⁸⁶

Further parallels with *The Vnmasking* become clear when the figure in the ballad explains how he 'fell in company, / With gallant youths of *Mars* his traine'. Similar to the soldier of *The Vnmasking*, he too suffers from cold, hunger and injury, though these experiences pale in comparison with the rejection faced when returning home to 'friends' and 'kinsfolkes' who 'look'd aloofe, / as though they had forgotten me'. A similar case of mistaken identity forms the final two acts of Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (1599), a play steeped in the history of the Anglo-Dutch and Spanish wars, and *A Pleasant Song* then concludes with a message to 'trust not to friends when thou

¹⁸⁴ *A Pleasant Song made by a Souldier... or, The Fall of Folly* (London: J. Wright, 1614), STC 22920.7.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

art old’.

Military ballads were an important vehicle for communicating a range of different and sometimes conflicting impressions of the martial profession.¹⁸⁷ Whilst some could assist in boosting morale and recruits, others, like *A Pleasant Song*, deal with a far less glamorous side of war. As Angela McShane explains,

By far the most common vehicle for the military recruitment ballad was the love song...[or] conversation between a courting or betrothed couple... reflecting the difficulties soldiers faced in establishing a social role as patriarchs and partners... Songs of seduction and laments by young women, abandoned by unfaithful and disreputable soldiers filled numerous ballad sheets – warning young women, and perhaps inspiring young men with the excitement of illicit adventure... Complaints against young women who failed to wait for their soldier lovers to return, causing untold distress, were also numerous.¹⁸⁸

The Vnmasking has a very close affinity with the military ballads of the period in terms of its moral emphasis and structure, blending the latter two types identified by McShane in presenting the lament of a young man betrayed and abandoned by his friends. Andrea claims that after his success at the Battle of Newport, he ventured ‘To visit *England*, crown’d with golden peace’ (sig. E1v). Giving ‘speed’ to his desire, he received a letter from a friend, ‘Whose faithfull loue I thought had neuer Peere. / One, for whose sake I other friends neglected’ requesting his return home (sig. E1v). Although the letter promises Andrea that its author has found the means to ‘eleuate on hie / [His] tender fortunes’ and to increase his ‘estate’, he returns home only to a ‘greater woe’, with his reputation ‘bespotted’ by the feminine Machiavel (sig. E2r).

When read against *A Pleasant Song*, Andrea’s account of these final events give meaning to what, at the poem’s start, seems an unusual request:

¹⁸⁷ For more on the uses of military ballads, see Dong-ha Seo, ‘What can Elizabethan Pamphlets and Ballads tell us about Elizabethan Military Culture?’, *The Birmingham Journal of Literature and Language* 1.2 (2008), pp. 43-53; Angela McShane, ‘Recruiting Citizens for Soldiers in Seventeenth-Century English Ballads’, *Journal of Early Modern History* 15.1 (2011), pp. 105-37.

¹⁸⁸ McShane, pp. 132-4.

Touch my sad soule with true Promethean fire...
 That whosoeuer doth my lines peruse,
 May learne to shun false friends, finding by reason,
The dearer trust, proues oft the deadlier treason:
 Guide my weake hand, to bring to end my taske,
 From falshoods face pull thou the whited maske. (sig. B2r, original emphasis).

The italicised line is glossed with a reference to the Elegies of Tibullus: *Foelix quicum[que] dolore alterius discas posse carer[e] tu[o]* ('Happy is he who learns from other's griefs'). In relating the personal difficulties faced by the returning soldier, *The Vnmasking* also reveals a clear preoccupation with more public notions of masculine identity and patriarchal order.

But unlike *A Pleasant Song*, *The Vnmasking* postulates an imaginary resolution to Andrea's plight by virtue of its form. Such a resolution is not only unfeasible in the waking world but also, in a poem heavily indebted to the dramatic tradition, takes the appropriate form of revenge. In the third and final part of *The Vnmasking*, Morpheus – the god of sleep – appears before the dreamer and Andrea to take them on a journey to hell, where they are then shown 'all the gastly visions of the night': the 'Icy flakes' that 'cut like razors' and 'Serpents with enuenom'd stings' (sigs. E4r-v). Such punishments are not in store for the Machiavel, however, as Morpheus promises something far more dramatic for Andrea's female adversary:

She, the true patterne of detested pride,
 There shall not borrow an old Coach to ride:
 But in a fiery flaming Chariot,
 By Dragons drawne insufferably hot
 Shall progresse thorough Hell: for her false haire,
 Snakes in their folds shall winde about her eares:
 In stead of hired cheynes of burnisht gold,
 Shall Iron linkes her wretched corps enfold,
 And torments more then this: for none can tell
 The tenth of tortures that are vsde in hell. (sig. F1v).

