ENGLISH NATIONALISTIC POETRY, 1485-1558

DISSERTATION
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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS WORK


JMH: The Journal of Modern History.

MLR: The Modern Language Review.

NQ: Notes and Queries.


SP: Studies in Philology.

CHAPTER I

PEACE AND UNITY

To a country which had undergone about one hundred fifty years of intermittent war and strife both abroad and at home, and to a populace alternately exultant over military successes and depressed by failures and their economic consequences, nothing seemed so important as the prospect of peace and unity under Tudor rule. Peace was a practical necessity, but the idea of unity contained the germ of what was to develop into a tremendously strong and swelling nationalism late in the sixteenth century.

Peace had seemed a minor virtue to an English people savoring the sweeping military triumphs of Edward III. The writer of a Latin poem on the truce of 1347 which followed the English victory at Calais is greatly alarmed at the delay in the fighting. He marshals all the evidence he can that God approved the war and disapproved of the armistice. Another Latin piece discussing the reign of Edward III complains among other things that the temporary peace with the Scottish king, David Bruce, is an injudicious one; and the English songs of Lawrence Minot are spirited applause of Edward's French campaigns.

But Edward III's triumphs gradually slipped away and Englishmen

1Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History, composed during the period from Accession of Edw. III to that of Ric. III., ed. Thomas Wright (London, 1859-61), I, 53.
2Ibid., p. 123 ff.
began defensively to speak more and more often of discord and the virtues of peace. A song in alternating Latin and English lines composed about 1388\(^3\) speaks sadly of a great decline in English manly character and laments the civil discord which opens the door to the threat of foreign invasion. John Gower, whose poetry reflects a growing disillusionment with Richard II's rule, attacks the religious aspects of division. He denounces Lollardry\(^4\) and worries over the confusion which accompanies the papal schism.\(^5\) A universal darkness seems to hang over England and Gower prays to God for light. Division within the church and war raging throughout Christendom lead Gower into a strong appeal for peace, or at least unity against a common foe:

Thus were it [good] to setten al in evene,
   The worldes princes and the prelatz bothe,
Pfor love of him which is the King of hevene;
   And if men scholde algate wexe wrothe,
   The Sarazins, whiche unto Crist be lothe,
Let men ben armed azein hem to fighte,
   So mai the knight his dede of armes righte.\(^6\)

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\(^3\)Ibid., p. 270 ff.
\(^4\)Ibid., p. 346 ff.
\(^5\)Ibid., p. 356 ff.
\(^6\)Wright, Political Poems and Songs, II, 11. Here Gower reflects the medieval Christian idea that war may properly be waged in defense of religion, and that it is the chivalric duty of the knight to protect Christendom against her enemies. Robert P. Adams in his article "Pre Renaissance Courtly Propaganda for Peace in English Literature," Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science Arts and Letters, XXXII (1946), 431-46 traces the doctrine back to an adaptation by Ambrose and Augustine of Cicero's stoic distinction between "just" and "unjust" wars.
But Gower's pleas for unity are not confined to the religious sphere. In the wake of English losses, he hopes for peace with France and seeks to turn the new king, Henry IV, toward unifying domestic concerns. He recommends that Henry ask God for wisdom in ruling his own people rather than success in conquering others, and holds up as an example the glorious achievements of Solomon, who chose wisdom in governing instead of war. The poem develops finally into a panegyric on the virtues of peace.  

Thomas Hoccleve is an illuminating example of courtly expediency in his attitude toward war. His The Regement of Princes, written a year or two before Henry V came to the throne, urges the practical value of peace with France. Like Gower, Hoccleve pays his respects to the orthodox ideal of Christian solidarity, and then elaborates on the economic and human sacrifices which war brings about. He contends that Christian nations such as England and France should unite against the Turks rather than spill Christian blood in national conflicts. But in 1415 when Henry V was preparing to sail against France, Hoccleve quickly reversed his position in a patriotic poem which rang with praise of chivalric war. Like propagandists before and after him, Hoccleve responded to the circumstances of the times.

Henry V brought about a brief revival of English pride and confidence in martial projects, but his weak successor, Henry VI, cast the national consciousness once again into gloom and sent poets and

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7 For the whole poem see Political Poems and Songs, II, 4 ff.
8 See Adams, pp. 440-43.
versifiers scurrying back to their demands for peace and unity. John Lydgate, writing apparently during the negotiations for peace in 1443, makes a general appeal. Pyramiding examples of the good fruits of peace and the misfortunes of war, he concludes that "werre causith povert, pees causith habundaunce." Says Lydgate sadly:

The fifte Hero, preevyd a good knyht
By his provesse and noble chivalrye,
Sparyd nat to pursue his riht,
His title of Ffrancon and of Normandye,
Deyd in his conquest, and we shall alle dye.
God graunt us alle, now aftir his disces,
To sende us grace, attween ech partye,
By love and charyté to live in parfiht pees.11

In something of the same vein an anonymous writer of the middle of the century voices his discontent over the disasters in France and reflects ruefully on the death of the old warriors who established English continental power. Self-consciously he warns that the king is guided by courtiers who care nothing for the interests of England. English epigrams of the period declare England's decay through excess and lack of unified purpose. She is a morass of universal contention: there are many knights with little power, many laws with little justice, many acts of Parliament but few kept. Extravagance in dress, bribery, flattery, false deeds, and immoral pursuits of all kinds gag English greatness.

But these are negative sentiments born of weak sovereignty and

10 Wright, Political Poems and Songs, II, 209 ff.
11 Ibid., p. 214.
12 Ibid., p. 221 ff.
13 Ibid., p. 252.
decaying foreign power. When Henry VII came to the throne, the principles of peace and unity began to take on strength and depth. Encouraged by the firm and direct acts of a purposeful monarch, they gradually shed their identity as defensive, expedient virtues and became themselves functions of positive action. Peace, which had been the exhausted cry of a disillusioned people, became the actual achievement of a king who sought national stability. Unity, which for so long had been an international Christian concept, began to take on the proportions of a major national ideal as Henry set about cementing opposing factions.

As early as 1458 a ballad heralds the new positive role which peace and unity were to play in the climate of Tudor sovereignty. Shortly after the Wars of the Roses seemed well under way, there arose a sudden possibility for peace. It was arranged that the great lords of Lancaster and York forgive each other, and a public reconciliation actually took place on March 25, 1458. A ballad celebrating the event rejoices that charity has driven wrath out of the land. Wealth and prosperity follow. The great lords have laid aside the feud so that England may prosper, sorrow has fled with shame to France, and foreign enemies may now contemplate the fearful conjunction of peace and unity in England. Says the ballad writer,

Rejose, and thanke God for evermore,  
For now shal encrease thi consolacion;

_14 Ibid., p. 254 ff._
Oure enemyes quaken and dreden ful sore,
That peas is made ther was division.
Whiche to them is a gret confusion,
And to us joy and felicité.
God hold hem longe in every season,
That Anglonde may rejoise concord and unité.  

Such an optimistic hope proved premature. The civil wars wracked England for another twenty-five years, but the tone of this piece is a significant if abortive harbinger of the narrowing, insistent, almost militant consciousness of unity which was to grow in England during the early years of Tudor rule.

It is true that the poetic celebrations of peace and unity during Henry VII's reign come almost exclusively from the pens of foreign courtiers in the employ of the king. Names such as Bernard André, John de Giglis, Petrus Carmelianus, Johannes Opicius, and Walter Ogilvy do not lend a particularly English cast to the contemporary literature, but the Latin and French pieces which these men wrote in flattering praise laid the groundwork for the ideals which Tudor rule was to animate and justify.

Perhaps nothing was a greater catalyst to the theme of unity than Henry VII's marriage in January, 1466, to Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV. Court poets saw in this event the joining of the two great contending factions in a common purpose, a perfect foundation for prophecies of extended peace and unity. Writing before

15 Ibid., p. 254.

16 For information on the activities of these courtiers see The Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, ed. James Gairdner (London, Rolls Series, 1858), in Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, X; and the first chapter of William Nelson's John Skelton Laureate (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939).
the marriage actually took place, but probably after Parliament had petitioned Henry to fulfil his promise to marry Elizabeth, John de Giglis reflects the passionately hopeful attitude of Henry's subjects in a long Latin poem. He emphasizes the strife and bloodshed which characterized the reign of Henry's usurping predecessor and asserts the desire of both nobles and commoners for a peaceful end to the discordant atmosphere which had allowed the power of the great factions to grow. In an attempt to make this wished-for political event seem personally palatable to his king, the poet lapses into a careful description of Elizabeth's noble lineage and the youthful beauty of her body and face. If you take her in marriage, says Giglis, surely eternal peace will be with us; war and arms dripping with the gore of citizens will be far removed and Saturn's golden age will return. Finally he represents himself prostrate at Henry's holy feet, begging to be snatched from war and misery.

Bernard André, poet laureate, royal historiographer, and probably the most prolific of Henry's celebrators, contributed a poem on the occasion of Elizabeth's becoming queen filled with flattering references to classic and mythological figures. Invoking Calliope, he describes the queen as a descendant of mighty Jove chosen by the highest gods of heaven to be joined to the noble Henry in a covenant which will bring back the eternal ages prophesied by the Sibyl.

17 In his preface to "Historia Regis Henrici Septimi a Bernardo Andrea Tholosate," James Gairdner quotes a long extract (Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, p. lviii). I am indebted to Miss Mary Basinger for her very helpful translations of this and other Latin poetic material in the volume.

18 Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, p. 40.
All the unifying marriages of the Tudor House are the subject of a prose panegyric written probably in 1502 by the Scotchman Walter Ogilvy. It enlarges on the kingly virtues of Henry VII, and the peaceful happiness of his times, praises Elizabeth and the royal children, particularly the princess Margaret, who was married by proxy to James IV of Scotland January 25, 1502, and Prince Arthur, who was betrothed to Catherine of Arragon.

The poetic celebration of unity is probably most elaborately set forth in a Latin poem by Petrus Carmelianus on the birth of Prince Arthur in 1486. The argument runs as follows: God, taking pity on the miserable state of England torn by civil war, calls a meeting of saints in heaven to determine how the long feud between the Houses of Lancaster and York can be terminated. After some consideration, the saints declare that Henry VI would know best how to bring peace since he was well acquainted with the country and the causes of dissention. They recommend that he be appealed to. The appeal is made, and Henry VI proposes that the two contending Houses should be united into one House since such an opportunity clearly exists. Noting that Edward IV is now dead, he reviews the history of how Edward had left his sons in the care of his brother Richard of Gloucester, and how Richard had ruthlessly murdered them and usurped the crown. The same butcher had killed him, says Henry, and there is now no male issue left of Edward IV. However, Edward's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, wise and learned

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19 Ibid., p. lxii.
20 Ibid. The poem is described by Gairdner and extracts quoted, p. lvi ff.
beyond her times, has inherited her father's rights, and Henry of Richmond has been preserved from the sword of Edward IV. Henry VI concludes by recommending that the Earl of Richmond be liberated from prison to assert his right to the kingdom, expel the tyrant Richard III, and take Elizabeth to wife. God approves this plan, and Carmelianus goes on to explain the manner in which the divine decree is brought about: the Earl of Richmond is liberated, applies to Charles VIII for aid, lands at Milford Haven, defeats Richard, is declared king, and at Parliament's request marries the Princess Elizabeth.

In a little volume of Latin poems presented to Henry VII, Johannes Opicius adds to the theme with an eclogue in which Meliboeus and Mopsus allegorically discuss the lifegiving effect of Henry's union with Elizabeth of York.¹¹ Mopsus explains his transformation from his former dismal unhappiness to his present cheerful gaiety by an account of a beautiful walled garden wherein a red rose has graciously fastened itself to a snow-white flower and promoted the return of a golden age to earth. In later lines on the presentation of his book to the king,²² Opicius attributes all gladness, joy, and prosperity, the flight of the iron age and the advent of a new golden age to Henry, who has unified the realm and is worthy of comparison to Aeneas and Numa Pompilius.

²¹ The piece is described in Nelson, John Skelton Laureate, pp. 27-28.
²² Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, p. lxi.
It is, however, an ambitious French poem entitled, "Les Douze Triomphes de Henry VII," probably written by Bernard André, which gives us the clearest picture of the way in which prophetic hopes for peace and unity which surrounded Henry's assumption of power became, in the minds of his contemporaries, crystallized realities. Writing about 1497, some twelve years after Henry had ascended the throne, the author already sees Henry's deeds of consolidation as equal to the twelve feats of Hercules. In an elaborate and often badly forced comparison, he identifies Henry's contemporary opponents, both real and abstract, with the antagonists of Hercules, and finds Henry emerging with greater success and purer glory than his legendary counterpart. The Second Exploit, for example, deals with Hercules' slaying of the hydra. Improving upon the "fiction" that seven heads actually grew back when Hercules struck off one, our ingenious poet declares that in Greek "hydra" means water and that it was really a lake pouring forth devastating streams which Hercules by art and science dried up, thus saving the people of the area from harm. What contemporary evil do these destructive waters represent? Envy, filthy and foul, in the hearts of many people. The lords made war upon one another and distressed the land until Henry came and dried up the strife with fire of charity (a curious image!) and joined the lords amicably together.

It is interesting to note that the traditional Herculean attack on the hydra which involved cutting off its reappearing heads has been

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\(^{23}\)Ibid., p. 133 ff. An English version of the same piece appears on p. 307 ff.  
\(^{24}\)Gairdner assigns the poem this composition date on the basis of internal evidence (pp. xxi-xxii).
modified by the poet to an effective but unwarlike drying up of turbulent waters in order to accommodate the metaphor to Henry's pacific policy. Henry is the magician rather than the avenging warrior in his dealings with the lords. Commenting on André's prose account of the twentieth year of Henry's reign, Gairdner observes that it too reflects an underlying spirit of peace.  

The history fails to mention disturbances at home and plays up the high estimation which the king enjoyed among foreign rulers. In the account of the twenty-third year, following some verses relating to the marriage projected in 1507 between Princess Mary and Charles of Castile, appears what Gairdner terms a favorite sentiment of André's: "Rex pacificus exaltatus est [super] omnes Reges universae te [rrae]."  

Cast against the background of the Hundred Years War, the Wars of the Roses, and the contemporary machinations of the Duchess of Burgandy, the Earl of Lincoln, the Kings of Scotland and France, and the Emperor, unity and peace were the hopes, the demands, and in fact the very well springs of Tudor stability.

Virtually every poetic courtly reference to Tudor sovereignty became an excuse for retelling the story of the red and white rose. Hawes celebrates the union in a song at the end of his Example of Virtue (1503-04) and again in "A Ioyfull medytacyon to all Englonde of the coronacyon of our moost naturall souerayne lorde Kynge Henry the eyght."  

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25Ibid., p. xix.
26Ibid., pp. 95-96.
28University Microfilms no. 1299, Case ix, Carton 49 (Ohio State University Library).
nation ode to Henry VIII Skelton declares,

\[
\text{The Rose both White and Rede} \\
\text{In one Rose now dothe grow.} \quad 29
\]

Sir Thomas More's Latin songs on the coronation\(^{30}\) include one on the two roses which became one: a red rose and a white rose growing near by crowded one another in an effort to demonstrate superiority; they combined to become a single rosebush embracing the great qualities of both. The piece concludes much in the spirit of the ballad on the abortive truce of 1458 warning those who loved either rose separately to love this new combined one; but if they cannot love it, then ought they to fear it, for it has its own thorns too. Here again we see the militant, positive Tudor interpretation of unity.

In the wake of this poetic sublimation of unified conjunction, it is not at all surprising that Edward Hall's patriotic chronicle of 1542 should bear the title The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre & York, Beeyng Long in Continual Discension for the Croune of this Noble Realme.

We have briefly traced the poetic relationship between peace and unity through two general periods: (1) the uneven one hundred fifty years preceding Tudor rule, dominated by the Hundred Years War and the Wars of the Roses—a period in which peace seemed a virtue only when war was unsuccessful, and unity was the defensive concern of an often divided people; (2) the first twenty-five years of Tudor sovereignty—a period which saw the welding of these two concerns in


the realities of Henry VII's marriage and his policies of consolidation. We have suggested that Tudor deeds gradually transformed the idea of unity into an assertive, militant force. Let us now examine a direct manifestation of that militant concern for unity.

In 1509, swept up in the stream of confidence surrounding the accession of the second Tudor to the throne, Sir Thomas More had been able to write that England, if she remained unified, need not stand in fear of foreign war even if the French were to join with the Scots.\textsuperscript{31} In the absence of civil discord or any prospect of it, More was sure of his country's ability to deal with any hostile alliance. The sweeping victory which Surrey achieved in 1513 over the invading Scottish force while Henry was in France bore out More's confidence, but it brought back to English hearts once again the treacherous danger which lurked on the border of a country not at all in accord with English intentions. Robert Fabyan, in the verse Prologue to \textit{The Concordance of Histories}, printed by Pynson in 1516, reflects the English attitude when he announces that he will write, among other things,

\begin{quote}
of the Scottes that neuer coude apply,  
To kepe theyr Allegeaunce, but many a tyme rebelled,  
And to be true were full often compelled.\textsuperscript{32}
\end{quote}

Henry VII had sought to unify England and Scotland through the marriage of his daughter Margaret to the Scottish king in 1502. Unfortunately this had not been as effective as his own marriage to unify

\textsuperscript{31}The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More, p. 19.
the English baronial factions. When the Scots bowed to French influence
and defied their allegiance to England in 1513, the poetic celebrators
of Flodden Field were quick to exploit the issue as another example of
Scottish treachery. The anonymous contemporary author of a piece
entitled "Scotish Ffeilde" tells the story of the great English victory
and then moralizes:

ioe what it is to be false: & the ffeende serve!
They haue broken a book othe: to their (our) blithe kinge.33

John Skelton severely criticizes James IV for joining with the French
king against his brother and sovereign lord,34 and he ridicules James
for acting as a summoner to Henry by ordering the English king to quit
France.35 Finally he berates those who claim he should not attack a
brother of the king. Dubbing James a "brother vnnatural" who fought
against the right as Cain fought against Abel, Skelton reminds his
readers that James was a traitor, a "sysmatyke" and a "heretyke" who
died excommunicate for violating the pacification with England.36
Though Skelton descends to the lowest kind of national and personal
invective in his denunciation of the Scottish action, he clearly
demonstrates his general hope for the subjugation and absorbtion of
Scotland by his own country.

33Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript: Ballads and Romances, eds. John
W. Hales, and Frederick J. Furnivall (London, 1867-68), I, 232, lines 395-
96.
34"Skelton Laureate against the Scottes," Dyce, I, 182 ff., lines 103 ff.
35Ibid., lines 91 ff.
36Ibid., p. 188, lines 13 ff.
A long poem on the Battle of Flodden Field\textsuperscript{37} devotes a significant passage to the rationalizations which James's nobles engage in as they contemplate breaking the treaty with England. They cite English slaying of the Scottish Captain Andrew Barton, and English aid against James's cousin, the Duke of Gelders, among other examples of English interference which will allow them more justifiably to adhere to their new treaty with France.\textsuperscript{38} Later in the piece Surrey charges his English soldiers with the importance of subduing the Scots.

\begin{quote}
Think on your country's common wealth,
In what estate the same shall stand,
To Englishmen no hope of health,
If Scots do get the upper hand,

All England north from Trent to Tweed,
The haughty Scots would harry and burn.
\end{quote}

(lines 1829–36)

It would be unfair to claim that the popular poetry on Flodden Field and other Scottish encounters in Henry VIII's reign was concerned to any great extent with the intellectual ideal of English-Scottish unity. Rather it celebrated the English fighting man's spirit and skill, probed the contributions of and relationships between various baronial factions in the fighting. However, it reveals an extremely vivid personal side to a growing contemporary movement.

English-Scottish unity was a particular concern of the Tudors, to whom the British Isles seemed destined, by geographical formation, to

\textsuperscript{37}Printed by Henry Weber in \textit{The Battle of Flodden Field; A Poem of the Sixteenth Century} (Edinburgh, 1808), pp. 1-120. Weber thinks that the original of the version he prints was composed about the middle of the sixteenth century (p. xii).

\textsuperscript{38}Lines 145 ff.
be of one empire. Although Wolsey's preoccupation with European politics temporarily distracted Henry VIII's attention from his recalcitrant northern neighbor, there came a time when the English king could devote his full energies to the consolidation of his islands. After he had secured the unity of England and Wales, and improved the relationship with Ireland, Henry energetically set about reducing Scotland to accord. The last of these undertakings was particularly important after Henry had established himself as supreme head of the church, for the Pope found Scotland his most convenient tool in trying to reestablish Roman domination over England.

In literary support of Henry's Scottish ambitions, Richard Grafton, a prosperous London merchant, brought out in 1543 an edition of a fifteenth-century verse chronicle by John Hardyng. Grafton had already joined with Edward Whitchurch in an English printing of Coverdale's translation of the Bible, for which he was eulogized as an English patriot by Thomas Norton, but the edition of Hardyng's Chronicle was the beginning of Grafton's career as a chronicler. John Hardyng was a significant subject for revival. From an early period he had investi-

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39The anonymous author of "The Libel of English Policy" had argued strongly at the middle of the fifteenth century for British unity. Intent on emphasizing England's commercial and maritime policy as the key to peaceful relations in Western Europe, he saw the great importance of strengthening ties at home. Only if she could exercise strong control over Wales, whose people were rebellious, and Ireland, over whom she had inherited dominion, could England achieve her dominant position in the commercial world. It was therefore essential, argued the poet, that England find the means and exert the energy to control these two areas of the islands. (For the text of the poem, see Wright's Political Poems and Songs, II, 157 ff.).

40DNB, XXII, 312.
gated the feudal relations of the English and Scottish crowns. During the reign of Henry V he visited Scotland with the intent of gaining official documentation proving Scotland's subservience to England from the earliest times. He says he presented the results of his search to Henry V at Bois de Vincennes and was well rewarded for it. However, the six documents which he secured, and which he claims James I of Scotland tried to bribe him not to present to the English king, have been proved to be forgeries. It is likely that Hardyng himself forged the papers.\(^1\)

It was Hardyng's theme that concerned Grafton, not his authenticity. Hardyng's review of Edward IV's\(^2\) right to the realms of France, Scotland, Portugal, Jerusalem and other far-flung territories was a fitting subject for Grafton's time when Henry VIII had been campaigning in France and Scotland for his "rightful lands."

Hardyng had regarded Edward IV as God's special agent, and he urged him to go forth in battle against the treacherous Scot:

\begin{quote}
Wherfore good lorde nowe girde you \(\dagger\) your swerde,
And set upon the frowarde heretykes,

... 

And truste it well as God is nowe in heuen,
Ye shall never fynde the Scottes vnto you trewe,
Where they maye with youre enemies ay beleuen,
They wyll to you then always be vntrewe,
Yet through your manhede it maye them rewe;
For lenger then ye haue them in subieccyon
Truste never truth in them ne perfeccyon.\(^3\)
\end{quote}

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\(^2\)Hardyng constantly rewrote his chronicle, adapting it to new patrons. The first version was completed and presented to Henry VI in 1457. A second was dedicated to Richard Duke of York, and a variation of this version was later presented to Edward IV. (Kingsford, pp. 143-44, 146).

\(^3\)The *Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng containing an account of Public Transactions from the earliest period of English History to the Beginning*
The winning of Scotland could be the foundation for sweeping imperialistic gains in Hardyng's eyes.

If Scottland were youres to Wales & England,
Who hath power to make you resistance
In any wise, in any uncouth land;
Youre rereward then [scant in all] sufficience,
To kepe England surely in your absence,
Make them Albion and passe furth wher ye list
To other landes, ye neede none other trist.\textsuperscript{44}

Grafton does not reflect Hardyng's appetite for sweeping imperialistic campaigns (England was not to come to this until later in the century), but he plunges with obvious relish into an expansion of his source's attitude toward Scotland. He praises Hardyng as a hardy, bold, "true herted Englysheman" who diligently

Serched out of chronicles, bothe late and olde,
All that euer by thesame hath bee told:
How fro the begynnyng, Scotlaed dooeth reigne
Vnder kynges of Englande, as their souerain.\textsuperscript{45}

Later he continues the tribute to Hardyng:

Vnto the Scottes he coulde neuer bee frende,
Becaue he sawe them, towards England,
False from the begynnyng, to the last ende;
Neuer standyng to anye league ne brande,
Homage, so readie to make rebellyon,
As when thei promised moost subiection.

That, if Iohn Hardyng bee a trew man,
And in this behalfe inspyred with prophecie,
Thei wyll neuer bee but as thei were than,
False to England, suttle, and craftie,
Entendyng myschiefe when thei shewe contrary
Spylers and robbers that amende wyll neuer,
Tyll our kyng shall haue made them Englyshe for euer.

\textsuperscript{44}Ibid., p. 420.
\textsuperscript{45}Ibid., pp. 1-2.
Neither is there anye that euer wrote,  
Which in matiers of Scotland could better skill,  
Nor which, their falshoeode and vntrueth to note,  
Had more affection or better wyll,  
Or better knew water, woodde, toune, vale & hyll.  
Or was more fereunte the Scottes to persue,  
Who to England he knew woulde neuer be true.

Neyther anye Chronicler that euer was,  
Eyther dooth or can more largly declare,  
Euen from Brutus, howe it came to passe  
That kynges of Englaund the soueraines are,  
And ouer Scotlande oughte rule to beare.  
Hymselfe is wytnes of their subiection,  
And homage vnder Englandes protection.

Reflecting his own monarch's principal concern, Grafton passes over Hardyng's view of a conquered Scotland as an imperialistic springboard but comes down hard on the idea that the Scots will rebel until "the kyng of Englaund shall haue made them both one." Furthermore, Grafton insists, Tudor rule has produced an agent for achieving the union which Hardyng could only hope for, and that agent is The House of Howard. In his verse preface to the chronicle, Grafton dedicates his efforts to Thomas Howard, Third Duke of Norfolk and father to the poet Surrey. He traces the history of Howard activity against the Scots from the time of Henry VII up until the time of his writing, concluding confidently that here in the reign of Henry VIII

Your house in hyis ryght is appoynted by God  
To bee to the Scottes a sharpe scourge and rod.

Note then the whole design of Grafton's labor: to attack and dis­credite the idea of Scottish independence, to praise the Howards as

\[46\text{Ibid., p. 11.}\]
\[47\text{Ibid., p. 5.}\]
agents of militant but rightful union, and to present to his readers a fifteenth century rhymed chronicle demonstrating the historical right to sovereignty which England held over Scotland—all in support of Henry's attempts to bring the British Isles under one government.

Interestingly enough, Grafton's publication heralds the beginning of yet another chapter in England's struggle to bring Scotland under. The Scots had been badly beaten at Solway Moss in 1542. Shaken by the death of their own king and the depletion of the nobles, the Scots temporarily swore allegiance to Henry as sovereign of Scotland and promised cooperation in bringing about another consolidating marriage—that of Queen Mary to Henry VIII's son Prince Edward. However, in 1543 the arrival of French ships, men, and money swung power back to the French party in Scotland, and a new treaty with France repudiated the former one with England. Stung by this perfidy, the English sent a large army against Scotland in May, 1544, hoping to demonstrate by force the virtues of Scotland's taking England as an ally rather than France. This action, too, was in the nature of a raid, and the Scots absorbed it without changing their minds again.

In the midst of new preparations to attack Scotland, Henry VIII died. Protector Somerset, who assumed control of the government when Edward VI was crowned king, made strong efforts to compel the Scots to carry out the marriage treaty, but failed. Defeated in the field of

48 See Pollard's discussion of the events leading up to the Battle of Pinkie Cleugh (1547), Tudor Tracts 1532-1588, ed. A.F. Pollard, in An English Garner, I (Westminster, 1903), xv ff.
49 A detailed prose account of this expedition appears in Pollard's Tudor Tracts, pp. 37 ff.
peaceful negotiation, he decided to reply with an overwhelming display of strength. The large army which he assembled in 1547 and the fleet which sailed north in support under Clinton joined forces in the Battle of Pinkie Cleugh. In the wake of the crushing Scottish defeat, Somerset tried again to negotiate the joining of England and Scotland in a United Kingdom.

An interesting account of the 1547 expedition by William Patten reflects not so much pride in the English victory as the over-riding hope for such a union:

But whatsoever it were, Field or no Field, I dare be bold to say, not one of us all is any whit prouder of it than would be the tooth that hath bit the tongue, otherwise than in respect that they were our mortal enemies, and would have done as much or more to us; nor are nothing so fain to have beaten them as enemies, as we would rejoice to receive them as friends; nor are so glad of the glory of this Field, as we would be joyful of a steadfast atonement: whereby like countrymen and countrymen, like friend and friend, nay, like brother and brother, we might, in one perpetual and brotherly life, join, love, and live together, according as thereto, both by the appointment of GOD at the first, and by continuance of Nature since, we seem to have been made and ordained; separate by seas from all other nations; in customs and conditions, little differing; in shape and language, nothing at all.

Somewhat later, Patten points out to the Scots the hollow character of "the feigned friendship of France." Recognizing the animosity toward England which exists in Scottish hearts, he says bluntly, "we desire not ye should break with them, for the love of us; but only in case where ye should be compelled to lose either them or us, and, in that

\[50\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 65-66.}\]
\[51\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 69 ff.}\]
case, perchance, we may be content again to lose them for you." Moreover, the English would like to free Scotland not only from French influence, but also "from the most servile thraldom and bondage under that hideous monster, that venomous asp, and very ANTICHRIST, the Bishop of Rome, in the which, of so long time, ye have, and yet do most miserably abide."

These then are the sentiments of an English state official (Patten was one of those appointed to administer martial law in the provost-marshal's court, and his colleague was William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley). They reflect an intellectual perspective (though not necessarily an objectivity) which illuminates the more learned writing of the period.

Roger Ascham likewise had taken the Scots to task for remaining unfriendly to the English, and, like Patten, he saw the hand of the Pope working against the union.

Yet one thynge woulde I wysshe for the Scottes and that is this, that seinge one God, one faythe, one compasse of the see, one lande and countrie, one tungue in speakynge, one maner and trade in lyuynge, lyke courage and stomake in war, lyke quicknesse of witte to learning, hath made Engelande and Scotlande bothe one, they wolde suffre them no longer to be two: but cleane gyue ouer the Pope, which seketh none other thinge (as many a noble and wyse Scottish man doth knowe) but to fede vp dissention and parties betwixt them and vs, procuryng that thynge to be two, which God, nature, and reason, wold haue one...And as for Scottishe men and Englishe men be not enemies by nature, but by custome: not by our good wyll, but by theyr owne follye: whiche shoulde take more honour in being coupled to England then we shulde take profite in being ioyned to Scotlande.

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52Ibid., p. xix.
Such concerns were not often the subject of popular poetry, however. Unfettered by broad diplomatic ambitions but fascinated by individual incident and action, the popular versifiers dwelt in a more restricted but often a more vital atmosphere. The author of "Vox Populi" (c. 1547) concludes his long metrical discussion of contemporary grievances with a wish of Godspeed to the English fleet sailing north under Clinton, and a popular celebrator of "Musleboorowe Ffeild" (Pinkie Cleugh) disdains the idea of English-Scottish unity to revel in the superiority of English arms and fighting spirit in the face of great odds.

Wee feared not but that they wold fight, yett itt was turned vnto their owne paine, thoe against one of vs that they were 8t yett with their owne weapons wee did them beat.

... the made a face as the wold fight, but many a proud Scott there was downe borne, & many a ranke coward was put to flight.

But when they heard our great gunnes cracke, then was their harts turned into their hose; they cast down their weapons and turned their backes, they ran soe fast that the fell on their Nose.

Thus we have the pre-Elizabethan evolution of a great Tudor ideal. Born in the ravages of one hundred fifty years of war, mated early with the hope for peace, blessed by the strength of early Tudor monarchs and the intellectual atmosphere of the court poets, the ideal of unity grew in confidence and scope. It gradually passed from its original concern for civil stability to an urgent demand for the consolidation of the

54Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 145, lines 791 ff.
British Isles. In that metamorphosis it drew to its defense the serious purpose and intellectual perspective of the chronicle writers and state officials. As it embraced the thorny Scottish question, it inevitably became estranged from its earlier co-function, peace. Popular poets were quick to emphasize the estrangement as they turned out exaggerated and often arrogant accounts of the military clashes which punctuated all efforts to bring Scotland to agreement. But peace lingered as an ultimate goal as the ideal of unity suffered its growing pains.

Before passing on, we should note yet one more poetic manifestation of the great ideal. In 1509 Alexander Barclay's Ship of Fools reminded Englishmen of the corruptions and injustices of the times just as Sebastian Brandt's Nurenschiff had exposed continental excesses fifteen years before. Brandt was a militant German Catholic, and one of his categories of fools included those who could not or would not see that the general degeneration of Christendom could be halted by eliminating selfish discord and supporting the Emperor Maximilian in a unified crusade against the infidels. Brandt chided the kings of Europe for their ineffectual bickering over minor matters while their great duty to universal Catholicism languished in neglect. In Barclay's adaptation of Brandt's subject matter, the ideal of a unified Christendom crusading against the Turk and the infidel shines forth undiminished, but the

56 For further development of the popular appetite for English martial deeds, see Chapter Six.

57 A. Pompen has shown that Barclay's principal source was not Brandt's German version, but Locher's Latin version published also in 1494. (A. Pompen, The English Versions of the Ship of Fools (London, 1925), pp. 278-80, 309).
leadership of this international crusade has been patriotically transferred to the English states. It is not Maximilian around whom all Christian peoples must rally, but Henry VIII. After an extended passage setting forth Henry's noble qualifications for such a great responsibility, Barclay urges all Christian princes to acknowledge him.

Wherfore let them do hym obedyence  
As to theyr hede: and moste of dignyte  
Obey to hym Prynces than trust I ye shall se  
That by his manhode, and counsell souerayne  
All that is lost, we shall: soone wyn agayne.  

Very significantly, Barclay turns immediately then to praise James IV of Scotland as a fit captain also for any Christian prince who seeks leadership. Peerless in war as he is, no Turk could abide his wrath in battle, claims our poet. So to Barclay it is ultimately a kind of British unity--a fruitful combination of England and Scotland--which could be the strongest bulwark to Christendom and the greatest deterrent to the advancing infidels.

If the Englysshe Lyon his wysdome and ryches  
Conioyne with true loue, peas and fydelyte  
With the Scottis vyncornes myght and hardynes  
Than is no dout but all hole christente  
Shall lyue in peas welth and tranquylyte  
And the holy londe come into christen hondes  
And many a regyon out of the fendes bondes.

59 Ibid., p. 208.  
60 Ibid., p. 209.  
61 Ibid., p. 209.
It is the kind of unity of contending Christian forces against the heathen which Gower and Hoccleve and Lydgate had called for earlier, but here in the early sixteenth century the idea has been nationalized by a poet breathing the atmosphere of unifying Tudor rule.

In historical perspective, then, the idea and function of English-Scottish unity has had a significant development. To John Hardyng, inspired first in Henry V's reign by the revived spirit of Edward III's great continental conquests and thereafter hopefully addressing succeeding English monarchs, the union was a prerequisite to English imperialistic expansion. To Alexander Barclay, an ecclesiastic patriot writing in the atmosphere of Tudor unity and strength but before the break with Rome, it was the surest way of blocking the Turk and re-establishing the inner glory and solidarity of the universal Catholic Church. To Skelton, Ascham, Grafton and Patten, however, the joining of Scotland to England was not an international function, but an end in itself. It was the direct manifestation of the energetic Tudor attempt to consolidate the British Isles. In fact to the writers who postdate the break with Rome—to Richard Grafton, who praises Hardyng's research but notes a tone of "popyshe error" in the chronicle; to William

\[\text{Fynally, the darknesse of those dayes to see,} \\
\text{To the honoure of our kyng dooeth redound,} \\
\text{To whom, by Goddes hlepeth gueuen, it hath bee,} \\
\text{All Popyshe trumperye for to confounde;} \\
\text{Which thyng al tret English hertes hath boud}\]
Patten, who seeks to free Scotland from "that venomous aspis and very ANTICHRIST, the Bishop of Rome;" and to Roger Ascham--the very pillars of Barclay's international goal are prime targets for attack. Unity had come to embrace yet another national concept: an English church divorced of foreign control.

Incessauntly to praye for kyng Henrye e eyghte, Whose godly wisedome hath made all streyghte. (The Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng, p. 12).
CHAPTER 2

ESTABLISHING AND PRESERVING TUDOR RULE

Underlying the early Tudor concern for peace and unity ran a profound and practical respect for the kind of authoritative power which was needed to make realities of these goals. Lineal right and legal sanction were often not so important in a monarch as his ability to assert effectively his sovereignty. Common people, in particular, have always responded to the physical manifestation of strength. In stories of Beowulf, King Arthur, Guy of Warwick, Bevis of Hampton, and Robin Hood we trace the adulation of heroes whose strongest virtue was their perpetual ability to surmount the greatest hardship, overcome the strongest foe, and perform the mightiest deeds of strength. When Henry of Richmond, a claimant without particularly impressive rights, came out of France to overthrow the tyrannical Richard III, then, baronial apologists for the nobles who supported Henry turned out popular songs extolling the bold action which established Tudor sovereignty. Very little of this popular verse has survived. Nevertheless, in the extant pieces on Bosworth Field, 2

1 Lewis Einstein deals very generally with the sanction of power as it applies to Tudor rule in the first chapter of his book Tudor Ideals (London, 1921).

2 Three are to be found in the third volume of Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, eds. J.W. Hales, and F.W. Furnivall (London, 1868). "The: rose of Englanede" is printed on pp. 189-96; "Ladye Bessiye" on pp. 321-63; and "Bosworth Feilde" on pp. 235-39. "Lady Bessiye" and "Bosworth Feilde" are versions of some common original. Two other versions are printed in The Most pleasant Song of the Lady Bessy, edited by J.O. Halliwell for the Percy Society in 1847. "The: rose of Englanede," though modernized in Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, was probably written before 1495, for it praises Sir William Stanley, who was executed on that date. None of the versions of "Lady Bessy" is earlier than the reign of Elizabeth, and one is as
there is scarcely a reference to Henry, or to the powerful Stanleys who supported him, which does not breathe the spirit of physical strength asserting and justifying itself. In "The rose of England," Mitton, the bailiff, temporarily blocks Henry's passage at Shrewsbury with the bold announcement,

"I know no king...
"but Richard now that wears the crowne."

But such firm loyalty was a chameleon to the actuality of power.

"What wilt thou say," said Erle Richmonde,
"When I have put King Richard downe?"
"Why, then I'll be as true to you, my Lord, after the time that I am sworne."³

The great nobles themselves reflected the same pliable fidelity. Thomas Howard, the Earl of Surrey (later the second Duke of Norfolk), had been loyal to Edward IV; yet he acquiesced in Richard's usurpation and fought at his side at Bosworth Field. Taken prisoner, he was committed to the tower for three and a half years, but he refused the chance to escape when the Earl of Lincoln invaded England. Noting this useful habit of loyalty to the reigning sovereign, Henry VII released him, restored his earldom and converted him to an official who was highly instrumental in the campaigns against the Scots.⁴

The anonymous writer of a popular piece entitled "Scottish Ffeilde"⁵ uses the English victory of 1513 as a springboard for reviewing the

³Percy's Folio Manuscript, III, 192-93, lines 79-84.
⁴DNB, X, 62.
⁵Percy's Folio Manuscript, I, 212-34. This edition of the poem probably postdates 1542, but the original must have been composed within
exercise of English sovereign power. Says he,

I will carpe of Kings: that conquered full wide,
That dwelled in this land: that was alyes Noble.  
(lines 5-6)

His poem takes the form of an alliterative chronicle. It begins with
the landing of Henry VII at Milford Haven, conducts him to Bosworth
and the throne, then moves to Henry VIII's accession and his expedition
into France in 1513. The main portion of the piece is concerned with
the battle of Flodden Field, and like the popular pieces on Bosworth
Field, it emphasizes the role of Stanleys and Cheshire men in support
of Tudor power. It was power in all its manifestations—to seize con­
trol, to stabilize, to command loyalty, to put fear and respect in
the hearts of enemies—that held men's minds. Henry VII was great
because he was successful. He overthrew Richard and he piped the
tune to which Frenchmen danced.

In this fayre land
he made french men afeard: of his fell deedes;
they paid him tribute trulie: many told thousands,
that the might liue in their land: & him their Lord call.  
(lines 38-41)

The popular writers held no monopoly, however, on the attitude
of respect for and allegiance to power. We have already mentioned
Bernard André's elaborate French poem "Les Douze Triomphes de Henry
VII." In essence it is a chronicle of the great deeds performed by
Henry VII in stabilizing his reign, a critique of the honor in which
such manifestations of kingly authority were held. Just as Juno
envied Hercules and set seemingly impossible tasks for him, says André,
so did the envious Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, and sister to Henry

to or three years of the battle itself.

6Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, p. 133 ff.
IV, breed towering threats and challenges to Henry's crown out of her
bitterness; but the dowager of Flanders has bowed to the strength of
this English Hercules. In Hercules' conquest of Menalippe, queen of
the Amazons, whose rich girdle he stripped, André sees Henry's frustra-
tion of Margaret, who lost great wealth in support of the pretender
Perkin Warbeck (sixth exploit). In the mythical hero's victory over
the three-headed King Geryon of Gades, André finds a parallel to
Henry's conquest of the evilly single-purposed trio Margaret, the
archduke Philip, and his father Maximilian (ninth exploit). Other
envious and ambitious victims of the English king's self-sufficient
strength are: Charles VIII of France (first exploit); Richard III,
whose demise is symbolized in Hercules' slaying of the wild boar of
Arcadia (third exploit); the contending York and Lancaster factions
(second exploit); thieves and robbers who overran the countryside
just as the Stimphal ides (robbing, pillaging birds) preyed on the
land until Hercules chased them away with his bow (fifth exploit);
Martin Swart, the German nobleman obtained through the aid of
Margaret to lead the forces supporting Lambert Simnel's claim to
the throne (seventh exploit); the Earl of Lincoln, who joined Simnel's

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7Here Hercules kills the lion of Cleonae and dresses himself in
the lion's skin that he might be stronger. André identifies the lion
as a mighty king, great in dignity, honor, and elevation. The hide
represents the strength, prudence, and wealth that formerly belonged
to the king, who is now, however, degraded by the people. Gairdner
points out that the amicable relations later established between
Henry and Charles made it reasonable that André not mention Charles
by name in the poem (p. xxiii). However, the poet's object was to
celebrate Henry's authoritative strength, and the advantage gained
over Charles required some place in such an account.
army and was killed at the Battle of Stoke in 1487 (fourth exploit); Perkin Warbeck and his captains (tenth and eleventh exploits); the King of Scotland (eighth exploit); and finally the Emperor Maximilian, who, like the dragon that blocked Hercules' quest for the golden apples, stood in the path of Henry gaining the friendship of the noble King of France (twelfth exploit).

All these opponents Henry has overcome through Herculean effort, but André is not content to leave his king garlanded merely with parallel glory. He consummates his panegyric with a triumphant assertion of Henry's incomparable greatness. While Hercules had ultimately fallen victim to Envy in the person of his own wife, Dejanira, Henry remains a perpetual and all-powerful prosecutor of Envy in all its protean writhings.

Henry VIII, of course, comes in for his fair share of courtly praise too. John Skelton, in a Latin "Pallinodium" written sometime after the accession in 1509, compares the new king to classic examples of forceful achievement: Octavius, Hector, Scipio the elder, and Marcellus. In his coronation ode, "A Lawde and Prayse made for our Souereigne Lord the Kyng," Skelton asserts that Henry rules

As king moost soueraine
That ever England had.

He has demonstrated his strength as "Martis lusty knight," and those who oppose him "shall com to rekening." Barclay insists that Henry surpasses Hercules in manhood and courage, Achilles in strength and

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In his first eclogue Barclay finds himself unworthy to write the acts of this "most hye and triumphant" prince whose manliness parallels his virtue. More sees in Henry a prince strong and virtuous enough to rule not just a single people, but the whole world. He stands out taller than any of his thousand noble companions and supports the regal authority of his carriage with skill in using sword, spear, and bow. The expression of his face is like that which must have graced Achilles' countenance when he dragged Hector behind him. His own subjects honor and love him, but his enemies fear him. Again Skelton, writing this time in late 1523 after the Duke of Albany's unsuccessful invasion of the English border, speaks with contemptuous confidence of Henry's ability to crush Scottish and French aspirations.

Wene ye, daucockes, to drive
Our kyng out of his reme?
Ge heme, ranke Scot, ge heme,
With fonde Fraunces, French kyng:
Out mayster shall you brynge
I trust, to lowe estate,
And mate you with chekmate.
(lines 380-86)

It is impossible to displace
So noble a prince as he
In all acyuite
Of hardy merciall actes
Fortunate in all his faytes.
(lines 395-98)

There follows a long passage contrasting the ignoble and cowardly King Francis of France with the strong and virtuous King of England, whose

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12The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More, p. 15.
courage and martial prowess compare with that of Hercules and Hector.

Thus it is evident that both the popular poetry and the poetry of the literary court circle reflect an early Tudor respect for the practical exercise of power. The most significant difference in the two approaches is that, generally speaking, power did not have the same focal point to each group. To the anonymous versifiers and baronial apologists who sang of Bosworth Field and Flodden Field, power still was manifested principally in the great lords and nobles. A king who could establish himself attracted obedient loyalty, it is true, but after all it was the individual strength of the nobles—the Stanleys, Talbots, and Howards—which sustained him.\footnote{For further discussion of the poetry reflecting baronial loyalty see Chapter Six.} To the court writers and the intellectual poets, on the other hand, power was largely centered in the crown. Writing often in Latin, occasionally in French, and at first seldom in English, parading classic and mythological figures in tedious catalogues at the expense of native English references, these men, nevertheless, laid some of the ground work for a later Elizabethan exaltation of centralized sovereign power which was to pervade poetic literature on every level.

Although both Henry VII and Henry VIII grounded their reigns in personal authority, each used every means at his disposal to assure dynastic succession. Accutely aware of the volcanic chaos of the Wars of the Roses, the bloody precautions of Richard III, and the weakness of his own legal claim, Henry VII sought to establish a future of clear,
legitimate succession.

We have already noted the poetic celebration of Henry VII's marriage to Elizabeth of York—a marriage which was particularly significant to Englishmen because it represented the possible fulfilment of two of their strongest hopes. On the one hand it meant the prospect of unity and an end to the enervating civil war; on the other, it represented the practical step which had to be taken to stabilize succession. The second hope seemed to have been fulfilled when Arthur Tudor was born on September 19, 1486, and the court poets were quick to take up their pens in praise. André, in a Latin poem, heralds the birth of a son sprung from famous kings.15 The royal boy Arthur has risen from Olympus sent from heaven, another hope for the kingdom. André calls for great preparations to celebrate the noble occasion, and urges the priests to shout forth sweet hymns and pray to the holy powers so that they may bestow favor on the boy that he may increase the splendid deeds of his parents and surpass his ancestors in piety and bravery. Petrus Carmelianus' Latin poem on the birth of Arthur has already been discussed as it applies to the principle of unity. But the ultimate fruit of the meeting in heaven between God and the saints, and Henry VI's recommended plan for unity is the noble issue which proceeds from the ordained marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. Their son, Carmelianus assures his readers, is born of blood twice royal and represents a firm security, and eternal ornament for the kingdom.16

15Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, pp. 41-42.
16Ibid., p. lviii.
Coupled with the natural courtly joy over a male heir to the throne ran an aroused sense of the return of a great British line of kings. Welshmen in particular had seized on Henry VII's somewhat oblique Welsh ancestry to build their national sense of pride and history. André at the beginning of his Latin prose history of Henry VII emphasizes the Welsh idea too. He passes lightly over Henry's descent from Edward III with the comment that Henry's relationship by blood to foreign potentates is a subject already much dealt with. Instead he centers attention on Henry's grandfather Sir Owen Tudor, a Welsh knight who married Catherine, widow of Henry V, and traced his descent back to Cadwallader and the old British kings. The birth of Arthur inspired a new surge of memory and fulfilled prophecy, for Merlin had predicted that Arthur would return from Avalon to rule Britain again.

In a poem on the creation of Arthur as Prince of Wales in 1489, André refers joyfully to the great British background which the name implies. In courtly hyperbole he extols this boy sprung from another magnificent Arthur. On this day, says the poet, the generations of the great Arthur can see the clear image of his return. John de Giglis wrote two Latin epigrams on the name of Arthur. Whatever prophet once foretold that Arthur would return as a leader was very great, says Giglis. The divine predictions have already been fulfilled. In the

17 For a thorough discussion of this point see W. Garmon Jones, "Welsh Nationalism and Henry Tudor," Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion (Session for 1917-18) 1919.
18 See Gairdner's discussion of André's history, Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, p. lx.
19 Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, pp. 44-46.
20 They appear in MS. Harleian 336, folios 83-84.
21 From an extract quoted by Gairdner, Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, p. lx.
new prince, believe not so much that the name of the great Arthur has returned, but that the illustrious deeds of the man have returned.

Like the Tudor approach to unity, then, the poetic articulation of establishing royal succession assumed a tone of positive greatness. Prince Arthur died in infancy, however, and his younger brother Henry fell heir to the confident hope for a great Tudor line. Stephen Hawes' song at the end of his "Example of Virtue" speaks warmly of Henry VII's fruitful marriage to Elizabeth of York. From this union

Prince Henry is sprung, our king to be,
After his father, by right good equity.
O, noble Prince Henry! our second treasure,
Surmounting in virtue and mirror of beauty!
O, gem of gentleness and lantern of pleasure!
O, rubicund blossom and star of humility!
O, famous bud, full of benignity!
I pray to God well for to increase
Your high Estate in rest and peace!22

In "A Joyfull medytacyon," written on Henry VIII's coronation in 1509, Hawes again speaks of Henry as the flower of a virtuous union. He reserves special praise for Henry's marriage to Catherine of Arragon (to whom Arthur had been betrothed previously), noting that Catherine is "dyscended lynyally of the lyne of noblenesse" and praying for God's blessing on the union that from it may spring future royal rulers.23 Thomas More likewise praises Catherine as a devoted and beautiful mate who is descended from great kings and who will be the mother of great kings. He prophesies that Catherine will present Henry with a male heir—a protection in unbroken line. 24

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22 The Dunbar Anthology, ed. Arber, p. 294.
23 University Microfilms no. 1299, Case ix, Carton 49 (Ohio State University Library).
Unfortunately the male heir did not appear, and Henry became involved in the great controversy over Catherine's divorce. In this connection, it is very interesting to observe how concern for an heir to the throne could be conditioned by other contemporary events. On October 24, 1526, William Tyndale's English translation of the New Testament was burned at Paul's Cross. The burning inspired a heated controversy which swirled around the whole idea of bringing the Bible into the vernacular. Two participants in this controversy were William Roy, an English Franciscan monk, and Jerome Barlow, who had been interested observers of the Reformation struggle going on in Germany. Following a disputation between Protestant and Catholic divines at Berne in 1528 in which the Protestant forces succeeded in legally suppressing the Mass, Altars, and Images, Roy and Barlow joined forces to write a verse dialogue which mockingly took up the problem of how and where the Mass should be buried. Entitled "Rede me and be nott wrothe," the piece attacks the burning of Tyndale's Testament (Roy had aided Tyndale with the printing) and bitterly accuses Cardinal Wolsey for his part in blocking the English version. By this time Wolsey had inspired a good deal of popular disapproval for his French preoccupations, heavy taxations, and public demonstrations of pride. He began to appear in contemporary literature as the agent of all that was amiss in England, while Henry, a popular monarch, was credited with any positive achievement. Among the major factors in Wolsey's

ultimate downfall was his failure to negotiate successfully the divorce
which Henry so urgently desired. Although Henry's driving ambition for
a male heir was at the root of the problem, Wolsey was very widely
thought of as the chief agent of division between the king and queen.
Roy and Barlow, in a passage from "Rede me," censure Wolsey for meddling
in Henry's marriage.

Wat. Some cause then he hath espyed
   Which asonder theym to devyde
   Is necessary and vrgent.
Jef. Nothynge but the butcher doth fayne
   That the goode lady is barayne
   Lyke to be past chylde bearynge.
Wat. Had the kynge never chylde by her?
Jef. No man sawe ever goodlyer
   Then those which she forth did brynge.
Wat. Is there eny of them a lyve?
Jef. Ye a Princes/whom to descriye
   It were herde fo an oratoure.
   She is but a chylde of age
   And yett is she bothe wyse and sage
   Of very beautifull faveoure.
   Perfectly she doth represent
   The singuler graces excellent
   Bothe of father and mother.
   Howe be it all this not regardynge
   The carter of yorke is meddelynge
   Forto divorce theym a sonder.26

Thus while the court poets, preoccupied early with continuing the line
in which they saw the return of legendary masculine deeds, celebrated
rigorously the idea of a male heir, Barlow and Roy can turn the idea
aside in the heat of their later attack on Wolsey and find the Princess
Mary a perfectly satisfactory example of a fruitful royal marriage.

However, the downfall of Wolsey and the coronation of Henry's
second queen, Anne Boleyn, in 1533, reaffirmed the courtly hope for a

26 Ibid., p. 52
royal prince. John Leland and Nicholas Udall composed verses in Latin
and English which gave center stage to Henry's avowed reason for shedding
Catherine. In Latin verses representing songs in praise of the beau­
iful Anne, Udall puts in the mouth of each of the Muses a hope for a
worthy successor to King Henry. Clio petitions heaven to make Anne
fruitful with men-children, Calliope exhorts all citizens to pray for
a fruitful marriage, Melpomene hopes that the crown will sit well on
Anne's forehead and prays that she may bless her prince and her country
with a son, Thalia asks for many heirs, Urania predicts that the life
which beats even now within the queen will be a brave son, and so on.
In Cornhill at the pageant of St. Anne another motivation for a fruit­
ful marriage is set forth in a child's speech to the queen. From St.
Anne issued the founders and establishers of the true faith—the holy
generation of Christ, James the apostle, and John. Through their good
lives and teachings, the child reminds this new Anne, our faith has
been confirmed and unfailingly propagated. The new queen must preserve
the work of her holy namesake:

Right soo, dere ladie, our quene moste excellent,
highly endued with all giftes of grace,—
As by your living is well apparente,—
Wee the Citizens, by you in shorte space
hope suche issue and descente to purchase,
Whereby the same faith shalbee defended,
And this Citie from all daungers preserved.28

Leland's verses on the arrival at Westminster Palace and the coronation
itself compare Anne's virtues to all those of former beauties ending

27 The verses are printed in Furnivall's Ballads from Manuscripts,
I, 379-401.
28 Ibid., p. 389.
with a hope that she may be more fruitful than Niobe in order that her husband may see his face in her child.  