Morpheus continues by explaining to Andrea that his efforts in war were not in vain and that his ambitions will soon come to fruition:

Thy hopes shall mount with an auspicious flight,
 Thy fortunes that late crost, thou still holdst vaine,
 Shall haue a time to flourish fresh againe:

I know the meanes by which thou shalt aduaunce
 Thy owne estate, euen in despight of chaunce:
 -----*Vt quondam Teuthrantia regna tene[n]ti,*
Sic mihi res eadem, vulnus opem[que] ferat.
 Doth not my prophecie reioyce thy spright?
 And bonds of sorrowes cancell with delight? (sigs. F1v-F2r).

The Latin phrase ('as once for the ruler of Teuthras, / so for me the same thing might bring both wound and healing') is taken from Book Two of Ovid's exilic verse, the *Tristia* (ll. 19-20).¹⁸⁹ The message is ambiguous, though it seems to imply that where Fortune was once Andrea's enemy, so it can also become his ally and present itself in more productive ways. But Andrea decides that the Machiavel be not punished, but instead atone for her crimes:

These paines I wish her not but doe desire,
 If yet some small sparke of celestiall fire
 Be vnextinguisht in her brest, it may
 Breed quick repentance, and auoyd decay. (sig. F2r).

Although Andrewe's poem is addressed to a diverse, if inherently male, audience, it would seem that there is only one true reader for this poem in the speaker's mind:

Write what I say, though *I* conceale her name,
 It pleaseth me ynough she read her shame
 With blushing cheekes, if any sparke of grace,
 (Which I misdoubt) be liuing in her face. (sig. E3r).

But before we can discover her identity, the light of day breaks through into the dreamer's chamber and the dreamer begins to wake. The narrator is then left with only with the 'memory' of the 'strange Vision that disturb'd' his 'minde' (sig. F2v).

Edward Meyer was not wrong when he said that 'something might be expected' from Andrewe's poem.¹⁹⁰ But the moment that we are ready to know the true identity of the poem's villain gives way instead to a moment of bathos, frustratingly implied before the poem had even

¹⁸⁹ Jennifer Ingleheart, ed. *A Commentary on Ovid, 'Tristia', Book 2* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 33.

¹⁹⁰ Meyer, p. 102.

begun. As Andrewe writes in his address ‘To the Reader’:

if any guilty conscience (that perhaps I know not) will wrest my writings, & interpret my meaning in other then the right sence, I am not to bee blamed, if that creatures corruption accuse it selfe. As it is, accept it, & where I conclude abruptly, censure not wrongly: and so without further Ceremonies, I willingly leaue my labours to the iudgement of the austerest, if indifferent opinion. (sig. A3r).

Although the many insinuations within the poem of a private or sexual scandal may appeal to the reader’s prurient interests,¹⁹¹ Andrewe encourages his audience to interpret the poem only in ‘the right sence’. Like ‘Cupido Conquered’ – Googe’s ‘to hastily fynshed Dreame’ of 1563 – the poem’s lack of resolution obeys the conventions of the genre with the ultimate aim of discouraging certain readings or the suggestion of harmful intent. There is no Machiavellian triumph of *virtù* over *Fortuna*. Nor is revenge the definite solution. And in bypassing the metamorphic transcendence expected by readers of Ovid, only Chaucerian inconclusion appears to remain intact.¹⁹² By using a range of generic models and forms grounded in issues of experience and trust, *The Vnmasking* hence raises a mixture of confidence and doubt over the poem’s speaker, his identity, and the reliability of his tale.

CONCLUSION

...for the captious Censurers, I regard not what they can say, who commonly can do little els but say; and if their deepe iudgements euer serue them to produce any thing, they must stand on the same Stage of Censure with other men, and peradventure performe no such great wonders as they would make vs beleue: and I comfort my selfe in this, that in Court I know not any, vnder him, who acts the greatest partes) that is not obnoxious to enuie, & a sinister interpretation. And whosoever striues to shewe most wit about these Puntillos of Dreames and showes, are sure sicke of a disease they cannot hide, & would faine haue the world to thinke them very deeply learned in all misteries whatsoever.

Samuel Daniel, *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604).¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Wall, p. 176.

¹⁹² The term ‘inconclusion’ derives from A. C. Spearing’s *Medieval Dream-Poetry*, although Chaucer’s poetry is very often discussed in terms of ‘irresolution’. For more on this, see Chapter One.

¹⁹³ Samuel Daniel, *The Vision of the 12. Goddesses presented in a maske the 8. of Ianuary, at Hampton Court* (London: T. Creede, 1604), sig. A9v-10r.

Though aimed specifically at Ben Jonson, the words of Samuel Daniel shed some important light on a long-standing association between ‘Dreames and showes’ and the mysteries of state. Credited as being the first of the Jacobean court masques, Daniel’s *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604) is presented in the form of a dream sent by Sleep (‘Somnus’), the son of Night, who is awoken by his mother to present to those present and,

That here expect some pleasing nouelties;
...Strange visions and vnvsuall properties.
Vnseene of latters Ages, auintient Rytes.
Of gifts diuine, wrapt vp in mysteries. (sig. B2r).

The twelve goddesses then appear and make their way to the Temple of Peace. At the masque’s conclusion, the goddesses’ identities are revealed, with Queen Anne of Denmark in the guise of ‘war-like Pallas’, and her ladies-in-waiting as the remaining eleven. Although seemingly a celebration of the *Rex Pacificus*, the masque’s performance – and subsequent appearance in print – revealed enormous tensions, both in the court and in its author, whose religious and political sympathies seem at certain odds with the masque’s pacifistic agenda.¹⁹⁴ In his prose commentary on the masque, Daniel takes care to defend and deflect the meaning behind his use of allegory, stating ‘we tooke them only to serue as Hieroglyphicqs for our present intention, according to some one property that fitted our occasion’ (sig. A4r), lines addressed to Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, to whom Daniel dedicated the masque’s printed edition and who herself played the part of Vesta.

Andrewe’s strategy in *The Vnmasking* provides an instructive comparison with Daniel’s masque and his address to the Countess of Bedford. Although Andrewe implores his readers to interpret his poem in ‘the right sence’ (sig. A3r), what this entails seems the preserve of only a

¹⁹⁴ As Peter Holbrook points out, the depiction of Queen Anne is ‘conventional enough to flatter the King’s royal consort and at the same time pursue indirectly the programme of military boldness that Daniel evidently wished to support’ (‘Jacobean Masques and the Jacobean Peace’, in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. by David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 67-87 (p. 77)).

privileged few. For all other readers ‘indifferent’, the poem is mere fancy, and Andrewe advises these readers to, ‘As it is, accept it’ (sig. A3r).

Although the autobiographical suggestions running beneath *The Vnmasking* seem, at first, catered only to a ‘small circle of friends’,¹⁹⁵ there may be a more universal truth beneath the speaker’s elaborate exterior. In being ‘not contented in this peacefull clime’ (sig. D1v), the words of Andrea speak more readily to the feeling of dissatisfaction with and opposition to the new *Rex Pacificus*. In the same year that he declared peace with Spain, James also introduced new recusancy fines and forced a number of Jesuits to leave the country under penalty of death. Although this gestured toward some continuity between James and his predecessor, this was something that many of James’ opponents also saw as a thin veneer for his own sympathies with the Catholic faith.¹⁹⁶ Further discontent was provoked by an arrangement of marriage between Prince Henry and the Spanish Infanta. As Morna R. Fleming observes, ‘in his determination to avoid foreign wars through diplomatic and matrimonial strategies’, James was ‘skilled at playing the wily fox advocated by the Italian’.¹⁹⁷ Where Machiavelli’s *Prince* had ventured to expose the secrets of state, *The Vnmasking* apports these secrets to an unmistakably feminised – and effeminising – power.

The Vnmasking is a poem that itself has many faces. Andrewe’s sources and generic influences range widely, from Chaucer, Homer and Ovid, to the broadside ballad and the soldier’s complaint, and on into the realms of theatre. That Andrewe’s audience was as equally wide-ranging, and that many were held in suspicion for their religious beliefs, are factors that must be taken into account. While much of Andrewe’s biography still remains unknown, *The Massacre of Money* (1602) and other newly-discovered works enrich his poetic profile in ways that also illustrate his ongoing

¹⁹⁵ ODNB (archive).

¹⁹⁶ John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England 1558-1689* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), p. 117.

¹⁹⁷ Fleming, p. 347.

interest in the dream vision, as well as a close affinity with a group of writers resolutely opposed to James' reign.

In terms of genre, *The Unmasking* should be considered both at the end of a 'vogue' for complaint, but also at the start of a long period of mourning and nostalgia for the Elizabethan age. For several poets of the later Jacobean period, such nostalgia took the form of obviously 'archaic' – and characteristically 'Spenserian' – forms. In the case of Christopher Brooke, another oppositional writer and friend of John Hoskyns and John Donne, the preferred mode was the *de casibus* complaint. In Brooke's *The Ghost of Richard the Third* (1614), the last Plantaganet king rises from hell to describe his birth, his rise to power and his fall, and to vindicate his Machiavellian ways. He goes on to describe his predecessor, Edward IV, in the following terms:

Yet now (secure) Edward enioy'd the Crowne,
Warres sterne Alarums heere began to cease;
Bankes, turn'd to Pillowes; Fields to Beds of Downe,
And Boystrous Armes, to silken Robes of Peace;
Warres Counsellor resum'd the States-mans gowne,
And welcom'd Blisse grew big with all encrease...
Now Mars his Brood, were chain'd to Womens Lockes;
Surgeons, and Leaches, vs'd for Venus Harmes:
They that erst liu'd by Wounds now thriue by'th Pox,
For smoothest Pleasure, still ensues rough Armes;¹⁹⁸

The dream vision seems not only generically important to Andrew's poem, but exists as part of a nascent vocabulary describing the torpidity, decay and inertia brought about by peace. Where in Daniel's *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, the masque's audience are given access to the mysteries of state through the elaborately elusive mechanism of the dream, in *The Ghost of Richard the Third*, Brooke's interest in the metaphorical associations of dream and sleep is far less ambivalent in its suggestions of what Michelle O'Callaghan describes as the 'luxurious effeminacy of the court'.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ On Brooke's *Ghost of Richard the Third*, see O'Callaghan, *The 'Shepherd's Nation'*, pp. 63-146. This chapter is a slightly later version of her 1998 article, "Talking Politic": Tyranny, Parliament and Christopher Brooke's *The Ghost of Richard the Third* (1614)?