A ballad written sometime before the birth of Edward in 1537 gives an indication of how the populace looked at the problem of succession. Writing on the occasion of Henry's dancing with his daughter, the author lavishes praise on the beauty of the royal pair. They impress him as "most lyke a God and a Goddesse." The princess is very young but she is wise and "facunde fayre" in the eyes of her beholder. The attitude is reminiscent of Roy and Barlow's comments on the young princess. However, this anonymous versifier is not content with the prospect of a woman ruler.

I pray Christ save father and mother,  
And this yonge ladye fayre;  
And send her shortlye a brother,  
To be Englandes righte heire.  

National appeals for royal progeny were temporarily stilled when the hoped for heir was born to Henry's third queen, Jane Seymour, in 1537. Prince Edward became the hope of all those who wished to see the policies of his father carried forward. Roger Ascham in a Latin poem to Henry VIII praises the king for smashing the pontifical authority of Rome and establishing a true relationship with Christian doctrine, then turns to honor Edward as the hope of the next domain.  

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29 Ibid., p. 401.
day hailing him in typically exaggerated language as the co-author (with his father) of all joy, peace, and prosperity in the realm.

Although Edward preserved the continuity of male succession, his short rule and early death were a prelude to a power struggle which would severely test the sentiment for legitimacy. National attention turned to Protector Somerset and the Earl of Warwick, the two nobles who dominated the political scene while Edward was being carefully schooled in the Protestant faith. Somerset had tried hard to force the marriage contract between his nephew Edward and Mary of Scotland. A son from such a union might have helped to accomplish what all the English military reminders to Scotland had failed to do in achieving the union of these two countries. Somerset failed here just as his feeling for the commoners and his general reluctance to prosecute the peasants when, under Robert Ket, they revolted against the encloser movement in 1549, brought about his failure as Protector in the eyes of the Council. Somerset's fall ushered in the Earl of Warwick's ascendancy and a complete shift in policy. A personally ambitious man, Warwick had himself created Duke of Northumberland, supported the enclosure movement, and capitulated at every turn in England's foreign affairs. He sacrificed English interests in Boulogne, recognized the betrothal of Mary Stuart to Francis, son of the French king, and tried to placate the Scots by surrendering English military positions without compensation. The greatest evidence of his selfish concern

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32 Ibid., pp. 279-81.
lay in his wild maneuvering to hold onto the royal power. Fearing the succession of Mary Tudor, a staunch Catholic, the strongly Protestant duke persuaded the young and Protestant-oriented king to will the crown to Lady Jane Grey, the eldest granddaughter of Henry VIII's younger sister, Mary. Through the marriage of his own eldest son, Guildford Dudley, to Lady Jane, Northumberland saw the chance to replace the Tudors with a Dudley line. If the scheming duke thought that bold action and assertive power alone were sufficient still to gain the crown of England, he was mistaken; for when, on Edward's death in 1553, Lady Jane was declared queen, Mary Tudor shrewdly avoided the duke's treacherous attempt to seize her and issued a call to arms. The Englishmen who represented power at that moment were less willing to risk the prospect of another civil war than they were to welcome a Catholic, but rightful heir. Northumberland's forces dissolved and Mary was crowned as the fourth Tudor monarch.

Poetic response to this series of events shows again that although power was the practical object of Tudor respect, strong feeling in behalf of rightful royal succession could be a definitive agent in shaping that power. T.W., the author of a ballad entitled "A nunuectye agaynst Treason" written shortly after Northumberland was sent to the Tower, sees history repeated in the duke's evil designs.  

Consyderyng oft the state of man, and of his mortall lyfe,

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Which is but short and very ful of mutabylyte,
I called to remembraunce the hateful war and stryfe
Which hath ben don within this realme throug gret iniquite,—
In clymyng to achyue the crowne & reyal dingnyte
Of this kyngdome, now called England, but somtyme greate bretain,
And howe by false and ranke traytours the kynges they haue ben slayne.

What moued the Duke of Glocester, Edwarde the fourthes brother,
Of his two natural Newewes, by lyneall dissent,
Secyng of them distruction, and also of the queene their mother,
But that he the ryghtfull rayne of them he falsely myght preuent?
Styll workynge tyl he had brought to passe his false and yll entent,
by murtherynge the innocentes, that he him selfe myght raygne,
Yet lyke a moughty false traytour at Boseworth was he slayne.

After further censure of the usurping Richard, the ballad writer turns
to the "many treasons mo" which were done against Henry VIII. In the
demise of "olde Hemson and...Dudley" and other "men of wyckednes" he
sees God's hand preserving and protecting the rightful line of Tudor
kings. Now in Edward's reign the seeds of treachery have blossomed
again.

But out, alas, the noughty sede of traytours hath increased,
And spronge vp very hastely, nowe in his sonnes dayes,—
Edwarde the syxt, forsoth I meane, whom god hath now displaced,
Which sought and mynded goddes glory, entendyng vertuous wayes,—
With him and his two vncles deare they made dyuers assayes,
Vntyll such tyme as they cought them, in theyr most crafty trayne,
And so workyng most wyckedly the ryghteous haue they slayne.

At last they dyd attempt agaynst theyr lyege Lady and Queene,
Mary, by the grace of god of Englannde and of Fraunce,
And also ryght heyre of Irelande, most comly to be sene,
Whom the myghty lorde preserve from all hurt and myschaunce;
For she to ioyfull godlynes ledeth the perfect daunce;
Whom god at her great nede doth helpe, workynge nothyng in vayyne,
Subdueth to her enemies al, which wrought with dreadful trayne:

When they forth went, lyke men they were, most fearefull to beholde;
Of force and eke of pusaunt power they semed very stronge;
In theyr attemptes, also, they were both fearse and wonders bolde.
If god wolde haue ben helper to such as stryueth in the wronge—
But at the last he helped vs, though we thought it ryght lone.
The Nobles here proclaymed her queene, in voydyng of all blame;
Wherefore prayse we the lorde aboue, and magnyfie his name.
(stanzas 7-9)

The people rejoice in the victory of their "ryghtful queene," and revile the treacherously ambitious Northumberland who sought to divide the line.

And where as he went forth full glad, as prince both stout and bolde,
He came a traytour in full sad, with hart that myght be colde;--
The same whom al before dyd feare, and were in most subiection,
The people wolde in peeces teare, yf they myght haue election;
The same for whom before they prayde, reuyled was and curste,
And he that longe the swynge hath swayde was now most vyle & worst.
We se, therfore, the overthrowe of al theyr wicked wayes,
Howe wicked might is brought furlowe, to god's great laude & prayse.
(stanza 12)

Richard Beard, in his ballad "A Godly Psalme, of Marye Queene, which brought vs comfort al" (1553), finds Mary's triumph over her enemies a symbol of unity and strength.

Wee for our owne great variaunce
Did forayne straungers feare,
Lest they throughe our discension heare
Might rule among vs beare:

But now wee skal with vnytie
Bee able to withstand
And vanquish al our enemies,
And driue such from our land.

Our kyngdome which deuyded so
Could neuer longe abyde:
Shall now in vnitie bee kept,
And treason bee espied.34

Like the author of "A ninuectyue agaynst Treason," Beard sees God's hand directing the orderly and lawful accession of the rightful monarch

34No. 18 in Fugitive Tracts written in verse which illustrate the condition of religious and political feeling in England, First Series, 1493-1600. Printed for Private Circulation (1875).
to the throne of England.

for hee hath set and stablyshed
Our worthy soueraygne
And oure liege Lady, Marie Queene,
On vs by treuth to raygne.

The lawful, iust, and rightuouse,
of England, head, and Queene:
To bee the true enheritoure,
As hathe her brother beene.

Not clayming by collusion,
Nor cloking it by sleyght:
But by her byrth, descending from
Her godly father streight.

Neither Beard nor T.W. worried over the religious changes which Mary might instigate; in fact there is no evidence that either writer expected any major departure from Edward's policies. But both argue strongly for the order of rightful Tudor succession to which they attribute God's ultimate blessing.

Even an avowed Catholic such as George Cavendish seems almost more anxious to justify Mary's right to the crown than he is to welcome the return of Catholic ascendency. His "Metrical Visions" laments the untimely death of Edward, a "Virgin prynce" and a "mayden kyng" who never had an unclean thought and who will reign immortal in heaven. God has changed the sex but preserved the virtue of English monarchy.

For the losse of a kyng which was a virgin clean,
He hathe restored us a mayden quene.36

The duty of Englishmen is clear.

Let us love hir with faythful harts,

35 Printed in The life of Cardinal Wolsey...and Metrical visions from the original autograph manuscript, ed. Samuel W. Singer (Chiswick, 1825), II, 1-172. The last of the "Visions" were written early in the reign of Elizabeth.
36 Ibid., p. 36.
For she is our lawfull quene, born by just dissent;  
We be hir subjects, it is therfore our parts  
To be to hir obedient, with a good entent.  

In a "fall of princes" theme, the Duke of Northumberland is thrust before an audience unsympathetic to treason and made to confess his crime.

Thus I presumed by falce usurpation,  
In all Englonde to quenche the cleare light,  
And troble the lynne of just succession,  
Which I intendyd by force, and not of ryght,  
Contrary to the order of a royal knyght,  
To subdue the lawfull quene, I falcely did ordyn,  
That I in this regyon the quyeter myght rayn.

Northumberland's failure to seize royal power through Lady Jane Grey was a victory for lawful Tudor succession, but the preservation of that victory depended once again upon a direct heir to the throne. In the eyes of some, the prospect of a royal prince to spring from the queen's marriage to Philip of Spain in 1554 was enough to submerge any temporary misgivings about foreign influence. A ballad written probably in October of 1554 when the queen thought herself with child encourages those who feared "that this letel england shold lacke a right heire."

And yet synce her highness was planted in peace,  
Her subiectes wer dubtful of her highnes' increse;  
But nowe the recôfort their murmour doth cease,  
They haue their owne wyshynge, their woes doo releasse.

37Ibid.  
38Ibid., p. 143.  
39Entitled "Nowe singe, nowe springe, our care is exil'd, Oure vertuous Queene is quickned with child," the piece is printed in Rollins' Old English Ballads, pp. 20-22.
And suche as enuied the matche and the make,
And in their procedinges stoo'de styffe as a stake,
Are now reconcilèd, their malis dothe slake,
And all men are wilinge theyr partes for to take.

Our doutes be dyssoluèd, our fansies contented,
The mariage is joyfull that many lamented;
And suche as enuied, like foles haue repented
The Errours & Terrors that they have inuèted.

(Frangas 4-6)

Froude's description of the circumstances in his History of England shows how strong was the contemporary hope for a male heir: "Not only was the child assuredly coming, but its sex was decided on, and circulairs were drawn and signed both by the king and queen, with blanks only for the month and day, announcing to ministers of state, to ambassadors, and to foreign sovereigns, the birth of a prince."^40

Another ballad, this one bearing the strong Catholic bias of its author Leonard Stopes, an English priest, petitions for Queen Mary's fruitful marriage through an Ave Maria.

Fruyte of her body God graunte vs to see,
This Royalme to rule in peace and in rest;
That louyng, as she is, to vs maye be,
Who woulde vs all, as our hertes can thinke best.

... Wombe that she beareth by God be it blest,
From dauger of childing whe God he shal sende
Neuer by enemyes to see her supprest,
But as his chosen, to haue heere her ende."^41

Even William Forrest, whose verse "History of Grisild the Second"^42 extols the surpassing virtue and patience of Catholic Mary and her mother.

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^40 History of England, VI (1870), 346.
^41 Rollins, Old English Ballads, pp. 17-18. The piece is entitled "An AVE MARIA in Commendation of our most Vertuous Queene" and is printed on pp. 13-18.
Catherine of Arragon, finds it necessary to apologize for his two heroines, neither of whom produced a male heir to the crown. Picking up the tale of the supremely patient woman which Boccaccio, Petrarch, and Chaucer had told before him, Forrest catalogues the gracious virtues of his modern Grisild (Catherine of Arragon) and presents the tribute to her daughter and queen in 1558. Very much aware of the always pressing popular desire for royal children to continue the line, Forrest works hard to show that Catherine's condemnation on these grounds was not justified. He reminds his readers that Catherine did give birth to a son, and he puts in her mouth a studiously proper lament that the infant Prince Arthur died so young.

He was not a chylde of the commone sorte,
Hee was a Prynce and heyre vnto a Kinge,
Somuche the heauyer his tyme heere so shorte,
Somuche the more myste for State contynuynge
Somuche the more for hym my sorowynge.\(^3\)

Mary's subsequent birth erases the disappointment, however, and elevates the realm to "highe felycitee" and orderly prosperity.

In Brytayne that tyme was much tranquyllytee,
Plentye of althyngis in computation
That serued (of neade) to mannys sustentation.

The honour of God duelye florischinge,
His seruyce mayntayned eauerye wheare\(^4\)

On such evidence that Catherine could fulfill her charge as the mother of future English rulers, Forrest can attack his fellow-Catholic Wolsey on much the same grounds that Roy and Barlow called him to account for.

\(^{43}\)Ibid., p. 41.
\(^{44}\)Ibid., p. 45.
He derides the divorce-conscious cardinal as

A wycked man, a vearye Belyall,  
Puffed withe pryde moste passinge speciall,  
Whoe (certaynly) without cause or skyll  
Towardys goode Grysilde beeare lytle goode wyll.45

When, after much abuse and suffering, all borne stoically, Grisild is forced to bid barewell to her daughter, she reminds the child of her noble blood,

O Mary mayde, by lyneall descent  
Spronge of the fresche and sweete Rose rubycounde46

and charges her to obey her father and serve her country well without bitterness if she should come to high estate. Later on Forrest reaffirms that the charges used to bring about the divorce— that Catherine was sterile and that she was unlawfully wed to the brother of her former husband (Arthur)— are false. He insists that God, if he had thought Henry's and Catherine's copulation evil, would not have exalted Mary and permitted her to become queen.47 His final assessment of Catherine's virtues begins with a tribute to "her highe and noble Progenye."48

A concluding section, "To the Queenys Majestie," is addressed directly to Mary.49 Here Forrest cements his conception of Mary's rightful reign through a detailed assertion of the growing doctrine of absolute obedience. Although the argument is saturated with a Catholic belief that Mary has been chosen by God "to set free his Churche owte of bondage," there is an unmistakable reliance on the popular concern

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46 Ibid., p. 108.  
47 Ibid., pp. 133-34.  
48 Ibid., p. 144.  
49 Ibid., p. 149 ff.
for legal, rightful succession. Forrest does not fail to indict the scheming Duke of Northumberland before the queen for "defrawdynge thy right."

Again, like the author of the ballad of 1554 when Mary thought herself pregnant, Forrest is sure that Philip's unpopularity as a foreigner will dissolve in recognition of his position to give England an heir to the throne. He prophesies to Mary:

Then shall oure kynge bee nomore as straunge Geste
But, as behoauethe, withe thee taaffociat
After oure longinge, issue to procreat.

It is significant in the evolution of pre-Elizabethan thought that two apparently contradictory justifications for sovereignty— the practical demonstration of power, and the maintenance of rightful dynastic succession— could seem so little opposed in their relationship to the higher goal of stability. Each idea, as we have seen, occurs in both the popular and the more intellectual poetry of early Tudor times. If the popular respect for power found its early sustenance in a feudal and baronial pattern of loyalty, then the first really major threat to Tudor succession, posed by Northumberland's plot, brought about a lively common interest in the crown itself and urged the popular consciousness toward its later unrestrained adulation of centralized sovereignty in the person of Elizabeth. The intellectual poetry of the court paid its homage to power too, but necessarily writers such as André, Carmelianus, Giglis, Skelton, and More sang at the feet of Henry VII and his son.

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50 Ibid., p. 155.
51 Ibid., p. 161.
Like the popular writers, the court poets celebrated that power which sustained them, but their interest in the preservation of the Tudor line had a purer motivation. In the coming of Henry VII, and in the birth of Prince Arthur some of them saw the return of legendary Welsh heroes and the dawning of a great new chapter in English history, a vision which was to be consummated later in Spenser's great tribute to the virgin queen. Thus respect for power and hope for dynastic succession—practical values shared by popular and courtly writers alike—combined with a courtly sense of rising destiny to lead England toward a nationalistic awakening.
CHAPTER 3

ISOLATIONISM AND ANTI-FOREIGN SENTIMENT

Engelond ys a wel god lond, ich wene of eche lond best,
Y set in the ende of the world, as al in the West,
the see goth hym al a boute, he stont as an yle. ¹

So wrote Robert of Gloucester in the preface to his rhymed chronicle
at the end of the thirteenth century. Secure in his islands surrounded
by the sea, this early historian could praise his native land as the
noblest on earth. Such a sentiment found fertile ground again in the
later sixteenth century, when the catalytic congeniality of England's
geographical isolation and her dynamic sovereignty flared in the minds
of Googe, Kyffin, Lyly, Churchyard, and Shakespeare. But pre-Elizabethan
Tudor poets were not yet ready to sound such a note of pure patriotism.
We have seen how England's continental and civil wars of the fourteenth
and fifteenth centuries produced the reactionary fruit of Henry VII's
pacific and unifying policies. It was the court poets who gave a
running commentary on this theme partly because it was their function
to propagandize governmental policy, but just as surely because they
felt England's need for security and stability. One might expect that
the contemporary situation should also invite a rather strong sense of
isolationism. This kind of feeling has, until very recently, been the
traditional national reaction, particularly among nations with definitive
natural boundaries, to periods of war and strife. Most notable perhaps
in recent illustration of this tendency was the United States' insistent

¹Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, in The Works of Thomas Hearne,
I (London, 1810), 1.
isolationist policy following World War I when she sponsored the theoretic structure of international cooperation in the League of Nations, and then retreated to the security of her geographical isolation to let the rest of the world run its course.

Something of this isolationist spirit gripped early Tudor Englishmen, too. A Venetian visitor to England about the year 1500 finds the English all wrapped up in their own little world: "The English are great lovers of themselves, and of everything belonging to them; they think there are no other men than themselves, and no other world but England; and whenever they see a handsome foreigner, they say that 'he looks like an Englishman,' and that 'it is a great pity that he should not be an Englishman'\(^2\) While the Scots are hospitable and friendly toward foreigners, the English are distinctly hostile, continues the Italian, imagining that foreigners never come to Britain but to conquer, or to usurp British goods.\(^3\)

However, this is the critical observation of a foreigner. Alexander Barclay gives us a less objective, but perhaps more significant insight into the part which Britain's isolation played in the contemporary literary hope for peace when he addresses himself to Henry VIII in an original envoy to the section "Of the great myght and power of folys"


\(^3\)Ibid., pp. 15, 24.
In his Ship of Fools.

we Brytons be fully separate
From all the worlde as is sene by eydenyce
Wallyd with the se, and longe ben in debate
By insurreccion yet God hath made defence
By his prouysionordeyned us a prynce.
In all vertues most noble and excellent
This prynce is Harry cleene of conscience
Smellynge as the Rose ay freshe and redolent

... 

By his reygne is all Englonde lawreat
With godly peas nat nedyngre great defence
Murdred is Mars, and with wounds sawciate
The bondys of peas hath dryuen the tyrant hens
Banyashed is batayle by his magnyficence
And peas confermyd by god omnapotent
The blype Venus chefe grounde of neglygence
Is exyled from the rede Rose redolent.4

In these lines, Britain's removed location "wallyd with the se" serves as a kind of introductory assurance of her prospects for continued peace under a God-given prince. In the next section, however, Barclay gives his blessing quite directly to the theory of isolation. Brandt's long chapter on geography in his Narrenschiff (1494) had demonstrated that the German contemporary of Columbus regarded geographers and explorers as fools.5 It is foolish, he argued, to seek knowledge of the earth, its dimensions and shape, and other such unimportant information when man does not even know his own mind. Archimedes knew much about these things, yet could not describe the end of his own life. Pliny had insisted that it was absurd to calculate the outside measurements of the earth without knowing its contents and without knowing the limits of

one's own mind. Sternly Brandt directs his contemporaries back into a confining moral and religious microcosm. Fools are dazzled by earthly joys; death and the kingdom of God should occupy men's thoughts more.

Adapting his material to English interests through Locher's Latin version, Barclay takes note of the recent stir caused by Portuguese and Spanish discoveries.

For nowe of late hath large londe and grounde
Ben founde by maryners and crafty governours,
The whiche londes were never knownen nor founde
Byfore our tyme by our predecessours;
And here after shall by our successours
Parchaunce mo be founde wherein men dwell
Of whome we never before this same harde tell.

Ferdynandus that late was kynge of spayne
Of londe and people hath founde plenty and store
Of whome the bydynge to vs was uncertayne
No christen man of them harde tell before.6

Then he endorses Brandt's attack on such macrocosmic concerns. It is foly to tende vnto the lore
And vnsure science of vayne geometry
Syns none can knowe all the worlde perfytely.7

In his own envoy which follows Barclay continues the judgment:

For certaynly it is rebuke and shame
For man to labour onely for a name
To knowe the compasse of all the worlde wyde
Nat knowynge hum selfe, nor howe he sholde hym gyde.8

John Cabot had brought England into the early movement for discovery and settlement in 1497, but the time for serious English exploration was not yet. Englishmen were still disposed, in the main, to think of

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7Ibid., p. 26.
8Ibid., p. 27.
their own islands as an exclusive end and concern. In fact, Barclay himself becomes an unintentional example of the very isolationism which he was preaching. Locher, in his Latin version of Brandt's work, had referred to Ferdinand as the king of Spain in 1497. Twelve years later, Barclay, faced with the problem of reproducing the reference, and ignorant of the actual situation in Spain, assumes that it would be safe to refer to the very much alive Ferdinand as the "late" king of Spain. Elsewhere Barclay betrays an interesting ignorance of the world outside his islands. In the section entitled "Of the ruyne, inclynacion and decay of the holy fayth catholyke, and dymynucion of the Empyre," he mentions Denmark and its Mt. Etna as an area threatened by the advancing Turks. Such geographic confusion reveals the insular ignorance in which most Englishmen viewed the outside world in early Tudor times.

However, if Barclay found fault with the tendency of some to range the seas in search of foolish knowledge--a general criticism--he could likewise bring home to Englishmen a very specific criticism of just where many of them pursued even an acceptable kind of knowledge. Drawing on his source's indictment of those proud fools who seek an education in foreign universities, Barclay attacks their English counterparts in the section "Of elevuate pryde, and bostynge." He reminds Englishmen that Lucifer is the inventor of the sort of pride which drives them off

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9Pompen, p. 226.
10Jamieson, II, 198.
to such foreign universities as Paris and Padua (especially frequented by English students at this time). England can provide all that one needs of education and virtue.

Another bostyth hym self that he hath ben
In Grece at scolyes and many other londe
But if that he were aposyd well I wene
The grekes letters he skant doth vnderstonde
But thou vayne boster if thou wylt take on honde
To stody cunynge and ydylne despyse
The royalme of Englonde myght for the suffyse

In englonde is suffycyent discyplyne
And noble men endued with scyence
And if thou lyst to aply to theyr doctryne
Thou mayst lerne wysdome and noble eloquence
Haunt them that haue therin preemynence
And to theyr Instruccyon with all thy mynde intende
It is no great boste to haue sene the worldes ende.\(^1\)

Sir Thomas More, in the first of his Latin epigrams on Henry VIII's coronation, reflects the same mental conjunction of isolation and peace that animated Barclay's tribute to Henry in the Ship of Fools. Pyramid¬ing the new king's virtues, and contrasting them in some measure with the characteristics of Henry VII, More predicts for the future a kind of isolating solidarity. Henry VII inspired fear in his subjects, but his son replaces that with love and banishes fear to the hearts of England's enemies. The love of Englishmen coupled with the fear of foreign foes will hedge Henry round in peace and safety.\(^2\) In another epigram on an Englishman who affected to speak French,\(^3\) More attacks his "friend and companion," Lalus, who, though born and brought up in

England, seemed to have an unseemly appetite for all things French. More complains that Lalus struts about in French dress and delights in his cape, belt, purse, sword, and cap. He proudly keeps a French servant whom he treats, his accuser pointedly observes, as a Frenchman would treat his servant: he pays him nothing, clothes and feeds him badly, and publicly abuses him. Moreover Lalus swells with pride over his badly spoken French, and he speaks Latin, English, Italian, Spanish, and German with a French accent, although his French is delivered with an English accent. All these affectations, warns Sir Thomas, are apparently blind to the fact that England is isolated from France by a mighty sea and by irrevocable differences in language and custom. Such a fool deserves a complete and ignominious metamorphosis: "But if any native of Britain in this haughty way scorns his native land in an apelike effort to feign and counterfeit the follies of the French, I think that such a man has been made mad by drinking of the River Gallus. Therefore, since he is trying to change from Englishman to Frenchman, order him ye gods, to change from cock to capon."

Henry VIII's break with Rome added a new dimension to the idea of isolation. Although the actual rupture itself sprang from Henry's personal problems and ambitions, the resulting situation nourished itself on several of the forces we have already described. Here was a Tudor monarch asserting his power in the boldest kind of manner, and here lay the possibility to escape a traditionally burdensome foreign influence and to unify English government. If England were separate from other realms by virtue of her location, all the more reason that she should
develop an independent kind of administrative policy. Just as the Tudor desire to consolidate the British Isles led to a militant sense of unity, so Henry's assumption of power in the church inspired in his supporters a militant sense of separateness. Replying in "An Exhortation to styrre all Englyshemen to the defence of theyr countreye" to the numerous libels published in Italy attacking Henry's action, an English defender of his king reflects this attitude in 1539. He takes strong exception to an accusation that Englishmen, once courageous, bold, and valiant, are now less eligible for admiration, and that England now decays. "What thynge," he demands, "had Englande ever that it now lacketh, bondage of the proude tyrant of Rome layde apart?" He insists on England's perennial power to defend and maintain herself pointing back to her great victories over the French and Scots. He sees now the need for England to draw within herself for yet another defense. No king has better prepared England for this sort of assertive removal from foreign influence than Henry VIII. His building plans deserve

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14The piece is one of several written by Richard Morison, an official apologist for Henry VIII. A large part of the tract is printed by Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges in Censura Literaria, VII (London, 1808), 36-43. Morison was one of a small group of English scholars who had studied at the household of Reginald Pole in Italy and who were encouraged by Henry and Cromwell to put their learning to use in their king's service. Previous to "An Exhortation," Morison had written two attacks on the Pilgrimage of Grace rebels: "A lamentation in which is shewed what Ruyne and destruction cometh of seditious rebellyon" and "A Remedy for seditio, wherein are conteyned many thynges, concernynge the true and loyall obeysance, that commeth owe unto their prince and soveraygne lorde the kyng." (See W. Gordon Zeeveld, "Richard Morison, Official Apologist for Henry VIII," PMLA, LV (March-June, 1940), 406-25; and extensive discussion throughout Zeeveld's book, Foundations of Tudor Policy (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948).
universal applause. "What a realme woll Engleand be, when his Grace hath set walles, accordynge to the ditches, that runne rounde about us? Englande woll than be much liker a castell than a realme." Following a description of the various defenses, the author goes a long way toward justifying the observation made by the Venetian visitor about 1500: that Englishmen continually mistrust foreign motives. Of the Romish party he warns, "we must not think that we fight with enemies, which wol be content with victorie, if they gette the over hande of us: they seke our bloude, they covet our destruction, and if they spare some, yet the sacke, the spoyle, shall touch all men."

Three or four years earlier Thomas Starkey had produced "A Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset". Anxious to capitalize on his stroke of 1534, Henry had sought the approval of such recognized authority as Reginald Pole, in order that the people might fully accept their king's new position. Starkey provided this approval in his "Dialogue" where he represents Pole condemning the Pope's usurpation of power. Lupset argues that the Pope's power comes from Christ, but Pole replies that the power to dispense with laws was given to the Pope and the cardinals by man. He condemns the practice of appeal-

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15England in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth: A Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset, Lecturer in Rhetoric at Oxford, ed. J.M. Cowper, Part II (London, 1871), EETS, Extra Series, XII. The "Dialogue" is printed under the same cover with Starkey's Life and Letters, ed. S.J. Herrtage, Part I (London, 1878), EETS, Extra Series, XXXII. Herrtage assumed that the "Dialogue" was not completed until 1538, but recent scholarship has shown that Starkey finished it "between October, 1535, and June, 1536" (Fritz Caspari, Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1954, pp. 252-53).
ing everything to Rome on grounds that it is "grete hurte to the commyn wele" and "grete schame and dyshonowre to our cuntrey."\textsuperscript{16} Furthermore, he favors English adoption of a native law based on the old Roman Civil Law—a law which would prohibit any cause being sued outside of England "except causys of scysme in the faythe."\textsuperscript{17} For the maintenance of Roman power in England under the pretense of religion "hath byn one of the gretyst ruynys that euer hath come to the reame of Englond."

Pole, of course, is a good example of the conflicting allegiances of the times. He had risen rapidly to favor under Henry VIII, and he had given evidence of his love for England. Nevertheless his strong religious feeling moved him finally to a bitter denunciation of Henry's divorce and assumption of church power in \textit{De Unitate}, which Pole wrote while he was on the continent and sent to Henry in 1536. In his own tract (which came as a rude shock to both Starkey and Henry and sealed the doom of Starkey's political career), Pole pleaded his patriotism as motive for advocating rebellion against Henry. It is both ironic and significant at this time when England was really beginning to feel her separateness and her autonomy on new levels, that Starkey, a hopeful apologist for Henry VIII, can take a staunch Catholic's "patriotism" and prematurely mould it into a defense of the very forces which it was soon to attack.

\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., p. 199.
In 1550 Robert Crowley found still another reason for a sort of isolationism. As a preacher, Crowley was preoccupied with moral and ethical concerns, and we find him in his "One and Thyrtie Epigrammes" speaking out as the prophet Isaiah had commanded to "tell the lorde's people of their iniquitie." Standing out plainly in the record of his fellow-Englishmen's iniquity are the vices pride and ambition. Englishmen should accept their ordained place in the scheme of things and devote their energies to the betterment of the commonwealth. Instead they engage in all kinds of selfish and prideful acts which disrupt the harmonious operation of an interdependent society. However, contentment, to Crowley, lies in acceptance and restricted effort.

Fyrste walke in thy vocation,
And do not seke thy lotte to chaunge;
For through wycked ambition,
Many mens fortune hath ben straynge.19

Among those who most effectively destroy social harmony are the "Inuenters of Straunge Newes"—those who go about telling great stories about what happens in other countries.

Such men cause the people,
That els woulde be styll,
To murmour and grudge,
Whych thyng is very ill.
Yea, sometyme they cause
The people to ryse,
And assemble them selfie
in most wycked wyse.20

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19 "The Voyc of the laste trumpet," The Select Works of Robert Crowley, p. 57.
Again in "The Voyce of the laste trumpet," a metrical sermon distinguished by its slavish adherence to the doctrine of absolute submission, Crowley warns England's governing officers to pay attention to internal matters and not to be distracted with foreign entanglements and wars:

Let thy study, therefore I saye,  
Be to rule thyne owne subiectes wel,  
And not to maynetayne warres alwaye,  
And make thy contrey lyke an hell.  
Let it suffice the, to defend  
Thy limites from invasian;  
And therein se thou do intende  
Thine owne peoples saluation.  
For, marke this: If thou do invade,  
And get by force commodite  
The same shal certenly be made  
A scorge to thy posteritye.21

A natural companion to the early Tudor sense of apartness was a strong antipathy to most things foreign. The Venetian visitor was strongly aware of this feeling in 1500, and we have been introduced to it directly in Barclay's criticism of foreign universities,22 and in More's censure of the French-affected Englishman, and in his de-

22What seemed "foreign" and therefore reprehensible to Barclay depended on whether it was associated with temporal or spiritual concerns. If his subject was temporal (as in the attack on foreign universities), then the term foreign applied to anything outside of England; if, however, his subject was spiritual, the term had a somewhat narrower application. As we have noted, Barclay retained the medieval, international concept of Christendom--a concept which allowed him to encourage militant Christian solidarity under English-Scottish leadership. On this level foreigners were those who lay outside the pale of Christendom: infidels as "sarasyns, paynems, turkes and such lyke" (Ship of Fools, ed. Jamieson, II, 188).

For of them all nat one, is fautles verely  
These folyes ar Forayns: and this is the cause why  
For from the folde of god they falsly them withdrawe  
And the trewe fayth, despysynge goddes lawe.  
(p. 189)
nunciation of papal power in England. Anti-foreign sentiment penetrated many areas of English consciousness. One of the most sensitive of these was the crown itself. As far back as the thirteenth century, Englishmen had demonstrated their active displeasure with foreign elements surrounding their king. In 1232, shortly after the minority of Henry III ended, a group of Englishmen robbed and burned the property of some Italian clergymen. Appointed directly to offices in the English church by the Pope, the Italians had displayed little interest in English affairs. They performed their duties indifferently and often selfishly. Furthermore they presented a language problem. All this irritated nationally minded Englishmen, and they were supported in their violent reaction by the highly influential Hubert de Burgh; but Henry III, who was indebted to the Pope for preserving the throne during his minority, saw this as a direct attack on papal authority and dismissed Hubert. He then surrounded himself with foreign favorites—Savoyards and Provencals—and set about self-rule. Rankled by this foreign favoritism, Henry's barons asked the king to replace his foreign advisors and friends with native Englishmen. Henry's refusal and subsequent developments brought on the Baron's War during which the Frenchman, Simon de Montfort, did so much to further the cause of early English nationalism.

Again in the reign of Henry VI, the baronial party out of favor tried hard to lay England's degenerating foreign power and her weak internal rule at the feet of foreign influence. In 1445 Henry had married Margaret of Anjou, who succeeded in dominating the king and promoting certain foreign causes. A strong Yorkist apologist, writing in the security of Edward IV's early rule, undertook a kind of history
of the Lancastrian dynasty in which he condemned all except the militarily successful Henry V. Henry VI's queen, Margaret, is directly attacked for her designs on the throne of England:

It ys right a gret abusion,  
A womman of a land to be a regent,  
Qwene Margrete I mene, that ever hathe ment  
To governe alle Engeland with myght and poure,  
And to destroye the ryght lyne was here entent,  
Wherfore sche hathe a fal, to here gret langoure

And now sche ne rought, so that sche myght attayne,  
Though alle Engeland were brought to confusion,  
Sche and here wykked affynité certayne  
Entende uttyrly to destroye thys region;  
For with theym ys but dethe and distruccioun,  
Robberye and vengeaunce, with alle rygour,  
Therfore alle that holde of that oppynioun,  
God sende hem a schort ende with meche langour.

Then the writer levels his guns on King Henry, who allowed unpatriotic preoccupations to "corrumphe hys owne nacion."

O it ys gretly agayne kynde and nature,  
An Englyshe man to corrumphe hys owne nacion,  
Willyng straungiers for to recure,  
And in Engeland to have the domynacioun  
Wenyng thanne to be gret of reputacion;  
For sothe they that soo hope, least schal be theyre pour;  
He that woold be high schal be undir subjecioun,  
And the fyrst that schal repente the langoure.

Ironically enough, it is the sister of the Yorkist king whom this poet was indirectly praising who becomes the foreign temptress and dedicated enemy of Henry Tudor's "rightful" assumption of power. André's "Twelve Triumphs of Henry VII," as we have already pointed out, celebrates Henry's successful repulsion of the dowager duchess Margaret's periodic

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23 The poem is printed in Wright's *Political Poems and Songs*, II, 267 ff.
24 Ibid., p. 269.
25 Ibid.
attempts to resurrect the York flag from her court in Burgundy. In
the Seventh Exploit, it is not the pretender Lambert Simnel, son of
an Oxford tradesman, who is the chief target of André's abuse, but
Martin Swart—a German nobleman recruited by the Earl of Lincoln and
Lord Lovell through the aid of Margaret to be the leader of Simnel's
supporting forces. Although the German is described in the Battle of
Stoke, by the chronicler Hall, as superior to most Englishmen in
courage, fortitude, strength, and agility of body, he appears in
André's poem under the personification of Diomedes, the cruel and
treacheryous king of Thrace whom Hercules overthrew. The Flemish
apprentice Perkin Warbeck, sponsored as another heir to the House of
York by the foreigners Charles VIII, Maximilian, and his son Philip
at Margaret's court in Burgundy, becomes the robber Cacus in the
Tenth Exploit of André's poem. Once again the English Hercules,
Henry VII, confounds the foreign plot and drives the fire-breathing
Cacus to a cavern (Ireland) where treasons and foul deeds are
committed by rascally thieves. The treacherous threesome of Margaret,
Maximilian, and Philip appear, as we have previously noted, in the
person of the three-headed King of Geryon as a multiple foreign antagonist whose insatiable envy is conquered by Henry in his Ninth Exploit.

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26 Hall's Chronicle; containing the History of England During the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth, in which are particularly described the manners and customs of those periods. Collated with editions of 1548 and 1550 (London, 1809), pp. 433-34.
27 Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, pp. 142-43.
28 Ibid., pp. 146-47.
29 Ibid., pp. 144-45.
It is significant that in both the reign of Henry III and Henry VII, "patriotic" opposition to foreign influence is provided by Frenchmen—by the deeds of Simon de Montfort in the thirteenth century, and by the French and Latin words of Bernard André in the late fifteenth century.

When Henry VIII ascended the throne in 1509, there was general rejoicing among the court poets. His queen, Catherine of Arragon, as we have seen, was eulogized as the future mother of great English kings. Well before Henry's abandonment of Catherine, however, there occurred an event which gave Englishmen an opportunity to suspect the specter of outside influence again in the person of Henry's foreign queen. For some time London workers had resented the presence of foreign artisans and merchants in their city. Deprived of work and reduced in wages, the English workingmen got little real help from the government against this foreign competition. About the middle of April in 1517 certain London citizens persuaded a popular preacher by the name of Dr. Beal to deliver a sermon against the foreigners. The results were more drastic than the original agitators might have guessed. The city swirled in indecisive ferment for a time. Then on May first a riot broke out in which a number of the foreigners were attacked and a good deal of property was damaged. The author of a later ballad on the event\(^\text{30}\) speaks of Queen Catherine as one of the causes of unrest. Although he ultimately praises the queen for her

\(^{30}\)The piece is entitled "The Story of Ill May Day, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, and why it was so called: and how Queen Catharine begged the lives of two thousand London Apprentices." It is printed in Old Ballads from Early Printed Copies, ed. J.P. Collier, Printed for the Percy Society, I (London, 1840), 11-22.
fair treatment of the rioters, he pointedly reminds his readers that she came from Spain and had encouraged foreign infiltration of English trades and positions.

William Forrest gives us another suggestion that Catherine's foreign origin was sometimes the object of resentment and suspicion. In his Catholic attempt to exalt Henry's first queen as a second Grisild (1558) he tries rather too hard to smother her Spanish ties with praise of her English loyalty.

Ferdre, yeat more of her goodnes texpresse,
Thoughe she from Brytayne weare an alayn,
This was moste true, witheoute all doubtefulnes,
Aboue all nations she loued Englishcheman,
And dyd for manye as well proued than.\textsuperscript{31}

The hinted at dissatisfaction with Catherine's foreign connections, overshadowed by the figure of a powerful and English king, was as nothing compared to the surly reaction against Mary Tudor's later abandonment to foreign forces. As we have seen, a good segment of public opinion seemed little concerned with, even unaware of the major changes which Mary's reign was to bring about. Protestant ballad writers commemorating Mary's accession were as quick to praise the new queen as they were to dwell on the truncated accomplishments of her Protestant predecessor. In general, Northumberland's failure to divert the true line seemed more important temporarily than any religious question. However, even though rather rigid censureship of ballads and broadsides narrowed the popular literature of the time, we do have a piece which shows clearly

\textsuperscript{31}The History of Grisild the Second, p. 48.
that religious apprehension was definitely in the air. Someone who quite understandably concludes "ffinyys I am without (a) name" wrote "A warning to Queen Mary" in October of 1553, shortly after Mary had advertised her religious position through a Mass in the Latin tongue celebrated before Parliament. The anonymous writer addresses his "loesomme Rosse most Redelente" in a spirit of well-wishing, but he declares without equivocation that the Romish religion is misguided and false.

what greater dyssobedience
agaynst god may be wrought
then this, to move mens consciense
to worshippe thynges of nought?

What gretter folly can yow invente
Then such men to obeye?
or can ye sarue yowr owne intente
to for-see yowr owne decaye?

And where as ye yowr Realme shold
mayntayne in A nynyte,
Yow Rent the peoples hartes in too
Throwe false Idollatry.

ys this the waye to get yow f MIME?ys this to gott yow loue?
ys this to purch[e]sse yow a name,
to ffyghte wyth god above.33

The tone of this piece is almost completely religious. There is virtually no suggestion that Mary is yielding to a foreign force in her approval of Catholicism. However, an event was imminent which would conclusively identify Mary's religion with foreign interests: her marriage to Philip of Spain. Several English prospects had been rejected for one reason or

32Printed in Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 431-34.
33Ibid., p. 432.
another--among them Cardinal Pole, and Bishop Gardiner's candidate, Edward Courtenay. Even a delegation from both houses of Parliament warned Mary against a foreign marriage, but she was adamant in her intention to wed Philip. The people themselves were actively demonstrative against the match, and one historian reports that the street boys pelted the forerunners of the imperial embassy with snowballs on New Year's Day, 1554. The terms of the alliance were designed to protect English interests in an effort to placate public opinion. Although Philip was to have the title of king, Mary was solely responsible for conferring all church and state offices, which were to be held only by Englishmen. In the event of Mary's death without issue, Philip was to have no further influence in English affairs. Careful as these provisions were, they offered little consolation for the hard fact of the marriage itself, and popular discontent found its release in no less than three rebellions, the major one of which was led by Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger.

At his subsequent condemnation for rebellion, Wyatt must have spoken for a large number of Englishmen when he declared, "I was persuaded that by the marriage of the Prince of Spain, the second person of this realm and the next heir to the crown, should have been in danger; and I being a freeborn man, should, with my country, have been brought into bondage and servitude of aliens and strangers."

in the most excellent meetyng and lyke Mariage betwene our Soveraigne Lord and our Soveraigne Lady, the Kynges and Queenes highness."

Written in 1554, this is the sort of piece one might expect from a man whose religious attachments had commended him to the patronage of Mary while she was still princess. It is a partly allegorical description of how "The egle's byrde hath spred his wings" and come from afar to perch on the red and white rose. All manner of praise is heaped on the betrothall of the eagle and "the lambleike lion feminyne."

However, although the widespread opposition to Mary's foreign marriage was dangerous to express in writing, some pieces have survived to challenge Heywood's flattering poem. Annexed to a letter printed by John Bradford (probably in 1555) addressed to various noble lords "declaring the nature of the Spaniards" is a ballad entitled, "A tragical blast of the Papistical trompet for maintenaunce of the popes kingdome in England,"37 Each verse ends with the chorus,

Now all shaven crownes to the standerd
Make roome, pul down for the Spaniard.

Further anti-Spanish sentiment boiled forth from a tract entitled "How

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36Printed in The Harleian miscellany; a collection of scarce, curious and entertaining pamphlets and tracts, as well in manuscript as in print, selected from the library of Edward Harley, second earl of Oxford, interspersed with historical, political and critical annotations by...William Oldys, and some additional notes by Thomas Park (London, 1808-1813), X, 255-56; and in John Heywood's Works and Miscellaneous Short Poems, ed. Burton A. Milligan, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, XLI (1956), 269-71. Milligan calls the piece "Heywood's most strained and tasteless poem."

37Printed in Strype, III, ii, 339. Portions of the letter are also printed in Dyce, I, cxvii-cxviii.
superior powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects, and wherein they may lawfully by Gods Worde be disobeyed and resisted" printed at Geneva in 1557 by the exiled Christopher Goodman. William Kethe, another divine, added a metrical version of the idea at the end. Ill rulers, he says, may righteously be opposed, and Mary was unfit to rule:

A brute beast untamed, a misbegotten,
More meet to be ruled, than rule over men.

Even traditional anti-French feeling yields to the greater Spanish danger now.

For France spighteth Spain, which England doth treat;
And England proud Spaniards with salt would fain eat.
Yet England proud Spain aids with men, ships, and boats,
That Spain (France subdued once) may cut all their throats.

The anti-Spanish feeling which focused on Catherine of Arragon was muted by her own seemly deportment and overshadowed by Henry's pre-eminence; and that which centered on Mary Tudor's alliance with Philip was muffled by the firm act of royal will. Nevertheless, these beginnings were to develop into a full-fledged and often articulate patriotic outburst against England's southern continental neighbor when she became so thoroughly embroiled with anti-English designs later in the century.

Fear of foreign influence on the political affairs of England in the early sixteenth century found a sympathetic companion on the economic front. For some time foreign artisans and merchants had been gaining ground in England. A few statutes had been passed in the

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38 Printed in Strype, III, ii, 104, 132.
fifteenth century to protect native industries against the immigration of artisans. In 1455 a statute was passed to protect London silkwomen from the competition of imported goods. By 1484 the influx of alien artificers posed such a danger that a statute was passed prohibiting any more of them from settling in England except to serve English masters. However, the fact that merchants were prevented from importing finished goods from abroad made it tempting to try to organize groups of foreign hands in England. Under early Tudor rule, un-inventive Englishmen were rather strongly dependent upon improved methods of foreigners—particularly in textile manufacture. Thus the basic need of English trade for foreign skill rendered the periodic regulatory laws rather ineffective.

A statute of 1512 against aliens engaged in cordwainery declares in its preamble "that these aliens of set purpose cheated the 'King's liege subjects' by the production of ill-wrought goods." By an act of 1523, no alien, denizen or not, could take an apprentice or have any servant but a British-born subject. Furthermore he could not take more than two alien journeymen. Aliens were not to work apart, but in such a manner that the natives might learn their secrets of skill. An act of 1530 decreed that no alien not a denizen could

40 Ibid., p. 125.
41 Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 57. For a reprint of the statute itself see Tudor Economic Documents, eds. R.H. Tawney, and Eileen Power, I (London, 1924), 293.
42 Alien Immigrants to England, p. 165.
keep a shop in which to carry on handicraft, or assemble elsewhere than in the Common Hall of his craft. 43 Again in 1541 an act was passed reaffirming the old laws which had been circumvented by letters patent wangled by aliens declaring every denizen as free as a natural born Englishman. 44 There were good reasons for all this legislation. A rising capitalistic class in England was particularly jealous of aliens. Furthermore, unemployment and pauperism were widespread. The influx of destitute aliens simply compounded this serious problem and embittered English workers. Religious persecutions abroad sent yet another wave of foreigners into England during Henry VIII's reign. Thus as a combination of economic stress and England's withdrawn groping toward self-sufficiency heightened anti-foreign sentiment, the government sought means to encourage native interests.

Back in the middle of the fifteenth century, the author of that remarkable poem "The Libel of English Policy" 45 had plunged elaborately into the problem of England's commercial plight. Insisting on the ultimate importance of calculated trade to preserve peace, he had urged that England utilize her tremendous commercial leverage through the ports of Dover and Calais, and a strong maritime policy, to control the economies of potentially aggressive powers. Although peace is the final goal of this writer, he shows a strong early confidence in England's

43 Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 57.
44 Ibid.
45 Printed in Wright's Political Poems and Songs, II, 157 ff.
power to control her own destiny. His specific observations about the undesirable practices of foreign merchants who deal with English goods form an interesting preview to the growing early Tudor antagonism against alien artisans which we have just described. The Italian merchants come under heaviest attack: they buy English products on credit, sell them for ready money in Flanders, lend out that money at heavy interest rates, and thus realize a considerable profit before they must pay for their original English purchases.\(^{46}\) These shady practices the author indignantly contrasts to the honest and open dealings of English merchants. He calls for the enforcement of an old law which required merchants to discharge their merchandize and complete the financial transaction within forty days.\(^{47}\)

By the time of Henry VIII's reign, however, it was the killing competition of alien artisans inside England which disturbed the popular consciousness. For the "libel"'s ranging anxiety over a decaying maritime policy, we find a crystalized xenophobia. Tension exploded in the May Day riots of 1517, receded for a time, then built its way back into the somber economic discontent which accentuated the dissolution of the monasteries and the enclosure movement. From the State Papers of Henry VIII in the Record Office comes an adaptation of an old prophecy warning of catastrophe when Englishmen abandon themselves to foreign interests, and when "marchaunte Strayngers beryth

\(^{46}\)Ibid., pp. 174-76.
\(^{47}\)Ibid., p. 177.
The author of a popular general lament entitled "Now a Dayes" discusses a series of abuses.

We Englishmen beholde
Our auncient customs bolde.
More preciouser then golde,
be clene cast away.
(lines 1-4)

The wool trade encourages foreign meddling and hinders English enterprise.

Alyaunts here have ther way,
And Englishmen cleane decay,
the one half must nedes play;
this ys a comon welth!
Other landes avaunced bee,
& by & sell among vs free;
& thus our own commoditie
Doth clene vndo our selff.
(lines 169-76)

French trade and influence corrupt England with

many gammers and few archers,
gay cortyars & yll warryers,
many craftesmen & halff beggers,
both in townes & cyty:
ffrench ware hither ys browght,
& englishe hand craft gothe to nowght
Halff this Realme, it ys vnwrowght!
Alas, for pure pytty!
(lines 233-40)

48 "Two Prophecies in rhyme on the state of England," Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 316-17. The date is uncertain. Furnivall says a pencil title in Professor Brewer's hand bears the date "1534?" But Furnivall thinks there is internal evidence pointing to the "early days [of] Henry VIII's reign."

49 Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 93-100. Louise Guiney, in her Recusant Poets (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1939), pp. 28-29, assumes Thomas Langdon to be the author and places the date close about the year 1537. In a note to the piece as it is printed in Ballads from Manuscripts, F.W. Russell guesses at a date of 1540. Furnivall suspects that the name Thomas Langdon at the end is that of the copier rather than the author.
A variation of the same theme entitled "The Maner of the World Now a Dayes" complains of the "esterlynges," "Lombardes and flemynges" who bleed England's resources and "bere away our wynynges." William Forrest's "Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise" (1548), one of the several early Tudor commentaries on government, joins the anti-foreign chorus:

If merchauntes that be too yow but Straungers, (although your Custome by them bee copiouse) shoule bee enriched and made great geyners: your owne hyndered, and made indigeouse: this weare a mattier (in maner) litigiose, too make them murmure and their hartes withdrawe from the due obseruation of the Lawe. Chieflye your owne yee ought too respecte: for yee of them in your neade may bee bolde: Wheare Straungethe passethe not your fauour to reiecte.51

Each of these pieces reflects England's rising commercial consciousness. The tone is often pessimistic and bitter, but underlying the criticism of foreign interests there is a strong and urgent demand for English self-sufficiency.

Before turning from our discussion of anti-foreign sentiments in pre-Elizabethan England, we must take account of two very specific national targets of English animosity: France and Scotland.

France had been the object of periodic suspicion and resentment ever since the Norman Conquest. Her frequent conflicts with England kept the pot of English antagonism brewing. The Hundred Years' War,

50 The piece, reprinted from MS. Sloane 747, appears in Dyce, II, 199-203.  
longest of the military clashes between the two countries, had given Englishmen a particularly strong and sustained opportunity to develop a habit of abuse. In their support of Edward III's claims to the crown of France, English propagandist versifiers reviled French customs and motives in the boldest of terms. The author of "An Invective against France" attributes the motives of the lynx, viper, fox, and wolf to Frenchmen while he expands on the virtue and justice of Edward and his supporters. Another Latin piece presented as a dispute between an Englishman and a Frenchman hurls French abuse of the English back in the face of the offender. Englishmen, accused of making gods of their bellies, can comfort themselves with the knowledge that Frenchmen are effeminate, lecherous, and greedy.

The war songs of Laurence Minot depart generally from this tone of personal invective to revel in the success of English arms.

Bot sen the time that God was born,
Ne a hundreth gere biforn
Was never men better in fight
Than Ingliss men, whil thai had myght.

However, even Minot takes inordinate pleasure in the failure of French designs.

A long Latin retrospect of Edward III's reign, written in the form of a prophecy, passes omnipotent judgment upon the sins of England's enemies. French pride, declares the author, is responsible for the
wars with England. Had she not (in an excess of pride) attempted to deny Edward his rightful inheritance, France might have escaped punishment. Instead she has revealed herself guilty of the seven deadly sins, and God has sent Edward to punish her for her lack of reverence and devotion, her falsehood, and her immorality.

Again under Henry VI, a Frenchman, Laurence Calot, was commissioned to draw up in French verse a genealogical statement showing the superiority of English claims on the French crown to those of the dauphin. John Lydgate, in turn, was employed to translate the piece into English. Just as in the Latin poem of Edward III's reign, an English monarch is represented as God's agent sent to deal with a proud and iniquitous France.

In the early Tudor period, anti-French sentiment crystallized primarily in two areas: (1) the social front, involving manners and customs, especially dress, (2) the political and military front. The idea of pride, in earlier times connected with French presumption in seeking to oppose English domination, came more and more under the relatively peaceful early years of Tudor rule to associate itself with manners and dress. The Seven Deadly Sins, a legacy of the Middle Ages, were still the wellsprings of English misery and corruption, and whenever an Englishman moralized on the state of his country he drew on that legacy. It was an easy step, and a natural one during this time

to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and constable of England. Internal evidence coupled with the fact that Humphrey succeeded to his title in 1361 and died in 1372 points to a composition date of about 1370.

57 Ibid., p. 131.
of narrowing insular consciousness, for that same moralist to find in
the foreigner, particularly the Frenchman, a devil's disciple. Thus
the prideful excesses of speech, manner, and dress are laid at the feet
of French influence.

In a section entitled "Of newe fassions and disguised Garmentes,"
Alexander Barclay deals with a category of fools who ape the ridiculous
fashions "brought out of France." Englishmen who fall victim to
these excesses he brands "wors than the Turkes, Jewes, or Sarazyns,"
and he sees the degeneration of ancient English virtue in the trend.

A Englonde amende or be thou sure
Thy noble name and fame can nat endure
Amende lyst god do greuously chastye
Bothe the begynners and folowes of this vyce.59

We have already noted More's vigorous attack on "Lalus," the
Englishman who was born and brought up in England, yet affected all
the fashions and mannerisms of the French. In this diatribe against
a native Englishman who haughtily "scorns his native land," we have
evidence that a historian of English patriotism was not completely
accurate when he described More as void of any feeling for his country.60

59Ibid.
60Esmé Wingfield-Stratford in his two-volume History of English
Patriotism (London, 1913) examines briefly More's Utopia and Comfort
against Tribulation and concludes, "Indeed More's patriotism seems to
have been a plant of the most stunted growth." He thinks that the
language of these two prose works demonstrates "that the man who used
it had scarcely the faintest sense of the obligations he owed to the
land of his birth" (I, 136-37). Certainly More was not a deeply
patriotic man. Like that of Erasmus, More's humanism was catholic,
but the Latin epigrams which he wrote show clearly that he too was
involved in that narrow kind of early patriotism which caused English-
men to bristle at foreign motives and influences.
A later epigram comments sarcastically on a French "poet" who must have possessed intelligence and inspiration equal to that of the ancient poets since he wrote the same poems, frequently verse for verse. 61

John Skelton in his effort to strip Wolsey of sympathy and admiration in Magnificence (c. 1516) saddles him with French connections which the poet knew would go down hard with most Englishmen. Among the vices which represent the prodigal influence of Wolsey's many-faceted character on Magnificence (Henry VIII) is the devious and ostentatious Courtly Abusage. The personification of loose living, extravagant dress, and flattery, Courtly Abusage, announces his own excesses and then reveals their origin:

This newe fonne let
From out of Fraunce
Fyrst I dyd set;
Made purueaunce
And suche ordenaunce,
That all men it founde
Through out Englonde:
All this nacyon
I set on fyre
In my facyon,
This theyr desyre,
This newe atyre;
This ladies haue,
I it them gaue.62

We find the patriotic chronicler Hall bridling, too, under corrupting French influence in his discussion of the year 1519. Of some English gentlemen who returned to their own country from the French court, Hall

61 The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More, no. 220 (p. 95).
reports:

Durynge this tyme remained in the Frenche courte Nicholas Carew, Fraunces Brian, and diverse other of the young gentlemen of England, and they, with the Frenche kyng, roade daily disguised through Paris, throwynge Eggges, stones, and other foolishe trifles at the people, whiche light demeanoure of a kyng was muche discommended and gested at. And when these young gentlemen came again into England, they were all Frenche, in eatyng, drynyng and apparell, yea, and in Frenche vices and bragges, so that all the estates of Englande were by them laughed at: The ladies and gentlewomen wer dis­praised, so that nothing by them was praised, but if it were after the Frenche turne, whiche after turned them to displeasure.

Finally we have the "Treatise of this Galaunt" (c. 1520), a 224-line moralistic diatribe which combines admonitions against English pride with a detailed and categorical analysis of all the French vices which the term "galuant" implies. The piece was so popular that Wynkyn de Worde printed three editions of it during the reign of Henry VIII. The anonymous author laments the sin, fraud, and deceit that grip England as "Lucyfors progeny amonc us doth appere." Former excellence has departed and French vices reign supreme.

Sometyme we had Fraunce in grete derysyon
For theyr hatefull pryde and lothsome vnclennes
Use me not nowe the same in our regyon
And haue permutted our welthe for theyr gladnes
Lechery of our people is become a maystres.
Our gentynes for galauntysse haue we lefte there.
Englonde may wayle that euer it came here.

(lines 43-49)

63Hall's Chronicle, 1809 ed., p. 597.
64Printed in Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 445-53; and Hazlitt's Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England, III, 149-64.
Many men saturated with French vices have left France to infect other realms, laments our writer: "O Fraunce why dyde not these galauntes abyde there." Stanzas 9-16 take up each letter of the word "galaunt" and relate it to one of the deadly sins. Included are lying, strutting, chattering, gluttony, avarice, arrogance, lewdness, lechery, sloth, hatred, waste, adultery, negligence, trickery, tavern-haunting, and drunkenness. No remedy for all these ills until galaunts are tossed into hell. England's former glory which shone so clearly through the world is weakened and dimmed by sin, and Englishmen are warned that a vice-ridden England has been historically an easy prey for conquest.

Forget not lyghtly howe many straungers
Haue entered this kyngdome and keppe the possessyon.
Fyue tymes as wryteth old cronyclers
And chaunged our tonges in sondry dyuysyon.
O clerge praye for our Englysshe nacyon
That god for his mercy of this synne make vs clere
Elles we shall wayle that euer it came here.
(lines 204-10)

Such was the attitude of Englishmen toward the seat of high fashion during the early years of Henry VIII's reign. Poets and versifiers were as anxious that Englishmen shed choking French fluffs and ruffles as they were some time later that England escape the chafing yoke of Rome. It was not a noble or a patriotic attitude in a higher sense, but it reflected a growing sensitivity and it was real. England's former glory was a glory achieved through self-sufficiency, and her present decay was one brought on by imitation. To escape God's wrath and to rise again she must cast off foreign influence and turn to herself. It was a reflection of this same attitude which prompted Thomas Starkey about 1535 to put in the mouth of Lupset a strong argument for
the translation of English Common Law out of French into native English. 65

Nothing like the sincerity of this feeling against French fashion animated the court poetry which dealt with Henry VII's political and martial relations with France. The first Tudor was a diplomat, and although he did engage in a brief and militarily impotent French campaign, his main object was to stabilize his own reign. The main object of his courtiers was to stabilize their own positions through flattering acknowledgment of his omnipotence. The result was a stream of court poetry which made Henry the hero of every sort of achievement.

Two poems of Johannes Opicius, for example, give elaborate praise to Henry for his martial victory in France. 66 Actually the siege of Boulogne (1492), undertaken without confidence by Henry to gratify Spanish demands contingent on a marriage alliance for Arthur, lasted only nine days and involved very little fighting. Since Charles VIII was anxious to invade Italy, he readily agreed to a resolution of the skirmish with Henry, and the English king emerged with a handsome indemnity to cover the cost of sending his troops to France. Nevertheless, Opicius celebrated the English success in heroic Latin hexameters as if it were one of the greatest military triumphs in history. But

66 The poems of Opicius are contained in an illuminated manuscript in The Cottonian Collection (Vespasian, B. IV.). They are described and quoted from by Gairdner, Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, p. lx ff. William Nelson also discusses them in his book John Skelton Laureate, pp. 27-28.
Opicius, an early advocate of the "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen" line, was quick to praise Henry's peacemaking skill as well. In lines on the presentation of his little volume to the king, he showers Henry with every sort of commendation, and in final unselfconscious abandonment to whatever policy his sovereign chooses, he cries, "if peace please him, so be it, and if war, so be it."

Bernard André likewise paid homage to Henry's short campaign in France, and even more than Opicius he hymned Henry as the bringer of peace. Still there is a feeling for the king as an all-conquering hero. By 1497, however, Henry had clearly demonstrated what "pleased him" and even an Opicius would have had little trouble deciding what most required praise about his king. In spite of the formation of the League of Venice in 1495 to oppose the surprisingly successful Charles VIII in Italy, an alliance to which Henry paid lip service at Maximilian's urging, Henry avoided active fighting and preserved a peaceful relationship with Charles VIII. Thus André in his "The Twelve Triumphs of Henry VII" (c. 1497) makes only a veiled reference to Henry's victory over the French in 1492 (first exploit) and presents as the last of Henry's great deeds his successful achievement of peace with France in spite of Maximilian's efforts to thwart it. Hercules (Henry VII) overthrows the dragon Maxille (Maximilian, King of the Romans) who

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67 André's congratulatory pieces on Henry's return from France appear in Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, pp. 61-64.
68 Ibid., pp. 148-49.
sought to prevent him from gaining the golden apples of the Hesperides (the love of the King of France). In such a manner did the facile pens of the court poets reflect the changing political climate of the times.

However, when Henry VIII ascended the throne in 1509, English relations with France once again became militant. The Pope and Ferdinand, King of Spain, who had recently joined with Louis XII of France to attack Venice, suddenly reversed themselves and joined forces with Venice against France. The new Holy League invited Henry VIII to take up arms once again against France. Henry, sure that his own country was free from internal disorder and anxious to emulate the martial deeds of Edward III and Henry V, was not slow to accept. From 1511 until 1514 England was at war with France. It was not a long period, but it was long enough to give two court poets the chance to engage in the kind of anti-French abuse which had punctuated the Hundred Years War, but had largely surrendered to royal adulation during the peaceful reign of Henry VII.

John Skelton, in a Latin piece celebrating Henry's victory in the Battle of Spurs (1513), enjoys himself in slurring references to the French. He condemns their pride and jibes at the Dukes of Longueville and Clermont, two captured French noblemen, whom he represents moaning in prison.

\[\text{Sources:} \]

69 \(\text{Dyce, I, 191.}\)

70 \(\text{Still Skelton's language here is not so excessive as it is elsewhere. He has been described as a "quixotic, indignant spirit" who wrapped himself "in the garments of that most subservient of creatures, the court poet" (William Nelson, John Skelton Laureate, pp. 67-68). We may assume that he gave that spirit free rein in a}\)
Sir Thomas More devotes ten epigrams to the French war. One is a pompous boast of Henry's capture of Tournay (1513) in which the English king assumes stature greater than Caesar's, and the French town is represented, incredibly, as feeling honored at being taken. The other nine are attacks on Germanus Brixius, a French writer whom More took to task for what he thought was a prejudicial report of the naval battle of 1512. On August 10, 1512, Sir Edward Howard, in command of eighteen English ships, came upon a French fleet of thirty-five outside the harbor of Brest. While most of the French ships retreated into the harbor, the English Regent, commanded by Sir Thomas Knyvett, and the French Cordelière, under Hervé Porzmoguer, collided. After an exchange between the English archers and French crossbowmen, the Regent's crew succeeded in boarding the Cordelière. However the French piece now lost entitled "The Recule against Gaguyne of the Frenshe nacyoun." Referred to in the "Garland of Laurel" (line 1187), the piece was a defense of King Henry VII who had been insulted in 1489 by the French ambassador, Gaguin. Skelton was nearly fifty when Henry VIII came to the throne. He was a survivor from the preceding reign during which he had gained his fame and honor as poet laureate and tutor to the royal princes. When, under Henry VIII, Wolsey made his spectacular rise, the disappointed Skelton turned his acid tongue upon the butcher's son. All the invective of his bitterly inventive mind poured forth, and it was inevitable that it should spill over into other areas. The Scots, for example, were thoroughly scalded, and when England joined Habsburg designs against France in 1522, Skelton took time out from his boldest attack on Wolsey to castigate the French under attack by the Earl of Surrey:

The French men he hathe so mated,
And theyr courage abated,
That they are but halfe men;
Lyke foxes in theyr denne,
Lyke cankerd cowardes all,
Lyke vrcheons in a stone wall,
They kepe them in theyr holdes,
Lyke henhered cokoldes.

("Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?" lines 158-65.)

71 The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More, no. 228 (p. 98).
72 Ibid., nos. 170-79 (pp. 78-82).
powder magazine blew up suddenly, and both ships burned. Hervé and Knyvet were drowned. Sir Edward Howard vowed to avenge Knyvet's death, and two days later the English captured five and burned twenty-seven French ships taking eight hundred prisoners in the process.

Brixius, in a burst of patriotic fervor, blew the initial engagement up in an elaborate Latin poem entitled "Herveus, sive Chordigera Flagrans." If Opicius had made Henry's mild victory at Boulogne in 1492 sound like the siege of Troy, Brixius went him one better on the other side in his "Chordigera" of 1513. The French are represented as the aggressors throughout and victorious although they perish in the end, while Hervé emerges as an epic hero of monumental stature. More read the poem, gagged on the fulsome praise of the French captain and the slurring attacks on English honor, and decided to retaliate. Against this monolithic French Gulliver, he dispatched a brigade of Lilliputian English epigrams accusing Brixius of gross exaggeration and misrepresentation. In answer to the claim that Hervé stood alone against the English, enduring a hail of missiles, and striking down Englishmen with a javelin, a sword, an ax, and a spear,

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73 Howard was himself killed off Brest in 1513. He is the subject of a long elegy in Alexander Barclay's fourth eclogue. See *The Eclogues of Alexander Barclay*, ed. Beatric White, EETS, Original Series, No. 175 (1928), 170, lines 823 ff.


while warding off blows with a shield, More observes wryly that the French captain must have had five hands and worn his shield on his head. He answers a comparison of Hervé to Publius Decius Mus and his son, who deliberately died in 340 B.C. at the hands of the enemy in the belief that they could thus win a victory for Roman arms, with the devastating comment that Hervé died at English hands "because he could not avoid it." In the heat of his aroused passions, More even accuses Brixius of plagiarizing ancient poets.

By 1517, when publication of his Epigrammata was in prospect, More had cooled somewhat. He wrote to his friend Erasmus asking whether or not his verses against Brixius ought to be withheld, "although I might seem to have received provocation from him in the reproaches uttered against my country." Erasmus allowed nine to pass the press, and their publication inflamed the controversy again. Brixius rattled off a ninety-line rejoinder called "Antimorus." More replied. Not until more sniping had come from both sides did Erasmus finally succeed in quieting the quarrel.

This then is the portrait of England's military-political relationship with France painted by the court poets in early Tudor England. There was vacillation, there was villification, and there was hyperbole; but at the center of the babble, directing and con-

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76 The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More, nos. 174-75.
77 Ibid., no. 178.
78 Ibid., no. 177.
79 Quoted by Hudson, p. 51 from Nichols, Epistles of Erasmus, II, 382.
trolling virtually every poetic attitude, stood the magnetic power of the sovereign. Well could Alexander Barclay say of aspiring contemporary courtiers:

\[
\text{their disputation} \\
\text{Is swetely saused with adulation,} \\
\text{They cloke the truth their princes to content,} \\
\text{To purchase favour and minde benevolent} \\
\text{...} \\
\text{For truely in courtes all communication} \\
\text{Must nedes haue spice of adulation.}^{80}
\]

Henry VIII's reign afforded a particularly strong climate for anti-Scottish feeling. Unlike criticism of the French, which was divided between fashion and warfare, attacks on the Scots stemmed almost exclusively from military encounters.

Once again there was an early tradition of abuse. Lawrence Minot's war poems range over the battles of Halidon Hill and Neville's Cross as well as the French engagements.\(^{81}\) The piece on Neville's Cross (1346) is typical of Minot's spirited patriotism. As usual the Scots appear as the personification of treacherous opportunism:

\[
\text{The Scottes, with thaire falshed,} \\
\text{Thus went thai obout} \\
\text{For to win Inglnd} \\
\text{Whils Edward was out.}^{82}
\]

David Bruce the Scottish king is "kenned his creed" by a doughty Englishman, Sir John of Coupland. Minot was not the only Englishman who boasted of English success at Neville's Cross.\(^{83}\)

\(^{80}\)B. White, second eclogue, lines 293-96, 303-04.
\(^{81}\)Three of Minot's pieces deal with the Scots. They are printed in Wright's \textit{Political Poems and Songs}, I, 58, 61, 83.
\(^{82}\)Ibid., p. 87.
\(^{83}\)See \textit{Political Poems and Songs}, I, 40 ff. for three other pieces on the battle.
For another fourteenth-century commentary on English-Scottish relations, we must turn again to the long Latin retrospect of Edward III's reign composed about 1370 and attributed to John of Bridlington. The poem is a worried commentary on some of the political abuses which beset the militarily successful times of Edward. However, there is a strong underlying tone of patriotic hope which in the early stages of the piece takes shape as a denunciation of foreign designs. We have mentioned the author's attribution of the French war to French pride and presumption; but he was equally critical of the Scots. He vigorously assails the character of King David Bruce finding him a crabbish individual who sports with concubines and draws the contemptuous sneers of ballad writers. The devil is represented as the leader of the Scottish invasion which was turned back with God's help at Neville's Cross. However the final stage of the poem defines most clearly the cause of England's woes and predicts the patriotic solution. In a revealing prophecy, the poet sees England's two greatest enemies--France and Scotland--joining in a massive attack against her--an attack which would cast an isolated England back completely upon the bravery of her own subjects. Here, the prophet predicts, England would not be found wanting. Her sons would rally to their country's cause bravely and without compensation. In the face of such unified support, the King of Scotland would turn tail and flee, and the invading coalition

84 Ibid., p. 123.
85 See p. 79 above.
would dissolve. England's final victory over her enemies, which would be attained later under the Black Prince, would see the Scottish king's death and English attainment of the French crown.

Such a resolution of England's problems was, of course, not to be. Instead of sweeping victory and success, England was to taste the bitterness of fading power and prestige in the fifteenth century. The verse chronicler John Hardyng had to write not of a Scotland finally subservient to English rule but of a stubborn, rebellious people who would "always be vntrewe."

The peaceful climate of the first Tudor's reign did no more to fan the flame of anti-Scottish feeling than it did to arouse Englishmen against France. Henry VII's court poets were forced to ludicrous exaggerations in their attempts to celebrate English military superiority over her traditional enemies, and even these exaggerations were almost exclusively concerned with inflating Henry's omnipotence. There was no need to heap abuse upon an enemy which did not seriously threaten. Thus by 1497, when Henry had achieved peace on every front, his earlier victory at Boulogne could be referred to only obliquely, and even the very recent unsuccessful Scottish promotion of Perkin Warbeck's claim received less censure than one might have expected. André's 'Twelve Triumphs' devotes a good deal of attention to Perkin himself and his lieutenants, but the accompanying invasions by the Scots seem not to excite the poet too much. The Eighth Exploit, in which Hercules subdues the bull (the King of Scotland), is one of the shortest and mildest sections of the poem. Other deeds are dealt with fully, but
this one is introduced almost apologetically with the comment:

Et abrégé en tout que je pourray
Sur le propos que je veulx maintenir.86

With the ascension of Henry VIII, shrewd diplomacy gave way to militantly assertive power. Major campaigns against the French and Scots sensitized personal animosity once again and the pompous, removed diction of Henry VII's foreign courtiers gave way to the abrasive barbs of native Englishmen.

In 1513 while Henry VIII was in France, seeking once again English control over the French crown, the Scots struck across the border. They were met and severely defeated by English forces under the Earl of Surrey. The hot English reaction to this new example of Scottish treachery was led by John Skelton. His appeal for inspiration to the Muses of Tragedy and Comedy in "Skelton Laureate against the Scottes" emphasizes his vitriolic purpose. To Melpomene he prays:

Illumyn me, your poete and your scrybe,
That with myxture of aloes and bytter gall
I may compounde confectures for a cordiall,
To angre the Scottes and Irysh keteringes withall
That late were discomfect with battayle marcyall.
(lines 80-84)

He asks that Thalia "touche them with tauntes" in a medley of mirth and sadness that will comfort and gladden the hearts of his fellow countrymen.88 The Muses obliged, for the piece is shot through with jibes at the "rude ranke Scottes" who behave like "folys and sottys" and "dronken dranes." Skelton's Latin chorus on the same event also

86 Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, p. 143.
87 Dyce, I, 182.
88 Lines 85-88.
brims with invective and gloats over the death of King James. 89

Sir Thomas More got in his licks against the Scots, too, with three Latin epigrams. 90 He blasts the Scottish king for disregarding his sworn allegiance to England and joining the French enemy in treachery. Such action bears out James's boyhood tendency toward crime, More observes, and brings down on his sinful head the retribution of an angry God.

It is patent that Flodden Field left an indelible mark on English consciousness. Henry Weber has gathered together much of the material written about the subject during the sixteenth century including two poems from the Scottish viewpoint. 91 Poetic reviews of the humiliating Scottish defeat turned up in all sorts of places. Apologists for the House of Stanley reexamined the battle, Ulpian Fulwell included a complaint of King James in his Flower of Fame (1575), editions of the Mirror for Magistrates carried lamentations of the Scottish king, and even Thomas Deloney inserted a rollicking song on the defeat of "King Jamie" in his Jack of Newberry.

Flodden Field was not the only trigger to anti-Scottish feeling. When the English chronicler Robert Fabyan promised wearily to give an account of "The Scottes that neuer coude apply to kepe theyr Allegeaunce," he was simply forcasting a pattern which would fire the incendiary Skelton to subsequent attacks. "Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?" was written

89Dyce, I, 190.
90The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More, nos. 165, 166 (p. 76); and Appendix I, no. 2 (p. 115).
almost certainly in 1522, when England was sparring uneasily with Scotland under John, Duke of Albany, regent to the realm. It is an extended criticism of W lsey, which includes among the cardinal's sins a lack of firmness toward Scotland. Skelton complains testily:

Our armye waxeth dull,
With, tourne all home agayne,
And neuer a Scot slayne.\(^{92}\)

He was displeased over the timidity of the wardens of the Marches, particularly that of Lord Dacre, Warden of the West Marches, who had negotiated a temporary truce with the advancing Duke of Albany. Skelton was anxious at this time for a firm stroke which would crush Scottish resistance and obviate further treachery. Of the temporizing Lord Dacre he declares,

the Scottes and he
To well they do agre,
With, do thou for me,
And I shall do for the.
(lines 274-77)

In "Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?" Skelton was still preoccupied with the cardinal's dark shadow over English affairs. By late 1523 that shadow seemed neither so dark nor so malevolent. The Duke of Albany with a force of 40,000, including many foreign auxiliaries, invaded the English borders and laid siege to Wark Castle. But the badly organized army disintegrated before the advance of the Earl of Surrey, and Albany himself retreated to Edinburgh and finally fled to France. The effect of this action on Skelton was remarkable. No

\(^{92}\)Dyce, II, 31, lines 147-49.
longer could he complain of lack of action on the borders; no longer could he castigate Wolsey for immobilizing English initiative and will. In fact "The Doughty Duke of Albany" was actually written at Wolsey's request with the hope of reward from court.93 All the bitterness that had formerly been directed at the cardinal finds its mark, this time, in the invading Scottish force. Rejoice England, cries the poet, that the Duke of Albany

So cowardly,
With all his host
Of the Scottyshe coost,
For all theyr boost,
Fledde lyke a beest.94

Skelton accuses the duke of pretending to defend the young Scottish king while in reality he plots with the French king to invade England and schemes to usurp the crown when he has disposed of the young king. Henry VIII will change his plans, however.

But our kyng royall,
Whose name ouer all,
Noble Henry the eyght,
Shall cast a beyght
And sette suche a snare,
That shall cast you in care,
Bothe kyng Fraunces and the,
That knowen ye shall be
For the moost recrayd
Cowardes afrayd,
And falsest forsworne,
That euer were borne.

(lines 107-18)

93See Nelson, p. 212.
94Dyce, II, 68, lines 8-12.
There is bitter invective against the Scots:

O ye wretched Scottes,
...  
It shalbe your lottes
To be knytte vp with knottes
Of halters and ropes
About your traytours throtes
...  
For ye be false echone,
False and false agayne,
Neuer true nor playne,
But fliry, flatter, and fayne.
(lines 119-35)

The Scots will ever be held in abomination by other nations, and they would do well not to meddle with their betters. Men who cower and creep rather than fight cannot compare with true-hearted Englishmen.

Ye shall neuer be hable
With vs for to compare;
What though ye stampe and stare?
God sende you sorow and care!
With vs whan euer ye mell,
Yet we bear away the bell,
Whan ye cankerd knaues
Must crepe into your caues
Your heedes for to hyde,
For ye dare nat abyde.
(lines 178-87)

In contrast to these base creatures who leap away like frogs and hide under logs like pigs, stands the noble Earl of Surrey, the well of chivalry, and the flower of knighthood. The Scottish captain
durst nat drawe his swerde
Agaynst the Lyon White.
(lines 308-09)

With such loyal defenders Henry VIII cannot be driven from his realm. After a long passage cataloging the virtues of the English king, Skelton promises that it will be Albany who is driven from his land with the
English in hot pursuit. A final envoy reasserts the poet's patriotic purpose:

Though your Englishe be rude,
Barreyne of eloquence,
Yet, breuely to conclude,
Grounded is your sentence
On trouthe, vnder defence
Of all trewe Englyshemen,
This mater to credence
That I wrate with my pen.
(lines 516-23)

However, Skelton's most violent abuse of the Scots was called forth not by presumptuous military designs, but by a Scot named Dundas, who had attributed tails to Englishmen. Replying in corrosive macaronic Latin and English verse, Skelton excoriated his victim.

Skelton laureat
After this rate
Defandeth with his pen
All Englysh men
Agayn Dundas,
That Scottishe asse.
...
Dundas, sir knaue,
Why doste thow depraue
This royall reame,
Whose radiant beame
And relucent light
Thou hast in despite,
Thou doughyll knyght?
But thou lakest might,
Dundas, dronken and drowsy,

95 See the "Life of St. Austin" in the Golden Legend, where it is reported that as punishment for driving St. Austen out of a town in England, God caused the children of the town to be born with tails. The legend seems to have had rather wide currency. In the tenth chapter of Part Two of a long Latin piece on Edward III's reign, Frenchman are noted speaking reproachfully of Englishmen and making fun of their tails (Wright, Political Poems and Songs, I, 176). There is a Latin prose satire on the subject in Reliquiae Antiquae II, 230.
Skabed, scuruy, and lowsy,
Of vnhappy generacion
And most vngracious nacion.

Dundas
That dronke asse,
That ratis and rankis,
That prates and pranke;
On Huntley bankes,
Take this our thankes;
Dunde, Dunbar,
Walke, Scot,
Walke, not.
Rayle not to far.96

Toward the end of Henry VIII's reign, when England was again embroiled with her northern antagonist, the chronicler Richard Grafton joined the recitative of Scottish treachery. Even more than Skelton, he wished for the absorption of Scotland by England, and although his reprinting of Hardyng's verse chronicle in 1543 took a perspective view of English-Scottish relations, Grafton could descend often into editorial abuse which matched Skelton's. He thoroughly disliked the Scots, and with contemporary logic he saw reflected in the history of Scottish defeats the hatred of a vengeful God.

For 97 Scottes will aye bee bostyng & crakyng;
Euer seknyg causes of rebellion;
Spoyles, booties, and preades euer takyng;
Euer sowyng quereles of dissension;
To burne and steale is all their intencion;
And yet, as people whom God dooeth hate & curse,
Thei alwaies beginne, and euer haue the worose.97

Add to these denunciations of Scots by Skelton and Grafton the jingling slurs of an anonymous ballad writer on Pinkie Cleugh98 (1547),

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96Dyce, I, 193, lines 19-63.
97See the quotation from the piece above, p. 23
and we have a rather consistent picture of English animosity toward Scotland up into Edward VI's reign.

It is not at all surprising that this climate of periodic dispute should have given new life to the old popular songs of border warfare. Fifteenth-century ballads which had sprung up around the hunting of the Cheviot and the Battle of Otterbourne (1388) flourished during the middle of the sixteenth century. Quite often these pieces confused what originally were separate features of border life—the raid and the defiant hunt—but such confusion did nothing to weaken the two central appeals of this kind of popular song: vivid action and local patriotic pride. Both elements animate the ballad of "Chevy Chase," the best-known of all the border pieces, but the bitter and sarcastic abuse which characterized Skelton's attitude toward the Scots is missing. Deviousness and treachery yield to romantic chivalry, and English superiority dwells in honest pride, not a vengeful boast.

Our English archers bend their bowes
Their harts were good & trew,
at the first flight of arrowes sent,
full foure score scotts the slew.


100 Quoted from a modernized version of "Chevy Chase" in Percy's Folio Manuscript, II, 10, lines 105-08. The oldest copy of the old version was printed by Hearne in 1719 in the Preface to his edition of Gulielmus Neubrigiensis.
In such manner is Percy's bold hunt on Douglas' land resolved. English bravery and tenacity enoble the conflict. Typical is an Englishman who "when his leggs were smitten of...fought vpon his stumptes." When, ultimately, both English and Scottish captains are killed in the fight, English pride moves the author to weigh the effects on England and Scotland. Upon hearing the report of Douglas' death King James of Scotland is made to respond:

"Oh" heauy newes!"
"Scottland may wittenesse bee
I have not any Captaine more
of such account as hee!
(lines 229-32)

However, England's King Henry VIII is not a bit disconsolate over the death of Percy.

"Now god be with him!" said our king,
"sith it will noe better bee,
I trust I haue within my realme
500 as good as hee!
(lines 237-40)

The Scot, then, whether the treacherous lout of Skelton's and Grafton's pens, or the worthy antagonist of the border ballads was ever before English eyes. With the proud and iniquitous Frenchman he served as the whipping boy for an aroused English consciousness.

In summary, we can see that a growing sense of separateness and a readiness to attack foreign influences were strong factors in England's germinating nationalism. The theme of isolation had some of its roots in convalescence and some in a lingering medieval aversion

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101 *Percy's Folio Manuscript*, II, 14, lines 199-200.
Barclay could urge man to forsake his bold outgoings and concentrate on self-knowledge; Crowley could demand a humble acceptance of the status quo. But as England began to assume stature under Tudor rule, isolation became less and less an element of acceptance and retreat, less and less a general directive to stateless man, and more and more a sponsor of national consciousness and self-sufficiency. It changed, as did the idea of unity, from a defensive concern to a positive and assertive one. Englishmen could take pride in England's removed location not only because she could well defend herself but because she could produce her own goods, develop her own law and language, educate her own sons, and assume control over her own religious destiny. As she became more stable and self-sufficient, she increased the criticism of those foreign elements which rankled her: foreign artisans, foreign merchants, foreign fashions, foreign designs on the English crown, and foreign malignment of English valor and virtue. Under Henry VII the themes of peace and unity dominated the literary scene, and it was the court poets who supplemented these basic issues with pompously exaggerated and abstracted references to the foreign influences which the first Tudor monarch diplomatically controlled so successfully. However, Henry VIII's direct clash with outside forces on the military, political, and economic fronts fired personal sensitivity and sent popular writers to their desks in righteous indignation. Their verses lacked grace and charm but they sprang from the hot bed of feeling, and they are a much more accurate measure of the pounding English
pulse than are the ponderous hexameters of Henry VII's courtiers.

English blood was up. It was up against all the brash outsiders who seemed to mock Barclay's stern advice to foreigners:

Medle with none office nor matters more or lesse

... Least by much medling thou win vnquietnes,
And some one may bid thee, forth forriner auaunt,
To thy natieue courtey. 102

In such a temper, Englishmen could hardly be expected to "receaue every stranger with maner amiable." 103 Instead they attacked him in word and deed.

It is perhaps fitting that we conclude this examination of isolationism and anti-foreign sentiment with lines composed by a good poet (few enough of whom existed at this time)—lines which, more admirably than I could hope to, summarize the major contemporary targets of English resentment, and express the satisfaction of one who had travelled extensively on the continent to be back in his own country away from foreign vices and intrigues. 104 Writing probably in 1536 to John Poins, Thomas Wyatt affirms movingly:

I ame not now in Ffraunce to judge the wyne
With saffry sauce the delicates to fele.

Nor yet in Spaigne where oon must him inclyne
Rather then to be outewerdly to seme;
I meddill not with wittes than be so fyne.

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103 Ibid.
104 This in spite of Wyatt's temporary disfavor at court and banishment to his father's place in Kent.
Nor Fflaunders chiere letteth not my sight to deme
Of black and white, nor taketh my wit awaye
With bestlynes; they beestes do so esteme.

Now I ame not where Christe is geuen in pray
For mony, poison and treason at Rome,—
A comune practise used nyght and daie.

But here I ame in Kent and Christendome,
Emong the muses where I rede and ryme.
Where if thou list, my Poynz, for to com,
Thou shat be Judge how I do spend my tyme.105

CHAPTER 4

DUTY TO THE STATE

Poets of the later sixteenth century paved the way toward rampant post-Armada English patriotism with the cobblestones of man's duty to the state. Supplied by a rising tide of discovery and expansion, a glowing sense of history and tradition, and the continuous strengthening of English autonomy under their virgin queen, the literary architects of patriotism saw man as a perpetual beneficiary of and a constant debtor to his country. Such major writers as Daniel, Drayton, Spenser, and Shakespeare, and such lesser lights as Gascoigne, Whetstone and Churchyard emphasized this close relationship, and virtually every popular ballad or tract which had anything to do with the political scene paid its respects to the ideal of civic duty. Papists, rebels, merchants, lawyers, soldiers, explorers—all became praiseworthy or blameworthy in direct proportion to their devotion to and active support of the state. Scarcely an elegy can be found which does not recommend its subject to everlasting honor through his service to crown and country. The life dedicated to patriotic deeds had become an end in itself to Elizabethan Englishmen.

To emerge as a shining Elizabethan ideal, however, the idea of public service had to undergo an unspectacular and sometimes cramping poetic evolution as a means to more localized pre-Elizabethan ends. Other motifs were at work in the England of Henry VII and his son—motifs which melted before or became metamorphosed into later monolithic Elizabethan nationalism, but which early had other goals and donned civic duty as a kind of new and prestigious cloak. The move-
ment for unity, the pull of courtly patronage, the examination of kingship, the pre-Reformation attack on England's "spiritual" rulers, the reduced plight of the commons, and the renewed interest in education were such motifs. With varying degrees of importance, each of these themes commanded the attention of early Tudor writers, and each was to wrap itself in the white robe of patriotic duty which was woven from a combination of forces including the medieval concept of the ideal commonwealth, the humanistic return to classic sources, and the stabilizing confidence of strengthening monarchy.

Significantly the relatively pure conception of duty to the state as an end in itself comes from classic sources, rather than from medieval thought. Therefore the humanistic impulse in early Tudor England re-discovered and developed the most purely patriotic aspects of duty and service, and since the great early English humanist scholars did not often express themselves in poetry, the patriotic ideal of public service is essentially a prose development. The court poets who served Henry VII were scholarly men, well-acquainted with classic literature, but they were too close to the uncertain infancy of Tudor monarchy, too preoccupied with using their learning and justifying their own high position in Henry VII's government to devote much attention to the principle of duty to the state. They were essentially the products rather than the literary analysts of an early Tudor sense of public service. Medieval ideas adapted to Tudor times played a stronger role than classic sources in poetic articulation of the idea of duty, as we shall see later in this chapter, but in order to appreciate the con-
trast it will be well first to discuss briefly some key prose works written under the impact of classic learning.

In 1516 Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* was published. Written in Latin, it is the product of a great mind steeped in classical authors, particularly Plato, and deeply concerned with the question of man's relationship to the state. Plato had built his theoretic state on the foundation of a philosopher-king, whose great wisdom and learning would direct his political actions; but More was concerned, at least in part, with the adaptation of Plato's republic to early Tudor circumstances. Verses which precede the main body of More's work declare that Utopia is to go beyond Plato's theoretic state.

Me Vtopie cleped Antiquitie,  
Voyde of haunte and herboroughe.  
Now am I like to Platoes citie,  
Whose fame flieth the worlde throughe.  
Yea like, or rather more likely  
Platoes platte to excell and passe.  
For what Platoes penne hathe platted briefely  
In naked wordes, as in a glasse,  
The same haue I perfourmed fully,  
With lawes, with men, and treasure fyttely.  

Devoted to learning as he was, More was faced with the problem of fitting his intellectual philosophy into a developing pattern of political service. Since Plato's ideal state, where rule is in the hands of kings
turned philosophers or philosophers turned kings, was impractical in an early Tudor England committed to hereditary monarchy, More reasoned that the same effect might be achieved if Englishmen of learning put their wisdom and counsel at the disposal of the crown. Thus a significant portion of the first book of *Utopia* is taken up with a debate between Hythlodaye and More over the question of whether or not learned men should devote themselves to state's service. Addressing the learned Hythlodaye, More argues,

> I must needes beleue that you, if you be disposed, and can find in youre harte to followe some prynces courte, shall with your good cownselles greatly healpe and further the commen wealth. Wherefore there is nothyng more apperteynyng to your dewty; that is to say, to the dewty of a good man. For where as youre Plato Judgethe that weale publyques shall by this meanes attayne perfeccte felicitie, other if phylosophers be kynges, or els if kynges giue them selfes to the study of Philosophie; how farre, I praye yowe, shall commen wealthes then be from thys felicitie, if phylosophers wyll vouche saufe to instructe kynges with their counsell?\(^4\)

But Hythlodaye is not so easily convinced. Pointing out that a true philosopher's advice would be laughed to scorn in a court where men seek not to serve the prince but only to flatter him, he argues that the philosopher will accomplish nothing more through such service

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\(3\)See the discussion of this point in Fritz Caspari's *Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1954), pp. 52-53.

\(4\)Utopia, pp. 79-80.
than to corrupt his own wisdom. However, More is unwilling to admit that the compromising effect on the philosopher's effort overshadows the value and importance of that effort. "If you can not euen as you wold remedye vyces, whiche vse and custome hath confirmed; yet for this cause yow must not leaue and forsake the common wealth; you must not forsake the shippe in a tempeste, bycause yowe can not rule and kepe downe the wyndes." Thus More offers a theory of flexibility and perseverance in pursuit of some feasible application of man's highest achievement--learning--to the political structure which controls his existence. He never quite succeeds in convincing Hythlodaye that the philosopher, or learned man, has such a persistent duty to the state, but he does reveal clearly a strong humanistic interest in the possibility of achieving Plato's virtuous philosophical state through a Tudor sense of public duty. It is ironic that More's subsequent action in a sense vindicated Hythlodaye's philosophic position in Utopia, although it was not until the storm completely overtook the ship in the form of Henry's break with Rome that More reluctantly forsook it.

Another English humanist engaged in public service was Sir Thomas Elyot. Of course, Elyot never rose to More's heights in government, but he did serve his country as justice of the peace, sheriff, clerk of the council, and ambassador to Charles V. Like More, Elyot was actively concerned with the ideal commonwealth and with those in a position to promote it; but where More had philosophically debated the

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5 Ibid., pp. 99-100.
6 See the summary of Elyot's governmental service in Caspari, p. 83.
issue of state's service and created a Utopia where the compromising demands of duty did not exist, Elyot drew up an elaborate syllabus for the education of those who could and would serve their country in some governing capacity. The *Governour* (1531) was written—and this should be emphasized—not for kings and princes alone, but for all the "sondry meane authorities" who aid in the perpetuation of effective and just rule. In other words, it is a contemporary handbook of instruction, adapted to English circumstances, for all those who will serve the state.

The foundation for future service, Elyot insists, is knowledge. To prepare the public servant for his rigorous and vital duties, Elyot sends him back to the wisdom of classic Greek and Latin authors. Between the ages of seven and thirteen, he must acquaint himself particularly with poetry, which can inflame and inspire him, but the reading of poetry will bring the future governor much more than amusement and general knowledge. Observe what practical value is to be gleaned from reading Homer:

> In his bokes be contained, and moste perfectly expressed, not only the documentes marciall and discipline of armes, but also incomparable wisedomes, and instructions for politike gouernaunce of people: with the worthy commendation and laude of noble princis: where with the reders shall be so all inflamed, that they most ferently shall desire and coueite, by the imitation of their vertues, to acquire semblable glorie.

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8*Governour*, pp. 36-37.
Similar value attends the study of Virgil, author of the *Aeneid*, where a great and legendary past fathers a vision of the imperial destiny of Rome under the divine guidance of the gods. The man who would serve England in Elyot's day can learn much, for example, from the descent of Aeneas and the Sibyl into Hell.

What shal he more drede, than the terrible visages of Cerberous, Gorgon, Megera, and other furies and monsters? Howe shall he abhorre tyranny, fraude, and auarice, when he doth se the paynes of duke Theseus, Prometheus, Sisiphus, and suche other tourmented for their dissolute and vicious lyuyng? Howe glad soone after shall he be, when he shall beholde, in the pleasant feldes of Elisius, the soules of noble princes and capitaines which, for their vertue, and labours in advancing the publike weales of their countrayes, do lyue eternally in pleasure inexplicable. And in the laste bokes of Eneidus shall he finde matter to ministre to hym audacite, valiaunt courage, and policie, to take and susteyne noble enterprises, if any shall be nedefull for the assailynge of his enemies.

Other fruitfull poets are Lucan, Ovid, and Horace, the patriotic panegyrictist of Augustus Caesar. Following a study of poets, Elyot recommends oratory. Chief among orators are Demosthenes and Cicero, the latter of whom, Elyot points out significantly, excelled "in wonderfull eloquence in the publike weale of the Romanes, who had the empire and dominion of all the worlde." Again we are carried directly back to the practical value of oratory in state's service: "The utilitie that a noble man shall haue by redyng these oratours, is, that, when he shall happe to reason in counsaile, or shall speke in a great audience, or to strange ambassadours of great princes, he shall nat

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9Ibid., p. 39. It is, of course, well known that Surrey made translations of Books II and IV of the *Aeneid* which appeared in *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557).
be constrainned to speake wordes sodayne and disordred, but shal bestowe them aptly and in their places.\textsuperscript{10}

History, too, can teach great lessons to the prospective English public official, and Elyot directs him first to the great patriotic Roman historian, Livy, "nat onely for his elegancie of writinge..but also for as moche as by redynge that autor he maye knowe howe the mooste noble citie of Rome, of a small and poure begynnynge, by prowes and vertue, litell and litell came to the empire and dominion of all the worlde."\textsuperscript{11} Caspari is a bit too tentative, I think, when he observes that Elyot "sounds as if he had hoped that a similar imperial expansion of England might ensue if his future governours would read Livy properly."\textsuperscript{12} As we noted above, Elyot's recommendation of Cicero as a model of oratory, is accompanied by an unnecessary reference to Roman dominion over the world. It seems quite clear that Elyot sought

\textsuperscript{10}Ibid., p. 42.  
\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., p. 45.  Livy had a deep pride in the ancient glory and power of Rome. In the preface to his History of Rome, he muses that his name may remain obscure as a historian but takes comfort in the motivation of his efforts: "It will, at all events, be a satisfaction to me, that I too have contributed my share to perpetuate the achievements of a people, the lords of the world." Again, trying to decide whether or not he should give credence to the legends and traditions that surround Roman origins, Livy at first observes that these things are more properly the subject of romantic poetry than the "genuine records of history," but ultimately his patriotism expands the horizons of objective history. "This indulgence is conceded to antiquity, that by blending things human with divine, it may make the origin of cities appear more venerable: and if any people might be allowed to consecrate their origin, and to ascribe it to the gods as its authors, such is the renown of the Roman people in war, that when they represent Mars, in particular, as their own parent and that of their founder, the nations of the world may submit to this as patiently as they submit to their sovereignty." (History of Rome, Preface. Translation by D. Spillan (London, 1913).  
\textsuperscript{12}Op. cit., p. 89.
the spark that would ignite England to greatness and glory in the practical application of Greek and Roman writings which were the products of former ages of glory and dominion.

By the age of seventeen, Elyot's young governor is ready for moral philosophy and ethics. Here again Elyot's deep concern for practical service reveals itself. Plato must be read "above all other," followed by Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*; but there is a very special place too for Cicero's *De Officiis*, where the guiding principle is transformed from theory to practical action. One quotation from *De Officiis* will illustrate Cicero's emphasis of social and public duties above abstract philosophical knowledge.

I am therefore of opinion that the duties arising from the social relations are more agreeable to nature than those that are merely notional. This may be confirmed from the following argument. Supposing that this kind of life should befall a wise man, that in an affluence of all things he might be able with great leisure to contemplate and attend to every object that is worthy his knowledge; yet if his condition be so solitary as to have no company with mankind, he would prefer death to it...For the knowledge and contemplation of nature is in a manner lame and unfinished, if it is followed by no activity; now activity is most perspicuous when it is exerted in protecting the rights of mankind.

It therefore has reference to the social interests of the human race, and is for that reason preferable to knowledge; and this every virtuous man maintains and exhibits in practice. For who is so eager in pursuing and examining the nature of things, that if, while he is handling and contemplating the noblest objects of knowledge, the peril and crisis of his country is made known to him, and that it is in his power to assist and relieve her, would not instantly abandon and fling from him all those studies, even though he thought he would be enabled to number the stars, or measure the dimensions

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13 *Gouvernour*, p. 47.
of the world?...From this consideration I infer, that the duties of justice are preferable to the studies and duties of knowledge, relating as they do to the interests of the human race, to which no anterior consideration ought to exist in the mind of man.14

The guiding principle, then, of De Officiis is one of practical action. To Cicero practical action meant service to the state of Rome. He urged his countrymen to cultivate the timeless virtues that Plato and Aristotle had spoken of, and to exercise decorum in their daily dealings, but with respect to his service to the state, man could scarcely engage in excess. He must strive to be an individual, a scholar, and a gentleman, but these achievements must then be turned to the benefit of the state which gave him life, protection, and opportunity. Something of this sense of present duty in Cicero vitalized Elyot's humanistic reverence for the theoretic masters of philosophy, Plato and Aristotle. Hence he can conclude of the Nichomachean Ethics, De Officiis, and an unnamed work of Plato, "Euery place is so infarced with profitable counsaile, ioyned with honestie, that those thre bokes be almoste sufficient to make a perfecte and excellent gouernour."15

We may find another indication of Elyot's practical and present turn of mind in his emphasis on physical development. The future state official must not only exercise and enlarge his mind through study, but he must also engage in serious bodily exercise so that he will be able to perform his function well. He must learn to fence, hunt, ride, and dance,16 but above all he must take advantage of the fact that "shotyng in a longe bowe is principall of all other exercises."17

15Governour, p. 48.
16Ibid., p. 72 ff.
17Ibid., p. 111.
Here, then, is Elyot's blueprint for a revived English state. Infused with a practical patriotism anchored in a humanistic return to classic sources, Elyot is sure that if his public officials, his "gouernours," will pursue the course of study which he has laid out, they will "haue wonne suche a treasure [that] they shall alway be able to serve honourably theyr prince, and the publike weale of theyr countray...wherby at the laste we shulde haue in this realme...a publike weale equialent to the grekes or Romanes."\(^\text{18}\)

Some four years after Elyot's Governour was published, Thomas Starkey completed "A Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset." Although four years is a short period of time, there had occurred an event which radically affected the tone of political writing from this time on. Henry VIII broke with the Roman Church in 1534 and opened the floodgates to a new channel of patriotic duty. Henry's action was the direct cause of Starkey's "Dialogue," in which Starkey, through the mouth of Thomas Lupset, tries to convince Reginald Pole that he should devote himself to serving the state. Therefore, in a very real sense, Starkey's tract is more practically concerned with service than More's Utopia, or even Elyot's Governour, for Starkey is dealing with specific men and his motive was not only patriotic but propagandist.

Like More and Elyot, Starkey brought a humanistic background to his own service to the state. He was educated at Oxford, where he studied Latin, Greek, and philosophy; and when he went first to

\(^{18}\text{Ibid., p. 69.}\)
Italy, probably in 1525, he joined a group of humanist scholars headed by Pole. Starkey became Pole's secretary and friend, and when he returned to England late in 1534, it was this relationship which prompted Henry VIII and Cromwell to commission the literary services of this humanist anxious to serve his country in some capacity. It was important to Henry that someone of Pole's reputation and influence be available to testify in favor of Henry's bold stroke against Rome. Starkey combined the ideal qualifications for recruiting Pole's support: he had been an intimate friend of Pole's, and he was himself patriotically eager to serve the crown.

In the "Dialogue" Starkey sets out to convince Pole that the proper beneficiary of all Pole's learning should be the state. More had put the same argument to Hythlodaye in *Utopia*, but the recalcitrant Hythlodaye had been left with the last word, and More had moved on to an ideal state where conditions were so perfect that none of Hythlodaye's practical objections to serving the state needed discussion. Starkey, on the other hand, was laying the groundwork for Pole's political testimonial in support of the crown. Lupset's long discussion with Pole at the beginning of the tract was the practical introduction to Pole's later remarks. Bearing this specific functional role which More's discussion with Hythlodaye lacked, it is, of course essential

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20 In a letter to Cromwell, Starkey asked if he might not be permitted to aid Henry in restoring the commonwealth: "The gudnes of our prync who gouernyth vs me semyth ys such, so sett to the restitutyon of the true commyn wele, that my mynd now guyth me thys, that yf hyt plesyd hys grace to vse me therin, I coude in some parte helpe ther vnto." ("Starkey's Life and Letters," ed. Herrtage, *EETS*, Extra Series, XXXII (London, 1878), lxviii).
that Lupset *succeed* in convincing Pole of his overriding duty to
the state; otherwise there would be no reason for Pole not to remain
as silent as in actual fact he did until his *De Unitate* (1536) rudely
contradicted Henry's hopes and Starkey's assumptions. Therefore,
although Pole twists and turns in early defense of contemplative non-
engagement, advancing some of the same arguments with which Hythlodae
had finally silenced More, there is an inexorable movement toward
Lupset's ultimate triumph in the debate. When Lupset opens the dis-
cussion with an elaborate argument that all men are born to communicate
their own gifts and talents to others, and that Pole owes his native
land the fruits of his wisdom and learning, Pole gives an immediate
hint of ultimate surrender when, before taking issue with Lupset's
logic, he makes this concession: "In dede, hyt can not be denyd but
hyt ys a gudly thyng to meddyl wyth the materys of the commyn wel,
and a nobul vertue to dow gud to our frendys and cuntrey, to the wych,
as you say, we are borne and brought forthe." But Pole immediately
points out that it is more important to gain wisdom and self-knowledge
than to become involved with politics, and he refers Lupset to the
ancient philosophers who "forsoke the medelyng with materys of commyn
welys, and applyd themselfys to the secrete studys and serchyng of
nature as to the chefe thyng wher in semyd to rest the perfectyon
of man." Welcoming this reference to classic example, Lupset ex-

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1871), 3. All succeeding references are to this edition.
22 Ibid., p. 4.
presses surprise that one who is as well versed in ancient philosophy as Pole should overlook Aristotle's teaching that man's perfection stands in uniting the active and contemplative life, since one is the end of the other. He goes on to insist that those ancients who refused to become engaged in political life were deceived about the true end of man, and he clinches the point with a question remarkably similar to the one posed by Cicero in the first book of De Officiis. "For who ys he so fer wythout reson, that wold not, thought he myght, by hys pryuate study and labur, know al the secretys of nature, leue al that asyde, and apply hymselfe rather to helpe hys hole cuntrey by prudence and pollycy?" Here Starkey, through Lupset, makes a clean distinction between the old philosophers who spoke so wisely about man's nature but refused to become involved in matters of the state, and the Ciceronic ideal of continuous practical service. In this regard he goes beyond even Elyot's practicality. Elyot had grouped the great theorists Plato and Aristotle with the Cicero of the De Officiis in a blending ideal of knowledge and practical service for his "governour" to emulate, but Starkey's Lupset confronts Pole with a bold and direct refutation of those ancients who recommended political non-engagement through precept or example. In one place Lupset notes "how thes phylosopharys, by whose exampul you Pole appere to excuse your selfe, most avoydyd and vniustely fled" their

23Ibid., p. 5.
24See p. 114 above.
duty to the state, and again later he declares confidently to Pole, "Now you, I trow, playnly dow see, that yf you wyl folow the trade of the ancyent phylosopharys, you schal not folow that thyng wych I am sure you abooue al other most desyre;—that ys to say, the best kynd of lyfe and most conuenyent to the nature of man, wych ys borne to commyn cyuylyte, one euer to be redy to helpe another, by al gud and ryght pollycy."  

After more extended discussion, Pole is on the verge of capitulating. He declares that he never had any doubt about the rightness of Lupset's position, but he is glad to have had the matter so articulately and conclusively argued. Yet he has one defense still to make for the contemplative life. It is virtually the same one that Hythlodaye had made to More. Would not the wise man's counsel be laughed at under certain conditions? Could not a flattering court or a tyrannical ruler compromise and render ineffective the philosopher's well-meant suggestions? Is not the blind attempt to accept the duties of public service without regard to the circumstances of time and place sheer folly? It is precisely at this point, in Lupset's answer to Pole's objection, that Starkey reveals how strongly recent English history has affected his outlook. More's solution had been to create Utopia, where an ideal government drew its strength and stability from the wise, but Starkey had a definite cause to promote, and his answer is specifically pro-

\[\text{\textsuperscript{26}}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 6.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{27}}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 8.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{28}}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 21.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{29}}\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 21-23.}\]
pagandist. Although there is some truth in the contention that circumstances govern the effect of wise counsel, the man who wishes to serve the state loses more in the long run by temporizing than by remaining faithful to his conviction of duty. But now is no time to quibble. The noble Henry VIII rules England and no more opportune moment for Pole's acceptance of his duty could possibly exist.

But, Master Pole, what so euer regard be of wyse men to be had other of tyme or of place, thys to vs ys certayn, that now, in our tyme, when we have so nobul a prynce, whome we are sure no thyng to haue so pryntyd in hys brest as the cure of hys commyn wele, both day and nyght remembring the same, we schold haue no such respecte...Wherfor, Master Pole, as you now see, chefely to be regardyd as the end of al mannys studys and carys, the welth of the commynalty, so now also vs your tyme, vnder so nobul a prynce, to the mayntenance and settyng forward of the same. Let not occasyon slyppe; suffur not your tyme vaynly to pas, wych, wythout recovery, fleth away; for as they say, occasyon and tyme wyl neuer be restoryd agayne.30

This is too much for Pole. He surrenders, as he had been meant to all along. "Master Lvpset, you haue bounde me now; I haue no refuge ferther to fle." He promises to devote himself to the furtherance of his country's good at every opportunity thereafter31 and shows his good faith by agreeing to discuss the true commonwealth and how it may be obtained in England--a project which gives Starkey the chance to develop the motif which Henry and Cromwell so desired: Pole's support of Henry's policy. Preparing the ground for his major practical purpose, Starkey significantly has Lupset warn Pole to beware, in his discussion, of Plato's example, whose order of commonwealth is but a dream which can

31Ibid., p. 25.
never be realized.  

Thus we have a significant evolution of the early Tudor conception of duty nourished by the humanistic return to classic sources and channeled by the sharp effects of contemporary events. It is an evolution away from the theoretical toward the practical idea of duty, and it is therefore an increasingly patriotic evolution. Moved by the meeting of his humanism and his rising political involvement, More philosophically debated the issue of duty with Hythlodaye in *Utopia* and answered Hythlodaye's persuasive objections with an ideal state where the good effects of wisdom were not compromised. Elyot's humanism produced a practical plan of education for the state's servant, which, in its very existence and detail, implicitly accepted the virtue of man's duty to the state. Elyot's debt to and reverence for Plato was as great, perhaps, as More's, but Elyot found the central ideal for his "governor's" study in a fruitful combination of theoretical and practical classical authorities; and, where the sources might seem to be too theoretical, he took pains to describe the valuable applications which could be made to his native English environment. Finally Thomas Starkey, responding to Henry's bold separation from Rome, linked state's service explicitly with a new dimension of Tudor patriotism in his resolution of More's philosophic argument. In place of the fictitious Hythlodaye, we meet Reginald Pole, and in place of More's probing analysis, we have Lupset's convincing victory over the

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reluctant spokesman for non-engagement in matters of state. More than that, Starkey provides us with a direct refutation of those revered ancients who avoided the problems of state, and he answers Pole's (and Hythlodaye's) abhorrence of compromised wisdom not with the image of an ideal, nonexistent state, but with an assertion of the ideal governmental climate as it has been practically achieved by Henry VIII.

In terms of literary merit, Starkey's "Dialogue" cannot stand with either More's Utopia or Elyot's Governour, but it is significant documentation of the increasingly patriotic ends to which humanism was addressed following Henry's break with Rome.