¹⁹⁹ O'Callaghan, *The 'Shepherd's Nation'*, p. 70.

By looking back at the very recent past, *The Unmasking* aims at discouraging certain readings that would draw a direct connection between the ‘feminine Machiavel’ and the present-day cause of the soldier’s woe. Both inviting and denying the reader an answer as to the Machiavel’s true identity is thus a fundamental part of the poem’s appeal. Frustrating, contradictory and knowingly impenetrable, *The Unmasking* has the ability to generate several meanings. Only those readers with the secret knowledge and ‘the right sence’, however, should ever grasp those meanings in full.

CONCLUSION

Gentle Reader, if thou desire to be resolued, why I giue this Title... know for certaine, that it was deliuered vnto me in sleepe many yeares before I had any intent to write in this maner, and was quite out of my memory, vntill I had written the Passion of Christ, when immediately it came into my remembrance, what I had dreamed long before; and thinking it a significant token, that I was appointed to performe this Worke, I gaue the very same words I receiued in sleepe as the fittest Title I could devise for this Booke.¹

So concludes Aemilia Lanyer's meditation on the Passion, *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611). The passage represents one final example of the 'terminal paratext', as identified by William B. Sherman,² although the dream and the dream vision perform a number of additional functions throughout Lanyer's verse.³ However, it is Lanyer's use of the dream vision poem in her prefatory address to Mary Sidney, 'The Authors Dreame to the Ladie *Marie*, the Countesse *Dowager of Penbrooke*', that has attracted the most attention from scholars. The poem begins *in medias res* with the dreamer herself amidst the 'Edalyan Groues' in search of a lady selected by Minerva, the goddess of wisdom and the arts. It takes some time before this lady is identified as being 'Sister to valiant *Sidney* whose cleere light / Giues light to all that tread true paths of Fame' (sig. D1v). The dreamer eventually wakes and, though 'depriu'd' of her former visionary pleasures, is hopeful that she can follow in the footsteps of her would-be patron in presenting her the 'fruits' of her own 'idle houres' (sig. D3r).

As a dream vision, the poem is one of several indications within *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* as to the illusion of intimacy that can be created through poetic language and visionary form. As the sixth of eleven dedicatory items, 'The Authors Dreame' occupies a structurally and generically

¹ Aemilia Lanyer, *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (London: V. Simmes, 1611), sig. I1v.

² William H. Sherman, 'The beginning of "The End": terminal paratext and the birth of print culture', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 65-90.

³ For a discussion of Lanyer's use of the prophetic dream trope, see in particular Elizabeth Hodgson, 'Prophecy and Gendered Mourning in Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 4.1 (2003), 101-16.

prominent space within the volume's prefatory materials, which many consider to have been one of several 'strategic errors' on Lanyer's part.⁴ The poem's disproportionate length and genre (a dream vision poem of fifty-six iambic pentameter quatrains), and central position within the paratextual apparatus, draw the reader's attention to the Countess of Pembroke's unique status within Lanyer's 'community of virtuous women'.⁵ The ultimate price of this was that Lanyer failed to gain patronage from any of her would-be patrons; the very thing that she, in dedicating her verse to a group of such eminent and wealthy donors, hoped to achieve.

It is difficult to ignore the role played by dream and vision in Lanyer's poetic world. But within existing scholarship on Lanyer's use of genre, there is a strong tendency to think of the dream poem as a 'peculiarly gendered' form of expression.⁶ That less than three percent of the dream vision poems published between the years 1558 and 1625 were written by women is not only a testament to the many limitations placed upon women's writing and publication at this time, but is in many ways highlighted by the genre's commitment to a male-dominated literary tradition. Googe's second dream poem, 'Cupido Conquered' (*Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes*, 1563), is just one of several works of the period to articulate this idea through a poetic roll-call, a conventional feature of the dream vision poem:

⁴ Leeds Barroll, 'Looking for Patrons', in *Aemilia Lanyer: Gender, Genre, and the Canon*, ed. by Marshall Grossman (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky; repr. 2009), p. 40. See especially Lisa Schnell, 'Breaking "the rule of Cortezia": Aemilia Lanyer's Dedications to *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27.1 (1997), 77-101; Su Fang Ng, 'Aemilia Lanyer and the Politics of Praise', *English Literary History* 67.2 (2000), 433-51 and the essays contained in Marshall Grossman, ed., *Aemilia Lanyer: Gender, Genre, and the Canon* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky; ; repr. 2009).