That real English patriotism did follow in the wake of Henry's stroke and the rising practical sense of duty can best be illustrated by a tract written by Thomas Becon which appeared in 1542. Entitled variously "The True Defence of Peace" and "The Policy of War," it is perhaps the most direct and sustained piece of patriotic writing composed before Elizabeth came to the throne. Becon was not in the main stream of the humanistic movement as were More, Elyot and Starkey,

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34 Becon took his Bachelor of Arts degree at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1530, and eventually graduated Doctor of Divinity. He became chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer and to Protector Somerset, and seems probably to have lectured in divinity at Oxford during Edward VI's reign. As a reform preacher he was imprisoned under Queen Mary; when he was released in 1554, he repaired to the continent where he remained until Elizabeth's accession in 1558 made England safe again for his return. A voluminous writer, Becon is perhaps best known for his "Jewel of Joy" (1553), which denounces sedition and condemns abuses against the poor. (See the biographical notice in The Early Works of Thomas Becon, pp. vii-xix).
but his patriotism has its roots in the ideal as it was developed by such classic authors as Cicero, Horace, Livy, and Plutarch. Furthermore, "The Policy of War" is dedicated to Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, whose patriotic service to the state was deepened and enhanced by his classic learning. He has offered the "Policy" to Wyatt, says Becon, "both because ye are one whom God above many other hath endued with most goodly qualities, worthy the renown of worship, and apt for the godly administration of the public weal, no less in the perfect knowledge of the diversity of languages, than in the activity of martial affairs, and also forasmuch as ye have euer hitherto earnestly embraced...the studies of human letters."\textsuperscript{35}

After Wyatt's death, Surrey was to praise him on these same grounds of service and learning:

\begin{quote}
A hed, where wisdom misteries did frame;  
Whose hammers bet styll in that liuely brayn  
As on a stithe, where that some work of fame  
Was dayly wrought, to tume to britaines gayn.  

...  

A toung, that served in forein realmes his king;  
Whose courteous talke to vertue did enflame  
Eche noble hart; a worthy guide to bring  
Our English youth, by travaill, vnto fame.\textsuperscript{36}
\end{quote}

Becon opens his preface to the "Policy" with a direct statement of every man's duty to his country.

\begin{quote}
I think there is no man so far estranged from civil humanity, which knoweth not how much every one of us is indebted to his native country. For albeit the duty that
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{35}Op cit., p. 236.  
\textsuperscript{36}The Poems of Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, ed. F.M. Padelford, University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, I (Seattle, 1920), 81.
we owe to our parents, kinsfolk, friends, &c., be great even by the very law and instinct of nature, yet the debt, wherewith we are obliged and bound to our country, seemeth to be greater and of much more valor than we may at any time be able to set ourselves frank and free from it. Our parents only give us this gross, rude, and mortal body. Our country doth not only receive and joyfully sustentate it, but also opulently adorn and garnish both that and the mind with most goodly and godly virtues.37

The native land is like a diligent and productive husbandman tilling the "earth of our hearts" and sowing the seeds of virtue and honor in the "field of our breasts." Man is ever eager to learn, when he is away from his own country, what happens at home. "For how glad is an Englishman, being in France, Germany, or Italy, or elsewhere, to know by the transmission of mutual letters, what is done in England, in what case the public weal consisteth, how it prospereth, how God's word is set forward, after what manner virtue is maintained and vice detested." A myriad of examples from the past teach us what great love and sacrifice men have demonstrated for their native countries. We read of Leo Byzantius, who would rather have died at the hands of his accusing countrymen than flee his native land; of Sertorius, who would rather have been the basest and vilest citizen of Rome than an emperor away from his own country; of Dematria, a woman of Lacedemony, who slew her own son because he behaved like a coward in battle for his country; and of the emperor Otho Silvius, whose supporters offered to die for him to forstall the giving over of the regiment of his empire.38 Furthermore, ancient writers and governors taught the

38 These are all stories told by Plutarch.
glories of patriotic sacrifice. "What goodly sweet sentences did they instil into the breasts of their younglings, even from the cradles, to encourage them unto the love of their country! As these are: Pugna pro patria. Mortem oppete pro patria. Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori." 39 Becon refers also to the story of the great Roman martial patriot Publius Decius told by Livy 40—that same Livy whom Elyot had recommended to Englishmen as the patriotic chronicler of Roman dominion over all the world. 41

In the midst of these inspiring reminders of ancient patriotism and sacrifice, Becon drops a scornful reference to Cardinal Pole as a contemporary English example of traitorous contempt for his own country. In 1535 Starkey had sacrificed his own political career in a premature attempt to demonstrate Pole's loyalty, but by 1542 Pole had declared himself and Becon could attack him strongly for his Roman allegiance:

Thus see we how every nation is led even of nature with such an unspeakable loving affection toward his country, as never dieth, except peradventure any be of that pestiferous and poisoned nature, whereof one is, which, being an Englishman born, danceth now like a traitor in a carnal's weed at Rome, and as a shameless monster abasheth not to write, Roma est mihi patria. 42

Cutting short his rehearsal of classic examples of patriotism with the remark that a full discussion would require a work "much longer than the Iliads of the Greek poet Homer," Becon makes a passionate

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39See Cicero, De Officiis, I, xvii; and Horace, Odes, III, ii.
40See Livy's History of Rome, VIII, ix.
41Becon, op. cit., p. 234.
appeal that Englishmen apply this ancient example to their own time and place.

Even the very same godly affection owe we at this day to this our native country England, that men of old time have shewed unto their country, except we be estranged from all natural humanity. And whatsoever our ancestors have done in times past, unto the very same are we bound now likewise. So that whatsoever detercteth and refuseth to do for his country whatsoever lieth in his power, is an unnatural branch and a corrupt seed, unworthy to enjoy any fruit or commodity thereof.\textsuperscript{43}

The medieval concept of order and degree is reflected in Becon's patriotism. Each man in his station and according to his ability should contribute to the commonwealth's good, "the rich man with his riches, the strong man with his strength, the wise with his wisdom, the politic with his policy, the eloquent with his eloquence, the learned with his learning, the artificer with his science, the ploughman with his tilling."\textsuperscript{44} Elyot too, and later Shakespeare, grounded practical patriotism partially on the theory of the ordered society. Nevertheless, it was the return to classic authorities which largely shaped the practical patriotism of early Tudor humanists.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{43}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 234-35.
\textsuperscript{44}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 235.
\textsuperscript{45}I agree with Caspari who disputes the claim of Tillyard and J.W. Allen that More, Starkey et al were simply rehearsing old medieval ideas. Says Caspari, "A certain inconsistency seems to be involved in the statements that 'there was nothing whatever that was new' and that medieval conceptions received...a fresh expression,' since the 'fresh expression' presumably involves a new approach. The idea of an 'organic society,' though outwardly similar to the medieval conception, received a new content and significance as a result of the humanists' return to the authors and values of classical antiquity, particularly to Plato...It would be more accurate to say, then, that this 'medieval commonplace' was very thoroughly revitalized and transformed by Starkey and other humanists under the direct impact of classical philosophy." (\textit{Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England}, pp. 114-15). Actually,
Like Starkey, who had finally persuaded Pole to devote himself to state's service at a time when an ideally noble prince governed England, Becon makes a special point of praising Henry VIII; but Becon's heartfelt patriotism goes beyond even Starkey's propagandist importunity. Starkey had urged public service upon Pole at a time when England sorely needed it; Becon proudly records English patriotic duty as an established fact and a smoothly functioning ideal.

But if any nation be estranged from the unnatural affection toward their country, certes I think England, I mean the inhabitants thereof, may justly contend with any country for the alienation of this vice. It doeth me good, yea, it maketh me seriously to rejoice even at the very heart, to see how glad my countrymen are to serve the commodities of this our country, England. Whosoever our most excellent prince or any in his name commandeth, it is with all reverent fear and loving expedition accomplished. No man grudgeth, no man muttereth, no man thinketh the precept unrighteous, nor the burden heavy; so fervent a love do they bear unto their country. All with one consent employ their endeavours to satisfy, even unto the uttermost of their power, the imperial precept of the king's most royal majesty.46

Thus it is clear that familiarity with classic sources joined with an increased sense of allegiance to Henry VIII to shape a partially medieval ideal of duty into an articulate and practical early Tudor

the theory of an ordered universe goes back to Plato's *Timaeus*, where all creation is regarded as the logical, ordered product of a divine Reason.

46Op. cit., p. 235. Contrast this confident attitude to that of an English patriot on the eve of Tudor rule. William Caxton, citizen of London, to which he felt "bounden naturally to assist, aid, and counsel, as far as I can to my power, as to my mother of whom I have received my nurture and living," lamented sadly in 1483 that this formerly great city now staggered and was "of great need." "And the cause is that there is almost none that intendeth to the common weal, but only every man for his singular profit." Would that contemporary Englishmen could bear comparison to "The noble Romans, that for the common weal of the city of Rome...spent not only their movable goods but...put their bodies and lives in jeopardy...to the death." (Prologue to Caton, Prefaces and Prologues to Famous Books, Harvard Classics, ed. Charles W. Eliot, XXXIX (New York, 1910), 15).
patriotism. In the developing pattern which emerges from the prose work of three real humanists and a learned preacher, we can see the fruition of a trend which R. Weiss had already identified in fifteenth century England. Commenting on the utilitarian function of early humanism (which harmonized rather than contrasted with scholasticism), Weiss observes, "Its value in diplomacy was already realized by Thomas Bekynton, and it was very probably his appreciation and innovations in the language of diplomacy that led to its becoming a recognized part of the armoury of statecraft...The conclusion forced on us...is that a high standard of classical Latin constituted a sure avenue to a brilliant political or diplomatic career, and eventually to high preferment in the Church."\(^{47}\) Douglas Bush lends his authoritative support to the perpetuation of this utilitarian function in early Tudor England, as I have just traced it. He says, "The broad aim of Tudor humanism was training in virtue and good letters; the practical aim was training for the active Christian life, especially public life...All the English humanists, like the majority of continental ones, regarded classical learning as a means, not an end, and their energies were given to education. They wished to produce citizens and statesmen, not scholars."\(^{48}\)


\(^{48}\) Douglas Bush, *The Renaissance and English Humanism* (Toronto, The University of Toronto Press, 1939), pp. 78-79. These judgments stand in marked contrast to some others. See Robert P. Adams's article, "Designs by More and Erasmus for a New Social Order," *SP*, XLII (1945), 131-45, where the humanist projections of More, Erasmus, and Colet are described as "not...an isolated English creation, but...an essential part of the loosely unified civilization of all Catholic
With this review of the intense humanistic interest in duty to
the state behind us, let us now turn back to the main concern of this
thesis: pre-Elizabethan poetry. We should pause first over a poem
written by one of the great prose humanists whom we have already
discussed. In an extended Latin piece written after Henry VIII's
coronation in 1509, Sir Thomas More boldly develops his strong in-
terest in duty to the state. More's concern for justice and the
welfare of the state had led him in the previous reign, to oppose
Henry VII's heavy taxations. Now that the first Tudor monarch had
died, and his son had assumed the responsibilities of government, More
again spoke out openly in defense of his convictions. After an elaborate
catalogue of the new king's great qualities, More turns to a discussion
of former abuses which are now in the process of being rectified.
Henry VIII has tried and confined plotters and informers, lightened
the harsh duties on merchants, restored the ancient rights of nobles,
given to good men the honors and public offices which formerly were
sold to evil men, brought unity to the state, restored laws to their
ancient force and dignity, and retracted certain privileges which his
father had allowed. Furthermore, he has ignored the opportunity to
accumulate great personal wealth through fear, as his predecessor had
done, and has instead inspired love and gratitude in his subjects. In
all this the new king has demonstrated that his strong sense of duty

Europe"; Wingfield-Stratford's History of English Patriotism, I, 136-37,
where More is accused of a singular lack of patriotism and duty; and
Lewis Einstein's remark that the liberalism of the humanists was not
in touch with the idea of the state (Tudor Ideals, p. 78).

49 The poem is printed in The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More, pp. 16-21.
50 See Nelson, p. 32.
to his country supercedes even his love for his father. More here
makes his king (who was later to become practically synonymous with
the idea of the state and hence the object of duty and service) a
moral agent guided by an obligation outside his own sovereignty and
superior to the command of paternal respect—the obligation to seek
first the welfare of the state. That More should criticize even a
dead monarch so directly, and that Henry VIII could not possibly
have accomplished all these improvements so soon, is but further
evidence of More's deep humanistic devotion to the ideal of duty to
the state. Even a king has this duty above all others, More insists.

Germanus Brixius, the French writer, with whom More clashed over
the naval battle of 1512, saw a chance to exploit More's directness
here. He tried to create bad blood between More and Henry VIII by
emphasizing More's attack on the policies of Henry VII in the corona-
tion epigrams. The final irony is that the great humanist should
die as a result of his firm opposition to the very monarch for whom
he had such high hopes in 1509.

Generally speaking, however, the humanistic interest in state
service as an end in itself did not reach down into pre-Elizabethan
poetry and verse. Just as much of the verse preceding Wyatt and Surrey's
poetic innovations owed a debt to medieval forms and conventions, so did essentially medieval ideas govern a number of early Tudor verse
applications of the theory of duty to demanding localized ends. The

1935), pp. 190-91.
52 See the Conclusion.
medieval conception held that God had created a number of social classes among men, each with its own particular function to perform and contribution to make toward an ideal commonwealth. To attain the ideal, each person had to recognize and accept his station, and work selflessly for the common good;\textsuperscript{53} but the individual's duty was not necessarily confined to the prince or the state. Rather, as Allen puts it, "The religious duty of obedience to the Prince was constantly associated with the conception of a similar duty in relation to every recognized form of authority in human society."

Therefore, no matter what section or aspect of society be regarded, "We shall find ordained superiors and ordained subjects the one bound to rule for the welfare of the other, the other loyal to obey. Just as the Prince should be obeyed in all things lawful by God's law, so the inferior should obey his immediate superior in all things lawful by the law of the Prince.\textsuperscript{54} This concept of obedience to one's immediate superior animated the feudal bond of a knight to his lord and helps greatly to explain the divergent objects of loyalty held by early Tudor popular writers and court poets.

However, pre-Elizabethan poets and versifiers adapted the theory of duty to present circumstances even as the humanists adapted the classic ideal in their practical prose works. Nevertheless, poetic adaptation was made with a difference, as we have already said. To


\textsuperscript{54}Allen, p. 135.
the humanists duty to the state was an end in itself; to the great
majority of poets and versifiers, duty was a means to more localized
ends: an attorney for particular causes.

John Skelton reflected the medieval conception of duty in a piece
entitled, "Skelton Laureat vpon the Doulour[ū]s Dethe and Muche Lamentable
Chaunce of the Most Honorable Erle of Northumberlande" written, proba­
bly, shortly after the murder of Henry Percy, fourth Earl of North­
umberland, April 28, 1489.55 The earl was killed by commoners who
mistakenly thought that as the Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire he was
directly responsible for the refusal of their complaint about a new
tax to subsidize the war in Bretagne. In reality, Northumberland had
written to Henry VII in behalf of the people asking for an abatement,
and his message to them was only a reflection of Henry's refusal. In
his verses on the incident, Skelton uses the earl's duty to king and
commonwealth to amplify the enormity of the crime committed by the
commoners. Northumberland is praised as a valiant lord and knight
who has demonstrated his loyal service against France and Scotland.
Although he was a defender of the commoners, they slew him in a fit
of misguided rage. Says Skelton,

The ground of his quarel was for his soueraine lord,
The well concerning of all the whole lande,
Demandyng suche duties as nedes most acord
To the ryght of his prince, which shold not be withstand.
(lines 64-67)

55 The piece is printed in Dyce, I, 6-14.
His was the benignity of Aeneas and the valour of Hector in pursuing the good of the commonwealth.

His noble blode neuer destayned was,
Trew to his prince for to defend his ryght,
Doblenes hatyng fals maters to compas,
Tretyory and treason he banysht out of syght,
With truth to medle was al his holl delaught,
As all his countrey can testyfy the same.
(lines 148-53)

Skelton's purpose here is to demonstrate the bad effects of a breakdown in the interacting duties of an ordered society. The commoners have failed in their duty to a lord who, in turn, had his duty to the prince. For such civil disobedience they are to be condemned.

Later, in Edward VI's reign, Barnabe Googe utilized this criticism of civil disobedience to advertise not only the binding demands of the social structure, but also a very distinct aristocratic prejudice. In "An Epytaphe of the Lorde Sheffaldes death," Googe pays his respects to Edmund Sheffield, created Baron Sheffield of Butterwick in 1547, who was killed by commoners on his way to quell Ket's rebellion in August of 1549. Googe's epitaph emphasizes the yawning chasm between the brutish, lowborn rebels under Ket and the noble, hightborn Sheffield.

When Brutysh broyle, and rage of war
in Clowynysh harts began
When Tigres stoute, in Tanners bonde
vmusled all they ran,
The Noble Sheffyld Lord by byrth
and of a courage good,
By clubbish hands of crabbed Clowns
there spent his noble blud.
His noble byrth ausayled not,
his honor all was vayne,
Amyd the prease, of Mastye Curres,
the valyant Lorde was slayne. 56

In succeeding lines, the rebels are referred to as "Dunghyll Dogs" and "rauenyng Wolues" while Sheffield is spoken of as the "Floure of worthynes" possessed of a "gylteles lyfe." Googe gives a graphic description of how Sheffield is struck down by a "bluddy Butcher byg and blunt," and bravely asserts that had he been present and blessed with "Hectors force,"

Before that from his Carlysh hands,
the cruell Byll dyd fall.
Then shulde that peasaunt vyle haue felt
the clap vpon his Crowne,
Then shuld haue dazed his dogged hart
from dryuyng Lordes adowne.

But the deed has been done, and all Googe can do is bewail the lord's demise. Like Skelton, he compounds the commoners' crime by reminding his readers that the rebels acted in defiance of their duty while Sheffield has died nobly in the performance of his duty to the state.

Thy Kyng and Countrey for to serue,
thou dydste not feare to dye.57

Alexander Barclay turns the idea of public duty to another very obvious utilitarian end: flattering praise of his patron. Barclay's patron was Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, who was created Duke of Norfolk for his prowess at Flodden Field in 1513. In the fourth of his eclogues Barclay works in an elaborate panegyric of the House of Howard, centering his attention chiefly on the public devotion of his

57 Ibid., p. 70.
He expresses great admiration for noble soldiers who forgo riches and easy pleasure to accept the stern hardships of service to the prince.

Such were the sonnes of noble lorde Hawarde,
Whose famous actes may shame a faint cowarde.
What could they more but their swete liues spende,
Their princes quarell and right for to defende:
Alas that battayle should be of that rigour,
When fame and honour riseth and is in floure,
With sodayne furour then all to quenche agayne
But boldest heartes be nerest death certayne.

Narrowing his praise of the Howards to Edward, who was slain in the naval battle off Brest in 1513, Barclay erects an elaborate elegy entitled, "The description of the Towre of Vertue and Honour into the which The noble Hawarde contended to enter by worthy actes of chialrly." The tower can be entered only by diligent effort, and those who reside there have displayed great virtue and wisdom. Among the residents are Henry VIII, and the worthy governor,

A stocke and fountayne of noble progeny,
Moste noble Hawarde the duke and protectour,
Named of Northfolke the floure of chiualry.
(lines 852-54)

58 Howard's eldest son, Thomas, served under his father at Flodden and became Earl of Surrey at the same time that his father was made Duke of Norfolk. The second son, Edward, became Lord High Admiral of the English fleet and was killed in an attack against the French Fleet off Brest in 1513. The third son, Edmund, was Marshal of the Horse at Flodden and was knighted by his father after the battle.


60 The elegy itself (lines 823-1140) is related to Codrus by Minalcas. Miss White in her edition of the Eclogues thinks that Barclay's description of the "Towre" was probably inspired by the "Temple dhoneur et de vertue" of Jean Lemaire de Belges. Lemaire composed his work on the death of his patron October 10, 1503 (p. 258). Barclay's eclogue was probably written in 1513 or 1514.
To introduce his eulogy of the duke's son Edward, Barclay observes that some potentially great men have been destroyed young before they could give the full measure of their service. Such a one was the Lord High Admiral, who could have enjoyed honor and glory through his name alone, but who chose rather to earn it through service to his prince:

Though he were borne to glory and honour,  
Of auncient stocke and noble progenie,  
Yet thought his courage to be of more valour,  
By his owne actes and noble chiualry.  
Like as becommeth a knight to fortifie  
His princes quarell with right and equitie,  
So did this hawarde with courage valiauntly,  
Till death abated his bolde audacite.  
(lines 967-74)

Thus in this first academic attempt at turning the eclogue, and the pastoral convention, into the vernacular, Barclay, in a free rendering of Mantuan, adapts his source to English subject matter. In the process of adapting it, he works into his material an elaborate commendation of the source of his patronage, the House of Howard, which is elevated in honor chiefly through its adherence to the ideal of duty. It should be pointed out here that Barclay's attitude toward the ideal was less utilitarian elsewhere. Another work shows that he regarded service to the state as an ideal more akin to an end in itself. In *The Life of St. George*, a verse translation of Mantuan's *Georgius*, printed by Pynson in 1515, Barclay undertakes the patriotic aim

To laude saynt George: our glorious patron  
And moue his seruantes/vnto deuocyon.61

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Barclay is obviously concerned that Englishmen in general pattern their lives after the "doughtynes" of their patron saint and seek the good of the commonwealth. Departing quite extemporaneously from his source at one place, he addresses himself to the youth of England:

O englysshe youth/it is both synne and shame
to se in thy patron/suche manly doughtynes
And thou to spend thy tyme/in thriftles game
The grounde of vyce/and rote of wretchydnes
Fle from suche foly/vse noble besynes
And thyngeas that at end/may helpe a comon welth
Or else that may be/vnto thy soules helth.
(lines 323-29)

The translation is dedicated to Barclay's patron, the Duke of Norfolk, but the animating spirit of duty to the commonwealth is purer here than it is in the Fourth Eclogue.

We have already noted John Skelton's adaptation of the medieval conception of duty in the Northumberland poem. However, the spur of personal animosity was later to move Skelton into an adaptation of the broader theory of duty to the state. His target was Cardinal Wolsey. It is outside the scope of our purpose here to account for all the reasons for Skelton's hatred of Wolsey. What we are concerned with is how the poet used the ideal of duty to justify his attack. One of Skelton's primary goals was to crucify Wolsey on the cross of public failure. His satires are filled with accusations of selfish pride, maladministration, and subversion of the laws designed to preserve and maintain the state. In "Speke Parrot" (1521) Wolsey emerges, somewhat obscurely, as the villain of ineffectual negotiation in France. In the autumn of 1521 Wolsey was at Calais. France and the Empire were at war. Henry was the formal ally of both Francis I and Charles V,
and on the basis of treaties of alliance, both monarchs demanded his military aid. Henry persuaded the warring rulers to agree to a conference over which his representative (Cardinal Wolsey) was to pre­side. Wolsey left Dover for Calais August 1, 1521, to carry out his assignment. But instead of working hard to achieve a truce between Francis and Charles, Wolsey abruptly abandoned the French ambassadors to spend three weeks at Bruges in conference with the Emperor Charles arranging details for a royal marriage and plans for a combined attack on France. Wolsey returned to England on November 28, 1521, having attained nothing more tangible in the way of peace than a temporary agreement safeguarding the fishing fleets of the three nations. By the next year the failure of Wolsey's efforts was plain: England and France were at war.\textsuperscript{62}

Speaking obliquely through "Parrot," Skelton makes what seems to be an attack on Wolsey's irrelevant dealings at the French conference:

\begin{quote}
To bryng all the see into a cheryston pytte,  
To nombyr all the sterrys in the fyrmament,  
To rule ix realmes by one mannes wytte,  
To suche thynges ympossyfoyll reason cannot consente:  
Muche money, men sey, ther madly he hathe spente:  
Parrot, ye may prate thys vndyr protestacion,  
Was neuyr suche a senatour syn Chrystes incarnacion.
\end{quote}

Wherefor he may now come agayne as he wente,  
\textit{Non sine postica sanna}, as I trowe,  
From Calys to Dovyr, to Cauenterbury in Kente,

\textsuperscript{62}See Nelson's discussion of the history of the period (\textit{John Skelton Laureate}, p. 165 ff.), which he takes from Brewer's introduction to Volume III of \textit{Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII}, (London, 1867) and from documents of that period included in the volume.
To make reconyng in the resseyte how Robyn loste hys bowe,  
To sowe com in the see sande, ther wyll no crope grow.  
Thow ye be tauntyd, Parotte, with tonges attayntyed,  
Yet your problemes ar preignaunte, and with loyalte acquayntyed.63

Toward the end of the poem "Parrot" is urged to "sette asyde all sophyms  
and speke now trew and playne." The result is a long list of religious,  
political, and legal abuses which we are to assume are the result of  
Wolsey's misused power.64

By 1522, when he wrote "Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?" Skelton had  
abandoned all pretense. He attacks Wolsey with aroused and bitter  
directness. Where "Speke Parrot" had divided accusation between  
religious and political matters, "Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?" concen­  
trates on the latter. To Skelton the seat of English monarchy no  
longer seems certain. There are two courts--one the king's, and one  
at Hampton under Wolsey's control:

The kynges courte
Shulde haue the excellence;
But Hampton Court
Hath the preemynence.65

The veiled allusions of "Speke Parrot" give way to Skelton's final

63Dyce, II, 16, lines 331-44. Nelson makes a strong case for  
the hypothesis that lines 280-345 of the poem are an appeal to Wolsey  
to come home from Calais where he is wasting time and money and  
bungling the state projects entrusted to him. See John Skelton  
Laureate, pp. 166-71.

64Lines 442-511. Among the boons of a good commonwealth which  
suffer: merchandize and trade, law, economic stability, and the  
strength and vitality of the nobles.

65Dyce, II, 39, lines 403-06.
judgment on Wolsey's expensive but ineffectual diplomacy on the continent.

With spende and wast witlesse,
Treatinge of trewse restlesse,
Pratynga for peace peaslesse.
The countrynge at Cales,
Wrang vs on the males:
Chefe counselour was carelesse,
Gronyng, grouchynge, gracelesse.
(lines 71-77)

Everything degenerates under Wolsey's rule. Money is unwisely lent and spent. Skelton puns on Wolsey's name and blames him for the truce between England and Scotland. The French war gives Skelton a chance to contrast Surrey's service to England with Wolsey's selfish disregard of such an end. The earl's brave and honest martial deeds against the "henherted" French are darkened by the cardinal's avaricious shadow, for what losses the French incur on the field of battle are offset by bribes to Wolsey. Furthermore, Wolsey "mars" matters in the Star Chamber. He is full of pride and boasting. He loves nothing but gold. In a long and bitter passage Skelton attributes all the indecision and timidity in English dealing with the Scots to Wolsey's influence. The officers in charge of keeping the borders against Scotland (Lord Dacre, Warden of the West Marches; Lord Roos, Warden of the East Marches; and Henry Percy, fifth Lord of Northumberland, Warden of the whole Marches) are afraid to act firmly, Skelton charges, because of their close association with the self-centered cardinal who never has the good of the state before his eyes.66

66Lines 122-296 passim.
Wolsey bullies and intimidates the nobles:

For all their noble blode  
He pluckes them by the hode,  
And shakes them by the eare,  
And brynges them in suche feare;  
...  
And maketh them to bow theyr kne  
Before his maieste.  
(lines 300-10)

He criticizes and ridicules the judges of the king's laws. His intimidation interferes with real justice in courts of law. His insidious authority pervades all arms of the government, including the Exchequer and the Star Chamber.

Strawe for lawe canon,  
Or for the lawe common,  
Or for lawe cyuyll!  
It shall be as he wyll.  
(lines 413-16)

Not only did Wolsey violate his duty to bring about peace between Charles V and Francis I, but his alliance with Charles has caused needless English bloodshed. English lives are on Wolsey's hands. Furthermore Wolsey is an implied associate of traitors. Into his diatribe Skelton inserts a comment on "maister Mewtas" (John Meautis, French secretary to Henry VII and Henry VIII), whom he terms Henry's "vntrew adversary" for sending written accounts of Henry's actions and intentions to the French king. Skelton reports that Meautis has now been sent on duty by Wolsey "farre byyonde Portyngale." His mission:

To puruey for our cardynall  
A palace pontifycall,  
To kepe his court prouyncyall.  
(lines 808-10)

Lastly, Wolsey is directly responsible for the squandering of England's financial resources. Money is uselessly poured into the French war.
England will suffer as long as Wolsey dominates the scene.

He wolde dry vp the stremys
Of ix. kinges realmys,
... by and by
He wyll drynke vs so drye
And suck vs so nye,
That men shall scantly
Haue peny or halpeny.
(lines 954-65)

All these excesses and selfish preoccupations, Skelton concludes, have violated Wolsey's responsibility of selfless service to the state and dimmed the glory of a once-noble England. For the cardinal's unbridled willfulness

Hath brought in dystresse
And moche heuynesse
And great dolowre
England, the flowre
Of relucent honowre,
In olde commemoracion
Most royall Englyssh nacion
Now all is out of facion,
Almost in desolation;
I speke by protestacion
God of his miseracyon
Send better reformacyon!
(lines 1031-42)

It is clear that Skelton sought to cut down his great enemy by confronting him with a damning portrait of his brash and selfish antagonism to English interests. In "Speke Parrot" the poet is circumspect and vague about Wolsey's irresponsible service to the state in the continental negotiations, but in "Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?" he draws up a long and itemized indictment of the cardinal's sins. The whole pattern of the indictment is calculated to give dignity and authenticity to Skelton's personal attack on Wolsey. It is an elaborate
attempt to justify, in the minds of his readers, the private animosity buried in the stream of scurrilous invective which Skelton poured forth on the head of his powerful adversary, and it forms the most extended pre-Elizabethan verse employment to a localized end of the ideal of civic duty that I know of.

Up to this point we have been dealing with major figures in the calendar of early Tudor writers. Let us now examine another side of the literary scene where the names are less familiar, when they are known at all, and the motivations for utilizing the ideal of duty are somewhat different.

Among the common people of Tudor England, economic status was an issue of great importance. It was of particular concern during the reign of Henry VIII because of changing commercial and agrarian conditions, and inevitably it was closely bound up with the church in whose hands most of the land's wealth rested before the dissolution of the monasteries in 1536. Laymen and clerics alike concentrated their attention on church administration, and it is interesting to observe that here too, in popular satire and criticism, the ideal of duty became a tool to a localized end.

Three pieces will illustrate the point. The first is an anonymous poem entitled "The Ruyn of a Ream." It is a general lament over the degenerating state of England, and the author fixes the blame for

67The piece is printed in Furnivall's Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 158-66. After an extended discussion of internal evidence, Furnivall puts the probable composition date in the time of Henry VIII and Wolsey "say, before 1520" (p. 157).
her decay without hesitation on "Rulers that hath no petye to oprese the Commons." Before these "Rulers" are identified, there is a short rehearsal of England's former glory when activity was guided by the public good.

Somtyme nobyll men levyd in ther Contre
And kepte grete howsoldis, pore men to socowur.
(lines 15-16)

Now they dally at court with ladies and poor men famish.

Before thys tyme they lovyd for to Iuste,
and in shotyng chefely they sett ther mynde.
(lines 22-23)

Now they are blinded by the unmanly pleasures of cards and dice.

Where ben the lordis of valeaunte Corage
That somtyme were wonte to serve there kynge?
...
Where be the Rulers & mynesters of Iustye
That Sumtyme Spake for the Common wele?
...
Worthy men of honour, levyng pore menus helthe,
Before this tyme haue takyn grete payne,
Ye, & suffryd dethe, for a Comyn welshe.
(lines 29 passim)

Gone are all such servants of their native land and in their place reign a group of men completely removed from the spirit of public duty:

Hut ys Aparente to every mannus Iee
that spirituall men vndowtydly
dothe Rule this Realme now browghte to mysery.
(lines 40-42)

From this point on the author directs his criticism at the clerics, whose main offense is their disregard for England's welfare. They dress in

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68 Lines 5-6.
gaudy new fashions, they live viciously, they covet advancement, they
give benefices to learned doctors to keep them from criticizing in-
justices. To the great dishonor of English law, they now pay out huge
sums of money to Rome for Papal Bulls:

Fyrste, for there Bullis, To Rome they moste sende
Certeyn Sum of money, whyche long hathebyn vseyd
But now they Cannot with that make an ende,
for thousandis thedyr goethe, ye may be Asuryd;
Theyre honours to obteyne, owur lawys be Subvertyd
evyre worse & worse,—ye see hyt playmely--
Throwe the defaute of the Rulers only.
(lines 148-54)

These proud prelates think that "the wysedom of thys Realme Restythe
all on them." But their motives are fraudulent and deceitful,

and vnder colour of faythe And Relygion
The Comyns ar put to grete oppressyon.
(lines 160-61)

If it is "vnder colour of faythe and Relygion" that the ruling "spirituall
men" aggravate the economic plight of the commoners, it is just as clear-
ly under color of duty to the commonwealth that the author of this
verse complaint indicts the commoners' oppressors. His strongest argu-
ment is that the prelates

delyte, pomposely to Ryde,
not for there travell the Comyn welthe to procure,
But all only for there vngracious pleasure.
(lines 117-19)

Having thus condemned the spirituals before the bar of duty, the writer
assumes for himself the role of public servant which those whom he
attacks have shunned. He has written this "lytell Boke," he says,
because it is something that he "owghte vnto his natyfe Contre." His
whole intent has been to redirect the motivations of those who "wolde
overgon and trede vndyr fote the commyn welthe." The poem concludes with a prayer for the king and queen through whose efforts "thys Realme ys kepte from all Captivyte."

A second piece which attacks the influence of the religious sects on England's good government is the long verse tract "Rede me and be nott wrothe." We have already discussed it in another context, but here we are concerned with how the authors (Roy and Barlow, Oberservant Friars belonging to the Monastery at Greenwich) utilized the patriotic ideal of service to the state in their wide-ranging criticism of the English church and her ministers. Bitter over the burning of Tyndale's New Testament in 1526, and imbued with the spirit of the German Reformation movement which they were witnessing on the continent, these two men attacked the corruption and deceit of the very institution which they themselves represented. Having exhausted nearly every avenue of spiritual condemnation, they turn finally to a discussion of how English religious sects avoid their responsibilities to the state. In this respect they could well learn from seculars, the writers observe, for seculars

Are vnder temporall rulers
   With their children and wyves.
At all seasons prest and redy
To put theym selves in ieopardy
   Aventurynge bothe goodes and lyves.

69Printed in Arber's *English Reprints*, XXVIII (London, 1871), 19-124. The tract was written abroad and printed by John Schott at Strasburg in 1528.
70See p. 38 above.
71In a long passage secular priests are accused of neglecting and abusing their spiritual function. They have at their disposal the best of England—land and commodities—and yet they misuse their abundance to the great detriment of the commonwealth, and are responsible for whoredom, theft, and beggary (Arber, op. cit., p. 61 ff.).
To serve the kynge in warre and peace
They putt theym selves alwaye in preace
The defence of the realme assistynge.
Where as the religious sectes
Vnto no lawes are subiectes
Obeyinge nether god nor kynge.
Yf the kynge will their service vse
Forthwith they laye for an excuse
That they must do goddis busines.
And yf in it they be found negligent
They saye the kynge is impediment
Because they must do hym serves
And yf the kynge shall theym compell
Then obstymatly they do rebell
Fleinge to the popis mayntenaunce
Of whom they obtayne exempcions
From all the iurisdiccions
Of temporall governaunce.72

In such a serpentine manner do the religious sects conduct their self-indulgent lives. Owing allegiance to both God and king, they serve neither, although they plead their responsibility to each as a hindrance to serving the other.

These themes of religious abuse of public duty are picked up again in a third verse tract entitled, "A Proper Dyaloge between a Gentillman and a husbandman eche complaynynge to other their miserable calamite through the ambicion of the clergye."73 The "Dyaloge" was published at Marburg in 1530, two years after "Rede me" appeared from Strasburg. It is an attempt by some anonymous early reformer to refute the Romanist charge of "new-fangled heresy," by resurrecting an old Lollard treatise in a Protestant setting. The author is at pains to give historical authenticity to the contemporary Reformation movement, and like the authors of the two pieces just discussed, he calls as a witness to his

72 Ibid., p. 92.
73 Printed also in Arber's English Reprints, XXVIII, 129-69.
purpose an unrespected and abused commonwealth. The tract begins with first the gentleman, then the husbandman explaining the manner in which their ancestors were surreptitiously deprived of their worldly holdings by the clergy. Once again the hypocrisy of the clergy is castigated. Their professed motives were not their real ones. They acquired land and money from the upper classes on threat of the pains of hell if they refused. In olden times under temporal government dedicated to state service England prospered, says the husbandman:

Fyrst when englonde was in his floures
Ordred by the temporall gouernoures
Knowenge no spirituall iurisdiccion.
Than was ther in eche state and degre
Haboundance and plentuous prosperite
Peaceable wealthe without affliction.
Noblenes of blood/was had in price
Vertuousnes avaunced/hated was vyce
Princes obeyd/with due reuerence.
Artificers and men of occupacion
Quietly wanne their sustentacion
Without any grefe of nedy indigence.
We husband men lyke wise prosperously
Occupyenge the feates of husbandry
Hyerd fearmes of pryce competent.
Wherby oure lyuinge honestly we wanne
And had ynough to paye euery manne
Helpinge other that were indigent.
Tyll at the last the rauenous clergye
Through their craftynes and hypocrisye
Gate to theym worldly dominacion.
Than were we ouercharged very sore
Oure fearmes set vp dayly more and more
With shamefull pryce in soche a fasshyon.
That we paye more nowe by halfe the sume
Than a foretymes we dyd of custome
Holdinge ought of their possession.
Besyde this/other contentes of brybery
As payenge of tythes/open and preuy
And for herynge of confession.

74 Ibid., pp. 133-35.
75 Ibid., p. 136.
Also prestes dueties and clerkes wages
Byenge of perdone and freres quarterages
With chirches and aultares reparacion.
All oure charges can not be nombred
Wherewith we are greatly acombred
Ouer whelmyd with desolacion
We tourmoyle oure selfes nyght and daye
And are fayne to dryncke whygge and whaye
For to maynteyne the clargyes facciones. 76

As had Roy and Barlow in "Rede me and be nott wrothe," this author accuses the religious orders directly of shirking their duty to the commonwealth.

Ye by seynte Marye/I you warrante
In soche cases/their ayde is very scant
Makinge curtesye to do any goode
Let the realtime go what way it wull
They haunya ease/and their belyes full
Regarde little the comone weale by the rode
If princes demaunde their succour or ayde
This answere of them is comonely saide
We are pore bedemen of your grace.
We praye for your diseased auncetryes
For whom we syngle masses and dirigees
To succour their soules in nedefull case. 77

Although they state the idea in more direct language than some of the other verse tracts of Henry VIII's time, these three pieces are typical of the general outcry against the clergy that preceded Henry's assumption of church power in 1534.

76 Ibid., pp. 138-39.
77 Ibid., p. 140. John Bale sounds the same criticism in his verse drama Kynge Johan (c. 1547). Verity (an agent of Reformation) condemns Civil Order and Nobility (tools of Papistry) in these words:

Plato thought alwayes that no hygher love could be
Than a man to peyne hymself for hys own countreye.
David for their sake the proude Philistian slewe:
Aioth mad Eglon hys wyckednesse to rewe.
Esdras from Persye for hys owne coutryes sake
Came to Hierusalem their stronge holdes up to make.
But yow lyke wretches cast over both contreye and kynge
All manhode shameth to see your unnaturall doyng.

Other popular pieces which lament the yielding of ancient temporal rule to corrupt spiritual rule are "Now a Dayes" (c. 1520), and "The Image of Ypocresye" (1533). Like "The Ruyn of a Ream," "Now a Dayes" begins with a harkening back to the good old days when virtuous men were always concerned about the welfare of the commonwealth. Reverence for law and obedience to the prince were then the order of the day. The king himself returned this trust by attending to wise advisors and seeking his country's good.

Then the kyng sett good price  
By noble men and wyse,  
and after there Devise  
He did govern him-self;  
He wold not forsake  
ther counsayll to take;  
They wold no statute make  
But for the commen welth.  
(lines 33-40)

Churches then were built solid and strong and clerics attended to their duty "mans life to amend." A knight could with good conscience swear to defend Holy church. But now all has changed.

The spirituall church, their myslevyng,  
to the temporall, evell ensample gevyng;  
...  
men say that priors & abottes be  
Grete grosyers in this countre;  
They vse bying & sellyng openlye;  
the church hath the name.  
Thei are nott content with ther possession,  
But gapyng ever for promotion,  
& thus withdrawyng mens Devotion,  
vnto the landes grete shame.  
(lines 73-88)

78 Printed in Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 93-100.  
79 Ibid., pp. 181-266.
Economic strains result from the fact that "temporall lordes be almost gone."

The theme is carried forward in "The Image of Ypocresye" where the clergy are accused of ignoring the word of God and showing contempt for temporal rulers while at the same time they pay lip service to loyalty:

Ye make it herisy
And treason to the kinge
Yf we speke any thinge
That is not to your lykyng.

(lines 501-04)

Long passages are devoted to the impositions which the religious sects have made on temporal rulers in England, culminating in a scriptural justification of the temporal sovereign as "lorde and kinge and Iudge in every thinge." We shall develop this idea further below in connection with the rule of the king in early Tudor poetry, but suffice it to say here that duty to the state has made its appearance once again--this time in popular poetry and in defense of the popular longing for economic improvement as represented by the victory of temporal forces over corrupt spiritual forces.

There are essentially two themes blending in all of these economic and religious complaints. One is old and traditional, the other relatively new. The old theme involves abuse of the commoner and maltreatment of the poor. It was inherited from the tradition inspired by Piers Ploughman, an orthodox Catholic poem with strong social overtones.80

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80 For an interesting discussion of the Piers tradition in the sixteenth century, see the first chapter of Helen C. White's book Social Criticism in Popular Religious Literature of the Sixteenth Century (New York, the Macmillan Co., 1944).
the newer theme had its roots in a rising Tudor feeling for the virtues of temporal rule—a sentiment which found its strongest nourishment in the firm actuality of Henry VIII's reign. The theory of duty to the commonwealth was at once a completely consistent and extremely convenient brace for the swelling temporal tide, and it was unhesitatingly used as we have just seen in the widespread attack on the corrupt spiritual forces at work in England.

The popular pieces we have just discussed emphasize the manner in which the religious sects circumvent their duty to the commonwealth and bring about suffering to the commoners. Let us now turn to a later popular poem which utilizes the theory of public duty just as effectively, but ingeniously shifts its practice (or rather its malpractice) to fit altered circumstances. Entitled "Vox Populi Vox Dei," and composed probably about 1547, this piece repeats the theme

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81 Printed in Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 124-46. The poem at one time was thought to be the work of Skelton. MS.2567 in The Cambridge University Library attributes the poem to him, but another manuscript (Harleian 367) does not support this assignment. Dyce prints the poem from the Cambridge manuscript collated with Harleian 367 (Works, II, 400-13) declaring that it was composed by a clumsy imitator of Skelton's style. Hazlitt, who edited the Remains of Early Popular Poetry of England, claims that Dyce doesn't give a good reason for assuming the poem not to be Skelton's, and conjectures that it refers to Wolsey. He thinks that references to events after Wolsey's death have been interpolated by a later copyist. Furnivall, who prints the Harleian version, discounts this view as ridiculous, however, and shows clearly that both the Cambridge and Harleian manuscripts include references to Protector (Somerset) and the Reformation, and that the poem was obviously written in the early years of Edward VI's reign discussing the abuses of Henry VIII's reign (p. 113). The poem is not included as Skelton's in Philip Henderson's The Complete Poems of John Skelton Laureate (London, J.M. Dent and Sons, 1931).
of the exploited commoner, but it attacks the new (post-dissolution) centers of England's wealth: the lawyers, the landlords, the reeves and those who hold office under the king. Like the pre-dissolution attacks on the extortionist religious sects, this poem laments England's decay. The narrator, a shepherd, remembers his country's former glory:

for it ys a worthey realme;
a reme that in tymes paste
hath made the prowdes a-gaste.
(lines 235-37)

Now, however, all is in disorder because of the extreme poverty of the poor people. All the wealth is in a few men's hands and the commoners suffer. They can't keep sow or cow, their farm land is turned into pasture by sheepmasters, and the landlords and lawyers withhold sheep to raise the price of meat. It is only the commoner who feels this economic pinch—not the wealthy landowner. The preachers have rightly stated the poor man's plight, continues the narrator:

from pyllyr to post
The powr man he was toste;
I mene the laboreng man,
I mene the husbande man,
I mene the plowgh man,
I mene the handy-craft man,
I mene the vy [tay] lyng\textsuperscript{83} man
and also the gud yoman
that some tyme in this realme
hade plente of key and creme,
butter, egges, and chesse,
hony, vax, and besse;
but now, a-lacke! a-lacke!
all thes men gowe to wracke.\textsuperscript{84}
(lines 184-97)

\textsuperscript{82}The contemporary sermons of Hugh Latimer and others dwelt at length on the exploitation of the poor by the newly rich.

\textsuperscript{83}Victualing.

\textsuperscript{84}See Book I of More's Utopia for a detailed account of the effects of enclosure on England's social and economic structure.
At precisely this point, hard upon an identification of all those who make up the great fraternity of the downtrodden and oppressed, the narrator explodes his first bomb in the face of those temporal agents who are now responsible. In the noise of the explosion is the unmistakably ominous rumble of abrogated service to the commonwealth.

It is these very men--these commoners

that are the bodye and staye
of youre grasis realme alwaye.
al-waye and at lengh
they must be youre strenght,
youre strenght and your tene
for to defende youre realme.
Then yf these men appall,
and lack when ye doe call,
Whiche waye maye youe, or shall,
Resyst youre enymes all,
thet over ragnye stremes
wyll wadde frome foren realmes?  
(lines 198-209)

Thus the evil men who exploit the commoners emerge as nearly traitorous contributors to England's impotence. These are the "vpstart gentylmen"

85 There was a distinct tradition behind this emphasis on the commoner's importance to England's defense. The third of Lawrence Minot's songs on Edward III's wars proudly relates how English country people beat off an attacking French fleet at Southampton in 1338 (Political Poems and Songs, I, 63 ff.). An English poem on the death of Edward III likens former England to a noble warship which has weathered all storms. Edward was the rudder of that ship and the Prince of Wales bore the helm, but the mast represents none other than the good commons who did so much to maintain the war (Political Poems and Songs, I, 215 ff.). Sir John Fortescue, writing during Edward IV's reign, saw a great danger to English supremacy with the bow if the commoners are not properly looked after:

But this folk consider little of the good of the realm of England, whereof the might standeth most upon archers, which be no rich men. And if they were made poorer than they be, they should not have wherewith to buy them bows, arrows, jacks, or any other weapon of defence, whereby they might be able to resist our enemies when they come upon us; which they may do on every side, considering that we be an island--and, as it is said before, we may not
who "dewowre all the goodes of the pawre." The gentlemen, who themselves owe service to the king, are in turn exploited by greedy merchants.

soon have succour of any other realm. Whereof we shall be a prey to all our enemies, but if we be mighty of ourself, which might standeth most upon our poor archers—and therefore they need not only to have such ablements as now spoken of, but also they need to be much exercised in shooting, which may not be done without right great expenses, as every man expert therein knoweth right well. Wherefore the making poor of the commons, which is the making poor of our archers, shall be the destruction of the greatest might in the realm.

(Quoted from Esmé Wingfield-Stratford's *History of English Patriotism*, I, 65-66. The italics are mine.)

A poem of about the middle of the fifteenth century warns that only the commons, weaken by destitution, can prevent the covetous Duke of Suffolk from usurping the crown from Henry VI (Political Poems and Songs, II, 229 ff.).

The section in "Vox Populi" arguing the commoner's indispensibility is supported by a passage from William Forrest's "Pleasant Poesye of Princelie Practise" (1548). Says Forrest,

for what kinge heere will lyue honorablye, 
hee muste then make of Englande Yeomanrye.

Ffor they (all men knowethe) are the maior parte, 
Whiche by all lawes ought to bee seene vntoo speciallye withe moste intentife harte; 
sith they for their princis their daylie labour doo, 
the myndis of whome they can no bettre woo, 
(to lyue and dye in furderinge their enquestis) 
then to see mayntened their olde enterestis.

(England in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, ed. S.J. Herrtage, EETS, Extra Series, XXXII, xcvi-xcvi*)

Later in the century the theme is played yet again. In his "Description of England" incorporated into Holinshed's *Chronicle*, William Harrison says of English yeomen: "these were they that in times past made all France afraid. And albeit they be not called master as gentlemen are, or sir as to knights appertaineth, but onelie Iohn and Thomas, &c: yet haue they beene found to haue doone verie good seruice: and the king's of England in foughten battels, were woot to remaine among them (who were their footmen) as the French kings did amongst their horsemen: the prince thereby shewing where his chiefe strength did consist." (Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, A reprint of an edition "newlie augmented and continued...to the yeare, 1586, by John Hooker alias Vowell Gent. and others," I (London, 1807), 275).

86"Vox Populi," lines 260-62.
Instead of going boldly abroad to trade, these selfish and unpatriotic merchants remain at home where they lend money to gentlemen and then maneuver them out of their land holdings. Yet the gentlemen must be ready to serve the king "with horse and men in chasse."

for the statute of all your merchant men
vndo most parte of your gentyl men,
and wrape them in suche bandes
that they have halle ther landes,
...

lebt merchant men goe sayle,
for that ys ther trewe waylle;
for of one. C. ye haue not ten
that now be marchantes ventring men,
that occupi grett in-awnderes
further then into flanderes,
flawnderes or in-to france--
for fere of some myschance,
but lyeth at home, and standes
by morgage and purchasse of landes.
Owtt of all gentyl menes Handes,
Wiche should serve alwaye your grace
with horse and men in chasse:
wiche ys a grett dewowre
vnto youre regall pawre.

(lines 267-96)

Thus there is a kind of cyclical exploitation of all the sources of service to the commonwealth. Here again is a clear description of the chaotic effects when individual duties and responsibilities are not carried out in the hierarchy of the social structure. The landlords oppress the commoners and yeomen who, in turn, cannot carry out their function as defenders of the realm against foreign invasion; the merchants, by acquiring the property of the gentlemen, neglect their own duty to seek the commonwealth's good through foreign trade and at

87Adventures.
the same time weaken the gentlemen's ability to serve the king. If only Englishmen would put aside selfish interests (with respect to merchants, the narrator has some very specific suggestions about how this might be accomplished), then all classes would be able to cooperate to the ultimate benefit of the commonwealth. Selfish and chaotic division smothers English greatness, warns the shepherd, and unless very soon

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{we drawe by one lyne,} \\
\text{and agre with one accorde,--} \\
\text{bothe the plowgh-man & the lorde,--} \\
\text{we shall sore Rewe} \\
\text{that ever this statte we knewe.}
\end{align*}
\]

Then again, the narrator returns to the attack. The debased coinage causes higher prices. Rich lawyers and landowners can pay for legal suits, but the poor man cannot. Lines 586-656 of the poem are a direct appeal to the Protector (Somerset) to hear the grievances of the poor and correct them. The author is particularly anxious that the offending parties be directly and positively identified. In the pre-dissolution popular poems it was the religious sects, the covetous "Spiritual men," who sneered at duty and harassed the commons, and the temporal agents who offered hope for redress. However, post-dissolution

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88 See lines 319-30.
89 Lines 397-401. In Utopia More was extremely concerned with inequities and injustices in England too. The first book is full of detailed criticisms of such ironically self-perpetuating evils as thievery and blindly severe punishment. In his effort to meet these destructive forces realistically, More recommends continuing efforts toward gradual amelioration on the part of those who serve the state. Improvement and harmony are the fruits of persistent and sometimes compromising endeavor. To Hythlodaze More says, "You must with a crafty wise and subtell trayne studye and endeouore your selfe, asmuch as in yow lyethe, to handle the matter wyttelye and handsomelye for the purpose; and that whyche yowe can not turne to good, so to order it that it be not very badde. For it is not possible for all thynges to
reality has now exposed the corruption of the temporal "saviors."

we have banyschyd superstysyon,
but styll we kepe ambysyon;
we have showtt awaye all cloystrees,
but styll we kepe extorsynares;
we haue taken there landes for ther abbwese
but we haue convertyd theme to a worse vse.90
(lines 536-41)

Lines 657-758 of the poem form a categorical indictment of those groups in whose hands the wealth of the nation now lies. In addition to lawyers, merchants, and landlords, the list includes "the graett ryve" and the "recorde" (defined by the narrator as one having an office or fee to serve the king), "chawnclares," "maisteres of mynttes," "monyares," "Secondares and Surwayeres," "awdateres," "cowntrolleres," "purvayeres and prowlleres," "grasyeres," "schepe-maisteres," "pay-masteres," and "commen wasteres that of errabell grownd makes pasteres." All these hoard up wealth, but the lawyers especially are rich. Although England fought both France and Scotland, the shepherd claims, the lawyers could pay for a year's war and still have money left over. These men and these sources should be tapped by the king. Their excess wealth is the king's by right. He should take it. This argument leads the narrator into another defense of the commoner's patriotic potential and desire. Not only is he the backbone of England's defense, but he is mentally more understanding and sympathetic of his country's needs than is his wealthy oppressor. If he were able he would give money to

be well, onles all men were good" (Utopia, p. 100).

90Simon Fish's Supplication for Beggars, written in 1527 and addressed to Henry VIII, makes the same point.
his king more readily than do the greedy rich:

\[
\begin{align*}
yf & \text{ that your grase haue nede:} \\
& \text{beleve this as youre crede,} \\
& \text{the powre men [so] doo saye,} \\
& \text{yf they hade it, they wold paye} \\
& \text{with a better wyll then thay.}^{91}
\end{align*}
\]

(lines 751-55)

As if he had not yet sufficiently justified economic aid for the commoner on the grounds that he is the spiritual supporter of England's needs as well as the physical foundation for her defense, the narrator adds one crowning recommendation for his abused plaintiff. He is the special charge of God.