⁵ The second longest poem in the volume is addressed 'To the Queenes most Excellent Majestie' and consists of twenty-seven sestet stanzas (totalling some 162 lines). The rest of the poems range between fourteen and 144 lines, compared with the 224 lines devoted to the Countess of Pembroke. The address to Margaret Clifford, the Countess of Cumberland is another distinctive inclusion, as it is the only dedicatory item to be written in prose. For Lewalski, the concluding 'Description of Cooke-ham' is another key part of Lanyer's communal vision, though its distinctiveness within the volume adds another level of complication to this notion. For more on Lanyer's use of form in 'The Authors Dreame' see Debra Rienstra, 'Dreaming Authorship: Aemilia Lanyer and the Countess of Pembroke', in *Discovering and (Re) Covering the Seventeenth Century Religious Lyric*, ed. by Eugene R. Cunnar and Jeffrey Johnson (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University, 2001), pp. 80-103 (pp. 85-6).

⁶ Hodgson, p. 101.

Marke him that thundred out y^c deeds grace,
 Of olde *Anchises* sun,
 Whose English verse gyues *Maroes*
 In all that he hath done...
 Mark him y^c hath wel framde a Glasse
 for states to looke vpon,
 Whose labour shews the ends of them,
 that lyued long a gone.
 Marke hym that showes y^c Tragedies
 thyne owne famylyar Frende,
 By whom y^c Spaniards hawty Style
 in Englysh Verse is pende.
 Marke these same three, & other moe,
 whose doyngs well are knowne,
 Whose fayre attempts in euery place
 The flying fame hath blowne (sigs. I2r-v).

In citing Thomas Phaer (the translator of Virgil's *Aeneid*), William Baldwin (author of the *Mirror for Magistrates*) and the translator of Seneca, John Studley, Googe fashions a contemporary substitute for the classical triumvirate of Homer, Virgil and Ovid, and the medieval English equivalent of Chaucer, Lydgate and Skelton. But where Googe alludes to authors of his own day, so Robinson alludes in his *Rewarde* to a previous generation of authors, including Googe, Heywood, Fulwood, and 'diuers other English men'.⁷ Both Googe and Robinson envisage their poetic inheritance as a form of masculine competition whereby they must contend not only with the poets of the past, but also those of the present age in order to find fame. Such self-consciousness is less easy to detect in the case of *The Vnmasking of a Feminine Machiauell* (1604). Although the influence of Chaucer and his self-styled heir, Edmund Spenser, loom large within Andrewe's poem, Andrewe is more complex than Robinson and Googe in his claims to literary fame. At the centre of *The Vnmasking*, there stands a twenty-six-line pillar bearing the names of several classical heroes, including Achilles, Hector and Theseus, and against which Andrewe measures his own poetic achievement. In the case of all three poets here discussed, these gestures come at either the indirect expense or explicit opprobrium of women. To that end, there lies a

⁷ Richard Robinson, *The Rewarde of Wickednesse* (London: W. Williamson, 1574), sig. Q2r.

deep and unsettling misogyny within these works; one of several things that may account for their previous neglect.

Yet the dream vision's long reputation as a canonising genre, in which previous, revered authors are named and saluted, also illustrates its specific appeal for Lanyer in writing a poem addressed to another female poet. Lanyer's use of the dream vision for her poem to Mary Sidney thus allows Lanyer to position herself as Sidney's heir, just as Googe positioned himself as heir to Phaer, Baldwin and Studley, and Robinson to Fulwood, Heywood and Googe. As a result, 'The Authors Dreame' succeeds in providing 'one of the earliest witnesses to a self-conscious women's literary tradition in English',⁸ and above all other things, displays the influence of the living, female poet to whom it is addressed and reveres.

By beginning with a typical visionary locution, 'Me thought', Lanyer's 'Dreame' also provides an interesting departure from a well-trying and well-tested poetic formula, first employed by Chaucer. As Piero Boitani observes, it is usually 'the book' that 'both causes the dream and exists within it'; readers of Chaucer's dream poems were therefore 'invited to find out where the stuff came from and were or were not, depending on the author's judgement... given, in an exciting literary game, a clue'.⁹ Whilst the text that inspired Lanyer is not specified within 'The Authors Dreame', there are numerous clues within the poem that Lanyer had read or had some

⁸ Gillian Wright, *Producing Women's Poetry, 1600–1730: Text and Paratext, Manuscript and Print* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 240. Scholars have considered the influence of both Mary Sidney and Chaucer in this respect. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski considers *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* as 'a comprehensive "Book of Good Women"' modelled therefore, in part, on Chaucer's *Legend*. See her 'Of God and Good Women: The Poems of Aemilia Lanyer', in *Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*, ed. by Margaret P. Hannay (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1985), pp. 203–224 (p. 207). A slightly different view has been put forward by Colleen Shea, 'Literary Authority as Cultural Criticism in Aemilia Lanyer's *The Authors Dreame*', *English Literary Renaissance* 32.3 (2002), 386–407. Shea argues that, in using Chaucer's *House of Fame* as her source, Lanyer 'lobb[ies] against her frustrating failure to win Sidney's favour because of "the father of English poetry's" own complicated social status' (p. 395).

⁹ Piero Boitani, 'Old books brought to life in dreams: the *Book of the Duchess*, the *House of Fame*, the *Parliament of Fowls*', in *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*, ed. by Piero Boitani and Jill Mann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 58–77 (pp. 60–1).

form of access to the Sidney Psalter; what she refers to within ‘The Authors Dreame’ as those ‘holy Sonnets’ and ‘rare sweet songs which *Israels* King did frame’ (sig. D1r). Although ‘The Authors Dreame’ is in some ways very different to the poems discussed within this thesis, Lanyer’s internalised appropriation of the Psalms modifies their use in a slightly earlier – and more conventionally ‘Chaucerian’ – dream poem: F. T.’s *The Debate betweene Pride and Lowlines* (1577). In *The Debate*, the Psalms are a symbol of the dreamer’s piety, a ‘trigger’ for his sleep, and a source of inspiration:¹⁰

Mée thought the weather was not very calme,
 For it had rained al the day beforne:
 Wherefore I tooke my booke and red a Psalme,
 And bad my host good night vntil the morne

So when I had mée shrowded in my bed,
 And thanked God for graces manifold:
 Full soone had sleepe icaught mée by the head,
 And Straightly with his armes he can me fold.¹¹

The ‘Psalme’ is just one of several books to make its way into F. T.’s poem, and each opposing side of the debate use textual authorities to support their cause: ‘so sayth Cato in his litle booke’ (sig. A3r); ‘This gather I by Saul in holy booke’ (sig. A4r); ‘Reade Ovids Metamorpose it I lye’ (sig. F2r); ‘Ye may finde written in the booke of kinges’ (sig. G2v). Such methods are intensely Chaucerian, and nowhere more so than towards the poem’s close:

Wherefore no man thinke him selfe spoken to,
 For any thing that I haue told you in my sweuen,
 Who thinketh he dooth well, so let him doo,
 And choose him how this matter he wyl leeuē.

...

As that they might not weare as may the rest,
 I meane the members of more worthines:
 For sure I hold they ought to weare the best,

¹⁰ The poem is a potential source for a similar debate in prose entitled *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592) by Robert Greene. Daniel J. Ransom, ‘Chaucerian Echoes in the *Debate betweene Pride and Lowlines*’, *The Chaucer Review* 48.3 (2014), 322-33. As mentioned in the General Introduction, the authorship of the poem has been contested, although the only name put forth has been Francis Thynne, son of Chaucer’s Henrician editor, William Thynne.

¹¹ F. T., *The Debate betweene Pride and Lowlines* (London: J. Charlewood, 1577), sig. A4v.

And if ye read S. Paule, he saith no lesse. (sigs. F4v-F5r)

In the Epilogue to the Nun's Priest's Tale, the speaker similarly reveals that 'Seint Paul seith that al that writen is, / To oure doctrine it is ywrite, ywis' (ll. 3411-12), although readers of *The Debate* will struggle to find the moral and social message of F.T.'s poem within the doctrine of 'S. Paul'.¹² Misdirection and misattribution of this nature is rather typical of the literary and textual traditions in which the poem finds itself. In the case of Chaucer, audiences were expected to understand that these allusions were really a joke; that Chaucer was 'playing a "private" game with his intellectual friends'.¹³

Knowing that the Sidney Psalms paraphrase circulated only in manuscript has made the matter of Lanyer's access to them, and her precise position within the Sidney circle, a topic of considerable debate.¹⁴ If Lanyer's allusions to the Psalms were intended as a Chaucerian 'joke', then what kind of reaction would it have provoked from the Countess? Along with numerous other puns and riddles within 'The Authors Dreame',¹⁵ Lanyer's references to the Psalms seem to

¹² See also Ransom, pp. 331-2.

¹³ Boitani, p. 63.

¹⁴ In particular, see Kari Boyd McBride, 'Remembering Orpheus in the Poems of Aemilia Lanyer', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 38.1 (1998), 87-108.