In the third section of the poem, the author observes that if rain were to come and spoil the farmers' harvest, it would be a sign of God's displeasure with the lords for abusing the land and property of the commoners.\(^{92}\) God speaks through his representatives on earth--

\(^{91}\)It is interesting to note, in this connection, the sentiment expressed by one Robert Copland, who wrote about 1535-36 a verse commentary on the dregs of English society entitled, "The Highway to the Spital-House" (Printed in The Elizabethan Underworld, ed. A.V. Judges (New York, E.P. Dutton and Co., 1930), pp. 1-25). The piece is in the form of a dialogue between Copland and the porter of a spital house where Copland stops to await the passing of a storm. Old and wretched people come asking for lodging and food. In his prologue Copland accuses people of hypocrisy and selfish reasoning. They plead poverty when England needs money for defense, but if some personal situation arises, they have money to deal with it.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{If that our prince do ask a subsidy,} \\
& \text{From our enemies us to defend,} \\
& \text{Or if our creditors demand their duty,} \\
& \text{To confess poverty then we pretend.} \\
& \text{But if our neighbour in aught us offend} \\
& \text{Then we find money to play overthwart,} \\
& \text{Which is a token we be not poor at heart. (p.2)}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{92}\)Lines 149-69.
the preachers—advertising the maltreatment of the poor. Unfortunately it seems to have little effect:

goddes worde is well sett forth;
hitt never was more preched,
ner never so playnely techede;
hitt never was soe halloed
nor never soe lyttell fowloed.
(lines 528-32)

Officers who take the fees of commoners, declares the author, are like pickpockets and deserve God's curse. Scriptural authority is invoked to prove the Lord's special concern for the poor:

trowe yow, my lordes that be,
that god doth nott see
this ryche manys charyte
per speculum Inigmate?
yes, es, yowe ryche lordes!
hitt is wrytten in christes recordes
that divis lay in the fyre
with belsabube his Syrre;
and pawper, he a-bowe satt
In the Sett of abrames lape,
and was taken frome this troye
to lyve allwaye with god in yoiye.
(lines 510-21)

The oppressed state of the poor commoner causes the author to fear an avenging "stroke of gode." He sees the realm

sudenly Decayed;
powre men all-most Dysmayd,
they are soe over-layde
I fere and ame afrayde

---

93Hugh Latimer continually championed the commoners in his sermons and insisted that those who abused them would have to answer to God. In a sermon preached before Edward VI March 8, 1549, he attacked the high expenses which prevented commoners from properly serving their king. His father, a yeoman, had worked a farm at a cost of "three or four pound by year," but now, says Latimer, the man who works it "payeth sixteen pound by year, or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor" (Sermons by Hugh Latimer, Everyman's Library, ed. Ernest Rhys (London, 1906), p. 85).

94Dives.
95Above.
Perhaps the most obvious and clinching identification of God's will with the cause of the poor commoners is the phrase which closes each section of the poem and serves as its title: "Vox Populi, Vox Dei."

In other words, this complaint against abuses by the avaricious, rich, and powerful lords is the voice of the people which is synonymous with the voice of God. Hence the pattern is clear: God wishes the ultimate good for the English commonwealth through His championing of that segment of the population which is most directly responsible for its maintenance and protection.

We have seen how both the intellectual court poets and the contentious popular writers of early Tudor England drew upon the unimpeachable respectability of the idea of public duty to further other ends.

Often the idea of duty appeared as an early Tudor adaptation of the medieval conception of the ideal commonwealth and its interacting chain of loyalties and obligations, but whether it owed its origin to medieval concepts or to the progressive development of the English state under strong Tudor monarchy, the idea of duty served pre-Elizabethan versifiers and poets not as the end which emerged from the classic-inspired humanistic prose works, but as a means to contemporary social, religious, political, and even personal ends.

At the beginning of this chapter we indicated that what was basically a functional role for the ideal of duty in pre-Elizabethan English verse became in the hands of such later Elizabethan poets as Gascoigne and Churchyard a final goal. It now remains for us to illustrate this
poetic metamorphosis in action, for even though it lagged behind the humanistic prose development and was drawn typically from medieval concepts, the emergence of the poetic ideal from a means toward an end in itself was underway before Elizabeth appeared on the throne to catalyze its maturity.

One shaping force of sixteenth-century English nationalism which it is nearly impossible to minimize was religion. In the tortuous development of an English church divorced from Roman control, any observer can trace the toughening of nationalistic sinews which were to provide the awesome muscular power of Elizabethan England. A great deal of the prose and verse literature which poured from English printing houses during the two decades following Henry's assumption of power in the church dealt either directly or indirectly with the magnetic religious question. Reformers and Papists alike questioned each other's motives and maligned each other's attitudes. It is not surprising that the breakdown of the concept of a universal and catholic Christian church—a concept which inspired Langland, Gower, Hoccleve, Lydgate, and Barclay—should accompany the rise of English nationalism. Unity and cohesion have always been essential ingredients in functional ideologies. In unity there is strength and in strength the incentive for duty and loyalty. Throughout the Middle Ages the universal Catholic Church stood supreme. So long as it preserved a semblance of unity and strength it commanded loyalty and service. Gower and Lydgate saw cracks in the foundation of the old ideal (as did Langland), but their call was to repair the old structure. However,
early Tudor England provided a new ideal. Henry VII's strenuous pursuit of temporal unity, his steady strengthening of England's economy, and the self-sufficiency of England's peaceful isolationism all combined to form a picture of consolidated authority which seriously challenged the weakening object of former loyalty. Barclay reflects the shifting allegiance when he calls for renewed service to degenerating Christian unity but advances the strength of English-Scottish harmony as the agent of accomplishment. Some ten years later the anonymous author of "Now a Dayes" carries the shift one step further when he observes sadly that the English spiritual environment does not inspire duty and loyalty as it did of old when

```plaintext
ther was dubbyd many a knyght;
With all ther powre and myght,
Holy churche Ryght
Sworne to defende.96
```

As Henry VIII's authoritarian rule gradually came to symbolize the unity and strength which Henry VII had fostered through skillful diplomacy, the doctrine of absolute obedience to the sovereign sprang in the void left by the abdication of spiritual unity and leadership. Just as the fragmented administrative control of the Catholic Church yielded to the centralized boldness of Henry's coup in 1534, so did the nebulous corruption of the Catholic clergy yield gradually to the strong pressures of the Reformation. For Protestantism was succeeding in its attempt to redefine man's religious duty. The object

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96 Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 93, lines 21-24.
of his new loyalty was to be God's Word as it is revealed in Holy Scripture. No longer was the Pope or the Romish clergy to block his path of direct communication with the only Source of Christian unity. Thus a strong dualistic authority emerged from the decay of the old monolithic one. Man was born to serve not the universal Catholic Church, but God and the state. In the developing atmosphere of Tudor unity, each authority became a main support to the other. Protestantism became identified with nationalism. The English king appeared again and again as the special charge of God, his vice-regent on earth and the Divine agent of justice and virtue. Conversely the king was represented as the confounder of Popish trumpery and the guardian of God's true Word.

It is not surprising, then, to find that a landmark in the verse evolution of the ideal of duty is made by a Protestant preacher writing during the reign of England's first Protestant king, Edward VI. As a preacher, Robert Crowley crowded his religious and moral writings with the absolute authority of scripture and reminded avaricious Englishmen of their direct relationship to God:

Ye are not borne to your selfe,  
neither maye you take  
That thynge for youre owne,  
where of God did you make

97 It is true that English Catholics declared their allegiance to nationalism too, but they did so largely in answer to the strong Protestant argument.  
98 We shall examine the contemporary acknowledgment of God's special concern for England in Chapter Six. For an excellent discussion of the theory as it applied to Elizabethan expansion, see Louis B. Wright's book Religion and Empire (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1943).
But stuard and baylife,
that shall yeilde a rekeninge
At the Daye of Iudgmente
for euerye thyng.®®

As a preacher, too, he retained much of the old medieval ideal which
saw the perfect commonweal as the product of every man's acceptance
of his lot and honest performance of his calling; but as a mid-
century Tudor Englishman, he accepted without qualification the
doctrine of absolute obedience to the sovereign. In the conjunction
of these three forces--a moral conviction of acceptance and work, a
religious conviction riveted to the cause of nationalism, and a secular
conviction of strict obedience to the king--was born a new interest
in the ideal of public duty which, though not so sustained as the
later Elizabethan expression, was a significant departure from the
functional orchestration which lent authority to so many early-Tudor
private melodies.

In 1550 there appeared a long metrical sermon by Crowley bearing
the imposing title, The Voyce of the laste trumpet, blowen by the
seventh Angle as in mentioned in the eleventh of the Apocalips callying
al estats of men to the ryght path of thevyr vocation, wherin are con-
teyned xii Lessons to the twelue severall estats of men, which if thei
learne and folowe, al shall be wel, and nothing amis. ¹⁰⁰ Unlike the
aristocrats who had argued for the nobles as the main source of public
service, or the popular writers who awarded the palm to the commoners,

⁹⁹"One and Thyrtie Epigrammes" (1550), ed. Cowper, EETS, Extra
Series, XV, 51, lines 1505-12.
¹⁰⁰Ed. Cowper, pp. 53-104.
Crowley pleads no special cause. All must strive alike in the sight of God, and all must serve the state. To appreciate his impartiality we need only observe how the poor man and the yeoman (elevated and institutionalized by the narrator of "Vox Populi") are brought unceremoniously back into perspective by Crowley. The destitute beggar is admonished:

If God haue layede hys hande on the
   And made the lowe in al mens syght,
Content thiselife with that degre,
   And se thou walke therin upryght.
(lines 9-12)

The lowly servant is reminded that

thy callyng
Is to do servise, and obey
   All thy maisters lawful biddynge.
(lines 101-03)

The yeoman is advised to hold "within the bondes of thy degre." If his rent is raised he must not complain but pray for his landlord! It is not his place to recommend a better ground for heavy taxes among the rich (as the shepherd of "Vox Populi" had done).

If thy prince wil take
More tribute then thou canst well spare,
See thou paye it him for Goddes sake,
   Whose officers al princes are.
For in his nede both thou and thine
Are his to maintaine his estate;
It is not for the to define
What great charges thy king is at.
   Yea, though thou se eudently
That he wasteth much more then nede,
Yet pay thy duty willyngly,
And doubtles God shal be thy mede.
(lines 345-56)

Poor and rich alike, commoners and professional men must contribute their efforts to the good of the commonwealth. The ignorant priest must
strive after learning and the scholar must turn his knowledge to use. Crowley even takes the physician to task for the misuse of his talent.

But now, I saye to the, repent,
And do thyselfe hensethforth applye
To use the gifte God hath the sent,
To the profyte of thy contrey.
(lines 849-52)

Warming to his theme, Crowley admonishes self-centered lawyers in a long passage and then turns his critical gaze upon those same merchants whom the narrator of "Vox Populi" had denounced for debilitating the gentlemen and exploiting the commoners. Here Crowley breaks forth into an almost pure affirmation of the ideal of public duty. To the merchant he says:

Fyrst se thou call to memori
The ende wherfore al men are made,
And then endeavour busily
To the same ende to use thy trade.

The ende why all men be create,
As men of wisdome do agre,
Is to maintaine the publike state
In the contrei where thei shal be.

Apply thy trade therfore, I sai,
To profit thy countrey with al.
(lines 1021-30)

God gave you riches, and He had a reason for it.

But thy richesse was geuen to the,
That thou mightest make provision,
In farre contreyes, for thinges that be
Nedefull for thine owne nacion.
(lines 1049-52)

In the diction of these passages lies a revealing shift of attitude. To Crowley, service to the state is a final goal. The merchant is charged to reflect on "the ende wherfore al men are made," and "to the same ende to use [his] trade." To earlier Tudor poets and
versifiers, service had been the means to contemporary and professional ends; now the situation has been reversed. Professional assets and talents are the means to the final patriotic end of seeking the country's good. The scholar has been given the chance and capacity to learn in order that he may benefit his country, the physician's skill is a loan granted solely for the purchase of state improvement, and the merchant enjoys wealth only because he needs it to trade in foreign ports to England's advantage. The most heinous of sins to our patriotic preacher is to misappropriate one's functional assets to personal ends. The Angels of the Lord will preserve those whose doorposts are marked with the blood of selfless duty to the state.

Applye thy trade, as I haue tolde,  
To the profyt of thy contrey,  
And then thou maiste eer be bolde  
That thy Lord God wil guide thy wai.  
(lines 1105-08)

The magistrates, too, have a sacred function to perform.

More ouer it behoueth the,  
If thou wylt walke in thy callyng,  
to se that all good statutes be  
Executed before al thynge  
For to what ende do statutes serue,  
Or why should we hold parliamente,  
If men shall not suche lawes observer  
As in that court we shall inuent?  
And what thynge shall a realme decay  
So sone, as when men do neglecte  
The wholsom lawes, as who should sai,  
They were in dede to none effecte.  
(lines 1393-1404)

And so on down through the ranks and classes of Englishmen. Crowley is a staunch defender of the theory of order and degree, of the divine appointment of kings, and of the idea of complete submission to the
sovereign. But he is particularly intent on relating the trades and professions to the good of the state. He criticizes inequities and abuses and corruption, but he has his eyes on the ideal commonwealth where doctors, lawyers, merchants, magistrates, yeomen, and scholars all contribute their respective talents to a final end which is sanctioned and blessed by Divine authority: the improvement of the state.

It is time to summarize. Two widely differentiated sources provided the stimulus for the early Tudor interest in duty to the state: (1) that aspect of the classic heritage which urged the active life and political involvement, and (2) the medieval concept of an ordered commonwealth wherein each individual according to his degree contributes to the good of the whole. The classic ideal, with its emphasis on wisdom and learning, stimulated early Tudor humanists, especially those significantly involved in political life, to look upon public service as a practical virtue and an end in itself. The medieval ideal, on the other hand, in its emphasis on hierarchic social structure, lent itself naturally to contemporary English social and religious problems, and was often used to foster various causes and urge particular solutions to those problems. It would be conveniently neat to say that the classic ideal inspired the humanistic prose work while the medieval ideal inspired the poetic and verse references to duty in pre-Elizabethan England. Such alluringly exclusive categories are not warranted. Both Elyot and Starkey owe significant parts of their developed ideas to the doctrine of the ordered society, and it is at least possible that available classic sources such as Cicero's
De Officiis had an oblique influence on some of the popular and satirical employments of the ideal of duty. However, it is certainly true that where evident combinations of medieval and classic ideas on duty exist, they exist primarily in the humanistic prose of early Tudor England rather than in the poetry and verse.

Henry VIII's strong sovereignty was easily the major formative factor in adapting both classic and medieval ideas of duty to Tudor circumstances. In his "Proheme" to Henry VIII, Elyot declares that he has written The Governour "tacquit me of my duties to god, your hyghnesse, and this my contray. Wherfore takinge comfort and boldenesse, partly of your graces most beneuolent inclination towards the uniuersall weale of your subjectes, partly inflamed with zeale, I haue now entered to describe in our vulgare tunge the fourme of a iuste publike weale." Starkey and Thomas Becon, writing after Henry's break with Rome and propagandizing a new dimension of duty and patriotism, owe even more to Henry's commanding figure and position. Under the impact of Henry's temporal pressure, religious and social commentators reviewed in verse the virtues of former times when the medieval ideal of duty saw each man in his place serving the commonwealth and the prince attending to the needs of his subjects; and Robert Crowley

101 De Officiis was available in an English translation by R. Whytinton as early as 1533 (?). A second edition appeared in 1540. In 1553 Nicholas Grimald brought out his translation which ran to eleven editions by 1600. See Henry B. Lathrop, Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman 1477-1620, in University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. XXXV (Madison, 1933), 312,313,324.

102 Governour, p. xxxi.
combined the theory of absolute obedience which grew out of Henry VIII's reign with a religious adaptation of the medieval ideal of duty as an end in itself.

In pre-Elizabethan poetry and verse even the intellectual writers employed the ideal of duty to particular ends. Skelton used it to attack the slayers of Northumberland and to castigate Wolsey; Barclay used it to flatter a noble patron in the midst of a pastoral eclogue. However, the popular writers made especially strong use of the theme. In their consistent preoccupation with the economic status of the English commoner, they doggedly pursued the protean agent of exploitation with the bloodhound of public service. Before the dissolution of the monasteries that extortionist agent was the Catholic clergy, the "spirituall men," who controlled English wealth and hypocritically indulged their own selfish interests. Affirming the religious sects' complete disregard for national interests, the popular writers raised a nearly unanimous cry for the return of temporal rule under which England had prospered in days gone by. When the temporal "savior" did appear and the monastic riches finally were seized, there came the grinding realization that only the features of the old extortionist had changed. So the voice of the people (which was also the voice of God) cried out against this new temporal identity, charging him with the same violations of public duty that his religious predecessor had been accused of.

Thus for sometime, while English sovereignty and solidarity were gathering strength, the ideal of duty to the state as it was expressed
in poetry and verse acted as a means to localized ends. It was the standard against which a great number of actions and values were measured. For the intellectual poets it was the measuring stick of patrons, nobles, king's ministers, and even kings themselves; for the popular writers it revealed the worth and indispensibility of the common man.

Finally, in the hands of a Protestant preacher who announced the rising authority of pre-Elizabethan Tudor sovereignty in his unquestioning acceptance of the doctrine of absolute obedience, and who combined the national aspect of his religion with a lingering medieval respect for the inviolate structure of society, the ideal of public duty blossomed into an approximation of the end in itself which it had already achieved in prose under the sponsorship of the humanists.

Before leaving our discussion of public duty, we must note briefly the poetic treatment of one other important aspect of the question: the emphasis on knowledge and learning as a servant of the state. To

103 William Nelson, in the first chapter of his book John Skelton Laureate, shows that even Henry VII recognized the great advantages of learning in public service and supported scholars who could aid his cause. Realizing that eloquent orations and writings were the most convincing forms of communication, and that the rhetorician could therefore be a valuable servant of the state, Henry employed a few native men of learning (Celling, Gunthorpe, Colet, Skelton) and a number of foreigners (André, Carmeliano, the Gigli etc.) to dignify and perpetuate his diplomatic statecraft. Ambassadors and secretaries needed training, the king needed full knowledge of all negotiations, and thus, says Nelson, "the spread of humanistic learning...forced the King of England to patronize the fashionable kind of orator, letter writer, historian, occasional poet, and teacher of Latin" (p.10). Polydore Vergil was employed as a historian, and Bernard André was commissioned to record Henry's own acts. Nelson shows further that the humanist circle of More, Erasmus, Linacre, Ammonio, and Colet came into favor after Henry VIII ascended the throne since the
such humanists as More, Elyot, and Starkey, learning was the *sine qua non* of service. More expressed this attitude not only in *Utopia* but in one of his Latin court poems.

His first piece on the coronation of Henry VIII emphasizes the new king's wisdom and rejoices in the fact that he has established knowledge and learning as a criterion of service. Alexander Barclay echoes the sentiment in the *Ship of Fools*, where Henry is applauded for "promotynge men of wysdome and science." We have already noted Barclay's recommendation of English educational resources in another context. There he bristled at the implication that foreign universities could offer a better education than native ones. Later in his long poem Barclay launches into a "descripción of a wyse man." His purpose is to enumerate the qualities of the type of man who, when multiplied, can check vice and decay in England and increase her glory. Again wisdom and learning are essential.

If the noble royalme of Englonde wolde auance
In our dayes: men of vertue and prudence
Eche man rewardynge after his gouernaunce
As the wyse with honour and rowme of excellence
And the yll with greuous payne for theyr offence

best scholarly court positions had been filled by the André-Carmeliano-Gigli-Polydore Vergil circle under Henry VII. The first Tudor imported the practitioners of learning which England lacked, but his successor made use of native intellectual talent. W. Gordon Zeeveld, in *Foundations of Tudor Policy*, gives a full discussion of English humanist scholars who studied abroad but returned to England and devoted their learning to the service of Henry VIII. He concentrates on Henrician propagandists, particularly Richard Morison and Thomas Starkey, and deals exclusively with prose materials. Fritz Caspari also makes detailed observations about the humanism of More, Elyot, and Starkey as it applies to state's service in his recent book, *Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England*.

104 The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More, p. 19.
105 Jamieson, II, 17.
106 See p. 57 above.
Then sholde our famous laude of olde obtain'd
Nat bene decayed, opressy'd and thus distayned

If men of wysdome were brought out of the scolys
And after theyr vertue set in moste hye degre
My shyp sholde nat haue led so many folys.\textsuperscript{107}

John Skelton plays heavily upon the importance of his own education in his poems against Garnesche composed "at the King's most noble commandment" about 1514.\textsuperscript{108} In this direct bit of verbal service to his king, Skelton dignifies his own position and inferentially gives it strength and righteous finality by identifying himself with the intellectual training of Henry. Ostentatiously he chastises Garnesche,

The honor of Englond I lernyd to spelle,
In dygnyte roialle that doth excelle;
Note and marke wyl thys parcele;
I yaue hym drynke of the sugryd welle
Of Eliconyss waters crystallyne,
Aqueintyng hym with the Musys nyne
Yt commyth the wele me to remorde,\textsuperscript{109}
That creauyns\textsuperscript{110} was to thy sofre[yne] lorde.\textsuperscript{111}

Thus Skelton's learning serves the state in a double manner. It has enabled him to instruct the king, and it provides him with the ability to defend his own and the king's interests when occasion arises.

In passing, we should point out also that before the Reformation, one of the most frequent attacks made upon the English clergy was that they were unashamedly ignorant. Barclay and Skelton contribute their weight to the charge and virtually every popular piece which criticizes

\textsuperscript{107}Jamieson, II, 277.
\textsuperscript{108}Christopher Garnesche, a gentleman usher to Henry VIII, inspired the controversy, apparently, by reviling Skelton in King's Hall and calling him a knave.
\textsuperscript{109}Reproach.
\textsuperscript{110}Tutor.
\textsuperscript{111}Dyce, I, 129, lines 95-102.
the church forces makes an issue of it. When we remember that these same spiritual forces were roundly denounced for neglecting their duty to the king, and when we observe the general demand for men of learning in high places, it seems more than just coincidence that the alleged saboteurs of state interests are also the unlearned. In fact one popular writer boldly declares that the corrupt clergy self-consciously maneuver to protect their appalling lack of spiritual and temporal duty by bribing with fat benefices those educated men who would quickly discover and advertise their irresponsibility. Says he,

Nobyll docturs of lernyng, in seruyce they Retayne--
Whoo lyste to be-holde, dayly hyt ys sene--
gevyng them Beneficis ther Tongis to Refrayne.113

A very interesting exception to this practice, however, is to be found in Harl. MS. 367. There a fragment of an allegory entitled, "The Overthrove of the Abbyes, A Tale of Robin Hoode" (printed in Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 295-98) argues the clergy's conscientious support of learning. Fundamentally the piece is a qualified defense of the religious sects and an attack on the dissolution of the religious houses. Robin Hood, Adam Bell, and Little John appear as the high-prestige personifications of the bishops, the abbots, and the universities respectively. Henry VIII, however, is played in this little drama by a lion with "graspinge paws" who attackes Adam, when he has become fat and complacent, and tears him to pieces. But before this violent denouement, the reader is reminded of how the bishops (Robin) supported learning, to the benefit of the abbots (Adam), through their establishment of the universities (Little John).

Little Ihon: who doth not see
What good Robin did for thee?
On two mounteynes hee thee planted - [Oxford and Cambridge] fful of springs which never scanted,
Whence large rivers rann amayne
Into Adams fruitfull playne.
Two Fayre mounteynes thou doste holde, ffull of pretious stones and goold,
Which the worlde so mucth sets by
As the body doth the eye.
(lines 65-76)

The piece is apparently not contemporary with the dissolution, but it represents an ingenious presentation of the other side of the question under the aegis of English popular heroes.

Roy and Barlow, the authors of "Rede me and be nott wrothe" (1528), denounce the ignorant clergy too, and just as they blasted the detested Wolsey for meddling in Henry's marriage on the trumped up charge that Catherine was barren, so they attack him for polluting with pride what otherwise might have been a boon to the state: the Cardinal's own college. Learned men are there, admit the authors, but

where pryde is the begynnynge
the devill is commenly the endynge
As we se by experience.
And if thou consyder well
Even as the towre of Babell
Began of a presompcion
So this colleidge I dare vndertake
Which the cardinall doth make
Shall confunde the region.115

Picking up the theme of Wolsey's school (later Christ Church at Oxford), William Forrest devotes a long passage in "The History of Grisild the Second" (1558) to a praise of learning. He hopes that God will incline Queen Mary's heart to the finishing of Wolsey's project (it had lost momentum after Wolsey's death in 1530), for learning informs each man of his place in the order of things.

Withoute learnynge and dwe cyuvylytee
Man is not hable hymselfe to rescue;
Learnynge, whoe dothe yt perfectlye indue,
To eache degre, of all maner a sute,
Their pertyculars can well distrybute.116

However, learning, to Forrest, cannot accomplish much unless it is infused with "grace" which emanates from God. Science can be a vauble

114See p. 39 above.
115Arber, English Reprints, XXVIII (London, 1871), 53.
116Macray, p. 65.
pursuit, but reason applied without "grace" can go astray:

Of Scyence hath manye had plentyousnes
And voyde of Grace hathe proved farre ingrate,
Vsynge their leamynge after dyuylische rate.*!?

It is for Robert Crowley again to offer the most direct pre-Elizabethan poetic expression of patriotically applied knowledge. Like many before him, he severely criticizes the ignorant clergy and urges them to seek knowledge, in "The Lewde or Vnlerned Priestes Lesson." In "The Scholars Lesson," he unfolds in detail the patriotic potential of education. Learning, he says, is a great boon to the commonwealth. The founders of schools had but one goal:

To haue their countrei furnyshed
Wyth all poyntes of honest learnyng,
Whereof the publyke weale had nede.
(lines 538-40)

The scholar has a sacred duty to direct his knowledge.

Call thou therfore to memorie
What knowledg thy contrei doth lacke,
And apply the same earnestly,
By all the meanes that thou canste make.
(lines 541-44)

Continuing to address the scholar directly, Crowley warns: if you allow

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117 Ibid., p. 66.

118 Crowley's poetic treatment of the idea had support from other Protestant preachers. Hugh Latimer in his famous "Sermon of the Plough" delivered at Paul's Church in London January 18, 1548, worries over an apparent indifference toward educating young Englishmen for future service to the state. "For why are not the noblemen and young gentlemen of England so brought up in knowledge of God, and in learning, that they may be able to execute offices in the commonweal?...Why are they not set in schools where they may learn? Or why are they not sent to the universities, that they may be able to serve the king when they come to age?" (Sermons by Hugh Latimer, pp. 62-63).

119 The Voyce of the laste trumpet, ed. Cowper, lines 457 ff.
time to pass idly in place of devoting yourself to learning,

Thou dost but rob the commone wealth
Of one that would be a treasur;
Better thou were to lyue by stelth,
Then for to worke such displeasure.
(lines 585-88)

A little later, in "The Learned Mans Lesson," moved by the overriding importance of education, Crowley allows a temporary chink in the otherwise smooth and impenetrable armor of absolute obedience to the sovereign which he wore so resolutely. Learned men, who are likely to be appointed counsellors to the king, he says, must apply their perceptiveness with complete honesty even though it means pointing out weaknesses in the king himself.

Winke not at faltes that thou shat se,
Though it be in thy Souerayne;
But do as it becometh the:
Exhort hym all vice to refrayne.
(lines 753-56)

Knowledge, to Crowley, serves not only as a support to the state, but as a guide to the omnipotent sovereign as well. Characteristically, however, he awakens immediately to a possible interpretation of presumption here, and hastens to repair the damage.

Tell hym his falte, I say, playnly,
And yet wyth all submission;
Lesse thou do seme to speake vaynly,
Forgettyng thy vocation.
(lines 761-64)

Finally, in developing the nature of the gentleman's duty to his country, Crowley lists again the functional importance of knowledge:

Thou shalt by her learne that thou art
A father ouer thy country,
And that thou oughtest to play the parte
Of a father both nyght and day.

...
Gette the knowledg, I saye, therfore,  
That thou mayste be worthy thy name;  
For wythout hir thou maiste no more  
Be called a gentileman for shame.  
(lines 1257-72)

It is but one further demonstration of Crowley's evolutionary alteration of the means-end relationship to the advantage of the state entire.

Thus it is clear that in the restive ruminations of an England beginning to discover herself, learning and knowledge played an increasingly prominent role. The earliest Tudor poets acknowledged that role and patriotic scholars such as Morison and Starkey, who returned to England to propagandize Henry VIII's policies, demonstrated its application to the state. Although another humanist, Sir Thomas Elyot, gave an elaborate commentary in 1531 on the practical value of learning in pursuing the interests and objectives of the state, it was nearly twenty years before that same idea received detailed poetic treatment. When that poetic treatment finally did appear, it was the work not of a humanist, but of a patriotic preacher adapting a medieval ideal to the England of his time.
CHAPTER 5

THE IDEA OF KINGSHIP

It is a commonplace of Tudor studies to acknowledge the sovereign as the central force in rising English nationalism. The idea that we have just discussed, duty to the state, was very often practically synonymous with obedience to the king, as Crowley's submissive attitude clearly shows. Organized discussions of the nature of kingship evolved primarily from political theorists and were not the subject of either popular or intellectual poetry. It will be our aim in this chapter, then, to show how strong an influence was the fact of authoritative Tudor kingship on pre-Elizabethan poets and versifiers, and to explore one or two less-travelled avenues which that influence took.

Generally speaking, Englishmen looked upon early Tudor monarchs as heaven-sent agents of God's will who were to be worshiped and obeyed without question. With a recent history of war and discord behind them, they naturally longed for the stabilizing fruits of unity and strength. It was equally natural that they should seek these virtues in the two major sources of overlordship: God and the king. Thus there grew a tremendously strong revival of the old idea that God's special concern on earth was England, and that his vice-regent was the English king. The interdependence of the two kings--one divine and one temporal--was taken for granted.

John de Giglis, in his long Latin poem celebrating Henry VII's marriage to Elizabeth of York, has a spokesman for the people who assemble to witness the event say to Henry: "King of the country, you who are its sure strength, you who hold the English scepter by divine
right, this throng hails you master of affairs and king, now that the cruel tyrant is extinct, it proclaims you father of the country, it reveres you and adores you, and proclaims that the kingdom has fallen to you, given to you by God! Another of Henry's courtiers, Johannes Opicius, acknowledges that Henry is permitted to know the cause of heavenly things, and after reviewing the sources of foreign admiration and respect for the English king's strength (the Moor, the senate of the Venetians, the Gaul, the German, the King of Naples, and the Scot), he confidently abandons himself to whatever policy—be it peaceful or warlike—Henry may choose to follow.

Stephen Hawes, in the dedication to Henry VII of his *Pastime of Pleasure* (written probably in 1506 and first printed in 1509), addresses the king with like reverence for his God-given power:

The grace of god is grete
Whiche you hathe brought/to your ryall fe
And in your ryght/it hath you surely sette
Aboue vs all/to haue the soueraynte
Whose worthy power/and regall dygnyte
All our rancour/and our debate and ceace
Hath to vs brought/bothe welthe reste and peace.

Alexander Barclay, although he makes some practical suggestions about how a good prince should conduct himself in one section of his *Ship of Fools*, repeats the conventional line about the source of the king's power and the obligation to obedience. Through God's will princes have

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1 Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, p. lviii.
2 See the long extract in Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, p. lxi ff.
"preemynence abowe lowe people" and they should strive to pass their subjects in virtue. God has especially blessed England with a prince "in all vertues most noble and excellent." Several stanzas praising Henry VIII are concluded with the often repeated warning,

Wherfore O englonde be true of thy intent  
With faythfull herte do hym obedyence  
Thanke god whiche hath the Rose vnto the sent.5

Even Henry's queens were regarded as heaven-sent although they were subordinate to their sovereign's will and ultimately at the mercy of his omnipotent judgment. The fall of Henry VIII's first queen, Catherine of Arragon, whose marriage to the king had originally been celebrated as a divinely inspired contract, was announced by the rise of Anne Boleyn, whose virtues were sung in courtly hyperbole by John Leland and Nicholas Udall before the coronation in 1533. Among the petitions of the Muses for a male heir to the throne is Urania's exhortation to a happy Britain to rejoice over the queen sent from heaven.6 A little later, at the coronation itself, a pageant is presented wherein a cloud opens letting down a white falcon (Anne) which comes to rest on a rose (Henry) "chief floure that euer was."7 Out of the same cloud descends an Angel which crowns the falcon with an imperial crown. As recorded by a child narrator of the event, the crown "cummeth from God, and not of man."8 Even in the consistent

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4Jamieson, II, 16.  
5Ibid., p. 17.  
6Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 386.  
7Ibid., p. 389.  
8Ibid.
fabric of this high flattery there is the ominously insistent thread of Henry's supreme temporal power. Euterpe's petition before the coronation urges Anne to be willing to die for Henry (as did Alcestis for Admetus), although the Muse hopes that the need may never arise.

Unfortunately for Anne, the need very definitely did arise so far as Henry was concerned. An anonymous ballad entitled "Anne Boleyn's Fortune" sadly reflects the fickleness of Fate which brought Anne down, but it unquestioningly accepts the royal judgment of her sin. In her lament over her "grete fall" there sounds the clear implication that Anne is guilty of compromising the royal authority.

She cries,

So derely Bowghte, so friendly sowghte,
And so sone made A quene!
So sone lowe browghte, hath not ben sene:
o! whate ys Fortune?

(lines 61-64)

for myne offence I am full woo!
& yf I had hurte my selfe, & nomoo,
I had don welle & I had don soo;
hyt was not my fortune.

(lines 77-80)

It is not mortal man who can save her soul.

Consyder yow all, thow she wylfully dyd offend,
Consyder yow Also how she made hyr ende:
hyt ys not we that Can hyr Amende,
By Iuggyng hyr fortune.

(lines 105-08)

Only God, who Himself chooses and directs the earthly sovereign, can do that.

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The temporal power of the king and the divine sanction of God serve again as the inviolate columns around which the Smyth-Gray controversy swirled in 1540. Thomas Smyth ("servant to the Kynges Royall Malestye and Clerke of the Quenes graces counsell") and William Gray of Reading engaged in a lively argument conducted in a series of ballads over the fall of Cromwell.10

In the piece which started it all, "A newe ballade made of Thomas Cromwel, called Trolle on away," Cromwell is denounced as a "false traytoure" and "heretyke", who was condemned because he neglected his duty to "one God, one fayth, and one Kynge catholyke." But Cromwell is gradually shunted to the background, and the two contestants devote themselves to scurrilous personal attacks, with Smyth roundly denouncing "heretykes" and Gray venting his wrath upon "papystes." The really interesting aspect of the whole controversy, however, is that both writers cling tenaciously to their respect for and obedience to the king's power. Smyth, in an early ballad, qualifies his condemnation of Cromwell by saying that he does not wish to labor the point too heavily at this time when King Henry is striving for unity.11 Henry is a "most noble kyng" and it behooves all to serve him loyally.12

10See Hazlitt's Fugitive Tracts, First Series, for seven of the pieces (Nos. 6-12), and Ernest W. Dormer's Gray of Reading: A Sixteenth-century Controversialist and Ballad-Writer (Reading, 1923) for a full discussion of Gray and a reprinting of seventeen pieces connected with the controversy.

11Fugitive Tracts, No. 6.

In another ballad Smyth writhes under the charge of papist and traitor and challenges his accuser to prove him such, for it is the duty of every loyal subject to acquaint his king with traitors. The piece ends with a prayer to God to "preserve our noble Kynge our most precyous treasure." Gray's sect, cries Smyth, would like to bring some other person to rule England than Henry VIII, but God will preserve his rightful sovereign against traitors as he did during the reign of Henry V.

In retaliation, Grey reaccuses Smyth of popish sympathies and associates his antagonist's cause with the treasonable Pilgrimage of Grace, which he refers to in this manner:

There sawe we playnly a myscheuous and detestabell sorte Of false fayned hertes that agaynst our good Kynge dyd aryse Sekynge his destruccyon and all theyrs that him dyd supporte Beynge armed with customes and soche fayned lyes Bud god who of his grace euer prouydeth for his Gaue soche knowledge therof that they had not theyr entent Some fledde som taken some were hanged on the galowes and brent.

Whiche thynge I desyre all true subjectes to regarde And to god and our good Kynge to beare a due obedyence And to all false fayned hertes I wyshe the same rewarde.

A third party, one "G.L.," finally tried to bring about agreement between Smyth and Gray by adopting what he assumed to be a neutral position. In his own ballad he condemns both popishness and heresy as evil, chides Gray for being moved to intemperate language, and accuses Smyth of twisting scripture to his own selfish ends. Actually G.L. betrays

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13 *Fugitive Tracts*, No. 7.
a rather distinct prejudice in favor of Gray's side of the argument, but he concludes his piece with a reaffirmation of the doctrine which had animated and justified the position of both Smyth and Gray. About this doctrine both fighters and the referee were in agreement.

Obedience to the king is the direct mandate of heaven. It is Christ

> Which teacheth vs to loue and dread
> Hym that hathe power vnder God
> I mean the Kynge that is our head
> That here in earth doth beare the rod.
> Of true iustyce in Chrystes steade
> By precyse wordes we be forbod
> Hym to wythstande, or to wythsaye
> In euerie cause we must obaye

For whome, as for our only guyde
Oure greatest helpe and chefest staye
That daylye doth for vs prouyde
To saue vs sounde wythout decaye
In warre and peace on euerie syde
Wyth one accorde let vs all praye
To sende hys grace, vs here amonge
Honour, encrease, good lyfe and longe.16

Significantly, the Smyth-Gray controversy shows clearly how the idea of duty to the state, which was still functional in pleading a particular cause, was becoming synonymous with duty to the English king. Smyth and Gray disagreed vehemently; each defended his own private position and castigated his opponent's, but both invoked the prestigious and patriotic ideal of duty as it applied now to their one sovereign and God-appointed lord, King Henry VIII.

We should pause here, for a moment, to note some high points in the growth of "submission" prose, against which these poetic reflections of obedience to the king take on added meaning. The moderator of the

16 Ibid., No. 12.
Smyth-Gray dispute sounded perhaps the most authoritative note in the obedience literature when he reminded Englishmen again that the temporal king's power comes directly from God. To disobey the king was tantamount to disobeying God. Such a sanction for obedience fell particularly and naturally into the sphere of interest of the preachers. Emphasizing the theocratic ideal of the Old Testament, they helped to frame a new object of loyalty and authority in the English monarch. Helen C. White describes the social preachers' contribution as an evolutionary ideal moving from the "assimilation of the recognition of the new power to the Christian framework of ideas, to the rationalization of it in recognized religious terms, to the making it acceptable to the consciences of men, finally to the winning for it of the support of the religious devotion of the patriotic Christian."\(^{17}\)

After Henry VIII broke with Rome in 1534, the theory of obedience developed rapidly and elaborately. William Tyndale gave it a full airing in The Obedience of a Christen Man (1535), where the king is described as the vice-regent of God, outside the law. The Christian man, declares Tundale, should give to the king the obedience he owes to God, and it is better to live under a tyrant than under a passive king who does not rule. In 1537 Tyndale's The Institution of a Christen Man elaborated the same view even further.

However, the epitomy of all early Tudor submission literature is the tenth of Certayne Sermons, or Homelies, appoynted by the kynges Maistie, to be declared and redde, by all persones, Vicars, or Curates.

\(^{17}\)Social Criticism in Popular Religious Literature of the Sixteenth Century, p. 136.
euery Sondaye in their churches, where they haue Cure (1547). Entitled "An exhortacion, concernyng good order and obedience, to rulers and magistrates," the sermon begins with an elaborate review of the theory of order and degree in heaven and earth. In heaven God has appointed distinct orders and states of Archangels and Angels; in earth, kings, princes, and other governors. "Euery degree of people, in their voca-
tion, callyng, & office, hath appoynted to them, their duetie & ordre." Take away order and degree and confusion reigns, but God be praised that England does not lack this order. God has sent Edward VI and other superiors and inferiors "in a beautifull ordre." Obedience is not only a temporal duty but a religious responsibility.

Let vs subiectes do our bonnden duties, geuing hartie thankes to God, and praifying for the preservacio of this Godly ordre. Let vs al obey euen from the botome of our hartes, all their Godly procedynges, lawes, statutes, proclamacions, and infunctiōs, with al other Godly orders. Let vs confide the scriptures of the holy ghost, which perswade & comande vs all obediently to be subiect: first & chiefly, to the kynes maistie, supreme hed ouer all, & next, to his honorable counsall, and to all other noble men, magistrates and officers, which by Gods goodnes be placed and ordered.

These general pronouncements are supported by numerous scriptural references and examples. Christ and his apostles were unjustly treated, yet they never caused sedition or rebellion against duly constituted authorities. They knew well that God's authority lay in these magistrates and they preached obedience to it. Christ even acknowledged Pilate's authority to have Him crucified. Obedience is an inflexible mandate.

Christe taught vs plainly, that euens the wicked rulers haue their power and authoritie from God. And thersore it

18 My references are to a University Microfilms copy in the Western Reserve University Library, Cleveland, Ohio, "English Books Before 1640," reel 48.
19 Sig. R1.
20 Sig. R1v.
is not lawfull for their subiectes, by force to resyst the, although they abuse their power, muche lesse then it is lawfull for subiectes to resiste their godly & christian princes, whiche do not abuse their auctoritie, but use thesame to Gods glory, & to the profyte and commoditie of Gods people.21

It is an "intollerable ignorance, madnesse, and wickednesse" for subjects to resist their sovereign lord "either in thought, woorde, or dede," and those that succumb to this great error "shal receive to the selfes damdnacion." The strong spiritual tone of submission literature is nowhere better indicated than here in the insistence on moral and mental purity. Not only an act or a word constitutes disobedience, but a thought. Even alone "in his priuie chambre, by hymselfe," man must be submissive.22

The 1547 homily also explicitly discredits the Romish church which intruded its usurped authority into the God-king relationship. Kings "haue al their power & strength not frō Rome, but immediately of god most highest."23 Again, "The bishop of Rome teacheth immunities, priuiledges, exampciōs and disobedience, moste clearly agaynst Christes doctrine...he ought therefore rather to be called Antichriste, & the successor of the Scribes & Pharaiseis."24

Such was the official doctrine in time of peace. When rebellion actually did break out, the theory was given immediate and specific application. In 1549 Robert Ket led a large-scale rebellion against

21Sig. R3v.  
22Sig. S2.  
23Sig. R2.  
24Sig. S2v-S3.
the cramping effects of enclosures. Some sixteen thousand peasants milled through Norfolk tearing down hedges, leveling ditches, and destroying other enclosing boundaries. Protector Somerset sympathized with the common people's grievances and his reluctance to deal firmly with the insurrection simply encouraged and prolonged it. His infirmity led to his downfall, but the rebellion had already stirred a well-founded Tudor abhorrence of civil strife. In response to the situation, Cranmer preached "A Sermon concerning the Time of Rebellion" (August 27, 1549) chastising the commoners for questioning God as the distributor of the world's goods, and condemning them for rising against their God-appointed king. Sir John Cheke added his censure against the rebels in his Hurt of Sedition (1549), where he argued, among other things, that the rebels had given papists a chance to contend that things which go awry in England are the deserved consequences of religious changes.25

Now we can turn back to the poetic reflection of this doctrine during the reigns of the last two pre-Elizabethan Tudor monarchs. Even Edward VI, who was too young to rule directly when his powerful father died in 1547, reaped the literary rewards of the doctrine of divine appointment. He was eulogized by the poets as a God-given king and a continuator of the great policies of Henry VIII. When Northumberland tried to tamper with the divinely-appointed dynasty at Edward's death, the duke was indignantly condemned as a saboteur against God and king.

25 See Helen White, op. cit., Chapter Five ("Submission") for further comment on the doctrine of obedience.
Another patriotic preacher, Robert Crowley, perhaps the strongest pre-Elizabethan poetic advocate of absolute obedience, produced his submissive admonitions in the middle of Edward's reign. In his "One and Thyrtie Epigrammes" he hopes that God will grant "obstinate Papistes" the grace to forsake the Pope

    And their naturall prync for theyr heade to take.
    (lines 1363-64)

Again in his "Voyce of the laste trumpet" (1550), directed in part toward the 1549 rebels, Crowley delves almost masochistically into the requirements of submission to the royal will:

    But if thou do lyfte up thy sword
    Agaynst thy Kyng and soueraine,
    Then art thou judged by Gods word
    As worthi therewith to be slayne.
    Yea, thou maist not grudge or repine
    Against thy Kyng in any wise,
    Though thou shouldst se plaine with thine eien
    That he were wicked past al sise.
    For it is God that appointeth
    Kingses and rulers ouer the route:
    And with his power he anointeth
    Them for to be obeyede, no doubte.
    If they be euil, then thinke thy sinne
    Deseruith that plague at Gods hande;
    And se thou do forthwyth bigynne
    Thyne owne wickednes to wythstande.
    (lines 393-408)

Again later:

    No rebelles shall
    Escape Gods hand vnpunished;
    For God hym selfe doth princis call
    Hys Christes and hys annoynted.
    Whoso therfore doth them resiste,
    The [s]ame resisteth God certayne;
    For God hym selfe doeth them assiste
    Agaynst them ouer whom they raygne.
    (lines 433-40)
When Edward VI died, this firm belief in the divine right of the lawful heir enabled Mary to preserve the Tudor line from Northumberland's conspiracy. The ambitious duke was set upon his usurping design, and his choice for the throne, Lady Jane Grey, was innocently attractive, but Mary's own assertiveness and her rightful claim finally triumphed in an atmosphere charged with the finality of God's will. Regardless of whether or not they suspected Mary's imminent shift of religious climate, popular versifiers were consistent in their acknowledgment of her divine authority. Writing in 1553, Richard Beard sees God's special concern for England reflected in Mary's accession. In "A Godly Psalme, of Marye Queene, which brought vs comfort al, through God, whom wee of dewtye prayse, that giues her foes a fal," he declares:

How wonderfly doothe God with vs
His people England deale;
Suche ioy as wee scarce looked for
Among vs to reueale.
...
for hee hath set and stablyshed
Our worthy soueraygne:
And our liege Lady, Marie Queene,
On vs by trewth to raygne.
...
The lawful, iust, and rightuouse,
Of England, head, and Queene:
To bee the true enheriture,
As hathe her brother beeene.

George Cavendish, a thoroughgoing Catholic, takes time out from rehearsing the fortunes and fall of "the most eminent persons of his time" in his

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26 See the literary reaction to Mary's accession discussed in Chapter Two.
27 Fugitive Tracts, No. 18.
"Metrical Visions" to repeat Queen Mary's divine credentials and remind Englishmen of their duty.

Let us love hir with faythfull harts,
For she is our lawfull quene, born by just dissent;
We be hir subjects, it is threfore our parts
To be to hir obeydent, with a good entent

God hathe ordened hir to raygn in this regally,
Therefore lyke trewe subjects let us be content;
To grudge ayenst God it ware a great folly,
For he is a Lord that workyth his devyn intent.  

Finally William Forrest praises the daughter of his Grisild the Second as God-inspired and directed even before she became queen in 1553. England fell into error after Queen Catherine of Arragon's death because due obedience was held in contempt, says Forrest, and it is through "Goddys helpinge powre" that Mary overcame the many hardships and obstructions which blocked her path to the English throne.

Each of the first four Tudor monarchs, then, moved in the glow of divine sanction and sweeping authority. Prose treatises such as Edmund Dudley's *Tree of Commonwealth* (written in 1509) and the submissive religious literature following the break with Rome advertised absolute monarchy in meticulous detail, and the poets and versifiers demonstrated its impact and furthered its influence with continuous references to divine authority in the reigning sovereign.

Prevalent as they were, the assertions of absolute authority and admonitions to unquestioning obedience were not a unanimous cry.

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28 S.W. Singer, pp. 136-37.
29 Macray, p. 4.
Although the early Tudors provided the kind of strong, assertive rule which was necessary to lead England from the chaotic baronial factionalism of the fifteenth century, and although there sprang up around them a cult of authority which perpetuated their assertiveness, there were also strong reactionary warnings.  

One major threat to the cult of absolutism was the problem posed by the tyrannical ruler. To Crowley and other like-minded preachers, the threat was of no consequence; in fact they regarded the tyrant as a functioning part of God's omnipotent plan to deal with a people who were often enough tragically inclined to wickedness. To Crowley, man's duty was clear: he must observe in the tyrant the reflected image of his own sinfulness and bow down his head in humble submission to the painful catharsis of tyrannical rule; but to some others who preceded him, the tyrant was one to be vigorously opposed.

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31 Franklin Baumer devotes the sixth chapter of his book, The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship, to the problem of "The King's Moral Responsibility." He points out that there were two reasons for an emphasis on the king's moral responsibility in the political writings of the early sixteenth century: (1) the growth of absolute monarchy during the Renaissance and Reformation made men fearful of tyranny, and (2) the revival of interest in Greek and Roman political theory reanimated "the classical tradition of the perfect prince who, like the good physician, prescribes not for his own welfare, but for that of his patient." Baumer observes that this traditional theme from Isocrates and Plato to Marcus Aurelius and St. Augustine was accepted by the Middle Ages and given the Christian stamp of approval. Hence the wide medieval popularity of the speculum principis theme. Its renewed emphasis in early Tudor England was brought on by a desire to remind the monarch, whose personal authority was increasing so rapidly, of his duty to his subjects. For an excellent extended treatment of the background for sixteenth century theories of the prince and his responsibility, see Lester K. Born's The Education of a Christian Prince (New York, Columbia University Press, 1936), particularly Chapter III ("Ancient Theories of Statecraft") and Chapter V ("The Perfect Prince from the Sixth Century to the Sixteenth").
Henry Tudor, Duke of Richmond, is reported to have charged his army before Bosworth with the virtues of deposing the tyrant Richard. Arguing the divine sanction of his own intention, he is supposed to have said, "For surely this rule is infallible that, as ill men daily covet to destroy the good, so God appointeth the good to confound the ill; and of all worldly goods the greatest is, to suppress tyrants and relieve innocence, whereof the one is ever as much hated as the other is loved. If this be true, (as clerks preach) who will spare yonder tyrant, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, untruly calling himself king, considering that he hath violated and broken both the law of God and man?"

Elaborating on his charge of tyranny, Henry declares:

Who can have confidence in him which putteth diffidence in all men? If you have not read, I have heard of clerks say, that Tarquin the proud for the vice of the body lost the kingdom of Rome and the name of Tarquin was banished the city for ever. Yet was not his fault so detestable, as the fact of cruel Nero, which slew his own mother. Behold yonder Richard, which is both Tarquin and Nero! Yea, a tyrant more than Nero, for he hath not only murthered his nephew, being his king and sovereign lord, bastarded his noble brethren, and defamed his virtuous and womanly mother, but also compassed all the means and ways that he could invent how to stuprate his own niece under the pretense of a cloaked matrimony; which lady I have sworn and promised to take to my mate and wife, as you all know and believe.

If this cause be not just, and this quarrel godly, let God, the Giver of Victory, judge and determine.

Bernard André, who was charged with recording the great acts of Henry after he did become king, echoes the charge of tyrant against Richard.

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32 The alleged manifesto is printed in Pollard's Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources, I, 6-10. Pollard says it was inaccurately reprinted in Halliwell's Letters of the Kings of England, I, 164, from Hall's Chronicle.
33 ibid., p. 8.
34 ibid.
in his courtly poem "The Twelve Triumphs of Henry VII." In performing his third exploit, Hercules kills the wild boar of Arcadia.35 The boar represents King Richard, who wore the crown unjustly and abused his responsibilities. André, too, plays strongly on the theme that God's will was done at Bosworth. It was a divine suggestion, he reasons, that prompted Richard to take for his device the great hog, and thus symbolically revealed, he meets the agent of God's righteous wrath in the person of Henry, and pays for his tyrannical wickedness with his life.

From the twenty-three Latin epigrams that he devoted to the subject of kings and government, it is evident that Sir Thomas More was strongly preoccupied with the problem of the tyrant ruler. We have already presented evidence that More thought of the king as having definite responsibilities to discharge.36 In his long piece on Henry VIII's coronation, he welcomes the changes which the new king has begun and condemns by implication the authoritarian abuses of Henry VII. This is a practical application of a theoretic opposition to the tyrannical ruler which he develops in later epigrams and sets out fully in Utopia.

In the first book of Utopia, when More recommends that Hythlodaeu apply his learning to state service by counselling some prince, Hythlodaeu rejects the suggestion because he is sure that wise counsel will be wasted in a sychophantic atmosphere where truth is not one of the main goals. However, even though More fails to convince Hythlodaeu

35Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, pp. 138-39.
36See p.130 above.
of his duty, he draws from him a series of philosophic arguments which not only illustrate how repugnant wise counsel would be to the courtly climate, but also fairly represent some of More's own ideas. One of the most important of these arguments involves the king's responsibility to his subjects. A profound student of Plato's *Republic*, where the most detestable contrast to the ideal state is the slave state ruled absolutely by the tyrant, More pushes Hythlodye to an illustrative argument about responsible rule. How would his "wise counsel" be received, asks Hythlodye, if he should declare "that the comminaltie chueseth their king for their owne sake and not for his sake; for this intent that through his labour and studie they might al live wealthily, sauffe from wronges and injuries; and that therfore the kynge ought to take more care for the wealthe of his people, then for his owne wealthe, euen as the office and dewtie of a shephearde is, in that he is a shepherd, to feade his shepe rather then hymself"?  

Continuing in this vein, Hythlodye declares, "If so be that there were any kyng, that were so smallye regarded, or so behated of his subiectes, that other wayses he coulde not kepe them in awe, but onlie by open wronges, by pollinge and shauinge, and by brynginge them to beggerie; sewerly it were better for hym to forsake hys kyngdome, then to holde it by this meanes; wherby, though the name of a kyng be kept, yet the maiestie is lost."  

Indeed, whatever prince cannot administer justice without depriving his people of wealth and commodity of life

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37 *Utopia*, pp. 92-93.
38 Ibid., pp. 93-94.
"knoweth not...howe to goueme fre men." He should forsake his kingly pride, amend his own life, and recognize his heavy obligations:

Let him lyue of hys owne, hurtinge no man. Let him do coste not aboue his power. Let hym restreyne wyckednes. Let hym preuente vices, and take a waye the occasions of offences be well orderyng his subiectes, and not by sufferyng wickednes to increase, afterward to be punyshed. Let hym not be to hastie in callynge agayne lawes, whiche a custome hathe abrogated; speciallye suche as haue bene long forgotten and neuer lacked nor neaded. And let hym neuer vnder the cloke and pretence of transgression take suche fynes and forfaytes, as no Iudge wyll suffre a priuate persone to take, as uniuuste and ful of gile.\(^39\)

How should all this advice go down at court with men "holy enclined...to the contrarye part"? asks Hythlodaye. Such expressions of Hythlodaye's wisdom and learning would meet "deaffe hearers," More admits. Nevertheless, More has made his point. Conversant with the excesses of Henry VII's reign and deeply concerned over the whole problem of just rule, the great humanist expressed his revulsion of tyranny and pride in the prince, whom he looked on less as a divinely-appointed ruler than as a conscientious public servant.

More's epigrams on kingship do not, of course, develop his theory of responsible rule as fully as does Utopia, but they clearly reveal his attitude toward the tyrant. A specific character indictment emerges. The tyrant thinks of his subjects as slaves while a good king thinks of them as his children.\(^40\) The good king is a father, not a master, and rules the commonwealth as the head governs the body.\(^41\) Shifting his image, More likens the good king to a watchdog of a flock and the bad

\(^{39}Ibid.,\ p. 95.\)
\(^{40}The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More, no. 91.\)
\(^{41}Nos. 93, 94.\)
king to a wolf intent on his prey. Unfortunately, however, the wolves outnumber the watchdogs. Scarcely a king may be found who rules his kingdom well or who is satisfied to have but one kingdom. Still the tyrant pays for his iniquity and his greed. He is continually troubled by anxiety and sleeps no better on a soft bed than does a poor man on the hard ground. To Crowley the tyrant symbolized divine punishment for man's sin and must be obeyed without question just as any monarch must be obeyed, but More's abiding respect and concern for the people was too strong to entertain such a notion. A king ought not to rule one moment longer than his people wish. Furthermore, the tyrant can be destroyed by man or by Fortune. When he lies asleep, he is useless, and were he not protected, he could be slain by anyone. The exploited and oppressed subject will be revenged when Fortune pulls down the tyrant and destroys him.

This bold and direct indictment of the tyrannical ruler leads More into a discussion of the best form of government. Considering the respective merits of a king and a senate, he comes to the tentative conclusion that a senate will ultimately be more just. Though he hesitantly avoids the problem of disagreement among counsellors, he is suspicious of the power which an absolute king wields. Blind chance determines whether or not the king will be a virtuous one. There is every opportunity for him to become excessively proud and to

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42 No. 97.  
43 No. 227.  
44 No. 92.  
45 No. 103.  
46 No. 96.  
47 No. 62.  
48 No. 182.
conclude that the people are made for him to rule, while a senate can always fall back upon reasonable discussion and agreement in formulating policy. In Utopia an elective king who may be deposed for tyranny is provided, but in his epigrams More moves even farther away from the doctrine of absolute obedience to God's vice-regent by suggesting that a senate or council, although not an ideal governing body, may at least obviate the possibility of tyrannical rule, and by insisting that where royal tyranny does develop, there is justification for destroying the agent of corruption.

Earlier in this chapter we noted how the doctrine of obedience to the king was functionally employed (by Smyth and Gray) as both a defender and prosecutor of Cromwell and the Reformation movement. In early Tudor poetry and verse, the doctrine of duty and obedience was, as we have said, a lawyer for a variety of causes and interests. However, to show just how strong these basically non-patriotic interests were, we need to produce an example of a versifier's willingness to deny himself this attorney. To depart from obedience as it applied to the reigning sovereign was a dangerous undertaking. It required the boldness born of extremely strong personal conviction, and in the literary field it practically demanded anonymity.

Such a departure was made boldly and anonymously in an economic and religious ballad encouraging the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536.49

49 The piece is reprinted omitting the sixth, eighth, eleventh, and fourteenth stanzas under title of "A Marching Song" in Guiney's Recusant Poets, pp. 50-52; and completely as a "Ballad on the Pilgrimage of Grace" in The English Historical Review, V (1890), 344-45.
The piece begins with an appeal to Christ to guide the commons as pilgrims seeking to purchase again the old wealth and peace of the spirituality. The church is now lame and bound, cries the author; its houses and lands have been treacherously confiscated. This runs counter to God's word and intention as revealed in scripture. There it is set forth that neither Caesar nor king may lay down the limits of the land which old fathers and their heirs gave to those who cannot work. The folly of the new order destroys all grace. It is no wonder that the commons wish to make redress through rebellion. Returning to scripture, this apologist for rebellion reminds the faithful of Isaiah's warning that God punishes those who bring woe to their subjects. He refers, undoubtedly, to the fourteenth chapter of Isaiah, where the Israelites are told of the destruction which awaits the King of Babylon, who struck the people in wrath with an incurable wound.

3 And it shall come to pass in the day that the Lord shall give thee rest from thy sorrow, and from thy fear, and from the hard bondage wherein thou wast made to serve,
4 That thou shalt take up this proverb against the king of Babylon, and say, How hath the oppressor ceased! the golden city ceased!
5 The lord hath broken the staff of the wicked, and the sceptre of the rulers.
6 He who smote the people in wrath with a continual stroke, he that ruled the nations in anger, is persecuted, and none hindereth.

Applying this ringing denunciation of tyranny to his contemporary crusade, the author calls on the commoners to awake for the church's sake and march forward under God's protection to right the wrongs that have been
done. The last stanza hopes for a changed attitude among "Crim, Crame, and riche" (Cromwell, Cranmer, and Sir Richard Rich, speaker of the House of Commons and head of the royal commission created to deal with the monasteries), but the heavy previous criticisms had been lodged against the king. The act itself which this ballad encouraged was, of course, pure treason to Henry VIII. Robert Aske of Aughton and the other leaders of the uprising were found guilty of depriving the king of dignity, title, name, and royal state and summarily executed. 50

Although Henry VIII is not referred to directly in the ballad, while his ministers are named (a further indication of how authoritarian the idea of obedience to the king was), this piece is unusual evidence of a religious and economic conviction so strong that it defied through scriptural implication the strong Tudor sense of temporal duty. Obedience to the king was a growing Tudor ideal, but the roots of English religious tradition reached back to Rome, and they were not to be severed so cleanly by Henry's stroke. To the common people of England in the 1530's there was only one church, and although Henry considered himself a staunch Catholic even after he broke with Rome, his presumptuous dealings were regarded as tyrannical by such as this bold spokesman for the old order, which still recognized the Roman church as a superior authority. More himself died because he chose the authority of the Roman church over that of his king; and Reginald Pole, from the safety of the continent, also remained true to Rome to

the disillusionment of Henry, Cromwell, and Starkey.

In addition to the bold voices favoring the direct opposition to irresponsible rule, as it was manifested in Henry's assumption of church power, there were other pre-Elizabethan qualifications to the theory of absolute kingship.

John Skelton's secular allegorical drama Magnificence (1516), which was probably inspired by the inordinate influence which the poet thought the prodigal Wolsey party exercised over Henry, urges the need for moderation in rule. Magnificence (Henry VIII) appears as a kind of pawn manipulated by his advisors. The wise counsel of Measure is rejected and Magnificence loses wealth and dignity until Sad Circum­pection and Perseverance finally lead him back to respectability.51 Good government, clearly, is the result not of absolute rule but of applying the counsel of wise advisors, who in this case understandably represent Skelton's own attitudes.

Again in "Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?" Wolsey's expanding power drives Skelton somewhat desperately to affirm that a general council, wherein responsibility rests not on one man's decision, is the best way of insuring the commonwealth's health.

It is a wyly mouse
That can bylde his dwellinge house
Within the cattes eare
Withouten drede or feare.
It is a nyce reconynge,
To put all the gouernynge
All the rule of this lande

51Ramsay, who edited the work for the Early English Text Society, Extra Series, MCVII (1908), sees the banishment of Measure as Henry's rejection of the old conservative party headed by the Duke of Norfolk (p. cviii).
Chapter Four (Part I) of Starkey's "Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset" (c. 1535) represents Pole arguing strongly for the abolition of absolute rule. For years, Pole declares, England has been governed by princes whose will was law. This has been a great disadvantage to the realm, for no country can truly thrive under a ruler who is not chosen by election. Kings by succession are rarely worthy rulers. At this point Lupset warns Pole to beware of treason reminding him that kings are above all laws, but Pole disagrees and goes on to point out that absolute kingship is good if the king is worthy but the promoter of evil if he is not. It is better, he insists, to rule by Parliament. For one man to be able to dispense with the laws is the gateway to tyranny. Several counsellors can always see a problem more effectively and with greater perspective than can one man. Lupset confronts Pole with the expedient argument that civil war (greatly feared in pre-Elizabethan England) will be the fruit of rule by counsellors, and finally Pole concedes that to avoid discord

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52 Dyce, II, 50, lines 753-68.
54 Ibid., p. 101.
55 Ibid., p. 102.
56 Ibid., p. 103.
and debate "hyt ys bettur to take [the king] by successyon of blode" than to freely elect him. But this is only an expedient concession; for, Pole concludes, if Englishmen lived in the ideal atmosphere of true liberty, it would be much better to elect the king.\textsuperscript{57}

In Part II of the "Dialogue" Starkey puts in Pole's mouth an attack on the prevalent theory among advocates of complete submission that God ordains tyrants to punish his people for their transgressions.\textsuperscript{58} God does not do this any more than he makes man follow his evil inclinations. "Therfor neuer attrbyute tyranyn (of al yl the gretyst) to the prouydence of God, except you wyl, consequently, attrbyut al yl to the Fontayn of gudnes, wych ys no thyng conuenyent but playn wykydnes and impyety."\textsuperscript{59} Tyranny is attributable partly to the malice of man and partly to the negligence of the people. Here once again Pole is made to hope for a king chosen by Parliament to succeed the present ruler.\textsuperscript{60} This whole discussion of good government is possible,

\textsuperscript{57}Ibid., p. 108. Pole seems to have held these views well before 1534. W. Schenk, who has made a recent study of Pole and his relationship to Starkey, suggests that the Venetian constitution, setting up a mixed government where the headship of the state was elective rather than hereditary, strongly influenced Pole's preference for limited rule over absolute monarchy (See Reginald Pole, Cardinal of England (London, Longman's, Green and Co., 1950), pp. 39-41). Of course, after Henry VIII did break with Rome, Pole finally accepted the Roman church's interpretation of Henry's act and condemned the English king as a tyrant in De Unitate (1536).

\textsuperscript{58}Ibid., p. 167.

\textsuperscript{59}Ibid., pp. 167-68.

\textsuperscript{60}Ibid., p. 168.
as the dialoguists themselves point out, because a truly virtuous prince now occupies the English throne.61

William Forrest's long rhyme royal analysis of kingship, "The Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise" (1548), is an exception to our observation that pre-Elizabethan poetry and verse were the sounding boards rather than the trumpets of political theory.62 Forrest concerns us particularly because "The Pleasaunt Poesye" was written in verse, but Baumer points out that Forrest was simply one of a group of early sixteenth-century writers which sought inspiration for the king's moral responsibility in the speculum principis tradition.63 Sir Thomas Elyot, John Bourchier, and Thomas Paynell were others who wrote entire treatises on the subject of the "perfect prince."64

In a prologue to King Edward VI, Forrest gives a description of the nature and to some extent the function of a king, and the chapters which follow involve detailed advice to the sovereign who would seek the ultimate good for his commonwealth. Permeating the whole treatise

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61Ibid., p. 24.
62Sidney Herrtage, who prints a long extract from the piece in EETS, Extra Series, XXXII (1878), notes that although Forrest professes to translate Aristotle, the "Pleasaunt Poesye"is actually a version of Aegidius Romanus's thirteenth century De Regimine Principum, which in turn is a paraphrase of the Secreta Secretorum, a spurious compilation attributed to Aristotle (p. lxxx).
64In addition to The Governour (1531), Elyot wrote the Image of Governance (1540-41) and the Doctrinal of Princes (published three times by Berthelet between 1534 and 1550), both translations from Greek sources. Bourchier's Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius ran to five editions before the middle of the century. About 1533 Paynell published The precepts teaching a prince or a noble estate his duty, a translation of Agapetus' treatise presented to the Emperor Justinian on the latter's accession to the imperial throne in 527.
is the strong reminder that a king has a definite duty to his subjects. He must encourage and protect them and prohibit the intrusion of private advantage. Not the few, but the many support the kingdom, Forrest repeats, and therefore the few must not be benefited at the expense of the many.⁶⁵ All sorts of domestic problems are aired, and all are ultimately relegated to the king, whose duty it is to arrive at a just solution through legislation and interpretation. It is an attitude of royal dependence upon the needs and will of the subjects which anticipates John Ponet's view in _A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power_ (1556). Ponet placed the commonwealth above the king and declared that states and kings exist merely to further "the wealthe and benefite of the people." In fact he went so far as to assert that although kings could not get along without commonwealths, commonwealths could flourish very nicely without kings.⁶⁶

In summary, then, we can conclude that pre-Elizabethan poetry and verse accurately reflect the prevailing Tudor ideas about kingship. Appareled in the celestial robe of divine appointment and set upon a throne of far-reaching authority, the king commanded the respect and obedience of his subjects. Some writers (such as Crowley), in their inflexible insistence on absolute obedience to the sovereign, even defended the tyrannical ruler by absorbing him into the rigid pattern of God's controlling blueprint for fallible human behavior.

⁶⁵Heritage, p. lxxxviii.
⁶⁶See the good short discussion of Ponet's theory of popular sovereignty in Zeeveld's _Foundations of Tudor Policy_, pp. 253-57.
However, there were bold voices which sought to qualify the king's authority—voices which spoke from personal fear and resentment as did Skelton in his desperate attempt to stem Wolsey's rise, or which sounded the royal obligations that attended royal authority as did the many popular versifiers who commended the people's ills to the crown for redress, or William Forrest, who elaborated on the prince's duty to his subjects. From a final composite viewpoint, the first four Tudor rulers stand revealed as figures of sweeping authority, subordinate to the will of God, and charged with the responsibility of seeking the good of their subjects.

Now that we have reviewed the impact of the early Tudor theory of kingship on poets and versifiers, it would be logical to demonstrate how untiring and occasionally ingenious were the efforts of both courtly and popular writers to heap praise upon the exalted figure of the sovereign. In a way it is tempting to undertake this, but the project could easily blossom into the detailed kind of analysis that characterizes E.C. Wilson's admirable study of Queen Elizabeth in later sixteenth century poetry. We have not the space here to go into such an elaborate illustration of this aspect of early Tudor "patriotism."

Moreover, we have given indications of it from time to time in connection with other points. Suffice it to say here that royal adulation in pre-Elizabethan England came from virtually every stratum of society and

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67 Each section of "Vox Populi" concludes with the lines:
O most nobell kynge,
Consyder well this thing!

announced itself in three languages (Latin, French, and English).

A more revealing investigation in pursuit of the strength of royal influence lies, I think, in the manner in which early Tudor monarchs were defended against direct foreign and indirect domestic criticism, and exempted from responsibility for most of the ills and weaknesses which plagued English society. It is true that the king was thought of by many, particularly the prose analysts of good government, as having distinct obligations to his subjects. More in *Utopia*, Elyot in *The Governour*, and Starkey in the *Dialogue* strongly urge upon the ruler his responsibilities and obligations to those whom he governs. In the poetry and verse, however, even where there is an attempt to define responsibility for social evils, the Tudor king is usually regarded as a power of redress rather than a perpetrator of maladministration. Furthermore, poetic reminders of the king's obligations were usually general in tone while his isolation in a house of virtue was often a very direct literary project.

Understandably, the blueprints for this house were drawn up early by the court poets. When, for example, the French ambassador Robert Gaguin failed to achieve a delicate diplomatic objective in England in 1489, he angrily dashed off some insolent Latin verses against Henry VII. Immediately Henry's legion of literary bodyguards rushed to his defense. Bernard André records in his history that in addition to his own two-hundred-line rejoinder, replies to Gaguin came from Giovanni Gigli and Pietro Carmeliano;\(^6^9\) and we have Skelton's mention

\[^6^9\]See H.L.R. Edwards' article "Robert Gaguin and the English Poets," *MLR*, XXXII (1937), 430-34. Edwards prints the verses by Gaguin and the replies by Gigli and Carmeliano (pp. 432-33).
of his "Recule ageinst Gaguyne of the Frenshe nacyoun" in the "Garland of Laurel."

This spirited defense of the first Tudor's character is echoed in 1509 by Stephen Hawes. In "A Ioyfull medytacyon to all Englonde of the coronacyon of our moost naturall souerayne lorde Kynge Henry the eyght,^^ Hawes follows up an introductory panegyric of the new king's virtue and noble background with a defense of the sometimes cramping financial policy of his father. Many, claims Hawes, believe that Henry VII was avaricious--that he gathered together riches like a miser. These people, he insists, do not understand what Henry's motives really were. He was engaged in the great and noble task of trying to establish the English faith by war and to diminish the power of the Turk. In this project he was interrupted by death, and now Englishmen must pray for him and look to his son to carry on the dead king's just and noble enterprises.

There is probably a further defense of Henry VII's financial policies in Skelton's Magnificence (1516), in which Magnificence (Henry VIII), through the banishment of Measure and the abuse of Liberty, is reduced to Poverty, Despair, and Mischief. Not until Magnificence recalls his old advisor Sad Circumspection is he brought by Perseverance into Goodhope and Redress. Ramsay identifies Henry VII and his policy of acquiring and preserving wealth as the probable source for Circumspection. For further illustration of our point, Magnificence, although he is reduced to low estate temporarily, is

^University Microfilms no. 1299, Case ix, Carton 49 (Ohio State University Library).

^Magnificence, ed. Ramsay, p. cxix.
always treated with considerable respect in the play. He is noble-spirited and generous, although somewhat gullible, and it is through the evil and devious influence of his bad advisors (the Wolsey party) that he is deprived of wealth and dignity. It is an example of the widespread contemporary poetic tendency to exempt the king from direct wrongdoing and throw the blame for the country's ills back on the royal ministers and advisors. Skelton respected the idea of kingship, and when he suggests compromises in the structure of authoritarian sovereignty he does so chiefly at the sword point of Wolsey's swelling power.

Even Sir Thomas More, infused with classic admonitions against tyranny which he found in Plato and St. Augustine, and conversant with some of the less desirable effects of Henry VII's authoritarian rule, could engage in a bit of hopeful prophecy in 1509. In his Latin songs on Henry VIII's coronation, he declares that unlimited power tends to weaken good minds even in the case of gifted men, but that the new king deserves to rule. His character raises him above all temptation. Though this piece was written in courtly praise and although More was later to become disillusioned over Henry's authoritarian move against the Roman church, it shows that even the great humanist could hopefully exempt his new king from the egotistical abuses which so often attend relatively unlimited power.

Alexander Barclay finds in Henry VIII a contrast to the atmosphere aboard the ship of fools. Barclay condemns all manner of English ills

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72The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More, p. 18.
and excesses—presumption, lechery, avarice, new fashions, bad manners, contempt for true doctrine, usury, useless study, envy, complacency, and a hundred other diseases—but it is the people themselves, not Henry, who are responsible for their presence aboard. England has long been in turmoil and strife, but God has sent his vice-regent Henry to lead her into the ways of virtue. Nearsighted fools are complacent about degenerating Christendom, but the English king can lead the crusade which will restore its health and solidarity. Furthermore, Barclay presents Henry as the model of good taste and decorum in dress. After he has condemned the rakish improprieties of fashions which come from France—fashions whose presence threatens that England's "noble name and fame can nat endure"—Barclay addresses himself sternly to English offenders:

But ye proude Galaundes that thus yourselfe disguise
Be ye asshamed. beholde vnto your Prynce.
Consyder his sadnes: His honestye deuyse
His clothynge expresseth his inwarde prudence
Ye se no Example of suche Inconuenyence
In his hyghnes: but godly wyt end grauyte.
Ensue hym: and sorowe for your enormyte.73

When he writes of the misery of court life in his first eclogues (1513-14), Barclay once again excepts his own sovereign from blame.

And Henry the eyght moste hye and triumphant,
No gifte of vertue nor manliness doth want,
Mine humble spech and language pastorall
If it were able should write his actes all:
But while I ought speake of courtly misery,
Him with all suche I except vtterly,
But what other princes commonly frequent
As true as I can to shewe is mine intent,
But if I should say that all the misery,
Which I shall after rehearse and specify,
Were in the court of our moste noble kinge,
I should fayle truth, and playnly make leasing.74

73Jamieson, I, 39.
74First Eclogue, lines 697-708.
The popular versifiers too were generally careful not to implicate the king in their rehearsal of grievances. The anonymous author of "The Ruyn of a Ream" (c. 1520) denounces all the abuses and excesses which the spiritual rulers of England inflict upon the people of the land. He chastises them for neglecting their duty to the commonwealth and contributing daily to the decay of what once was the greatest realm on earth. Not only is the crown not a party to the reduced state of England, but it is the sustaining strength which prevents final surrender. The author concludes his piece with this prayer:

Ihesu preserue owur famous kyng so myghtye,  
Owur gracious quene endewed with pete,  
By whose good levyng--ye se hyt daly--  
Thys Realme ys kepte from all Cuptyvite.  

William Roy and Jerome Barlow's trenchant "Rede me and be nott wrothe" (1528) incorporates a storm of attacks on the church in England. The authors' heated condemnations fall on the Mass, the Bishop of London (for burning Tyndale's New Testament), Cardinal Wolsey, and on all the ministers of the church, both high and low, who are supposed to carry out both spiritual and temporal duties. Only the royal family--Henry, Catherine, and the Princess Mary--is exempted from criticism. Henry is spoken of as a "goodly persone" who is "endued with all gyftes of nature," Queen Catherine appears as an "example of womanlye behaveoure," and the Princess Mary is described as "wyse and sage" and "of very beautifull faveoure" in indignant rebuttal to

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75 Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 166, lines 254-57.
Wolsey's scheming attempt to minimize the queen's heir-producing abilities.

The Pilgrimage of Grace affords another very interesting example of how strong the king's influence was even on the ballad writers. Earlier we noted how a deep religious and economic conviction drove one anonymous supporter of the 1536 rebellion to an indirect attack on King Henry. His ballad is significant because of its bravery; it was certainly the exception to the rule. A more typical criticism of the dissolution movement is to be found in Dr. John Pickering's ballad, "An Exhortacyon to the Nobylles and Commons of the Northe." Beginning "O faithfull pepull of the boryalle Region," the author urges the commoners to fight to protect the land from heresy, and roundly condemns the plan to dissolve the monasteries.

For ws yt is better in battyll for to dye,  
and of oure mortayll lyve to makte a conclusyone,  
Then heresies extremly to Ryne with tyrannye,  
the nobilite off the Reame browght to confusione;  
Christes churche very lyke ys spoilyd to be,  
And all abbays suppressit: it is more petye!  
(lines 19-24)

However, Pickering remains absolutely free of implications that original responsibility for all this lies with the king, whom our other writer indicted through Isaiah's prophecy about the tyrannical King of Babylon.

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76 Printed in Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 304-09. Furnivall does not identify the author of the piece, but Allan G. Chester has located a good deal of material about the poem in the Public Records and provides the author's identity. Pickering, a Dominican, and William Wood, prior of Bridlington, were suspected by agents of Henry VIII as inciters of the rebellion. They were captured in March of 1537 and after questioning were executed in May of the same year. See Chester's article, "The Authorship and Provenance of a Political Ballad of the Reign of Henry VIII," Notes and Queries, 195 (May 13, 1950), 203-05.
Instead it is the king's ministers once again who take the full blame.

The auctors off all ill, to Rehers by name
me think yt no neide; many doth tham knowe,
ffor thir coursye counsell god sende them myche shame,
bothe nowghty cromwell and the chancelleres tow.
the heretycall byschoppes cawsyth our desolacyon:
Christ curs on them lyght, Small havyng devocyon!
(lines 61-66)

Cromwell, as the supposed architect of the plan, is Pickering's particular target.

This curseide cromwell by hys gret pollicie
in this Realme haith causid gret exaction,
them hyly promotyng that settes outte heresie;
by the aide of the chauncellors, vsyng exortacyon.
Agans them all for to fyght, I think yt conuenient
And noit for to seisse tyll ther lyves be spent.
(lines 121-26)

Thus, although Pickering injudiciously does admit in one place that
Cromwell's evil policies seem lately to have been "promottid by oure
kynge," he implies that Henry is the victim of bad counsel (as had
Skelton with respect to Wolsey). When he exorts the commons to fight
"agans them all," he clearly refers to the corrupt ministers and not
the king. In fact he takes explicit pains to absolve his cause from
the charge of treason, and he too bathes it in the white light of
God's approval.

Now gode,—in wois causse we tayke vpon hande,
(not agans our prince.--this may he well spie,--
but) faith to mayntene, and Ryght of this londe,
the auctors suppressing of cursyde heresie,—
Valyently to spread, he graunt vs by grace
that fynally we may see his loifull face.
(lines 139-44)

77 Lines 71-72.
78 The italics are mine.
The final stanza is a pointed reminder to pray diligently for King Henry and Queen Jane. If they should be offended, declares the author, then "pardone we do crave." Pickering, of course, did not sign the ballad. He reinforces the protection of his anonymity by shifting his attack away from the exalted figure of the king and centering it on Cromwell and his associates, whom he credits with concocting all offensive policies. Unfortunately for him this double protection was not enough. When he and his prior, William Wood, were apprehended for suspicion of inciting to rebellion, Wood testified that Pickering had written a ballad in support of the uprising. Pickering admitted that he had written something at the suggestion of John Hallam (one of the leaders of the "second rising") but denied that it had wide circulation. Furthermore, he pleaded, he had referred to the rebels as "faithful people" in the first line not because they had revolted against the king (to whom they were faithful), but because they had tried to drive out the heretics, who transgressed their faith. He added a final plea of loyalty to the king and mercy, but inevitably he was executed at Tyburn on May 25, 1537.79

Thomas Starkey, as we have previously pointed out,80 anticipated none of the venom against Henry VIII which was to boil through Pole's De Unitate and introduced a remarkably tolerant cardinal in his royally commissioned "Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset." In

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79See Chester's article, pp. 204-05.
80See p. 62 above.
his surprise pronouncement against Henry's coup (sent to the king in 1536 from the continent), Pole compared Henry to the worst tyrants of antiquity, even to Lucifer himself; but in the "Dialogue" the English king is spoken of as a good prince blessed with prudence and wisdom. Says Lupset, "Now, in our tyme...we haue so nobul a prynce, whom we are sure no thynge to haue so pryntyd in hys brest as the cure of hys commyn wele...ther was neuer prynce reynyng in thys realme wych had more feruent loue to the welth of hys subectys then hath he; ther was neuer kyng in any cuntrey wych bare grettur zele to the admynystratyon of justyce and settyng forth of equyte and ryght then dothe he."\(^{81}\) All this in introduction to a discussion of the perfect commonwealth, which Lupset later doubts can be achieved in England where "al thyngys be...so fer out of ordur."\(^{82}\) Thus again, this time by an acknowledged apologist applying his learning to the king's service, Henry is provided the desired Catholic support and contrasted to an English atmosphere where things are "out of ordur."

Nothing provided a greater climate of controversy in pre-Elizabethan England than the Reformation, but even here the ruling sovereign rode relatively free of criticism. Invariably, if he was not actually enlisted as a crusader for one cause or another, he was set apart and inferentially absolved from responsibility for the country's ills. Smyth and Gray, from opposite sides of the fence, both sealed their

\(^{82}\) Ibid., pp. 67-68.
arguments with loyalty to the king and assertions of his approval. The author of a verse tract entitled, "A pore helpe. The buklar & defance of mother holy kyrke" (c. 1547), laments that no one seems willing to absolve the English church from charges of papistry. He defends the Mass and the Sacraments, opposes translation into English, and ultimately takes comfort in the knowledge that "swete Sir Harry" will not alter before the onslaught of the new ideas. Edward VI was described as just as firm in a somewhat changed endeavor. In a New-Year's gift to Somerset (1550-51), William Gray points out that it is finally Edward's royal power which confounds the devious efforts of the old religionists even though,

As fare as they dare agaynste the kynges procedynges,
thei clerelye deface vs with theire popishe fedynges.

The blessing of the king actually becomes a bone of contention between papist and reformer in an interesting piece entitled "An answere to a papystycall exhortacyon, pretendynge to auoyde false doctrynec, vnder that colour to maynteyne the same." In abusive language the reformer attempts here to give a point-by-point refutation of his papist antagonist's argument. He accuses papists of being base in learning; of furthering strife, debate, and sedition; of being devoid of charity; of being hypocritical and immoral; of winking at traitors;

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83University Microfilms no.1301, Case ix, Carton 49 (Ohio State University Library).
84Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 419, lines 27-28.
85Printed as No. 17 in Fugitive Tracts. Hazlitt assigns a date of 1550-53 to the piece. "An answere" replies to another verse tract, "An Exhortation to avoid false doctrine." The anti-reform "Exhortation" and the pro-reform "Answere" are here published in alternate paragraphs.
of blasphemy; of betraying the king and rebelling contrary to the teaching of scripture; and finally of false preaching. But it is the disagreement over the king's position which interests us primarily here. The papist announces loyalty that all must be true to the prince and prays for his long reign, but the reformer (who calls himself "Chrystiane") retorts that kings hate papists. Says the papist,

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Ther is not in the worlde so wyde
Set thys lyttle lande asyde
That hath so noble and gentle a kynge
Wherfore let vs all in one praye
Euen to God both nyght and daye
That longe maye he ouer vs be raygnynge.
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The reformer replies: God save Christian kings from your sort of practice,

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Happy is that soyle
Wher christen men toyle
Vnder a faythfull kynge
...
Wher prestys do remayne
And scriptur dysdayne
It is an heuy thynge.
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The contemporary anxiety not to offend the king is illustrated well in William Forrest's malleable attitude through the decade which saw Edward VI succeeded by Catholic Mary. In 1548 Forrest commended to Protector Somerset his long poetic treatise "The Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practice," in which he saluted Edward VI as the supreme head of the churches of England and Ireland. To the Protestant Somerset, Forrest presented a further laudatory token of his esteem,

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86 The piece is a free metrical version of Egidius Romanus' *De Regimine Principum*. None of Forrest's works was published during the sixteenth century.
"Certaigne Psalms of Davyd in meeatre," in 1551. By 1558 when, on the eve of Elizabeth's accession, he presented his elaborate "Grisild the Second" to Queen Mary, Forrest sounded again like the Catholic he professed to be. He speaks of Mary as a missionary for the old faith:

The glorye of God shee did agayne begyn
That was as layde downe by dyuyllische erraure,
And it establisched, by Goddys helpinge powre,
In suche sodayne and wondrefull fashyon,
To all this worldys greate admyration.

He defends Mary's mother, Catherine of Arragon, from the insensitive charges which were made against her. Catherine may have been an alien, but she loved England best, Forrest insists. Her order to have an image of Christ put "vpon á mownte á lyttle from London" was

Not to any ydolatryall entent
(As myserable men manye dothe holde)
But to the beholders to represent
Of Christe towardys man the mercyes manyfolde.

Significantly Henry VIII, who plays the tyrannous husband, Walter, to Catherine's patient Grisild, is treated with rather deliberate gentleness in Forrest's poem. Grisild counsels her daughter Mary to obey him without question. Thus a succession of English sovereigns

87 Louise Guiney allows her own Catholic bias to get the better of her here, I think, when she explains that Forrest may have received some kind favor from Somerset which he was repaying with literary compliment "with no realization of the ecclesiastical interpretation which would be put upon his words" (Recusant Poets, p. 140) Miss Guiney is at greater pains to make Forrest look consistent than is Warton to make him look inconsistent with the comment that Forrest "could accommodate his faith to the reigning powers."

88 "Grisild the Second," p. 42.

89 Ibid., p. 47.
of changing religious interests receive at least deference and at
most enthusiastic praise from the crown-conscious William Forrest
as they move in and out of focus on the royal English stage.

Even Catholics who were not as pliable as Forrest and who wrote
under the protection of Mary's reign took care not to accuse English
kings too directly of Reformation tendencies. George Marshall, the
author of "A compendious treatise in metre declaring the first
originall of Sacrifice, and of the buylding of Aultares and Churches,
and of the first receauinge of the Christen fayth here in Englande"
(1554),90 goes all the way back to Adam and Eve and the fall of man
in his attempt to give historical authenticity to Catholicism in
England. Early progress, says Marshall, was made under Kings Edgar,
Oswold, and Edwin, and continued under Edmund and Edward.91 Coming
down to modern times, he praises Henry VII as a "worthy king" whose
noble works can be seen at Cambridge and Westminster. As he is con­
fronted with Reformation times, Marshall turns from kings to attack
such disruptive agents as Luther, Cromwell, and Dudley. Edward VI's
reign is passed over as a time of abuse, but Edward is not directly
mentioned.

The churche Goddes spouse, was brought vnder trybute
With lawes vniust, and paymentes greate

... 

The catholyke fathers..
Wrongfully were oppressed

90No. 18 in Fugitive Tracts.
91This, of course, was presented as a period of decline in John
Foxe's later Protestant history.
until good Queen Mary was sent by God "our thralles to relesse."
Then Marshall resurrects royal influence with religious fervor. Queen
Mary is praised in fulsome language and given exclusive credit for
England's return to the "true faith."

George Cavendish, the well-known biographer of Cardinal Wolsey,
is periodically sobered by the shadow of kingship in his "Metrical
Visions." Parading a series of figures who have been brought low
by Fortune, this Catholic writer is quick to denounce rebellion and
usurped power. Cromwell is castigated for his crimes as one who

all others dyd excell
In extort power and insacyat tyrannye.92

In an envoy to Cromwell's complaint, Cavendish pays his respects to
the dual authority of Tudor times.

To God, se first, your harts ye prepare;
And next after that, in all your doyng,
Observe your faythe and allegyaunce to the kyng.93

Cavendish's Catholicism sometimes wrestles with his idea of kingship,
but it is usually the latter which wins. In the complaint of Henry
Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, and Sir Henry Pole, Lord Montacute
(beheaded in 1538 for high treason in devising to promote the cause
of Reginald Pole and deprive the king), the two condemned men are
made to plead their misunderstood loyalty to the king.

What cause shold we have to be onkynd
Unto our soverayn lord, of hygh magnyficence?
Which, with his regal benyfts did us highly bynd,
To bere to hyme our love and dewe obeyence;

93 Ibid., p. 55.
When it comes to Henry himself, Cavendish puts into his mouth a Catholic lament for breaking his marriage bond to Catherine of Arragon.

Alake, therfore, greatly I ame ashamed
That thus the world shold know my pretence,
Wherwith my magestie is slaundred and defamed
Thoroughe this poysoned leacherous offence,
Which hathe constrayned by mortall violence
So many to dye my purpose to attayn,
That nowe more grevous surely is my payn
...

After I forsoke my first most lawfull wyfe
And toke an other, my pleasure to fullfill
I chaynged often, so inconstant was my lyfe.95

Almost immediately, however, as if to cleanse this attitude from any inference of presumption, Cavendish launches into an epitaph on Henry which spares no avenues of praise. It begins:

Victoryously didest rayn
The viii th Harrye,
Worthy most soverayn,
Tenth worthy, worthy.

A Jupiter of providence,
A strengthe of Herculus,
A Mars of excellence,
A paynfull Janus.

A Cesar of clemencye
A corage of Hector,
A Solomon in sapience
An armez of Arthore.96

The section goes on to compare Henry with Cicero, David, Alexander, Plato, Achilles, Agamemmon, Sampson, Charlemagne, Roland, Caton, Pompey, Scipio

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94 Ibid., p. 58.
95 Ibid., p. 95.
96 Ibid., p. 101.
Africanus, and Julius Caesar, concluding with the declaration that God

Hath chosyn hyme for thyn eie
Above the sterres to shyne.

Unlike Marshall, who had discreetly passed quickly over Edward VI's reign, Cavendish, in a section entitled, "L'Auctor in Mortem Edwardi VI," praises the young champion of reform and grieves over his untimely death. He had the wisdom of Solomon to match the beauty of his face and carriage declares Cavendish.

If he myght have lyved ther shold not have byn found
A prynce more excellent raynyng on the ground.97

He was a "virgin prync, a "mayden kyng" free from all unclean thoughts and a stranger to the seven deadly sins. Cavendish hopes that he will reign immortal in heaven.98 This interlude leads the author into a poetic eulogy of Queen Mary, a sovereign whom he could praise satisfyingly in religious terms, and he charges all Englishmen to do her obedience. The last piece in the "Visions" was written sometime after Elizabeth ascended the throne, for it is an epitaph on Mary. Shot through with tributes to the late queen's religious efforts to restore Catholicism, it defends her, significantly, from perhaps the most unpopular act of her reign: the marriage to Philip of Spain. Only love of the commonwealth caused her to renounce virginity's vow, claims Cavendish.

The Roos and pom granat joined in oon,
England and Spain by espousal allyed.99

97 Ibid., p. 131.
98 Ibid., p. 134.
99 Ibid., p. 164.
Disappointingly, no issue came of this union and Mary's physical energies waned although her inner virtues shown as brightly as ever.

Reverently Cavendish asks all true Catholics to pray for Mary,

Which late restored the right religion;
And fayth of fathers observed of old,
Subdewd sects and all dyvision,
Reducyng the flocke to the former fold;
A piller most firme the church to uphold:
Loo, where she lyeth, trew faythes defendour,
Mary our mastress, our quene of honour.100

Thus this strongly Catholic writer, who incidentally prays for Elizabeth's long and fruitful reign also, moves down the calendar of early Tudor sovereigns condemning rebellion, comparing the very king who shattered his sanctified marriage contract with the greatest names in history and mythology, praising the young monarch under whom the Reformation took giant steps forward, and finally exalting the name of the Catholic queen who wrenched the English religious helm violently about. Kingship for Cavendish, as it did for Forrest, commanded a healthy respect.

Indeed over pre-Elizabethan poets and versifiers of every sort the influence of the king cast its long shadow. For the sovereign was a symbol of rising national consciousness. We have seen him defended against the attack of an early French diplomat, provided confidently with the support of a cardinal who was about to attack him, and shielded from the resentment of a populace who thought an English queen should not compromise herself by a Spanish marriage. We have seen Skelton and Hawes defend his acquisitive financial policy, and Barclay exempt his court from misery, offer him as a mirror for decorous behavior, and

100 ibid., p. 167.
advance him as the agent for eliminating corruption and re-establishing Christian solidarity. We have seen popular writers set him apart from pre-Reformation social and spiritual evils. We have seen papists and reformers pledge him their loyalty and vie for his approval. We have seen Catholics defer to him even when he represented administrative opposition. We have seen him saddled with iniquitous and tyrannical advisors but preserved personally from blame. In short we have witnessed the swelling strength of an already indispensible English ideal which was to become even more awesome under the last and greatest of the Tudors.

Now let us take up one further evidence of the sovereign's stature and power in pre-Elizabethan England. We have examined the theory of divine appointment and obedience and traced the literary evidences of setting the king apart from England's ills; but we have not as yet observed in detail how strong was the reaction against any effort to usurp the power and authority of this virtually omnipotent figure. André in his "Twelve Triumphs" takes both pleasure and pride in recording the frustration of the pretenders Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, and he scoffs continuously at the presumptive schemes emanating from the court of Margaret of Burgundy. However, the first charge of usurped power which excited extended literary comment was aimed at a low-born native Englishman who seemed to many to have both hands firmly on Henry VIII's scepter. His cheif or at least his most persistent prosecutor was John Skelton. We have already noted how Skelton sought to condemn Wolsey before the bar of public duty, and
how finally in "Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?" he was driven to assert the virtues of a council over a single ruler. Before he aired this rather desperate solution to Wolsey's rising power, Skelton tried hard to acquaint Henry with the danger to his authority. In Magnificence he allegorically followed Henry down into the depths of reduced power and prestige under the evil influence of the Wolsey party until Despair actually recommends suicide to Magnificence. Not until he throws off this debilitating influence, Skelton predicts can Magnificence reacquire the royal authority of his position. In "Speke Parrot" (1521), although he still speaks through a protective mouth-piece, Skelton sets forth a clear and direct warning in Latin to his king.

Non annis licet et Priamus sed honore voceris:  
Dum foveas vitulum, rex, regeris, Britonum;  
Rex, regeris, non ipse regis: rex inclyte, calle;  
Subde tibi vitulum, ne fatuet nimium.102  
(lines 348-51)

Somewhat later Parrot says bitterly of Wolsey's power:

To jumbyll, to stombyll, to tumbyll down lyke folys,  
To lowre, to droue, to knele, to stowpe, and to play cowche quale,  
To fysshe afore the nette, and to drawe polys;  
He make [th]em to bere babylles, and to bere a lowe sayle;  
He caryeth a kyng in hys sieve, yf all the worlde fayle  
...  
Hys woluys hede, wanne, bloo as lede, gapythe ouer the crowne:  
Hyt ys to fere leste he wolde were the garland on hys pate,  
Peregall with all prynces farre passyng hys estate;  
For of ower regente the regiment he hath.103  
(lines 419-31)

101 Lines 2305-06.  
102 Henderson's translation: "While you cherish the calf, king of Britain, you are ruled: King, you are ruled, you do not yourself rule: illustrious king, be wise, subdue thou the calf, lest he become too foolish."  
103 Nelson (John Skelton Laureate, p. 172) thinks lines 428-29 refer to Henry's attempt to get Wolsey elected Pope, but in this
A final reference to "so mangye a mastyfe curre, the grete grehoundes pere" rounds off Skelton's truculent attack on Wolsey through Parrot.

The campaign is continued in "Colyn Cloute" (c. 1522), a thorough-going criticism of internal church abuses. Like Erasmus and More, Skelton, although a defender of the old church, was aware of its failings and excesses. Thus his attack on his chief enemy is here shifted partially to Wolsey the church official. Pointedly he says,

Bysshoppes, if they may,
Small houses wolde kepe,
But slumbre forth and slepe,
And assay to crepe
Within the noble walles
Of the kynges halles,
To fat theyr bodyes full,
Theyr soules lene and dull,
And haue full lytell care
How euyll theyr shepe fare.
(lines 122-31)

In a section ostensibly directed against prelates in general, Wolsey is accused of trying to "rule bothe kynge and kayser," and later his complete dominance of Henry is practically acknowledged.

It is a besy thyng
For one man to rule a kyng
Alone and make rekenyng,
To gouerne ouer all
And rule a realme royall
By one mannes verrey wyt.
(lines 990-95)

Finally, in his bitter query "Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?" (1522), Skelton sits and gazes miserably at the abominable substitution which has been made in the Tudor ideal of dual authority. Not the king and

context and in view of the Latin warning quoted above, I think it is more likely that they concern the English crown.

104 Lines 595-612.
God but the king and a monstrously presumptive minister govern England's destiny. To the question "why come ye nat to court?" Skelton replies sourly,

To whyche court?
To the kynges courte,
Or to Hampton Court?
(lines 399-401)

The low-born, uneducated, proud, avaricious Wolsey has taken vicious advantage of the king's benevolence in giving him a high office, snorts Skelton. Henry acted compassionately as did Alexander the Great, who made a king of a poor vassal, but Wolsey has abused his good fortune and brought ruin to the kingdom.

Set vp a wretche on hye
In a trone triumphantlye,
Make him a great astate,
And he wyll play checke mate
With ryall maieste,
Counte him selfe as good as he;
A prelate potencyall,
To rule under Bellyall,
As ferce and as cruell
As the fynd of hell.
(lines 582-91)

There is a definite inference here that Wolsey has presumptuously scorned the static, ordered society. As he had condemned the commoners in 1489 for not respecting their immediate superior, Northumberland, Skelton here excoriates Wolsey for ignoring his proper subordination to his king. Skelton wonders incredulously that the king does not see how he is ruled by Wolsey. He remembers that Petrarch has written of a similar blind respect and affection which Charlemagne had for someone, accomplished through necromancy. He cites Gaguin to the effect that

105Lines 680-705.
Louis XI promoted Cardinal Balue until the latter assumed too much power and brought the realm to ruin--then had him beheaded, drawn, and quartered. On the heels of these examples Skelton muses ironically that he doesn't mean such a fate should befall Wolsey!

Nat for that I mene
Suche a casuelte shulde fall
Vnto our cardynall.107
(lines 743-45)

Here, on the crest of his nearly hopeless acknowledgment of Wolsey's hold on the crown, Skelton retreats to the idea of a general council where one man's arbitrary decision cannot dictate policy. In a last gesture, as if he accepts too his own failure to awaken the king to the catastrophic usurpation of his regal power, Skelton commends the project to heaven.

Christ kepe King Henry the eyght
From treachery and dysceyght,
And graunt him grace to know
The faucon from the crow,
The wolfe from the lam,
From whens that mastyfe cam!
Let him neuer confounde
The gentyll greyhownde.
(lines 769-76)

Skelton's was by no means the only voice raised against Wolsey's power. The anonymous author of a piece entitled "Of the Cardnall Wolse" rakes him with abuse. Like Skelton he warns Henry to turn

106 Lines 713-39. Skelton seems to have let his private wishes run away with him here. Balue was confined in an iron cage at the Castle of Loches for eleven years, but he died naturally and prosperously in Italy (Dyce, II, 366-67).
107 Italics are mine.
108 Printed in Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 333-35. Through a study of internal evidence Furnivall assigns a date of 1521 to the ballad.
from the cardinal's deceitfully ambitious embrace.

O gracios kyng! Reuerte your mynde
from that Churle borne by kynde,
and from that vyle bochers Elode;
for he shall nevyr do your grace good.
he Blyndeth your grace with sotell Reason,
& vndyr-myndyth yow by hye treason;
And yf your grace wold pleas to here,
hys falsed & treason shall Apere.
(lines 25-32)

The emphasis on Wolsey's common origin and an earlier prayer to God to "saeue owr nobles of Ryall Byrthe" suggest strongly that the author was, if not a noble himself, at least much in sympathy with the titled class. Advertising this sympathy directly, he addresses an aristocratic victim of Wolsey's rise:

O whyte lyon, that valyaunte knyghte!
Where ys thi power, where ys thy myghte?
A lyon to fawne to A Bochers Curre!
Ayenste all Reason and good honour!
(lines 37-40)

There is a similar reference to the Talbot family, and the author goes on to bemoan the general subjection of nobility and chivalry to "A Churle borne by kynde," who scorns gentle blood and retains "knavys full of dysdayne." The king has it in his power to dismiss this blot against English government, and if he does not then he is to blame. However, if he does rid himself of Wolsey, assures this unknown advisor, all England will rise to his defense and praise.

But of on thynge ye may be sure,
There ys no kyng hathe suche tresure,

109The symbol of the Howards. Probably Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, who "was joined with the Cardinal in the commission respecting the marriage of Mary, the king's sister, to Louis XII" (Furnivall's note, p. 332).
Soo lovyng subgettis, so trewe & good, 
& for your sake wyll spende ther blode.
Beseechyng your grace be not dyspleasyd
My mynde ys openyd, my herte ys easyd.
(lines 71-76)

Wolsey is once again roasted in Roy and Barlow's "Rede me and be nott wrothe" (1528). In an opening dialogue between the author and the treatise itself, the treatise wonders how it dare reveal itself when the Cardinal of York will surely defame and slander it. The author responds confidently,

Thou knowest very well whatt his lyfe is
... Wherefore it is nothynge reprovable
To declare his mischefe and whordom. 111

The shield and coat of arms which appear on the title page declare forcibly before a word is spoken what Wolsey's major crime is. Quartered in the shield are six bloody ax heads, symbolic of the cardinal's cruelty, and six bull's heads in a black field, which betoken his "stordy furiousness" and the "dyvlisshe darckness" which he brings in. Conspicuously centered in the shield reposes the main exhibit: a dog with a crown clenched in its teeth symbolizing

The mastif Curre bred in Ypswitch towne
Gnawynge with his teth a kynges crowne. 112

Above is a cardinal's hat under which appears a club. This represents Wolsey's tyranny covered over with the sanctity of his spiritual office. The whole rests between two angels of Satan.

112 Quoted from the twenty-one-line "descripccion of the armes" which appears on the back of the title page.
Thus boldly announced, the theme stalks corrosively through the long dialogue which follows. Watkyn and Jeffraye, two priest's servants, catalogue all the evils which beset England. This time the ruler is not exempted from blame because the actual ruler is not the king but Wolsey.

Jef. Fyrst as I sayde there is a Cardinal Which is the Ruler principall Through the realme in every parte.
Wat. Have they not in Englonde a kynge?
Jef. Alas manne/speake not of that thynge For it goeth to my verye harte. And I shall shewe the a cause whye There is no Prynce vnder the skye That to compare with hym is able.
A goodly persone he is of stature Endued with all gyftes of nature And of gentylines incomparable.
In sondrye sciences he is sene Havyngle a ladye to his Qwene Example of womanlye behaveoure.
Notwithstandynge for all this By the Cardinall ruled he is To the distayninge of his honoure. 113

Such an indictment of a scheming minister (who had particularly antagonized the authors by causing Tyndale's New Testament to be burned) as the tyrannous usurper of a noble king's sacred sovereignty is consistent with Roy and Barlow's other appeal to patriotic duty—the condemnation of the religious sects as violators of their obligation to the state.

Still another attack on the cardinal is made anonymously in "An Impeachment of Wolsey." 115 As Skelton had done, this author runs down

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113 Ibid., p. 49.
114 Eight stanzas of rhyme royal (pp. 114-16) excoriate Wolsey as a terrible tyrant, a patron of hell, antichrist's disciple etc. for his responsibility in the burning.
115 Printed in Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 352-61. Furnivall points to internal evidence which suggests a date anywhere from 1525 to 1528-29, but finally settles on 1528.
a list of offenses both religious and temporal, but all of them are
the fruit of his proud presumption on the crown of England:

Vsurpyd awtoryte is thy defence;
no man darre the Resyste.
(lines 29-30)

It is clear that even though the king was exalted to early Tudor
poets and versifiers and any infringement of his power was regarded
as a cardinal sin (to make a bad pun), there are evidences of the
same old private interests here pleading their causes under the effective
aegis of usurped royal authority. Skelton was particularly ingenious
in clothing his personal attacks on Wolsey in the raiment of convenient
patriotic ideals. His elaborate charges of maladministration and con­
tempt for the good of the commonwealth have now been joined by an
equally damming disrespect for the king himself. The anonymous author
who wrote "Of the Cardnall Wolse" airs his obvious aristocratic pre­
judices under sponsorship of Wolsey's reprehensible grasping for power.
Early Tudor "patriotism" was often more a weapon than an ideal.

However, as the Reformation heightened antagonism to "spiritual"
rule and England's troubles came more and more to be laid at the door­
step of papal power, a new and foreign "usurper" unwittingly ushered
in a strong national sense of the English king's authority to replace
the distracting and fractious domestic quarrel over Wolsey.

Early in Henry VIII's reign, the anonymous author of "The Ruyn of
a Ream" was already railing at English prelates who sent off large
sums of money to Rome for bulls and special privileges and calling for
the return of former temporal rule when "thys Realme in All parties
was Countyd pryncipall." In the English king, although his power was weakened by this foreign force, he saw the agent of preserving the country "from all Captyvite."

The author of "A Proper Dyaloge between a Gentillman and a husbandman eche complaynynge to other their miserable calamite through the ambicion of the clergye" (1530) makes a special point of describing historically how the clergy have usurped the king's power. He speaks of mischief done to King John and to Henry V. Calling up further nationalistic arguments to make his point, he implies that clerical abuses contributed directly to the loss of English domination in France. The husbandman cites a prose tract more than one hundred years old which demonstrates the vices which the clergy sponsored (it is printed on pp. 150-65). Full of the historical validity of their complaint, the dialoguists return to the abomination of compromised kingship. The husbandman recalls that Henry V became aware of clerical ambition and determined to deprive the clergy of their worldly governance, whereupon

\begin{verbatim}

Amonge theym selfes they Imagyned
To get the kynge ouer in to fraunce.
That whyles he conqueryd ther his ryght
In england do what they lyst they myght
Theyr froward tyranny to fulfyl.
Which counseil/thus brought to passe
The kynge euere after to busye wasse
That he could not performe hys sayde wyll.\end{verbatim}

The gentleman replies to this that it is fortunate Henry was thus occupied or the clergy would have brought him to confusion as they

\begin{verbatim}

117 Ibid., p. 147.
118 Ibid., p. 166.
\end{verbatim}
had King John, King Steven, and Henry II. The clergy continually attempt to subject kings and princes to their own designs:

*Tushe that is a cast of theyr comon gyse
Soche infamy of prynces to deuyse
To cloke theyr oune tyrannous vyolence.*

Furthermore, although they are constantly undermining temporal authority, the religious sects hypocritically plead their devotion to the crown in a transparent attempt to justify their self-conscious destruction of chronicles detrimental to their interests:

(Subtelly to colour theyr abhomynacyon
They destroyed chronicles not lone a gone.
Which for certeyne poyntes vnreuerently
Soundynge agaynst the kynges auncetrye
As they saye/were brent euerychone.
But for all that/they shulde haue been spared
From burnynge: had they not so declared
The clergyes abhomynable excesse.*

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119 Ibid., p. 167.
120 Ibid., pp. 167-68. Actually the two long metrical tracts "Rede me and be nott wrothe" and "A Proper Dyaloge," published within two years of one another, offer a revealing example of our contention that "patriotic" arguments were constantly used in pre-Elizabethan England to further other causes. Note the pattern in these two pieces, which are designed primarily to condemn Wolsey for burning Tyndale's New Testament and opposing the Englishing of scripture and to attack the corruption of the religious sects in general. Wolsey the man is strongly criticized, but in addition to the bitter personal invective hurled at him, he is accused of abusing the good of the commonwealth in the following ways: (1) by dominating Henry VIII and directing his decisions (and in this connection Henry and his wife Catherine are praised in fulsome language as just, capable rulers to increase the magnitude of Wolsey's crime); (2) by seeking to drive a wedge between Henry and Catherine on the pretext that Catherine is barren and unable to bear male heirs; (3) by regulating war and peace to his own personal profit and not for the good of the commonwealth--hence acting as a traitor to his country. Furthermore the religious sects themselves are accused of unpatriotic actions: (1) the clergy, who enjoy wealth and abundance of land, misuse it to their own advantage in place of the advantage of
The author of "The Image of Ypocresye" (c. 1534) repeats the charges against all Rome-inspired agents of usurpation. Of the Pope he says,

> The craft can not be told
> What is and hath bene done
> by antychryst of Rome;
> for thens the sourdes springe
> of eueru naughty thinge,
> hide vnder-neth the whynge
> of the Sire of Synne.
> (lines 760-66)

And of the bishops:

> Of no prince, lord, nor duke,
> They take will a rebuke;
> All lay men they Surmount,
> Makinge non accompte,
> Nor cast no Reckonynge
> Scarcely of a kinge
> ...
> The pope that is so huge,
> Is ever ther refuge.
> (lines 1294-1306)

King John's subjugation was a crime hurled frequently in the faces of the English clergy, and this writer too indulges his indignation. At the state; (2) the religious sects hypocritically plead their religious duties as an excuse to avoid serving king and country in war and peace while the seculars are always ready to defend the realm. And finally (particularly in "A Proper Dyaloge"), the historical authenticity of complaints against religious abuses is couched in patriotic terms: (1) it is claimed that old temporal rulers of England all sponsored respect for nobility, peace, virtue, and economic prosperity, all of which was tossed aside when religious sects usurped governing rights; (2) a list of abuses to temporal power by the clergy is given in the times of Stephen, King John, Henry II, and Henry V to the detriment of the commonwealth's good (including a charge that greedy misuse of power by religious sects is responsible for the loss of English domination in France). A final complaint charges corrupt religious leaders with destroying certain chronicles which would have revealed their iniquity under pretense of destroying material which was unflattering to the king's ancestry.
that time, he says, the wicked Romish clergy shut up church doors

    Till they might haue leasure,
    Their liege lorde and kinge
    So base and lowe to bringe--
    Which was a pyttevs thyng--
    That he with wepinge yees,
    Bowinge backe and thies,
    And knelinge on his knees,
    must render vpp his fees,
    With kingly dignytees,
    Septer, crowne, and landes,
    Into ther holy handes.

(lines 1333-43)

Carefully and thoroughly he develops his thesis. A king is the supreme ruler in his own dominion and encroachments upon his authority are ghastly abominations. He blasts those in King John's time who were persuaded

    ageynst thyr kyng to rayle,
    and lieg lorde to assayle,
    Within his owne lande
    To put hym vnder bande,
    And take brede of his hande:
    The lorde saue such a flock,
    That so could mowe and mock
    To make ther kinge a block,
    And eke ther laughinge stocke!