¹⁵ On Lanyer's punning use of the term 'grace', see Schnell, pp. 91-2. There are also some etymological puns within 'The Authors Dreame'. Along with the poem's full title ('The Authors Dreame to the Ladie Marie, the Countesse Dowager of Penbrooke'), the annotation accompanying Lanyer's reference to the Sidney Psalter states: '*The Psalmes written newly by the Countesse Dowager of Penbrooke*' (sig. D1r). It has been argued that Lanyer's use of this particular designation (i.e. 'Penbrooke') is designed emphasise the Countess' role in their translation. The implications of this is illustrated through reference to Nicholas Breton's *The Countesse of Penbrooke's Loue* (1592) and *The Countess of Penbrookes Passion* (c. 1594). The publication of these poems was one of several things that proved disastrous for Breton in his attempt to win favour. The first of these poems – *The Countesse of Penbrooke's Loue* – is rather different to the dream vision poems discussed in this thesis in that it adopts the voice and the perspective of the Countess herself. For more on Breton's use of *prosopopoeia* in *The Countesse of Penbrooke's Loue*, see Suzanne Trill, 'Engendering Penitence: Nicholas Breton and "the Countesse of Penbrooke"', in *Voicing Women: Gender and Sexuality in Early Modern Writing*, ed. by Kate Chedgzoy, Melanie Hansen and Suzanne Trill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), pp. 25-44. Lanyer's own use of a visionary structure and the designation 'Penbrooke' may serve to remind her patron of Breton's efforts, as well as a sense of her ability to add substance and refinement to her predecessor's (failed) attempt to win the Countess' favour. Breton's *The Countess of Penbrookes Passion* (c. 1594) was published as *The Passions of the Spirit* (1599) and dedicated by the stationer, Thomas Este, to a decidedly non-aristocratic patron, Mary Houghton, 'wife to the worshipfull Mr Peter Houghton Esquire, Alderman, and now one of the shirifes of London' (*The Passions of the Spirit* (London: T. Este, 1599), sig. A2r). This, as scholars have argued, was another potential factor in Breton's fall from the Countess of Pembroke's favour. See Michael G. Brennan, 'Nicholas Breton's *The Passions of the Spirit* and the Countess

work as part of a complex rhetorical strategy designed to inspire in the poem's reader a sense of *noblesse oblige* and even guilt. This effect is enhanced through Lanyer's careful manipulation of the genre's conventional features and tropes, and by adapting the symbolic associations of sleep and dreams to her aims. As Lisa Schnell points out, it is Lanyer's closing apostrophe 'To Sleepe' that presents the reader with an 'anatomy of the abuses of power practiced by the elite on those dependent on them for patronage'.¹⁶ Although Lanyer omits the opening frame expected by readers of the dream vision poem, a total of fifty-six lines within this fifty-six-stanza poem are devoted to seeing 'The Authors Dreame' through to its conclusion:

Then had God *Morphie* shew'd the end of all,
 And what my heart desir'd, mine eies had seene;
 For as I wak'd me thought I heard one call
 For that bright Charet lent by *Ioues* faire Queene.

But thou, base cunning thiefe, that robs our sprits
 Of halfe that span of life which yeares doth giue;
 And yet no praise vnto thy selfe it merits,
 To make a seeming death in those that liue...

But though thou hast depriu'd me of delight,
 By stealing from me ere I was aware;
 I know I shall enjoy the selfe same sight,
 Thou hast no powre my waking sprites to barre. (sigs. D2v-D3r).

When the dreamer wakes, Lanyer repeats the poem's opening phrase for a final time. By testing the border between wakefulness and sleep, the phrase 'me thought' evokes a paradoxical blend of passivity and action which permits Lanyer's dreamer to question the stability of the visionary and waking worlds and the social and symbolic structures that underpin them. The phrase is applied at various other points in 'The Authors Dreame', and three times within Lanyer's concluding poem, 'The Description of Cooke-ham'.¹⁷ Lanyer's final use of this phrase in the poem's waking frame

of Pembroke', *Review of English Studies* 38.150 (1987), 221-5.

¹⁶ Schnell, p. 89.

¹⁷ 'Oh how (me thought) against you thither came, / Each part did seeme some new delight to frame?' (sig. H2r); 'Oh how me thought each plant, each floure, each tree / Set forth their beauties then to welcome thee!' (sig. H2v); 'Nay long before, when once an inkeling came, / Me thought each thing did vnto sorrow frame' (sig. H4r). The repetition of 'Me thought' throughout 'The Description of Cooke-

shatters the illusion of intimacy and social acceptance created by the vision, transforming the dream's essential substance into a final wish that she 'had spent the night to spend the day' (sig. D2v).

Whilst the Psalms within F. T.'s *Debate* are a sign of the dreamer's humility, Psalm translation at this time was also an indication of one's literary aspirations.¹⁸ In both praising and in many ways emulating 'Pembroke's (as yet unpublished) psalm paraphrase and acclaiming the poet herself as "farre before" her brother',¹⁹ 'The Authors Dreame' also carries the more subtle trace of Pembroke's elegy to Sidney in her translation of Petrarch's *Trionfo della Morte: the Triumph of Death* (c. 1600). Where in the case of Googe, Robinson and Andrewe, the dream vision frame establishes the poet's position along mostly Chaucerian lines, the role of Petrarch in the works of Lanyer and Pembroke signify a distinct revision of this model.²⁰ Like the Sidney Psalter, the *Triumph of Death* was not published in Pembroke's lifetime, and whether Lanyer knew of this translation is also difficult to know. Yet 'The Authors Dreame' seems to respond to and adapt the translation in substituting Petrarch's Laura/Pembroke's Philip for Mary Sidney herself, whose 'beauteous soule hath gain'd a double life / Both here on earth, and in the heav'ns above' (sig. D2r). At this point, Lanyer's 'Dreame' turns from encomium into elegy for the living Mary Sidney and her dead brother, at whose shared expense we witness the birth of a new poet.