(lines 1388-96)

Following Henry's establishment at the head of the English church, outcries against the outmaneuvered but still ambitious Romish forces increased. The author of "Now a Dayes" (c. 1537-40) is outspokenly critical of religious abuse of temporal rule; and Thomas Starkey, Henry's great and true defender in the void of Cardinal Pole's silence, represents Pole condemning the Pope's usurpation of power in his "Dialogue." Into Pole's mouth is put a denunciation of frequent English appeals to Rome as "grete hurte to the commyn wele" and "grete schame
and dyshonowre to our cuntrey." Another militant Henrician apologist, Richard Morison, excoriates the Romish forces in "An Exhortation to styrre all Englyshemen to the defence of theyr countreye" (1539). He concludes his defense of Henry's assertive action with a "prophesie not lately commen out of Wales, but founde in scripture in the iii boke of Esdras." The prophecy speaks of a proud eagle, feared throughout the world, which undertakes to bring all kingdoms under its sway. At length out of the wood comes a lion, who condemns the eagle's pride and ambition. The lion, God's agent, puts an end to the eagle's scheme. Interpreting this story, the author says, "that prowde Rome is mente by this prowde egle: the texte is playne...What if I contende noble Henry the VIII to be thys lyon? May I not have many conjectures to leade me this waye?" Answering his own question he observes that the "egle hath always ben the Romains badge, so hath kynges of Englande ever more gyven the lyon in their armes." It is all an allegory of God's will.

Let this yelling egle approche towarde us, let her come with all her hyrds about her, let a traytour carry her standard, doth not God say her wynges shall be cut, her kynge dom waxe feble, the lyon waxe stronge, and save the residue of Goddes people, filling them full of joye and comfort, even while the worlde endureth. Let us, let us therfore worke lustely nowe, we shall play for ever hereafter. Let us fight this one fielde with Englysshe handes, and Englysshe hartes, perpetuall quietnes, rest, peace, victorie, honour, welthe, all is owers.

121See Brydges, Censura Literaria, VII (1808), 42-43.
122Ibid.
123Ibid., p. 43.
John Bale contributed a whole verse play to the same theme. Skelton had earlier, in *Magnificence*, dramatized Henry's subjugation by the Wolsey forces, but Bale's *Kynge Johan* deals somewhat historically with the Roman usurper. Bale takes events from the reign of King John--his disputes with the Pope, the suffering of his kingdom under interdict, the later submission to Rome, and his imputed death by poison at the hands of a monk of Swinstead Abbey--and applies them to the circumstances of the country in the latter part of Henry VIII's reign. Bale makes it clear that he believes God is an English God working with and for English sovereigns against the forces of Rome. The widow England, who is sore beset, appeals to King John for aid. She declares that her spouse is God Himself and that it is right that God's chosen agent the King (John) should defend her against those forces which would harm her. But God is now absent from England because his true word is trampled by popish practices.

Ye know he abydyth not where his word ys refusyd,
For God is his word, lyke as seynt John dothe tell
In the begynnyng of his most blyssyd gospell.
The popys pyggys may not abyd this word to be hard,
Nor knowyn of pepyll, or had in anye regard:
Ther eyes are so sore they may not abyd the lyght,
And that bred so hard ther gald gummes may yt not byght.
I, knowyng yowr grace to have here the governance
By the gyft of God, do knowlege my allegeance,
Desyeryng yowr grace to waye suche injuryes
As I daylye suffer by these same subtyll spyes,
And left me have ryght, as ye are a ryghtfull kyng
Apoynted of God to have such mater in doyng
For God wyllyth yow to helpe the pore wydowes cause,

---

The play has been edited by J.P. Collier and printed for the Camden Society (London, 1838).
Seke ryght to poore, to the weake and faterlesse,
Defende the wydowe whan she is in dystresse.\textsuperscript{125}

The widow's appeal to King John reflects once again three fundamental pre-Elizabethan ideas: (1) that God has a special concern for England,\textsuperscript{126} (2) that his vice-regent is the king, and (3) that usurpation of the king's power is an affront to both God and the commonwealth.\textsuperscript{127}

Patriotic denunciations of papal abuse poured from loyal English pens. Typical is Henry Stalbrydge's "Epistle exhortatorye of an Englyshe Christiane unto his derelye beloved Contrye of England, against the pompouse popyshe Byshoppes thereof" (1544).\textsuperscript{128} Explaining his purpose the author says, "As I have compyled this treatise in the zele of God and my prince, agaynst the tyrant of Rome and his secret maynteners; so is yt my desyre that his grace [Hen 8.] maye have yt as a frute of my Christen obedience."\textsuperscript{129}

"Christen obedience" and a penchant for reviewing the history of Romish interference in England sent Thomas Gibson off into a short, jingling verse chronicle during Edward VI's reign.\textsuperscript{130} Gibson's account quite understandably twists history a bit to record royal English "rewardes" for usurping popery. For example, William II's battle for power with Anselm and the papal legates, who championed supreme right of the church (a struggle actually decided in favor of

\textsuperscript{125}Collier, pp. 5-6.

\textsuperscript{126}Other countries claimed God's favoritism, of course, but Tudor Englishmen seemed particularly addicted to the idea (See Chapter Six).

\textsuperscript{127}Significantly, the dramatis personae states that the parts of Usurped Power and the Pope are to be played by one actor.

\textsuperscript{128}See Censura Literaria, IV, 253-58.

\textsuperscript{129}Ibid., p. 253.

\textsuperscript{130}The piece is entitled, "A breue Cronycle of the Bysshope of Romes blessynge, and of his Prelates beneficall and charitable rewardes, from the tyme of Kinge Haralde vnto this daye." It is reprinted as No. 16 in Fugitive Tracts. In his introduction Hazlitt guesses at a
the church forces), is represented as virtually a royal victory in terms of containment. Of William II the author says,

The Abbays he solde or to farme dyd lette
The styffe necked prelates he vnder kepte
And with their popery he euer mette
So long as he had brethe.

Gibson continually emphasizes the king's power over the church and chastises spiritual disobedience. Anselm continued under Henry I his attempts "to withstande the kynges wyll," and Thomas à Becket opposed the rightful rule of Henry II:

Proude and stoberne in all assayes
With ye neuer, but euer with nayes
His prynce to withstande thus he alwayes
His mynde dyd fully bende.

Once again, in Edward II's reign, Gibson rechannels the course of history to illustrate his major point. Edward's strife with the lords and barons is divorced from its real causes and attributed to "priuie popery."

Yf his prelacy
With theyr priuie popery
Had not stonde therby
His lordes had made no fray.\textsuperscript{131}

Further developments in the struggle for power include Edward III's cessation of the papal tribute exacted from King John, the bishops' composition date of about 1550 (p. xv).

\textsuperscript{131} Actually the baronial disputes were a protest against a government which the barons thought Edward I had made too strong and too independent of them. They forced ordinances on Edward II which (1) dismissed officials the barons regarded as unbenefficial to their interests, (2) provided that principal offices of the royal household be filled only with the consent of the barons given in Parliament, and (3) insisted that Edward not act on important matters without the approval of Parliament.
efforts to divert Henry V's attention from their designs by encouraging his conquests in France, and Edward IV's failure to win back dominion in France (lost under Henry VI) because

\[
\text{the prelatz therat dyd sore disdayn} \\
\text{And from that purpose dyd hym refrayne.}
\]

In Henry VII's time Cardinal Morton and Bishop Fox are charged with responsibility for English loss of life at Boulogne, and Cardinal Wolsey appears as a traitor to Henry VIII because he "caused the scottes to ronne and flye" into England. Gibson concludes triumphantly that Henry VIII's firmness and now Edward VI's righteousness have brought the usurping forces

\[
\text{Full mekely crouchyng and full lowe} \\
\text{Gladly agreyng there to} \\
\text{As the kynge in earth supreame} \\
\text{Heade of the Churche of this realme.}
\]

The final lines restate the doctrine of divine appointment and absolute obedience, then pray for Edward's long continuation of his father's policies.

Such was the anti-papal chorus of Reformation England. It drew some of its strength from the isolationist, anti-foreign sentiment which we described in Chapter Three, but it was even more specifically an indignant attack on forces which sought to wrest from the Tudor king some of the sacred authority which his own assertiveness and popular approval had recently won for him.

Opponents of the Reformation, too, turned the argument of usurped power to their own advantage whenever they could although they were usually careful, as we have seen, not to accuse the reigning sovereign
of complicity. The periods before Henry became supreme head of the church and after Mary ascended the throne were naturally the least dangerous times for unreformed criticisms. The author of an interesting anti-Lutheran ballad (c. 1526),\textsuperscript{132} presents quite a different view of God's sympathies from that given by Bale some twenty years later. Written in the first person as if Christ were speaking, the piece warns Henry against the venemous Lutheran sects which threaten to usurp authority in England. Cries the Son of an English Catholic God:

O noble Henry
thou Prince of high progeny,
make serch thorow thy realme!
this scysmatick collection,
sub Dew by correction;
for, shame to the thei Dreame.
(lines 175-80)

And later,

Therfore awake manfully,
& defend thi realme from vylany!
thi apostacy expell with spede!
Els nothyng shall go forwarde,
but all be turned backwarde,
& fayle at thi most nede.
(lines 235-40)

Christ warns that Henry's failure to expell Lutheran sympathies will bring His own retributive stroke.

Efor yf thou fynd no remedy,
then nedes strycke must I,
& douttes thei shall smart.
(lines 223-25)

\textsuperscript{132}See Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 281-90. Furnivall prints the piece under his own title taken from the text: "Against the Blaspheming English Lutherans, and the Poisonous Dragon Luther."
We need only mention again the several pieces which picked up the theme of an English Catholic God and rejoiced in His triumph in the accession of Queen Mary over usurping tyrannical forces.\(^1\) "A Treatise declaring howe Christ by perverse preachyng, was banished out of this realme: And howe it hath pleased God to bryng Christ home againe by Mary our moost gracious Quene" (1554),\(^2\) signed by Miles Hogard, spins out an elaborate verse condemnation of the wicked and tyrannical forces which beset Catholicism before Mary Tudor, comparing them to Herod's cruel expulsion of Mary and her Son Christ from Judaea.

George Marshall's "Compundious treatise" (1554) we have already discussed, and finally Forrest's little section "To the Queeny's Majestie" appended to his "Grisild the Second" (presented to Queen Mary in 1558) lauds Mary as God's chosen "to set free his Churche owte of bondage." Drawing Biblical analogies as had Hogard, Forrest compares Mary to Joseph the son of Jacob who lived an early life of pain and frustration. He was maligned by his brethren, banished from his father's house, sold as a bondman to worshipers of idolatry. Just as he survived all this, so has his spiritual sister, Josepha (Mary) overcome adversity as it was manifested in the treasonable and usurping acts of the Duke of

\(^{133}\) *Respublica*, a verse drama written in 1553 probably by Nicholas Udall, although it does not deal directly with the question of the sovereign, clearly implies the adverse effects which the Reformation has had on the English commonwealth. People and Respublica are duped by Avarice, Insolence, Oppression, and Adulation masquerading respectively as Policy, Authority, Reformation, and Honesty. Ultimately Verity, Justice, Mercy, and Peace expose the four vices and judge them. The drama has been edited by Leonard A. Magnus, EETS, Extra Series, XCIV (1905).

\(^{134}\) Extracts from the long poem are printed in Guiney's *Recusant Poets*, pp. 127-28.
Northumberland, Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger, and Henry Peckham.\textsuperscript{135}

One other instance of the evils of usurpation must be mentioned. We have saved it until last because it was written by a Catholic about the authority of a Protestant monarch and thus aptly illustrates again how respect for the power of early Tudor monarchs cut across religious lines. George Cavendish includes in his "Metrical Visions" a complaint by the Duke of Somerset (Edward Seymour), who identifies the cause of his fall as his ambitious contempt for the will of the English monarch whom he represented. Mourns the repentant duke,

\begin{quote}
Alas! young prync, thou reygnedest lyke a kyng,
Thou barest the name but I rewled all by wyll,
And bare a kyngly port in every manner thyng;
I presumed on thy name whan I wold fullfill
My covetous appetyte, owther in good or yll;
Thoughe he ware kyng, and bare therof the name,
I had the gaynes, wherein I was to blame.\textsuperscript{136}
\end{quote}

Thus, in the early Tudor attitude toward usurping royal authority, we have demonstrated again the impact of an exalted conception of sovereignty upon pre-Elizabethan poets and versifiers. Whether it was the pretenders who sidled abortively toward Henry VII's crown, or Henry VIII's ambitious minister Wolsey, or the power-conscious Romish clergy, or Edward's willful Protector, or Northumberland, the presumptuous dynasty-wrecker, or the Reformation tyrants who stood forth

\textsuperscript{135}Henry Peckham, the son of Sir Edmund Peckham, was involved in a conspiracy in 1556 to send the queen overseas to her husband and raise Elizabeth to the throne.

\textsuperscript{136}"Metrical Visions," ed. Singer, p. 117.
from the Catholic perspective of Mary's reign—it mattered very little. All were usurpers of royal authority to one party or another; and all duly suffered the slings and arrows of outraged adherents of inviolate Tudor kingship.  

Perhaps a final realization of just how far strong Tudor kingship and its attendant cult of authority had carried Englishmen from the denationalized spiritual concerns of the fifteenth century can best be had from reference to an anonymous poem printed by Richard Pinson in 1493 entitled "The Foundation of the Chapel of Walsingham." The piece describes how the chapel at Walsingham was founded "by myracle" through the petition of a devout widow named "Rychold," who wished to honor the Virgin Mary with some monument. The Virgin conducts the widow in spirit to Nazareth where she (Mary) is greeted by Gabriel, then aids her in raising a commemorative shrine in Walsingham. Toward the end of the poem the Virgin declares England's good fortune and glory in being made the sight of this "newe nazareth:"

O englonde great cause thou hast glad for to be Compared to the londe of promyssyon Thou atteynest my grace to stande in that degre through this gloryous ladyes supportacyon. To be called in everye realme and regyon The holy lande oure ladyes dowre Thus arte thou named of olde antyqu[y]te.

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137 It should be noted here that the abundant and much-discussed literature against rebellion belongs in this anti-usurpation category too.

138 Printed as No. 2 in Fugitive Tracts.
The final lines eulogize the Virgin in reverent terms:

O gracingous lady glory of Ierusalem
Cypresse of syon and joye of Israel
Rose of Ieryco and sterre of Bethleem
O gloryous lady our askynge nat repell
In mercy all wumen euer thou dost excell.

Here at the beginning of Tudor rule, England's glory, conceived in purely religious terms as a second Nazareth, is purchased by a submissively devout daughter of the church. Some forty years later, as we have seen, England's glory, although still commended to heavenly influence, was being won through the national assertiveness of her God-directed kings, and the very adjectives of final praise for the Virgin Mary were being commandeered and infinitely multiplied to declare the unsurpassed majesty and virtue of English sovereigns.
CHAPTER 6

NATIVE RESOURCES

The last three chapters have dealt successively with isolationism and anti-foreign sentiment, duty to the state, and the authoritative influence of the king. This order of ideas suggested itself quite naturally simply because in a very real sense it was a growing pre-Elizabethan respect for the English sovereign's power and authority which hastened the ideal of public duty from a means toward an end in itself and turned an originally defensive spirit of isolation and foreign antipathy into a positive, assertive, and ultimately self-confident attitude. We are, therefore, now ready to discuss the nature and scope of England's early sense of self-confidence and self-sufficiency as it was reflected in the poetry and the verse of the period. Self-sufficiency was often more a hopeful cry in pre-Elizabethan England than a boasted actuality as we can surmise from the prevalent "decay" literature, but nationalist England was beginning to awaken.

A partial list of poems which in more or less degree lament England's decay and sound her former glory might include Barclay's Ship of Fools (1509), Skelton's "Speke Parrot" (1521), "Colyn Cloute" (1522), and "Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?" (1522), Forrest's "Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise" (1548), Crowley's "Epigrams" (1550), Dr. Haddon's "Exhortation to England to repent" (1551), and such anonymous pieces as the "Treatys of this Galaunt" (c. 1520), "The Ruyn of a Ream" (c. 1520), "A Proper Dyaloge betwene a Centillman and a Husbandman" (c. 1530), "Now a dayes" (c. 1537-40), and "Vox Populi Vox Dei" (c. 1547). However, Denis de Rougemont, commenting on courtly chivalry in the twelfth century, makes an observation which applies equally well to early Tudor patriotism. He says, "It is of the essence of an ideal that its decay should be lamented in the very moment it is clumsily striving for fulfilment" (Love in the Western World, tr. Montgomery Belgion, Doubleday Anchor Books (New York, 1957), p. 21).
Many foundations for later patriotic pride were being laid. In order to avoid confusion it will be best to divide our discussion of these matters into separate sections.

Excellence of Englishmen

Henry VII recognized early that he needed to apply every possible facility to protect and stabilize his sovereignty. Although his own shrewd diplomacy and acquisitive financial policy contributed greatly to his success, he understood well enough that the extremely important matter of advertising his own acts and policies was not a project which native Englishmen were fully equipped to discharge. Unhesitatingly Henry imported the commodity which he lacked. He surrounded himself with foreign scholars such as Polydore Vergil and Bernard André, whose job it was to record the virtues and glories of an English king. Not until the second Tudor ascended the throne did native English scholars take charge of the literary promotion of their own interests. Not until then did the commanding figures in the foreground of very early Tudor loyalty (for popular writers, the great nobles; and for courtiers, the king) occasionally yield to the wider horizons of Englishmen in general.

Although we have very little literary evidence of it, an early sense of English self-sufficiency struck at least one visitor to England at the turn of the century. A Venetian ambassador commented, as we have previously noted, that "the English are great lovers of themselves, and of everything belonging to them" and that they think no other men but Englishmen and no other land but England exists.²

²"A Relation, or Rather a True Account of the Island of England" (c. 1500). See p. 54 above.
The Venetian goes on to say that Englishmen wear very fine clothes and are extremely polite in their language, are discreet and reserved lovers, and have a justifiably high reputation in arms. But these virtues are somewhat compromised by other traits: not only are Englishmen self-consciously hostile toward foreigners, but they don't even trust one another to discuss public or private affairs together. Moreover, they could muster a large army if they were as devoted to the crown as the Scots were; but, says the Venetian, "From what I understand few of them are very loyal." Actually it was criticisms such as this which eventually stimulated Englishmen to a defense of their own virtue. The chronicler Robert Fabyan dropped an early complimentary reference to London women, and the author of an early English verse play, The Four Elements (c. 1517), proudly announced that "divers pregnant wits be in this land"; but generally speaking in early Tudor times Englishmen needed to be maligned by some foreigner before their worth was defended at home. John Skelton rushed to the defense of Englishmen when a Scot named Dundas ridiculed his countrymen as having tails; but even though he begins with subjective sincerity,

Skelton laureat
After this rate
Defendeth with his pen
All Englysh men,
(lines 19-22)

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3 Ibid., p. 32.
4 Fabyan's Chronicle, ed. Ellis, p. 293.
the poet dissipates most of his energy in a crude and arrogant attack on his foreign antagonist.

Thirty years of Henry VIII's vigorous rule, however, produced a climate wherein patriotic scholars could defend Englishmen a bit more aptly. Richard Morison, in "An Exhortation" (1539), rises in rebuttal to a recent visitor to England who claims that the representatives of a former noble English tradition--men of good heart, courage, boldness, and valor--are now dead. Morison declares that if provoked to attack, Englishmen could show such doubters "that as long as Englysshe bodies remayn in Englande they shal also fynde Englyshe stomaches, Englyshe handes, Englyshe hartes."^7

Another assertion of Englishmen's worth linked to their ability to defend their own land came from the pen of William Forrest in 1548. In his "Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise" Forrest describes the effects which rising rents and prices are having on Englishmen.

Wheare they weare valiaunt, stronge, sturdy, & stoute, to shoote, to wrastle, to dooe anye mannys feate, to matche all natyons dwellinge heere abowte, as hither to manlye they holde the chief seate; if they bee pinched and weyned from meate, I wisse, O Kynge, they in penurye thus pende shall not bee able thy Royalme to defende.

Owre Englische nature cannot lyue by Rooatis, by water, herbys or suche beggerye baggage, that maye well serue for vile owtelandische Cooatis: geeue Englische men meate after their olde vsage, Beeif, Mutton, Veale, to cheare their courage; and then I dare to this byll sett my hande: they shall defende this owre noble England.^8

^7Censura Literaria, VII, 38.
^8"Pleasaunt Poesye," ed. Herstage, p. xcv*. Note here again Forrest's emphasis on the responsibility of the king to his subjects.
In his poetic tribute to Catherine of Arragon, Forrest petitions God not to forget that Englishmen have served Him, despite temporary lapses, better than any other people:

Remembre, Thy name hathe floryshed theare longe;
Their seruyng Thee theare, nowheare was the lyke;
None had to Thy prayse so melodyous songe,
In Europe, Asia, other Affryke.9

Forrest then lists the special virtues of Englishmen, granted through the grace of God, which he hopes will commend his countrymen once again to God's approval.

Remembre Thy douaryes Thowe haste them indude,
As Beawtye, Wytt and Aptnes soueraigne,
Agilitee, Boldenes, and Fortytude,
With what may decor Nature hymayne;
Besydy their Soyle garnysched withe Grayne,
And Commodityes passynge to compare;
Such noble Prouynce from Thee doo not spare.10

Although somewhat more spontaneous than the earlier replies to criticism, Forrest's praise of English virtue is linked, like so many other pre-Elizabethan "patriotic" attitudes, with such preoccupations as economic status and religion.

Wealth and Abundance

Complementing the scattered early praises of Englishmen, and standing in direct contrast to the widespread popular laments over English decay and degeneration, there were occasional proud pre-Elizabethan salutes to the wealth and abundance of the land itself.

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10 Ibid., p. 142.
The Venetian ambassador's objectivity was somewhat more flattering in this regard than it was about the inhabitants of England. His account shows clearly that he was impressed by England's resources. He describes the English climate as healthy and free from the complaints with which Italy is afflicted, and he notes the abundance of rivers, streams, and fish. Furthermore he has discovered every description of tree except the beech and fir, a full supply of sheep which yield wool of the highest quality, and plentiful deposits of iron, silver, lead and tin. He sums up his observations with the statement that England is undoubtedly the most beautiful, best, and most fertile part of the island. Later he expands this judgment to declare that the riches of England are greater than those of any other country in Europe.\(^{11}\)

Alexander Barclay, in the heat of his argument for English-Scottish unity in the cause of re-establishing Christian solidarity, pauses for a moment to contrast the wealth and abundance of England to the relative paucity of Scottish resources. King James has many virtues, says Barclay, and he is a fit captain to march with Henry VIII against the Turk, but

He hath nat plentye of all thynge as is here
The cause is that stormes in season of the yere
Destroyeth the corne engendrynge so scarsnes
Whiche thynge moche hurteth this Prynces worthynes.\(^{12}\)

---

\(^{11}\)"A Relation," p. 8 passim.

The general outcry against foreign merchants and artisans which culminated in the May Day riots of 1517 was partially grounded in English resentment over exploitation of native resources. Englishmen were assertively disenchanted with the gnawing economic effects of cheap but skilled foreign labor in their own country. Surely something of this concern caused the author of The Four Elements to reflect apprehensively at just this time that England could have enlarged and supplemented her own resources if only she had been the first to take possession of the new world. Like a man gazing enviously over the fence into a richer garden, he muses:

Copper they have, which is found
In divers places above the ground

Great abundance of woods there be,
Most part fir and pine-apple tree,
Great riches might come thereby,
Both pitch and tar, and soap ashes,
As they make in the east lands,
By brenning thereof only.
Fish they have so great plenty,
That in havens take and slain they be
With staves, withouten fail.

All these things, the author implies, could have contributed immensely to England's wealth.

Another defense of England's own abundance comes later from Thomas Starkey. As they stroll down one of the many patriotic corridors of the "Dialogue," Thomas Lupset and Reginald Pole converse about English

14 This was the reason, incidentally, for More's being sent to Antwerp, resulting in the Utopia. (See J.H. Lupton, The Utopia of Sir Thomas More, p. xxvi ff.).
wealth and self-sufficiency. Pole complains mildly about the dearth of corn and cattle in England and draws from his companion a spirited response. Lupset says, "Yf we wyl justely examyn the mater, and compare our pepul of Englond wyth the pepul of other cuntreys, I thynke we schal fynd them most rych and welthy of any commyns aboute vs; for in Fraunce, Italy, and Spayn, the commynys wythout fayle are more myserabul and pore then they be here wyth vs." Pole agrees, although he observes that England is now poorer than in the past. Starkey's fellow-patriot, Richard Morison, goes farther in "A Remedy for sedition" (1536) and declares that Englishmen can derive virtually all they need from English soil itself: "In Englande the grounde almoste nourisheth vs alone. It is an incredible thing, to see howe soore men of other nations labour, howe moch we play, howe lytle they consume on their belies, howe moche we deuoure, howe poore they be, and how welthy we are, welthy I saye in comparison of them." Such general assertions of England's wealth were punctuated with comments about utilizing specific resources to the best possible advantage. In Starkey's "Dialogue," Pole argues vigorously for the non-export of wool and for the making of woolens in England. "Ther be merchant men that, by the helpe of the prynce, wyl undertake in few yerys to bryng clothycng to as grete perfectyon as hyt ys in other partys, wych yf hyt were downe, hyt schold be the greyst bunfyte to

17Quoted from Zeeveld's Foundations of Tudor Policy, p. 217.
increase the riches of England that myght be deuyseyd." He reflects a further extension of self-sufficiency when he recommends the rewards to England, "yf hyt were ordeynyd that our owne marchauntys schold cary out and bryng in wyth our owne vessellys, and not vse the straungerys schyppps as they now dow; by the reson wherof our owne marynerys oft-tymys lye idul."

William Forrest worries too over the uneconomical and unpatriotic abandonment of English wool to foreign manufacturers. Various countries emphasize various occupations and commodities, he declares, but

heere in Englande wone speciall haue wee:
Woolle, for whiche manye greate suetours hither bee.

Off whiche to saye, as my fancey dothe leade,
(the Judgementis of bettre not offendyd)
I wolde it weare duelie consyderede:
howe fforyners by Woolle are Assendyd,
and owre weale publike little amendyd,
for, by owre Woolle of Christians and Turke Thowsandis thowsandis hathe daylie handye wurke.

And wee the same of them agayne to bye,
sixefolde doble price moare then of them had wee;
oh! some witt politike shewe reason whye myght not the same heere so perfected bee,
wee, to profite by owre owne Commoditee?
If honeste meanys myght bee thearto espied;
how sholde owre Commons then bee occu[p]lyed?

19Ibid., p. 174.
20"Pleasaunt Poysye of Princelie Practice," p. xciv. Forrest here reflects some fifteenth century commercial attitudes. The author of the "Libel of English Policy" had viewed England's wool production as the lever for controlling trade relations with the continent and hence insuring peace since war could be undertaken only on condition of a healthy economy. By closing off her supply of wool to Flanders, where it was processed, England could dictate the economies of other European countries which depended heavily on trade with the low countries. In a later shorter poem (printed in Wright's Political Poems and Songs, II, 282 ff.), which seems principally to be an abstract of the "Libel," the
Robert Crowley, in his moral concern over England's welfare, sees wool joining with two other plentiful resources to banish idleness and provide work for all.

And woulde God the maiestrares
Woulde se men set a-worke,
And that within thys realme
none were suffered to lurke.
This realme hath thre commoditie
woule, tynne, and leade,
which being wrought within the realme,
eche man might get his bread.21

Such were the beginnings of Tudor pride in the richness and the self-sufficiency of England. Apprehensive, aware of untapped potential, but increasingly persuaded of their good fortune, early Tudor Englishmen contributed their little rivulets to swell the strong deep current of later Elizabethan pride which would move Thomas Churchyard in 1579 to begin his sustained tribute to "The Blessed State of Englande" with

The author declares that since England has a sufficiency of man's three necessities (meat, drink, and clothing) and a superfluity of the last of these, she ought to take commercial advantage of this fact. He proudly announces the dependence of foreigners on English resources:

But ye dar sey alle that be unther hevyne,
Bothe crystyn [and]ethyn of alle maner degreys,
They have nede to oure Englyssh commodities,

and he strongly encourages the development of national industry. Only wool of the lowest quality should be exported, he urges, while the fine wool should be manufactured into cloth in England, and the workmen paid fairly in order to bring money into the country and transfer the source of national wealth from England's enemies to herself.

these words:

What blessed hap, and happie daies,
our Kyngdome doeth posses,
the welth & peace that here abouds
to worlde maie well expres:
What greater ioye ca people haue
than rest and riches bothe?22

We have noted several times earlier that pre-Elizabethan poetry and verse was very often concerned with the immediate and the localized to the exclusion of the broad and general view. Thus we saw the ideal of public duty harnessed early to private and localized problems, and the Tudor ideal of obedience to the king called as a witness to immediate religious and economic difficulties. For this same reason we could easily present five or six poetic eulogies of particular Englishmen (such as Skelton's on the Earl of Northumberland, or Barclay's on Sir Edward Howard, or an anonymous popular writer's on Sir William Stanley) for every fleeting praise of Englishmen in general. It is just as true that the strongest and most sustained very early Tudor tributes to environment dealt not with England but London. William Caxton pledges his efforts and energies not to his country in general but to the city of London "As to my mother of whom I have received my nurture and living."23 Although I do not know of any early single poem or long poetic passage which is devoted exclusively to praising England, there are at least two such tributes to the city of London

22The Miserie of Flavnders, Calamitie of Fraunce, Misfortune of Portugall, Vnquietenes of Irelande, Troubles of Scotlande: And the blessed State of Engleande, (1579), Imprinted at London for Andre Maunsell, dwellyng in Paules Churchyard at the Signe of the Parret, sig. E1. (From a microfilm in the Ohio State University Library, STC Reel 192).

23See his Prologue to Caton (1483), The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton, pp. 76-77.
before Henry VIII's reign was well under way.

The first, "An Honour to London" (c. 1501), is a fifty-six line testimonial which sounds its recurrent theme at the end of each stanza with the cry, "London! thowe arte the flowre of cities all." The author weaves into his pattern of ancient lineage and noble founding contemporary praise of London's appearance, renown, riches, and royalty together with her goodly inhabitants—lords, barons, knights, ladies ("detectable lusty ladyes bright"), prelates, and merchants. Two early stanzas will set the tone.

Gladdeth a man, thowe lusty Troynomond,  
Citie that somtime cleped was Newe Troye,  
In all this erth imperiall, as thowe stonde.  
Princis of townys of plesure and of joye.  
A richer resteth under no cristen roye,  
For manly powre with craftis naturall,  
Furmeth noon fairer syn the flode of Noe;  
London! Thowe arte the flowre of cities all.

Jem of all joye, jasper of jocunditie,  
Most myghtie carbuncle of vertue and valure,  
Stronge Troy in vigure and treunytie  
Of royall cities rose and gera flour.  
Empres of townys exalted in honour,  
In beautie bering the trone imperiall,  
Swete paradize precelling in pleasure;  
London! thowe arte the flowre of cities all.  

Although it was undoubtedly written for some special occasion, and although it is poorer in language, the poem reveals the same emotional fervor that swept Virgil to his high patriotic praise of Italy in the Georgics.

24 Printed in Reliquiae Antiquae, I, 205-07; The Great Chronicle of London, pp. 316-17; and by Curt F. Bühler in his article "London Thow Art the Flowre of Cytes All," RES, XIII, No. 49 (Jan., 1937), 8-9.

25 Reliquiae Antiquae, I, 206.
A second poetic tribute to England's greatest city came from the pen of the first citizen chronicler of London to expand his diary into a general history, Robert Fabyan. Although the first edition of Fabyan's *Concordance of Histories* was not printed until 1516 by Pynson, the verses on London were written several years earlier, for Fabyan died in 1513. In 112 lines, which are so bad they very nearly profane the subject they are meant to praise, Fabyan rehearses the glories of London.

\[
\text{Sene the fyrste wynnyng}
\text{Of this ile land by Brute.}\]

London has survived all calamities as Rome and Carthage have not, for "Chryste is the very stoon" that the city is set upon, and He "hath euer preseruyd it." Like the author of "An Honour to London," Fabyan declares the riches of the city:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{This cytie I meane as Troynouante} \\
\text{Where honour & worshyp doth haunte} \\
\text{With vertue and ryches accordaunte,} \\
\text{No cytie to it lyke:}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{To speke of euery commodytie,} \\
\text{Flesshe and fysshe and all deyntye,} \\
\text{Cloth and sylke, with wyne plentye,} \\
\text{That is for hoole and syke}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Brede and ale with spycis fyne,} \\
\text{With howses fayre to sowpe and dyne,} \\
\text{Nothynge lackynge that is condynge,} \\
\text{For man that is on molde.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{With ryuers fresshe and holsome ayer,} \\
\text{With wymen that be good and fayre,} \\
\text{And to this cytie doon repayre,} \\
\text{Of straungers many folde.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[26\text{The New Chronicles of England and France, ed. Ellis, p. 293.}\]
\[27\text{Ibid., p. 294.}\]
He concludes with commendable objectivity,

For though I shulde all day tell
Or chat with my ryme dogerell,
Myght I not yet halfe dospell
This townys great honoure.28

Clearly, one kind of Tudor patriotism was born early in civic pride.

**Fighting and Warfare**

If early Tudor Englishmen were only rarely applauded for the breadth of their virtues while often castigated for the extent of their vices (as in Barclay's *Ship of Fools*), there was one particular ground upon which long experience had shaped a special English pride. It was the battleground.

The great military successes of Edward III ignited the fire of martial glory in English hearts, and although the flame often faltered, there was always a hot bed of embers to rekindle it under the prodding and stirring of militant kings such as Henry V. The poetic reviews of the encounter with the Scots at Neville's Cross in 1346 trumpet forth the fighting prowess of Englishmen.29 One such piece, entitled "Durham ffeilde,"30 boasts proudly that English commoners are superior in battle to Scottish nobles and gentlemen. Following a skirmish in which the Scots are severely defeated, King James vows revenge on the wings of his boast that one Scot is a match for five Englishman, but an escaped Scot delivers some sobering counsel:

"Now hold your tounge," saies James Douglas,
"for in faith that is not see;"

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28Ibid.
29See Wright's *Political Poems and Songs*, I, 40 ff. for three pieces on the battle.
for one English man is worth 5 Scotts
when they meeten together thee;

"for they are as Egar men to fight
as a faulcon upon a pray.
alas! if euer the winne the vanward,
there scapes noe man away."

An English yeoman, John of Copland, captures the Scottish king, laughingly
brushing aside James's complaint that Copland is not a gentleman with the
reply,

What art thou better than I, Sir King,
now we be man to man?

In London, when King Edward asks the captured Scottish king,

"How like you my shephards & my millers,
my priests with shaven crownes?"

James answers ruefully,

"By my fayth, they are the sorest fighting men
that ever I mett on the ground;

"there was never a yeaman in merry England
that he was worth a Scottish knight!"
"I, by my truth," said King Edward, & laughe,
"for you fought all against the right."31

Lawrence Minot's vigorous songs on Edward's warrior deeds return again
and again to the central theme that everlastingly (since one hundred years
before God was born!)

Was never men better in fitht
Than Ingliss men, whil thai had myght.32

The long Latin retrospect of Edward III's reign attributed by the anonymous
author to John of Bridlington sets Edward's soldierly qualities apart from

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31 Lines 129 passim.
32 Political Poems and Songs, I, 66.
the political abuses which he fostered.\textsuperscript{33} The final prophecy envisions a spontaneous demonstration of English loyalty and valor as commoners and gentlemen combine to drive England's two great military enemies from her dominion. Even the metaphors called to chart the course of English history sprang from the atmosphere of martial might. A discouraged song on the degenerating state of England after Edward III's death likens her former virility to a noble warship with Edward as the rudder, the Black Prince at the helm, and the good commons as the mast.\textsuperscript{34} Nobody now remains on earth, laments the author, to compare with the mighty warriors and rulers whom England has lost.

The popular English ballads and songs which sprang up to celebrate the Battle of Otterbourne (1388) and the border clashes over hunting rights continuously announced salient English bravery and fighting skill. Percy affirms stoutly to Douglas,

\begin{quote}
I will not yeele to any scott
that euer yett was borne.\textsuperscript{35}
\end{quote}

and King Henry greets the news that Percy has been killed with the confident comment,

\begin{quote}
I trust I haue within my realme
500 as good as hee!
(lines 239-40)
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., p. 123 ff. See especially Part II of the poem. Wright notes that Latin political poems of the times (many of which celebrated English martial prowess) became so popular that they were apparently introduced into the schools, accompanied by glosses and commentaries, as books for reading (p. xxvi).

\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., p. 215 ff.

\textsuperscript{35}Percy's Folio Manuscript, II, 12, lines 139-40.
Henry V's great triumph at Agincourt sent English estimation of their fighting skill to new heights. The battle became the rallying point for English martial patriots for the next two centuries. One re-creation of the battle which appears in Percy's Folio Manuscript plays heavily on the theme that no single enemy is a match for an English soldier:

Our King with Noble hart
did pray his valiant soldiers all
to play a worthy part,

& not to shrink from fainting foes,
whose fearfull harts in ffeild
wold by their feirce courageous stroakes
be soone in-forced to yeeld;

"regard not of their multitude
tho they are more than wee,
for eche of vs well able is
to beate downe ffrenchmen 3.
(lines 102-12)

A short Latin poem on Henry's death in 1422 mingles unrestrained praise of England's great warrior-king with the observation that Frenchmen received his death joyously because they believed his fortune in war might now pass to them. Although Henry VI's reign witnessed the crumbling of an English empire won by Edward III and Henry V, and although political poems and ballads turned more and more to problems of maladministration and the expedient virtues of peace, there were still occasional echoes of English

36 In order to commemorate this notable event in the military renown of his country, Sir Harris Nicolas has gathered together much poetic and prose material in his book, History of the Battle of Agincourt, and of the Expedition of Henry the Fifth into France, in 1415; to which is added, The Roll of the Men at Arms, in the English Army, Third Edition (London, 1833).
37 II, 166-73.
38 Political Poems and Songs, II, 129 ff.
prowess in war. A poem on the siege of Calais (1436) begins in the style of an old English chivalric romance as though it were intended to usher in some great exploit. Burgundy's assemblage of forces from Flanders, Brabant, Burgundy, Picardy, Hainault, and Holland is described in mock heroic style, and the account of Calais' defense (the Irish are particularly praised for their courage and bravery) glows with martial pride.

Always where battle was concerned, the memory of Henry V touched English consciousness. Disillusioned with fading English power, Lydgate glances back over his shoulder about 1443 at Henry V, who "preevyd a good knyht" but "deyed in his conquest[as]we shall alle dye." Even the Yorkist adherent who traced the history of Lancastrian misrule from Henry IV's usurpation of Richard II's crown down through the enervating chaos of Henry VI's reign exempts Henry V from his bitter indictment. Clearly it is the aureole of a high reputation in arms that wins for him a pardon.

Henry of Richmond's bold stroke at Bosworth Field touched off Tudor rule in a clamor of popular martial songs. Although they were typically localized in praise of the Stanleys and the Lancashire and Cheshire men who fought under them, these early Tudor pieces ring with the excitement and valor of combat. The court poets too memorialized Bosworth and spun

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39 Ibid., p. 151 ff.
40 For an account of other pieces on the siege of Calais, see Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 240-41.
41 *Political Poems and Songs*, II, 214.
42 Ibid., p. 267 ff.
out appropriate paean to English deeds in arms when Henry VII carried
his cause to the battlefield. The encounter at Boulogne (1492) was, as
we have seen, elaborately magnified in Latin hexameters by Johannes
Opicius. Acquainted with this strong tradition as he was, it is not
surprising that the Venetian ambassador should include in his observations
about England (c. 1500) that Englishmen have a deservedly high reputation
in arms.

Even Alexander Barclay found a use for that reputation in the *Ship
of Fools*. As an ecclesiastic, Barclay hoped for peace to accompany English
moral regeneration, but as an early patriot he saw brave Englishmen and
a valorous Henry VIII as the leaders of a righteous holy war on Turks
and infidels. To emphasize the disastrous dangers of idleness and sloth
to Englishmen, he points back at the Romans, who fell victims to indolence
when they ceased to exercise their might through war.

For whyle the romayns straunge regions dyd assayle
Expellynge faynt slouth, and nedy Idlenes
By dedes of Armes and boldenes of batayle
Therin they subdued theyr hye cowragyousnes
But after by slouth vyle lust dyd them oppres
And (alas) so sore they gaue them to the same
That vtterly they loste theyr glorious name.44

Significantly Barclay does not advocate secular war as a repellent of
sloth. In his own envoy he urges Englishmen rather to "be alway doyng,
but se thy dede be gode." However, at this point in his poem, Barclay
is about to confront his readers with "the ruyne, inclynacion and decay
of the holy fayth catholyke, and dymynucion of the Empyre," and for the

43See p. 85 above.
job of reconstruction he turns confidently to the martial prowess of Henry VIII, whose strength and skill will receive the blessing of God and St. George. Surveying the far-flung bastions of Christendom where

None taketh helme, spere, ne other armour
With manly courage, and bolde audacyte,

Barclay centers his vision of a deliverer on Henry alone.

Let go Pompeius: and Camyllus also
And Sylla, for none of them wyll I commende
This Prynce I prayse alone and no mo
Whiche is moste abyll our fayth for to defende
He is moste worthy by honour to ascende
Vnto a noble Diademe Imperyall
So is my hope, that he hereafter shall

Than shall he our fayth establysshe and make sure
Defendynge the Churche and christis herytage
There shall no Turke be abyll to indure
His rampynge Lyons rorynge in theyr rage
Nor none of all the Sarrazyns lynage
Thus may our Prynce be sheld of christendome
By strength and ryches, but namely by wysdome

His armys victorious shall spred abrode theyr fame
Ouer all the worlde, for he may wyn agayne
Jerusalem: and the Crosse within the same
With the holy toumbe: for this is my trust certayne
That if he begyn: he nought shall do in vayne
For god and his sayntis shall helpe hym for to fyght
Saynt george our patrone shall eke augment his myght.45

Thus, by applying a nationalistic pride in English skill at arms to his major religious goal of Christian solidarity, Barclay becomes another witness in the parade of pre-Elizabethan poets who temporarily employed burgeoning English nationalism as a means to other ends.

The many tributes to Henry VIII's perpetuation of traditional English martial prowess46 became synthesized in a chorus of praise when Surrey put

45Ibid., pp. 205-06.
46More salutes his skill with sword, spear, and bow (The Latin Epi-
grams of Thomas More, p. 17), and Hawes invokes the spirit of Mars to further the new king's rightful wars ("A Ioyfull medytacyon" [1509]).
down the Scots at Flodden Field (1513), while Henry was forging his successes in France. The literary salutes of Skelton and a host of anonymous balladeers flash with rapier-like thrusts at the Scots' presumptuous miscalculation of English ability in war. Skelton in particular seemed dedicated to celebrating English deeds in arms. In addition to his pieces on Flodden and the Battle of Spurs, he gave elaborate commentaries on the military events of 1522-23. "Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?" reveals that Skelton, who saddles Wolsey with responsibility for an English army waxing dull, was building up steam over English inactivity on the Scottish border. In 1523 the Duke of Albany's abortive invasion released the safety valve on Skelton's compressed passion. His "Douty Duke of Albany" scoffs elaborately at the Scots' suicidal attack on their betters.

Thou hast to lytell myght
Agaynst Engalande to fyght.

In his sweeping survey of English patriotism, Esmé Wingfield-Stratford seriously misrepresents the status of English martial pride at this time, I think. Quoting briefly from Skelton's proud and cutting poem on Flodden Field, Wingfield-Stratford concludes, "The spirit of Skelton is that of a nation little accustomed to war and less to victory, and at the first gleam of success losing all sense of decency and dignity" (History of English Patriotism, I, 120). It would be much safer and more accurate to let Skelton's poem speak for Skelton and not for all of England. A lack of "decency and dignity" was a peculiar characteristic of much of Skelton's writing. He loosed his abusive invective on a variety of targets, including Garnesche, Gaguin, Dundas, and Wolsey, as we have pointed out. But his blasts at these individuals, and at the Scots and French in general, were products of a frustrated, volcanic, and easily aroused personality, not of an England "little accustomed to war and less to victory." Indeed we have presented ample evidence in Chapter One that it was an overly intimate acquaintance with war that spurred many Englishmen in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries to demand peace. The economic strain of war, not a lack of English martial pride shaped these cries for peace and stability. The fighting pride was always there, as we have demonstrated earlier in this section, and Englishmen living under the first Tudor, who won his crown on the battlefield at Bosworth and who was celebrated as an all-conquering English Hercules, could look back past the chaos of Henry VI's reign to a very distinct tradition of success in war moulded by Edward II and Henry V.

47See p. 96 above. 49Dyce, II, 74, lines 230-31.
A combination of strength and grace in the English king binds his loyal subjects:

At all houres to be redy
With hym to lyue and dye,
And to spende their hart blode,
Their bodyes and their gode,
With hym in all dystresse,
Alway in redynesse
to assyst his noble grace.

(lines 485-91)

By 1539 Richard Morison's turn came to broadcast the English reputation in war, this time in anticipation of a papal attempt to reclaim control of the English church. Gordon Zeeveld calls Morison's "An Exhortation to styrre all Enlyshemen to the defence of theyr countreye" a "paean of praise to English valor, from Crecy and Poitiers to Agincourt and the Field of Spurs." Who, demands Morison, can match Englishmen in war? "If noble Edwarde the Thyrde coude vanquishe the Frenche kynge, and almoste al the floure of Fraunce, they beinge as theyr owne wryters testifie viii to oone of ours, what shal noble Henry the VIII. doo, whome God, by all wayes seketh to enhaunce?" The memory of England's great victories at Poiters and Agincourt should remain strong, cries this patriot. Likewise should Henry VIII's triumph on the Field of Spurs (so-called because the French used spurs in trying to escape and the English in pursuing them) be remembered, for the Scots were repulsed at the same time in England, showing how strong is English fighting heart and teaching other ambitious monarchs the perils of attacking England.

50Foundations of Tudor Policy, p. 231.
51Censura Literaria, VII, 39.
Morison's tract shows that the middle years of Henry VIII's reign brought a revival of the cult of Agincourt. Henry VII had been able to accomplish his greatest objectives peacefully, but his successor launched into a French campaign that fired English memories of Henry V. Representative of this revival is a piece printed about 1530 by John Scot entitled "Here after foloweth ye batyll of Egyngecourte & the great sege of Rone by King Henry of Monmouthe the fyfthe of the name that wan Gascoyne and Gyenne and Normandy." Dedicated to the idea that Henry V's wars were consecrated by God's approval and aid, the poem sounds the praises of English soldiers (particularly the archers) and English king alike.

Than blewe the trompetes merely;
These two batayles to gyther yede;
Our archers stode vp full hartely,
And made the frenchemen fast to blede;
Theyr arowes went fast without ony let,
And many shot they through out,
Thorugh habergyne, brestplate & bassenet;
A xi M. were slayne in that route.
Our graciouslye Kyng, as I well knowe,
That day he fough[t] with his owne hande;
He spared neyther hye ne lowe;
There was neuer kynge in no lande
That euer dyd better on a daye.
Wherfore Englande may synge a songe,
Laus deo may we say,
And other prayers euer amonge.

Elaborating on martial courage and skill at arms was an even more prevalent means of praising a patron in early Tudor England than was extolling his duty to the state. Alexander Barclay, as we have seen, works


53 Hazlitt, Remains, II, 106.
into his fourth eclogue a long passage epitomizing the House of Howard as a model of English bravery and valor. Barclay's patron was Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk. It was the duke's eldest son, Thomas, who served under his father at Flodden and later became the third Duke of Norfolk, to whom Grafton dedicated his edition of Hardyng's Chronicle in 1543. In his verse preface, Grafton reviews the martial glory of the Howards in opposing England's enemies and concludes that God has sent the House as an inexorable agent of retribution against the Scots.

In 1544 there was published an interesting tract called, "The preceptes of Warre set forth by James the Erle of Purlilia, and translated into English by Peter Betham." The original work was dedicated to King Ferdinand in 1527. Although the translator's purpose is to show that a wise counsellor is equal to a valiant captain, he cannot resist some prideful remarks about English knowledge of war: "Whyche thynge is daylye seen in our warres, and in the noble captaynes of thys realme...that the youthe of Englynde doth so floryshe in warlye knoweleage, that they passe all other bothe Grekes and Romans to thys daye." Like William Forrest four years later, Betham insists that with good food in their bellies his countrymen can prove "that none armys, never so great, is able to with-stande a garrison of Englyshe men at the fyrste brounte and begynnynge of theyr warres."

Still further pride in English fighting capacity came from two popular commentaries on the English victory over the Scots at Pinkie

54See Censura Literaria, VII, 67-72.
Cleugh in 1547. The author of "Vox Populi" proudly wishes Godspeed to individual ships in Clinton's fleet sailing north to support English ground forces, and the composer of the ballad "Museleboorowe Ffeild" summarizes English dealing with the Earl of Huntley and his "10,000 men" in a typically uninhibited popular boast:

Yet, god be thanked, wee made them such a banquett that none of them returned againe.55

Certainly a deep-set pride in the traditional and present capabilities of England's fighting sons was one of the strongest moulding forces of Tudor patriotism. By 1588, when English patriotism had largely matured through the unifying and harmonizing of earlier Tudor threads, the monolithic stability of the emergent ideal still owed much of its strength to martial pride. The author of a joyous song on Elizabeth's visit to the camp in Tilbury,56 where Leicester had gathered several thousand men to meet a possible invasion from the crippled Armada, fairly bursts with militant enthusiasm. The English host eloquently symbolizes English self-sufficiency and loyalty.

Her grace being giuen to vnderstand,
The mightie power of this her land,
And the willing harts therein she fand,
from every shire in England.
The mightie troupes haue shewed the same,
That day by day to London came,
From shires and townes too long to name,
to serue the Queene of England.

55Percy's Folio Manuscript, I, 126.
56The piece, entitled "A Joyful Song of the Royall receiuing of the Queens most excellent Maiestie into her highnesse Campe at Tilburie in Essex: on Thursday and Fryday the eight and ninth of August. 1558," is printed as no. 55 (pp. 162-65) in Ballads and Broadsides chiefly of the Elizabethan Period, ed. Herbert L. Collmann, Printed for the Roxburghe Club (Oxford, 1912).
And euerie soouldier shouted hye,
For our good Queene wee'l fight or dye,
on any foe to England.57

Archery

Esmé Wingfield-Stratford puts a high premium on archery in the development of English patriotism. He says, "The bow has rightly become symbolic of all that is best and most distinctive in the spirit of medieval England,"58 and, again, "Round English archery...the bravest legends gather."59 Actually the bow was probably the most important single contributor to fourteenth and fifteenth-century evolution of the English martial pride which we have just discussed. Both Edward III and Henry V owed much of their success to the mobile English bowmen who so thoroughly and convincingly outmaneuvered the ponderous feudal troops of the continental powers. Just as smaller, faster English ships were later to needle the cumbersome Spanish Armada, so did the highly maneuverable English archers harass their heavily freighted opponents. One account of Agincourt's aftermath has the French warlords showing a belatedly rueful respect for the stinging mobility of English bowmen.

The lordes of Fraunce, thei gan say then,
'Ingelond is nought as we wen,
It farith be these Englishmen,
As it doth be a swarm of ben;
Ingland is like an hive withinne,
There fleeres makith us full evell to wryng,
Tho ben there arrowes sharpe and kene,
Thorouge oure harneys they do us styng.60

57ibid., p. 165.
59Ibid., p. 68.
60From a poem attributed to Lydgate in MS. Harl. 565. Printed by Nicolas, pp. 301-29.
Just such a pride in English archery prompted Sir John Fortescue's concern during Edward IV's reign over economic exploitation of yeomen who represented the fighting strength of England: "Wherefore the making poor of the commons, which is the making poor of our archers, shall be the destruction of the greatest might in the realm."  

Through its close identification with the democratic classes of English common people, the bow found its greatest champions in such popular heroes as Robin Hood, Adam Bell, Clim of the Clough, and William of Cloudesly. All four ride prominently through the ballad literature of the centuries immediately preceding Tudor rule, and all four satisfy the strong popular appetite for vivid action and a special kind of moral responsibility. They deal severely with offending temporal officers, but maintain a scrupulous respect for women. They are anti-clerical, but they are basically religious and moral. They are technically outlaws who flout the king's hunting laws and boldly disobey the rules of conformity, but they are fundamentally agents of good and virile defenders of democratic justice.

Both the Agincourt and Robin Hood traditions elevating the English bow left their imprint on early Tudor England. More, for example, makes a special point of noting Henry VIII's skill with the weapon in 1509.  

Furthermore, England's own ancestors of the bow, both royal and common,

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61 See p. 155 above.
62 Francis J. Child has edited forty-two pieces dealing with these heroes (particularly Robin Hood) in the fifth volume of his monumental *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Boston, New York, and London, 1888).
63 *The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More*, p. 17.
created a receptive literary atmosphere for such mythical heroes as Hercules, who owed a significant portion of his success to his ability to draw a bowstring. Both Henry VII and Henry VIII were showered with poetic comparisons to Hercules, the former as we have seen, to an elaborate degree in André's "Twelve Triumphs." André identifies Hercules' fifth exploit (chasing away with his bow the robbing, pillaging Stymphalian birds) with Henry's expulsion of robbers and highwaymen, who formerly had overrun the land. The English king accomplishes his task by means of his mighty bow, symbolizing justice.

Victory over the Scots at Flodden Field in 1513 stirred English pride in their bowmen once again. A contemporary ballad prepares the stage for the great triumph of English archers with a typically exaggerated account of the odds. A scant nine hundred Englishmen, reports the anonymous author, advanced under Sir William Bulmer against ten thousand Scots, but

> Our english men full merrilye: attilde\textsuperscript{65} them to shoote, & shotten the cruell Scots: with their keene arrowes.\textsuperscript{66}

Again, in another poem\textsuperscript{67} written to vindicate the Stanleys of implied charges of cowardice at Flodden, a Stanley adherent wins the king's pardon from a charge of murder through a recital of his skill with the bow.

The yeoman, James Garsed, goes to the Earl of Derby for protection after having killed two men and wounded three who slandered the Stanleys. The

\footnotesize

\textsuperscript{64}Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, pp. 140-41.

\textsuperscript{65}Prepared.

\textsuperscript{66}"Scotish Ffeilde," printed in Percy's Folio Manuscript, I, 212-34, lines 180-81. The revival of pieces on the Battle of Otterbourne and traditional border warfare involving the prohibited hunt also added to the theme.