Although his works are rich in visionary episodes and dream encounters, Philip Sidney did not write a dream vision poem in the conventional sense of the term. Yet Sidney's death in 1586

ham' emphasises the dream-like quality of Lanyer's country-house poem. The Berkshire estate of Cookeham was, at that time, the centre of a long dispute over the Countess of Cumberland's inheritance.

¹⁸ See Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 211. On the Sidney Psalter, see pp. 85-110.

¹⁹ Wright, p. 240.

²⁰ As Pamela Joseph Benson explains, "The "stigma of Italy" with which [Lanyer] was branded by birth and upbringing only not only freed her to write, it freed her to attempt to change the literary landscape in England": *Strong Voices, Weak History: Early Women Writers and Canons in England, France and Italy* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005), p. 160.

prompted a stream of dream vision elegies and memorials, from Spenser's *Ruines of Time* (1591), to John Ogle's *The Lamentation of Troy for the Death of Hector* (1594), to Lanyer's 'The Authors Dreame' (1611). The printed verse anthology, *The Phoenix Nest* (1593), assembled by 'R. S. of the Inner Temple', is yet another of these commemorative works. The volume contains three dream poems: Matthew Roydon's 'An Elegie, or friends passion, for his Astrophill', 'An excellent Dreame of Ladies and their Riddles' by Nicholas Breton and 'A most rare, and excellent Dreame', a poem usually attributed to Robert Greene. Although each of these three poems offer a generically-cohesive contribution to the collection, Breton's 'An excellent Dreame of Ladies and their Riddles' offers a figurative representation of the entire volume; a printed verse miscellany in which 'readers and "fellow" poets are encouraged to identify collectively with a common cultural heritage'.²¹ The absent subject – or 'riddle' – of *The Phoenix Nest* is Sidney, 'Whose name vntolde, but vertues not vnknowne',²² and whose absence occasions the re-inscription of 'privatised' rituals and codes of courtly discourse into public memorial and communal grief.

Mary Sidney's *Triumph of Death* (c. 1600) is tremendously ambivalent in its memorial function. In particular, it is the translation's timing that signals its underlying political significance:

The *Triumph of Death*'s stress upon the idea that it is mutability and eternity which will ensure Laura's immortality, and her transformation to fame and eternity has affinities with the increasing tendency in the 1590s to represent Elizabeth on a plane which stands outside of time, in forms which emphasize mutability as transcending time and death.²³

²¹ Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Textual Gatherings: Print, Community and Verse Miscellanies in Early Modern England', *Early Modern Culture: An Electronic Seminar* 8 (2010), 31-43 (p. 14).

²² Nicholas Breton, 'An excellent Dreame of Ladies and their Riddles' in *The Phoenix Nest* (London: J. Jackson, 1593), sig. E2r.

²³ Danielle Clarke, 'Lover's Songs Shall Turne to Holy Psalms: Mary Sidney and the Transformation of Petrarch', *The Modern Language Review* 92.2 (1997), 282-94 (p. 287). For more on Pembroke's use of the female speaking subject in her translation of Petrarch's *Trionfo della Morte*, see Jonathan Goldberg, *Desiring Women's Writing* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), pp. 114-34 ('The Countess of Pembroke's Literal Translation')

From the succession debates of the 1560s, to Mary Queen of Scots' captivity in England, to the events and aftermath of the Anglo-Spanish wars, the dream visions discussed throughout this thesis are intertwined with key events of the Elizabethan age. Dream visions and elegies to Elizabeth are also a feature of Jacobean panegyric, ranging from *Englands Caesar* by Henry Petowe (1603) to Niccols' visionary *Induction to England's Eliza* (1610). Even in, or perhaps only because of her death in 1603, the Queen wielded influence in the imaginations of her subjects.

Though frequently a source of 'archaism' and nostalgia for a former time, the dream visions published in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods never fail to respond and adapt themselves to the literary trends and preoccupations of their day. From the examples of the dream vision poem here discussed, and the many more texts and authors that this thesis has not had the full opportunity to explore, we can begin to appreciate the genre in several ways: in terms of its popularity, of its political usefulness, and of its commercial and artistic merits. These conclusions concerning the dream vision's appeal apply to a large and diverse number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century poets, many of whom saw their work in terms of a distinct and unified tradition of English verse. In turn, the case can be made for the genre's survival beyond its presumed decline, and for us to start thinking of the dream vision as an early modern, as much as a medieval, literary kind.

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