\textsuperscript{67}"Fflooden Ffeilde," Percy's Folio Manuscript, I, 318-40.
earl in turn conducts him to the king although he is pessimistic about gaining a royal pardon for his defender; but Garsed reminds the king that he (the king) made Garsed a yeoman of the guard after he had seven times shot a "bow of yew" provided by a Scottish minstrel—a bow which no other member of the guard could draw:

"Then the bow was giuen to the Erle of Derbye,
 & the Erle deliuered it to mee;
7 shots before your face I shott,
 & att the 8th in sunder it did breake

"Then I bad the Scott bow downe his face
 & gather vp the bow, & bring it to his King;
then it liked your noble grace
 into your guard for me to bring.
(lines 321-28)

This is enough for Henry. He pardons Garsed and orders that Lancashire and Cheshire men shall not be scoffed at.

However, there is evidence that English archery was beginning to decay in Henry VIII's day. A poem of the times entitled "The Maner of the World Now A Dayes" grieves over the decline:

So many bowyers So many fletchers
And so few good archers, Saw I never.

King Henry himself tried to revitalize the use of the longbow. He passed four statutes encouraging archery and five against crossbows and handguns.  

68Bow-makers.
69Arrow-makers.

70After printing the poem as Skelton's (I, 148-54), Dyce comments, "I now apprehend that I deferred too much to the judgment of my friend Mr. J.P. Collier, who had recently reprinted it without suspecting its genuineness" (II, 199). Henderson, however, thinks it is probably the work of Skelton: "It seems to me to have a Skeltonian ring" (Complete Poems, p. 144, note).

Elyot, too, encouraged "Shootinge in the longe bowe" as an exercise which "incomparably excelleth all other."\(^7^2\)

Paradoxically, just when archery was beginning to decay in England, a wave of ballads and broadsides glorifying the bow issued from the printing houses. Wynkyn de Worde printed "A Lytell Geste of Robyn Hode" (n.d.),\(^7^3\) an elaborate bringing together of stories of the rollicking English outlaw in eight sections. Many other individual accounts of Robin appeared before Elizabeth ascended the throne.\(^7^4\) The theme was so

\(^7^2\)The Governour, p. 112.

\(^7^3\)The piece could date anywhere from 1492 until 1534, the year of Wynkyn de Worde's death. See Child's English and Scottish Popular Ballads, V, 39-56 for a discussion of various versions, and pp. 56-78 for a printing of the poem.

\(^7^4\) Proof that tales of Robin were much abroad in pre-Elizabethan England comes from two sources, both of which were dedicated to the moral regeneration of Englishmen. Barclay, in the course of his attack on all who show "contempt or despisyng of Holy Scripture," takes a cut at the English folk hero:

> And many blynddyd ar so with theyr foly
> That no scripture thynke they so true nor gode
> As is a folyashe yest of Robyn hode.
> (Ship of Fools, ed. Jamieson, I, 72)

The authors of "Rede me and be nott wrothe" see a kind of bitter irony in the exalted status of the unmoral Robin Hood ballads. True scripture, which could lead Englishmen to virtue, is denied them in the vernacular,

> But as for tales of Robyn hode
> With wother iestes nether honest nor goode
> They have none impediment
> Their madde vnsavery teachynges
> And theyr fantasticall preachynges
> Amonge simple folke to promote.
> For no cost they spare nor stynte
> Openly to put thym in prynte
> Treadynge scripture vnder their fote.
> ("Rede me," ed. Arber, p. 64)
strong, in fact, that Skelton borrowed it in "Speke Parrot" to promote his veiled reference to Wolsey's diplomatic blundering on the continent. The poet cries for Wolsey's return before English interests are compromised beyond recall.

Wherfor he may now come agayne as he wente,
Non sine postica sanna, as I trowe,
From Calys to Dovyr, to Caunterbury in Kente,
To make reconyng in the resseyte how Robyn loste hys bowe.75

Robin's companion-heroes in archery, Adam Bell, Clim of Clough, and William of Cloudesly, drew their bowstrings to the delight of the early Tudor populace as well.76 Among their other exploits, as recorded in the Percy Folio version of a ballad on the three, they engage in a shooting match with the king's best archers. William of Cloudesly complains that the target butts are too wide and easy to hit. He sets two hazel sticks at four hundred paces and splits one of them in two with an arrow. At this the king, who had thought the feat impossible, cries,

"Thou art the best archer,"
"fforsooth that euer I see."77

William thereupon offers further proof of his surpassing skill by splitting an apple on his son's head at one hundred twenty paces. The long ballad

75Dyce, II, 16-17, lines 338-41.
76Child notes a fragment of an edition celebrating the three by John Byddell (London, 1536) and one by William Copeland (London, 1548-68) in addition to later printings (English and Scottish Popular Ballads, V, 14). He also cites the licensing of "Adam Bell" to John Kynge in the Stationers' Registers, 19 July, 1557–9 July, 1558. Versions of "Adam Bell, Clim of Clough, and William of Cloudesly" are printed by Child (V, 22-30), and by Hales and Furnivall (Percy's Folio Manuscript, III, 76-101).
77Percy's Folio Manuscript, III, 98, lines 603-04.
ends with a commendation of all good bowmen to the bliss of heaven.

Thus endeth the liffe of these good yeomen,
god send them eternall blisse!
& all that with a hand-bow shooteth,
that of heauen they may neuer misse!
(lines 679-82)

Another interesting piece, of uncertain date, "In olde: times paste,"
is printed in Percy's Folio.\textsuperscript{78} It rejoices in the good old days when
Robin Hood, Lancelot du Lake, Maid Marion, and Adam, Clim and William
"did merry[matters]make." Now however, muses the author in an \textit{ubi sunt}
mood, all England suffers the corroding decay of that vital spirit.

More sparinge for a pennye nowe
then then was for a pound;
rich men, alas, they know not how
to keepe ne hawke nor hound.
all merriments are quite ffgott,
& bowes are laid aside;
...
pray wee then good bowmen may rise,
as hath beene here to-ffore,
to-ffore, to-ffore,
to maintaine, to Maintaine,
& make our mirth the more,
the more, the more.
(lines 53-70)

Henry VIII's revival of the Agincourt cult, which we noted in the
previous section, lent its weight also to the ballad celebration of
archery. John Scot's printing of the long Agincourt poem about 1530
reminded Englishmen again that

Our archers stode vp full hartely,
And made the frenchemen fast to blede,
and a piece entitled "Agincourte Battell" echoes the same theme:

Our English archers discharged their shafts
as thicke as hayle in skye
& many a frenchman in that feelde
that happy day did dye.
(lines 129-32)

In still a later piece (judging from the diction) these proud references to English archers have found a central place in the title itself ("Agincourt, or the English Bowman's Glory"), and each stanza ends with some variation of the spirited cry, "Hazza! our bowmen."

Beyond a doubt, the bow still had enormous patriotic prestige in pre-Elizabethan England. Perhaps the most striking evidence of its continuing influence lies in a highly interesting allegorical commentary on the dissolution of the monasteries entitled "The Overthrowe of the Abbyes, A Tale of Robin Hoode." My discussion of education as a service to the state has already brought this piece to our attention, but here I wish to emphasize how an anonymous political commentator used the popular patriotic prestige of the bow and its heroes to advance his own very definite attitudes. A brief summary of the poem will reveal the pattern.

We are told that Robin Hood (representing the Bishops) at first earned his living through hard work. He subdued monsters and generally helped the world. He taught Adam Bell (representing the Abbots) how to

79 Printed in Percy's Folio Manuscript, II, 166-73.
80 Printed in Percy's Folio Manuscript, II, 595-97. The piece is described simply as a ballad "of early date." The first verse, says Furnivall, is quoted in Heywood's King Edward IV (ed. 1600), although the version printed in the Folio comes from an edition of about 1665 (p. 159).
81 Printed in Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 295-98.
82 See p. 176 above.
shoot and set him in a plain by a river. Then when the world was calm, Robin placed Little John (representing the Universities) on two mountains (Oxford and Cambirgde) full of the springs of knowledge. At first Adam was wise and careful, but later he grew fat and jolly, irresponsibly sucked sweets, and fell asleep. A hungry lion (Henry VIII) seeking prey came by, seized Adam, tore him to bits, and distributed his precious bow and arrows. When the wolves and foxes (Puritans and politicians) saw the Abbot in Henry's paws, they cried, "Ours is Robin," and surrounded him. Here the fragment ends. The moral, says the author, "is the overthrowe of the Abbyes, the like being attempted by the puritane, which is the wolfe; and the politician, which is the ffox, agaynst the bushops."\textsuperscript{83}

In this little allegory it is clearly the personifications themselves which arrange the reader's sympathies and reveal the author's attitude. Elements which are to be despised, i.e. Henry VIII,\textsuperscript{84} the Puritans, and the politicians, sally forth as a ravenous lion, wolves, and foxes respectively, while the worthwhile and desirable elements are all carefully dressed in the raiment and equipped with the tools of England's great and popular archer-heroes. Most significantly, the bow and quiver of arrows symbolize all the nameless good deeds and necessary functions which the abbots originally performed in the monasteries. Even the acknowledged decline of archery, which we noted earlier, plays its effective role in

\textsuperscript{83}This seems to indicate that the piece was written well after the actual dissolution took place.

\textsuperscript{84}That the king is attacked so directly is further proof that the piece was composed after Henry's death. It was Cromwell and other ministers who received the contemporary blame.
clarifying the author's personal bias. When the world needed help and really appreciated the function of the bishops and abbots, when "good archers were sett by," Robin gave Adam a bow and taught him how to shoot.

When the worlde for helpe did cry,
And good archers were sette by,
hee taught Adam to deliver;
Hee, the firste that gave him quiver,
Gave him bowe and arrowes sure;
Gave him goodly furniture.
(lines 53-58)

The misunderstood value of the monasteries is here being vindicated through personification as a great traditional English skill which is none the less worthy simply because it is tragically in a state of decay. What better way to editorialize in favor of the monasteries' great contributions than to represent the abbots as a folk-hero martyr to the tearing claws of a rapacious beast-king? What English layman could shrug at the spectacle of the noble Adam Bell ravished by brutish force, his bow and arrows confiscated, and only his useless uninhabited dwelling left to inform the world of his former greatness?

In his graspinge pawes hee hente him,
And in pieces all to-rente him;
then, his quiver by his side,
as a spoile hee did divide,
And his bowe and arrowes sur[e],
And his goodly furniture.
Yeat his cabin doth remayne,
Beaten with the wynde and rayne,
Spoyl'd of all the passers-by,
Whose huge frame doth testify of that wondrous monyme[n]t,
All the worlds astonishment.
(lines 95-106)

However, the bow was called as a witness to the other side of the question as well. To the patriotic humanist Roger Ascham, Henry VIII was
not a brutish despoiler of monasteries but a champion of Truth and the
deliverer of England from the shackles of Rome. Verses which precede
Toxophilus (1545), his elaborate prose commendation of archery to English-
men as a sure defense and honest pursuit, link the bow with the exalted
trinity of anti-papal victory: God, Henry VIII, and the Bible.

Rejoyse Englande, be gladde and merie,
Trothe overcommeth thyne enemyes all,
The Scot, the Frencheman, the Pope, and heresie,
Overcommed by Trothe, haue had a fall:
Sticke to the Trothe, and euermore thou shall
Through Christ, King Henry, the Boke and the Bowe
All maner of enemies, quite overthrowe.85

Inevitably then in the argumentative climate of early Tudor England,
the bow, like the ideal of duty to the state, had its patriotic prestige
value tapped by more than one personal or localized interest. In some
cases it served as a very specific symbol. André presented it as a
symbol of Henry VII's firm justice in the "Twelve Triumphs"; Skelton
offered it as a symbol of Wolsey's governmental responsibility in the con-
tinental negotiations of 1521 (where Robin lost his bow); and the anonymous
author of "The Overthrowe of the Abbeyes" employed it as a symbol of the
functions, wealth, and lands of the abbots in a sustained allegory of
irresponsible temporal vandalism in the spiritual sphere. To each author
the symbolized function was something highly valued and to each it deserved
an equally highly respected spokesman. In other cases the bow acted as a
more general symbol of the former vigor which could rescue a degenerating
England from her creeping decay. To the Stanley apologist of "Fflodden
Ffeilde" it was the triumphant attorney for a yeoman accused before the

85 Toxophilus, ed. Arber, p. 11.
royal court of murder; to Roger Ascham (whose patriotic sensitivity would move him to describe the Italianate Englishman as a devil incarnate) it was the potential and very English savior of national character, a "moost honest pastyme in peace" and a "mooste sure weapon in warren"; and finally to the unnamed griever over the "olde: times paste," it was the badge of a former glory and the ultimate hope of England's resurrection. Indeed the bow itself, as an English symbol, was nearly as inviolate as the idea of kingship. Just as it was invariably the Tudor king's ministers who received whatever administrative blame the poets and versifiers advanced, so in a sense was it the popular ballad "ministers" of the bow who took the occasional moralistic barbs of such importunate satirists as Barclay, Roy, and Barlow; for it was not archery that these writers incidentally condemned, but the "foolish" tales of jolly Robin and his fellows. The reputation of the bow itself stood unchallenged.

Thus, to early Tudor Englishmen the longbow was both a means and an end. In its individual symbolic context it served the private interests of a foreign courtier's flattery, a native courtier's personal antagonism, and a later popular political writer's religious indignation just as the ideal of public duty served its several localized ends. But in its general symbolic context, the bow emerged as an end in itself, worthy of every man's study and exercise and capable of revitalizing the English character, just as the ideal of public service became an end in itself in the hands of Robert Crowley. Only age and experience differentiated these two patriotic ideals. For, in terms of deeds, public duty was young and

86 *Toxophilus*, p. 16.
rising, while archery had largely had its day in England. While the growing young aspirant and the venerated old ideal both lent literary patriotic prestige to the many localized pre-Elizabethan interests, it was as ends in themselves that they really revealed their ages. Duty was not to reach ripe maturity until late in Elizabeth's reign, but the English archer, although still recognized and glorified as a champion, had, to all intents and purposes, already retired.

**English Heroes**

John M. Berdan has observed, erroneously I think, that the whole weight of the humanistic movement was directed constructively in favor of classical literatures and destructively against survival of vernacular languages. This, he feels, tended to leave the English nation without a hero. Although the humanistic return to Latin and Greek literature may have put off the rise of an English national champion in intellectual circles, early Tudor Englishmen found a large measure of satisfaction in accounts of the old popular and chivalric heroes.

Henry VIII's military successes revived the spirit of Agincourt, as we have seen, and brought about a renewed celebration of England's own heroic warrior-kings. Edward III and Henry V were often met in the ballads

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87 Early Tudor Poetry (1485-1547) (New York, 1920), pp. 324-25. Berdan seems to have failed to make an important distinction here. Humanist scholars did return to Latin and Greek sources, it is true; but it does not logically follow that the English language therefore suffered a destructive blow. It was at precisely this time in English history that the vernacular began to gain ground rapidly. Furthermore, such humanists as Elyot, who consciously set out to translate classic sources into English, and Ascham, who consciously ignored Latin for English in Toxophilus, contributed substantially not only to the perpetuation of the vernacular but to its breadth and refinement as well.
and historical verse of the times, and even more ancient English kings marched heroically through the metrical romances which enjoyed such a wide popularity in early Tudor England. Richard I, although he was not strictly English and although he spent very little of his ten-year rule in England, arose in the early fourteenth century as the chivalric Christian hero of a metrical romance, "Richard Coeur-de-Lion," translated from the French. It became very popular in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Wynkyn de Worde printed editions in 1509 and again in 1528.

Two other very popular English romance heroes were Guy of Warwick and Bevis of Hampton. Wynkyn de Worde printed an edition of "Guy of Warwick" in 1500 and Pynson turned out another one (n.d.). "Bevis of

88 John Scot's printing of a long Agincourt poem about 1530 shows that Henry V had assumed stature as an English hero:

Of Henry the fyfthe, noble man of warre,
Thy dedes may neuer forgotten be,
Of knygthod thou were the very lodestarre;
In thy tyme Engelande flowerd in prosperity.
Thou mortall myrour of all cheualry,
Though thou be not set amonge yᵉ worthyes nyne,
Yet wast thou a conqueroure in thy tyme.
(Hazlitt's Remains, II, 94)

89 Wingfield-Stratford seems genuinely upset at this "attempt to make an English hero out of Richard," who despised the name of Englishman. He says, "The nation had come to that stage when it was crying out for a hero, and Richard would do as well as another." Elaborating on the indiscriminate choice, he continues, "Richard, the beloved of God, literally revels in shedding blood, and to crown all his other merits, is not only a butcher, but a cannibal. He cures himself of an ague by eating a fat young Saracen, and he entertains Saladin's ambassadors on the boiled heads of their friends" (History of English Patriotism, I, 72-73).

90 STC 21007, 21008. For a discussion of the popularity of the romances in England, see Ronald S. Crane, The Voftue of Medieval Chivalric Romance During the English Renaissance (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1919).

91 STC 12540, 12541.
Hampton" also appeared in two early Tudor editions: Wynkyn de Worde (1500) and Pynson (1503?). John Lydgate made his own poetic version of the Guy legend, and early sixteenth-century chronicle writers included prose summaries and accounts of these heroes. Fabyan and Grafton, for example, both give sober historical accounts of Guy's combat with the giant Colbrand. Thus the metrical romances contributed their chivalric legendary champions to join such English archer-heroes as Robin Hood, Adam Bell, Clim of the Clough, and William of Cloudesly. That the chivalric heroes were much in English consciousness is evident not only in the recurrent editions of the romances, but in the frequent allusions to them by such writers as Skelton and the anonymous author of "The Fall of Princes" (written sometime after the death of Henry VIII), who includes Guy, Huon, Arthur, Tristam, Gawain, Lancelot, Charlemagne, and Richard the Lionhearted among his heroes who have submitted inevitably to death. Even St. George, recognized as the patron saint of England since the days of Edward III and the Order of the Garter, came to be regarded as...
as a popular English hero. Petitions for his aid and protection were outnumbered only by those to God Himself. Henry of Richmond, in clear recognition of the justification of power, urged his troops to battle at Bosworth in the name of England's patron: "This is the day of gain, and this is the time of loss; get this day victory, and be conquerors; and lose this day's battle, and be villains; and, therefore, in the name of God and Saint George, let every man courageously advance forth his standard." Some "Verses Presented to King Henry the Seventh at the Feast of St. George Celebrated at Windsor in the Third Year of his Reign" pay like respects to "St. George, patron of this place" and pray that he will "keepe our soveraine in his dignetye." Fabian records in his chronicle that in 1504-05 "vpon saynt Georges day [April 23] the Kyng went in procession in Poules church, where was shewed a legge of saynt George, closed in syluer, whych was newly sent to the Kyng." Because of his military ambitions, Henry VIII was linked often with St. George. Barclay, in nominating Henry as the chivalric champion of Christendom against the infidels, assures all Englishmen that "Saynt george

96 Felix E. Schelling notes a 1416 pageant of St. George, and a letter of Sir John Paston's (1473) declaring that he kept a man in his household to act the parts of St. George and Robin Hood, concludes that such evidence indicates a complete transfer of George from the category of saint to the role of popular hero (The English Chronicle Play (New York, 1902), pp. 7-9).
97 The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources, I, 10.
98 Printed by Dyce in his section of poems attributed to Skelton (II, 387-88), and in The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources, I, 57-58.
99 The Concordance of Histories, ed. Ellis, p. 688. Gairdner says the leg was a gift from Louis XII's minister, Cardinal d'Amboise, to show his esteem for Henry (Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, p. 82).
our patrone shall eke augment hys myght, and the poetic commentaries on English successes against the French and Scots in 1513 ringingly acknowledge St. George's blessing and aid. Skelton gives thanks to God and St. George that James is overthrown, and a long poem entitled "The Battle of Flodden Field" records that it was a standard bearing the cross of St. George which reassured and united the forces of the Earl of Surrey and his son shortly before the battle. Skelton, again, includes a proud reference to St. George in his Latin chorus celebrating the English victory at the Battle of Spurs (1513), where the Dukes of Longueville and Clermont were taken prisoner.

Alexander Barclay paid elaborate tribute to England's hero-patron in "The lyfe of saynt George" (1515), a freely expanded translation of Mantuan's *Georgius*. Just as patriotic Englishmen had come to accept most of the legends surrounding Guy of Warwick and Bevis of Hampton as historical fact, so did Barclay argue the historical truth of the legend of St. George. In his dedicatory prologue to Thomas Howard, Duke of

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101 "Against the Scottes," Dyce, I, 186, lines 140-41.
103 Dyce, I, 191.
105 Barclay's epistle to Nicholas West (printed by Nelson on pp. 7-9) is devoted mainly to a defense of the historical truth of the legend.
Norfolk, Barclay sets forth the moral value of his undertaking.

Thus is all wrytynge/our confort and doctryne
Before vs is layde/the good for to insue
yll vs infourmyth/mysfortune to declyne.
(lines 36-38)

Hence his account of St. George,

The lyght of knyght hod/wherby all may se
Example of constaunce/in hard extremyte

Truly this thynge: was oonly myn intent
to laude saynt George: our glorious patron
And moue his servantes/vnto deuocyon.

And that the lyfe: of this so noble a knyght
His greuous paynes/and mortall passyon
Shulde nowe at last/apere and come in lyght
His laude incresyng/thoroughout this regyon
And syth the wryters/of euery nacyon
Commende theyr patrons/praysynge theyr lyfe & name
Than to our patron/ought we to do the same.
(lines 48-63)

Barclay makes a conscious effort to omit the elements of pagan myth which he found in his source. Mantuan had compared the dragon which St. George fought to a long list of similar monsters encountered by classical heroes, but Barclay in his serious historical purpose leaves out "this fabulous stuff." Patrioticallly he urges the youth of England to emulate the virtuous deeds of this great hero and to seek the commonwealth's good.\(^{106}\)

In his concluding prayer Barclay declares that St. George has been chosen patron saint of England not so much for his success in battle as in recognition of his great moral and spiritual strength.

Mars hath had honoure/in many a regyon
As god of batayle/for actys excellent
But this thy royalme/the takyth for patron
For thy bolde actys/for god omnypotent

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\(^{106}\) Lines 323-29.
Boldly abyden/in purpose permanent
Thou drad no tyrant/dyenge for equyte
Graunt all thy knyghtys/of the same sect to be.
(lines 2703-09)

In 1523 Skelton pledged the complete rout of the Scottish Duke of
Albany and his co-conspirator "Sir Fraunces of Fraunce" in the name of
England's patron saint, and the long Agincourt piece printed about
1530 by John Scot heralds Henry V's embarkment for France in fifteen
fair ships blessed by the emblem of St. George.

Saynt Georges stremers sprede ouer hede,
With the armes of Englande hangynge all alonge.

The whole mood of the poem emphasizes God's support of English forces.
Just before the battle, says the author,

Saynt George was sene ouer our hoste,
Of very trouthe this syght men dyde se;
Downe was he sente by the holy goste
To gyue our kynge the vyctory.

Further references are unnecessary to show that St. George was thought
of by early Tudor Englishmen as both an English hero and a demigod.

Perhaps the greatest British hero, however, was Arthur. He first
took definite form as a romantic hero in Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth-
century Historia Regum Britanniae. There he appears as the son of Uther
Pendragon and Ygaerne, wife of Gorlois of Cornwall, and his valorous
exploits occupy a significant part of Geoffrey's immaginative account of

109Ibid., p. 106.
110There has been a wealth of comment on the Arthurian story. See
particularly E.K. Chambers, Arthur of Britain (London, 1927), and Margaret
"The kings who dwelt in Britain." William of Malmesbury, another twelfth-century historian, recognized Arthur as a great warrior in his *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, but discredited many of the stories about him. Wace of Jersey continued the legend in his *Roman de Brut* (c. 1154), based on Geoffrey's account, and created many new details including the story of the Round Table.

The Arthurian story was picked up and romantically elaborated in the French "Matter of Britain" theme by such writers as Marie de France and Chrétien de Troyes. In these legends he becomes associated with a number of personages (Merlin, Launcelot, Tristram etc.) who gradually move Arthur into the background. But Layamon, a priest of Emley, rescued Arthur in his English *Brut* (c. 1205) from the denationalized treatment of the continental romances and restored him as a champion of Britain and a great Christian king.

Just as Geoffrey's original chronicle sprang from the reign of a strong English king (Henry II), so did Edward III's great military reputation inspire a revival of the Arthur motif in the fourteenth-century. An anonymous alliterative poem, *Morte Arthure*, owes its patriotic inspiration and apparently many details to Edward's own campaigns. Of course, Malory's great *Morte Darthur* (finished by 1470), which drew on the fourteenth-century alliterative poem, superseded most previous material. It was printed in 1485 by Caxton, who emphasized the native tone in his prologue when he spoke of "The moost renomed crysten Kyng/Fyrst and chyef
of the thre best crysten and worthy/kyng Arthur/whyche ought moost to be remembred emonge vs englysshe men tofofre al other crysten kynges."\textsuperscript{112}

Caxton is as sure of Arthur's historical authenticity as Barclay was of St. George's! "Thenne al...thynges consydered there can no man resonably gaynsaye butt here was a kyng of thys lande named Arthur."\textsuperscript{113}

Henry VII with his Welsh ancestry brought the Arthurian motif into sharp nationalistic focus at the beginning of the Tudor period. One student of the sixteenth century Arthurian tradition says, "The Tudor interest in Arthur...was something more than an antiquarian revival of a glorious past of British empire. It was a revival, to be sure, but it was a revival enhanced by the belief that in the Welsh blood of Henry of Richmond the very blood of Arthur had returned to a glorious present of British Empire."\textsuperscript{114} Millican quotes several stanzas from a Welsh ode, "I'r Brenin Harri VII," written by Lewis Glyn Cothi in commemoration of Henry's victory at Bosworth.\textsuperscript{115} A major theme of the verses is Henry's relationship to Brutus, Arthur, and Cadwalader. We have already noted the courtly songs of André, Carmelianus, and John de Giglis inspired by the birth of Arthur Tudor in 1486,\textsuperscript{116} songs which forcast the projection of a mighty and heroic British dynasty in fulfillment of Merlin's prophecy. It is clear that early Tudor poets seized on the latent patriotic prestige of the Arthurian legend to glorify the new royal House.

\textsuperscript{112}The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton, p. 92.
\textsuperscript{113}Ibid., p. 93.
\textsuperscript{114}Charles B. Millican, Spenser and the Table Round (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1932), p. 9.
\textsuperscript{115}Ibid., pp. 12-13.
\textsuperscript{116}See p. 36 above.
just as they utilized the prestige of the longbow and the ideal of public
duty to advance other ends, but although the Arthurian tradition served
as a means to Henry VII's courtiers, the end which it served was itself
highly patriotic.

William Lily managed a patriotic reference to Arthur in his verses
on the entry of Charles V into London in 1522.\footnote{See C.R. Baskervill's article, "William Lily's Verse for the Entry of Charles V into London," The Huntington Library Bulletin, No. 9 (April, 1936), 1-14. The verses themselves are printed on pp. 8-14.} The occasion was a
visit which Charles paid to England to confirm the recent alliance made
between Henry VIII and himself against Francis I of France. A great deal
of splendor accompanied the event. Hall gives a day-by-day account of
the festivities.\footnote{Hall's Chronicle, p. 634 ff. Among the eight pageants performed for the entry
was one on Arthur and the Round Table. Lily, acting the flattering
host, succeeds in brushing Charles with the heroic connotations of Arthur's
deeds usually reserved for English sovereigns. The honor and glory of
Charles, he says, will be spread over all the world as other great men
have spread their honor. Among Charles's glorious and kindred predecessors
Lily lists Hannibal, David, Solomon, Alexander, and English Arthur, of
whom it is said,

The fame of worthy Arthure shall neuer apall
Among the strong Bretons/whose lyke be nat founde
Of fierse hardynesse through out all the worlde rounde.

Henry VIII's reign also witnessed the birth of a literary controversy
over Arthur's historical authenticity which was to send off sparks down
into the Stuart period. Polydore Vergil, an Italian scholar retained by
the very monarch who had first reinspired Arthurian nationalism, touched
off the argument with some relatively mild comments in his *Anglicae Historiae Libri XXVI* (Basel, 1534). Polydore Vergil muses,

> As concerninge this noble prince, for the marvelus force of his boddie, and the invincible valiaunce of his minde, his posteritee hathe allmoste vaunted and divulged suche gestes, as in our memorie emonge the Italiens ar commonlie noysed of Roland, the nephew of Charles the Great bie his sister, allbeit hee perished in the floure of his yowthe; for the common people is at this presence soe affectioned, that with woonderus admiration they extol Arthure unto the heavens. \(^{119}\)

Foreign courtiers were the order of the day under the first Tudor monarch, but Henry VIII's militant drive for British unity and shucking off of the Roman religious yoke sharpened an English sense of literary and political autonomy and heightened anti-foreign sentiment. Polydore Vergil was an Italian (although he later became naturalized in England), a Roman Catholic, and now, obviously, a skeptical commentator on the growing sacredness of British "history." John Leland, court poet, panegyricist, and "King's antiquary" reacted to Polydore Vergil's slurs in the spirit of Ascham's later attack on the "Italinate Englishmen."

The great Roman historian Livy had been able at least to acknowledge the legendary character of Roman beginnings, even though his patriotism moved him to say that other peoples might accept such accounts as humbly as they submitted to Roman domination. But Rome's star was still ascendent when Livy wrote, and his historical patriotism could afford a measure of tolerance. England's star was just beginning to rise under Henry VIII in a historical climate of importunate rigidity, at least so far as native Englishmen were concerned. The break with Rome, anti-foreign sentiment,

\(^{119}\) Quoted from Millican, *Spenser and the Table Round*, p. 26.
this early tendency to propagandize English "history," and the growing need for a great English hero—all these things combined to mould Leland's militant reply to Polydore Vergil. His *Assertio inclytissimi Arturij Regis Britanniae* (1544) rings with categorical defenses of Arthur's authenticity and links Henry VIII to the great chain of dynastic glory.\(^{120}\)

Arthur was treated historically in Hardyng's chronicle also, which was published, as we have seen, by Grafton in 1543 to provide literary support for Henry's efforts to unify the British Isles and win back a small portion of Arthur's empire.

In 1546 the strong Welsh glorification of Arthur (which had been nourished through the Middle Ages in such sources as Nennius' *Historia Brittonum*, The Black Book of Carmarthen, The Book of Aneirin, The Book of Taliesin, The Red Book of Hergest and the famous tale of Kulhwch and Olwen) burst forth again in poetic form. Arthur Kelton's "A cō mendacion of welshmen" sings the glory of the Welsh from the coming of Brut down to Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Prince Edward.\(^{121}\) Among the "kinges of renowne" Kelton gives a special place to Arthur, the "cheiffe victour" and "famous champion" of Britain. From Arthur and Cadwalader sprang Henry VII in the fourth generation.

\(^{120}\) Bale likewise took Polydore Vergil to task in *Kynge Johan* where he condemns him as a Roman who can lie with other Romans. Verity asks that Leland awake and witness a truth for his country's sake (*Kynge Johan*, ed. Collier, p. 84).

Kelton dedicated a still more elaborate work to King Edward VI in 1547 entitled "A Chronycle with a Genealogie declaryng that the Brittons and Welshemen are lineallye dyscended from Brute. Newly and very wittely compyled in Meter." Here he strikes out sharply at the "ingratitute" of Polydore Vergil and asserts the preeminence of the Welsh tradition.

We Welshemen saie for our defence
That ye Romayns, surmountyng in pride
With your Imperiall magnificence
Supposyng therby, the heuens to deuide
Came long after, our noble tribe
So that we maie, write of your estate
Not ye of us, ye came all to late.

Let other countries and other peoples have their heroes, cries Kelton, but

we Arthur most worthyest of all
Ought to remember, in our fantasy
Passyng all other, in deedes marciall
Like Mars him selfe, shinyng in glory
In his triumphes, conquest and victory
As the story of him dothe recounte
All other kinges in his tyme dyd surmount.

Edward VI is put in direct line from Brutus and Arthur in a concluding "Genealogy of the Brutes." Thus, in strong Welsh patriotism, did Kelton carry on the identification of English Tudor kings with the great line of ancient British kings--an identification which had blossomed early in the courtly celebrations of the infant Arthur Tudor as the fulfillment of Merlin's prophecy about the heroic return of Arthur. The early

122. Spenser and the Table Round, p. 31.
123. Ibid., pp. 31-32.
124. Ibid., p. 32.
practical desire to stabilize Tudor succession had clearly found its most effective articulation in a noble legend turned into history, and its emergence as a national passion would be finally recorded in the chivalric splendor of The Faerie Queene.

In addition to these celebrations of Arthur as a great British ancestor, there were steady repetitions of the Arthur motif in the newly popular chivalric romances. Caxton was beset by his aristocratic clientele to reproduce material relating to Arthur and Charlemagne. The Morte Darthur was printed twice by Wynkyn de Worde (1498 and 1528) in the wake of Caxton's 1485 edition, and William Copland printed the romance King Arthur in 1557. Further accounts of Arthur based on Geoffrey of Monmouth and influenced by the romance legends appeared in Fabyan's Chronicle and Rastell's The pastyme of people (1529). The romance element in the Arthur story was attacked by Juan Luis Vives, and Ascham later denounced Morte Darthur as the idle work of an age dominated by papistry, but these attacks only emphasized the popularity of the

125 Crane, p. 4.
126 STC 802, 803.
127 STC 804.
128 Editions were published in 1516 (STC 10659), 1533 (STC 10660), and 1542 (STC 10661, 10662).
129 STC 20724.
130 In De Officio Mariti, written in 1529 and translated by Thomas Paynell in 1533? (STC 24855), Vives lumps together the romances of Tristram, Launcelot, Ogier, Amadis, and Arthur as works "made by such as were idle and knew nothing." He continues, "These works do hurt both man and woman, for they make them wily and crafty, they kindle and stir up covetousness, inflame anger and all beastly and filthy desire." (Vives and the Renascence Education of Women, ed. Foster Watson (New York, 1912), p. 196).

Ascham, on the heels of his denunciation of the Italian influence in The Scholemaster (1570), asserts that "The whole pleasure of Morte Darthur standeth in two speciall poyntes, in open mans slaughter, and bold
romance element. While the intellectual writers were patriotically linking Arthur with England's rising historical destiny, the English populace satisfied its appetite for heroic and chivalric deeds with romantic accounts of Arthur and his knights of the round table.¹³¹

Thus pre-Elizabethan England was not without a hero. On the contrary, she had adopted a legion of them. The romances early popularized such French heroes as Charlemagne and Huon of Bordeaux, but a rising national consciousness soon began to prefer the British and English heroes: Bevis of Hampton, Guy of Warwick, Richard Coeur-de-Lion, Robin Hood, Adam Bell, Clim of the Clough, William of Cloudesly, St. George, (originally a Roman but adopted by the English in the fourteenth-century), and the mighty Arthur.¹³² To these were added England's own great warrior kings, Edward III and Henry V, in the growing stream of national pride. As English self-sufficiency grew on every level, England's contemporary kings moved to the center of the heroic stage. Henry VII and particularly Henry VIII stood forth as magnificent and beneficient English champions. In a manner reminiscent of Horace's ode to Augustus where first the gods, then the classic heroes, and finally Roman kings and patriots march in a glorious introductory procession to the great contemporary ruler,¹³³ a

¹³¹ Poetic celebrations of such individual knights as Lancelot and Gawain were very popular in early Tudor England too.

¹³² It was Bevis, Guy, and Arthur who maintained extensive popularity into the late Elizabethan period as other heroes dropped away. Even the Elizabethan advent of Spanish romances ("Amadis of Gaul," "Palmerin d'Olivia") found English expression ("Palmerin of England" and "Palladine of England").

¹³³ Book I, xii.
late pre-Elizabethan echo of the *ubi sunt* motif parades first Biblical
and Trojan heroes, then Greek, Roman, and French champions, and lastly
Arthurian and English heroes across the stage of fallen princes to the
contemporary apotheosis of heroic valor, the late Henry VIII. The
final stanzas move fondly over all the chivalric British heroes—Arthur,
Tristram, Gawain, Lancelot, Richard Coeur-de-Lion, Edward III, and Henry
V—to the one who deserved most to escape the inexorable hand of Death.

Ffor if wisdome or manhood by any meanes cold
have saued a mans liffe to endure for euer,
then King Henery the 8th soe noble and soe bold,
out of this wyde world he wold haue passed neuer.
but death, where he comes, all things doth disseuer;
where-euer he aproches, he will take place.
good Lord! bring us to thy blisse, there to remaine for euer;
ffor heere we be sure to liue but a space.
(lines 89-96)

It is but further evidence of the commanding omnipresence of the Tudor
king that he should be thus hallowed in the forefront of the world's
heroes.

**Language**

The pre-Elizabethan Englishman's pride in English martial ability
and skill with the bow, and his veneration of English popular and chiv­
alric heroes who symbolized these special talents were very real, but
they were not peculiar sixteenth-century traits. These elements had ex­
tensive traditions behind them. Chance circumstance and assertive will
both played strong parts in emphasizing their special importance to early
Tudor England. The Arthurian legend assumed new importance because Henry VII's

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134"The Fall of Princes," printed in *Percy's Folio Manuscript*, III,
169-73.
Welsh grandfather offered a link with a noble and legendary past. The revival of the Agincourt spirit with its attendant martial glory and exaltation of the bow sprang forth in the wake of Henry VIII's militant French and Scottish campaigns.

However, there was one limb on the young Tudor tree of self-sufficient pride which did a large part of its growing right in our period of examination. It was the coming of age of the English language. The fourteenth century had given signs: a statute of 1362 ordered the use of English in courts of law, Chaucer and Langland wrote in English, Gower deserted French (Speculum Meditantis) for English (Confessio Amantis) and Wycliff turned from Latin to English. The fifteenth century produced the voluminous English writings of John Lydgate and the vividly national "Libel of English Policy." Nevertheless, by the time Henry VII came to the throne a high percentage of literature and virtually all official documents were still being written in Latin and French. The great Roman and Norman conquests had left an indelible mark on England. Henry Tudor's legion of courtiers strongly reflected the foreign influence. "The Twelve Triumphs of Henry VII" was written in French, and the commendatory occasional poems of André, Carmelianus, Johannes Opicius, and the Gigli were all composed in Latin.

This situation was due, in part, to a lingering respect for French and particularly Latin as the languages of eloquence. English had gained ground rapidly with the common people in England, but in literary circles, there was widespread apprehension over the adequacy of the vernacular as
an efficient and elegant means of expression. A passage from Skelton's "Phyllyp Sparowe" (composed sometime during the period 1504-08) is often quoted to illustrate the point:

Our naturall tong is rude,
And hard to be enneude
With pullysshed termes lusty;
Our language is so rusty,
So cankered, and so full
Of frowardes, and so dull,
That if I wolde apply
To wryte ornaty,
I wot not where to fynd
Termes to serue my mynde.  

However, during the reign of Henry VIII, as English autonomy increased and as native Englishmen inherited the functions of Henry VII's foreign courtiers, there occurred a major stimulation to the English language. Quickly the force of England's isolationism and narrowing resentment of foreign forces which we examined in the third chapter got behind a new pride in the vernacular. It was not particularly surprising, for

135 For thorough discussions of this point see Elizabeth J. Sweeting, Early Tudor Criticism Linguistic & Literary (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1940), Chapter One ("The Earliest Tudor Phase"); and Richard F. Jones, The Triumph of the English Language (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1953), Chapter One ("The Uneloquent Language"). I feel that Jones over-emphasizes the negative side a bit and neglects to give enough weight to the patriotically sincere, if somewhat uncritical, expressions of faith in the eloquence of English writers and the English language. I find it rather too facile to say as he does, commenting on the early Tudor period, "Sometimes contemporary writers are accorded the gift of eloquence, but such a grant is made more in the spirit of graceful compliment than of serious criticism, and gives testimony more to the desirability of the quality than to a belief in its existence" (p. 168).

136 Dyce, I, 74, lines 774-83.

137 Commenting on the early Tudor debate over Biblical and secular translations, Elizabeth Sweeting observes, "It gained power and effectiveness from the fact that it found driving force and a unifying factor in the eager patriotic consideration of language" (p. xvi).
example, when the middle-class citizen chronicler Robert Fabyan, who was in touch with a general populace conversant only with English, carefully translated all the miscellaneous Latin verse in his chronicle into the native tongue; but when William Lily's traditional Latin verses celebrating the splendor of Charles V's entry into London (1522) are turned into English by popular demand, it is a fact worth noting. Recognizing the limited appeal of the Latin, and apparently besieged by curious laymen, an anonymous translator gives us an interesting insight into the rising influence of the popular attitude.

What ment the verses/they asken by and by?
And tyll they knowe/with them I haue no rest
And for that I sawe them/so desirously:
Enqere therof I thought it for the best/
The selfe same verses/to do be emprest
ye/and farthermore/vnder correction
Of them to make a rude translation.

So bolde I am/of that maister moost humayne
Cleped Lily: his freshe verses to translate
In to our tonge/out of their ornate vayne
Of pure latyn. To thende that to eche state
Lerned and vnlemd/they shulde be celebrate
And first in latyn/her ye shal them fynde
And after englysshed/I trust to your mynde.138

Such yielding to the popular demand for English simply to understand was only part of the trend however. Early Tudor Englishmen were beginning to appreciate the virtues of the language itself. Barclay had argued testily in 1509 that English universities could do all that foreign ones could do for English scholars, and more. The native tongue was to fall

138 Quoted from Baskervill's printing of the verses in The Huntington Library Bulletin, No. 9 (April, 1936), 8-14.
heir to a very similar insular pride. In his play *The Four Elements* (c. 1517), John Rastell says,

> For though many make books, yet unneth ye shall
> In our English tongue find any works
> Of cunning, that is regarded by clerks.
> The Greeks, the Romans, with many other mo,
> In their mother tongue wrote warks excellent.
> Then if clerks in this realm would take pain so,
> Considering that our tongue is now sufficient
> To expound any hard sentence evident,
> They might, if they would, in our English tongue
> Write works of gravity sometime among;
> For divers pregnant wits be in this land,
> As well of noble men as of mean estate,
> Which nothing but English can understand
> Then if cunning Latin books were translate
> Into English, well correct and approbate,
> All subtle science in English might be learned,
> As well as other people in their own tongues did.139

Even the intellectual Skelton, who had criticized the vernacular as "rude," "rusty," and "canked" in "Phyllyp Sparowe," acknowledged the rising prestige of English in his "Garland of Laurel" (1522-23). He had written his share of formal Latin songs on such occasions as Surrey's victory at Flodden and Henry's at Spurs, but his frequent macaronic verses half in Latin, half in English, and his extended English poems show that he too was anxious to reach the general public. Like Rastell he judges English now to be at least the equal of Latin. In the "Garland," significantly, he announces the coming of age of English in the terms of the long dominant Latin.

> Ite, Britannorum lux 0 radiosa, Britannum
> Carmina nostra pium vestrum celebrate Catullum!
> Dicite, Skeltonis vester Adonis erat;
> Dicite, Skeltonis vester Homerus erat.
> Barbara cum Latio pariter jam currite versu;
> Et licet est verbo pars maxima texta Britanno,

---

Non magis incompta nostra Thalia patet,  
Est magis inculta nec mea Calliope.  
Nec vos poeniteat livoris tela subire,  
Nec vos poeniteat rabiem tolerare caninam,  
Nam Maro dissimiles non tuit ille minas,  
Immunis nec enim Musa Nasonis erat.  

In a following English envoy to his book, Skelton again defends the vernacular:

Take no dispare,  
Though I you wraate  
After this rate  
In Englysshe letter;  
So moche the better  
Welcome shall ye  
To sum men be:  
For Latin warks  
Be good for clerkis.

(lines 1535-43)

These several passages show clearly that quite early in Tudor England pride in the self-sufficiency of the English language as an end in itself had caught up with its utilitarian function to promote knowledge among the unlearned populace. The excellence of English had come to justify its own existence. It will not surprise us then, in the light of our previous observations, to discover an attitude heavy with nationalistic prestige in the employ of other interests once again. In their biting satire on the sweeping abuses of the clergy, Roy and Barlow ingeniously borrow the authority of this native language sentiment. They had used

140Dyce, I, 421-22, lines 1521-32. Henderson's translation: "Go, radiant light of the Britons, make known our songs, your worthy British Catullus. Say Skelton was your Adonis; say Skelton was your Homer; though foreign, you now run on a par with Latin verse. The greater part is woven of British words; nor is our Thalia too uncouth, nor my Calliope too unlearned. Nor are you sorry to bear with dog's madness; for even great Virgil bore the brunt of similar threats, and even Ovid's muse was not exempt" (Complete Poems, p. 448).
other patriotic arguments to condemn the religious sects in general and Wolsey in particular, as we have seen, and now they are at it again. It was the public burning of Tyndale's English New Testament at Paul's Cross October 24, 1526, that drew their fire in "Rede me and be nott wrothe."

O my treatous it is goddis iudgement
So to recompence their madde blasphemy
Seynge they burned his holy testament
thorowe the prowde cardinals tyranny. 141

Watkyn and Jeffraye discuss the burning and the latter draws his conclusions about the motivation behind it.

Jef. By my trothe they sett hym a fyre
openly in London cite.
Wat. Who caused it so to be done?
Jef. In sothe the Bisshoppe of London
With the Cardinallis authorite
Whiche at Paulis crosse ernestly
Denounced it to be heresy
That the gospell shuld come to lyght.
Callynge theym heretikes execrable
Whiche caused the gospell venerable
To come vnto laye mens syght. 142

Although some men in England are beginning to see the errors of the Mass and to have less confidence in it, says Jeffraye, the self-conscious bishops have perceived this and denied scripture to the layman in English.

Wherfore they haue nowe restrayned
Vnder the Payne of courssynge
That no laye man do rede or loke
In eny frutfull englisshe boke
Wholy scripture concernynge.
Their frantyke foly is so pevisshe
That they contempne in Englisshe
To have the newe Testament. 143

141 "Rede Me," ed. Arber, p. 27. For good discussions of the whole problem of translating the Bible into English, see Sweeting, Chapter Two ("The Translation of the Bible"), and R.F. Jones, p. 53 ff.

142 Ibid., p. 46.

143 Ibid., p. 64.
According to More, Roman Catholics did not object to an English version of the Testament *per se*—only to this one of Tyndale's because of the numerous changes.\(^{144}\) The glosses caused most of the objection. Tyndale had substituted "congregation" for "church," "elder" for "priest," and made other changes in wording which seemed to compromise the church's tight administrative control. However, the passages quoted above distinctly show that the advocates of reform elected to believe that any English version was strictly forbidden. The scripture as revealed to them in their own native language can open the doors of true understanding to the people and unmask the wickedness and misgovernment of those who now interpret it.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{For yf the gospell were soffered} \\
\text{Of laye people frely to be red} \\
\text{In their owne moders langage} \\
\text{They shulde se at their fyngers endes} \\
\text{The abhominacions of these fendes} \\
\text{With the abusion of pilgremage,}^{145}
\end{align*}
\]

It seems likely that Roy and Barlow's broadened Reformation interpretation of the Roman Catholic objection to Tyndale's version was not entirely a mistake. Conversant and adept as these two propagandists were with the employment of various patriotic arguments to their subject, they very

\(^{144}\) As a matter of fact More defended the worth of English in his explanation of the church stand against Tyndale's Testament: "For as for that our tongue is called barbarous, is but a fantasy. For so is, as every learned man knoweth, every strange language to other. And if they would call it barren of words, there is no doubt that it is plenteous enough to express our minds in anything whereof one man hath used to speak with another." (See Berdan, *Early Tudor Poetry*, pp. 392-93; and R.F. Jones, *The Triumph of the English Language*, pp. 55-56). More himself had several volumes in English. See the bibliography on More in C.S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1954), pp. 662-63.

possibly saw that if they could extend the objection against this particular English version to "eny frutfull englisshe boke," they could commandeer the nationalistic prestige of a rising sentiment for the English language in general as a weapon against circumstances and persons whom they personally opposed. Indeed, the leading terms in which they refer to the vernacular ("Their owne moders langage") subtly invoke nationalistic connotations and contrast sharply with the unrestrained invective heaped upon those responsible for profaning it. At one point in the text eight consecutive stanzas of scurrilous abuse are heaped on Wolsey's head for his responsibility in the burning. The last one of these is typical:

O paynted pastoure/of Satan the Prophet
Ragynge courre/wrapped in a wolues skynne
O butcherly bisshop/to be a ruler vnmete
Maker of misery/occasion of synne.
God graunt the grace nowe to beginne.
Of thy dampnable dedes to be penitent
Brennynge goddis worde/the wholy testament.

just as the author of "Vox Populi" stressed God's special concern for and protection of the commoners and yeomen whom he advertised as the backbone of England's strength, so do Roy and Barlow bless their patriotically clothed argument for an English Testament with the stern approval of God. God, they declare, has three approaches to wicked men: (1) He shows them His Word in its purity, (2) He rouses some men to indict nonbelievers' faults, (3) these failing, He destroys the wicked with pestilence and sword. Two of these steps have already been taken, Englishmen are warned. God

\[146\text{In any event, from this point on the generalized interpretation of the Catholic stand became the standard weapon of Reformers.}\]
\[147\text{Ibid., p. 116.}\]
\[148\text{Ascham's verses preceding Toxophilus later declared that the King, the Book, and the Bow will save England. See p.285 above.}\]
sent Tyndale's English Testament (the Word in purity); it was burned, and God stirred up the Franciscans to this indictment ("Rede me"). If it is not heeded, God's own terrible justice will follow.

And yf they will not be refrayned
The sword of vengeance unfayned
On their frawardnes will light. 149

A companion satire, "A Proper Dyaloge between A Gentillman and a husbandman" (1530), likewise adopts the position that the church was against any English translation in a desperate attempt to keep its iniquity from uninformed Englishmen. 150

Whan they brennyd the newe testament
They pretendyd a zeale very feruent
To maynteyne onely goddes honour.
Which they sayde with protestacyon
Was obscured by translacyon
In englysshe/causynge moche errour.
But the trueth playnly to be sayde
Thys was the cause why they were a frayde
Least laye men shuld knowe theyr iniquite.
Which through goddes worde is so vttred
That it were not possyble to be suffred
Yf to rede scripture men had lyberte. 151

Significantly the passage immediately following expands the charge of hypocrisy by accusing the clergy of destroying chronicles which would have exposed their iniquity under the patriotic pretext that they included points "soundyne agaynst the kynges auncetrye."

The purely nationalistic side of the argument over English scripture stands forth most boldly in an old Lollard tract reprinted at about this

149 Ibid., p. 121.

150 These two satires are alike internally in so many ways (in addition to their both being published on the continent during the period 1528-30) that it seems likely either Roy or Barlow was also the author of the "Dyaloge."

same time under the title, "A Compendious olde treatyse shewynge howe that we ought to haue the scripture in Englysshe." Reformers strove hard to beat down charges of "new-fangled heresy," and this tract is an attempt to give historical authenticity to the translation of scripture into the vernacular. Verses by the sixteenth-century publisher explaining his purpose precede the treatise itself.

Though I am olde/clothed in barbarous wede
Nothynge gamysshed with gaye eloquency
Yet I tell the trouth; yf ye lyst to take hede
Agaynst theyr frowarde/furious frenesy
Which recken it for a great heresy
And vnto laye people greuous outrage
To haue goddes worde in their natyfe langage.153

The tract is full of Biblical references to justify the scripture in the mother tongue. When God gave the law to Moses on Mt. Sanai, he gave it to them in their mother tongue—Hebrew. The Bible must be understood by everyone; hence it must be put in native languages. After Christ ascended, the Bible was put in many tongues—Spanish, French, German, Italian etc. Bede declares how St. Oswald, King of Northumberland, interpreted the scriptures in English to his people. In the spirit of God, Bede translated a great part of the Bible into English. King Alfred turned the best laws into his own tongue and also the Psalter. Furthermore, Richard Rolle translated the Psalter into English with a gloss.

Then the sixteenth-century Reformist editor turns his criticism full on the foreign influence. Anti-papal and anti-Romanist arguments saturated the atmosphere of the imminent break with Rome, and here that swelling anti-

152 Printed by Arber, English Reprints, XXVIII (London, 1871), 170-84.
153 Ibid., p. 170.
foreign sentiment slips down a side street to stone a venerable old house long honored but deceitfully harboring iniquity and heresy. It is Latin, in fact, which is the language of rampant heresy. "Yet agaynst them that sayn ye gospell in englyshe wold make men to erre/wote they well yat we fynde in latyn langage more heretykes then of all other langages...and if men shuld hate any langage for heresy then must they hate laten." Anti-christ claims English translations corrupt the letter of the Bible, and the wrath of God shall be visited on those disciples of Antichrist who attempt to prevent God's word from reaching every man. 154

Tyndale, of course, vigorously defended his English translation of the New Testament, claiming that those who condemn the vernacular as rude are "false lyers," 155 and Erasmus agreed with Tyndale when he advocated translation of scripture into all tongues that it might be read by even the meanest sort: "I wold to god/§ ploumā wold singe a texte of the scripture at his plowbeme/And that the wever at his lowme/with this wold drive away the tediousnes of tyme." 156

Further agitation for the use of English in church proceedings appears in "The Image of Ypocresye" (c. 1533-34), where the anonymous author declares,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{The holy worde of god} \\
\text{Is by these men forbod;} \\
\text{Pater noster and Creede} \\
\text{They utterly forbeede} \\
\text{To be said or songe} \\
\text{In our vulgar tonge.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

154 Ibid., p. 173 passim.
155 The Obedience of a Christen man (1528), fol. xv².
156 Prefixed to Erasmus' Greek translation of the New Testament, translated by William Roy (printed at Antwerp, 1529). Quoted from Sweeting, p. 29.
157 Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 187, lines 175-80.
Thus did the early English Reform literature utilize the historical approach and the rising sentiment for the vernacular to further its religious goals.\footnote{158}

Following Henry VIII's separation of the English church from Roman control in 1534, the nationalistic overtones surrounding the native tongue expanded rapidly. Thomas Starkey, in his eagerly premature recording of the patriotic support Henry would have liked from Reginald Pole, apparently guessed wrong about the inscrutable cardinal's attitude toward English in the church services too. In a later visitation, Pole had articles prepared to be inquired of the clergy one of which questioned whether any of the clergy said the service or administered the sacraments in English contrary to the usual order of the church;\footnote{159} but in his "Dialogue" Starkey includes a long passage arguing for translation of the Bible and church service into English.\footnote{160} Here Starkey clearly emphasizes the strong shift which had occurred in the language of the common people. The Bible and

\footnote{158}{A later Tudor extension of the historical approach took the form of an Anglo-Saxon revival. Eleanor Adams has shown that Reformation pursuit of historical verification produced a lively interest in Old English documents during the years 1563-74. John Foxe, whose \textit{Book of Martyrs} was printed by Day in 1563, came under the influence of early Saxonists, and Bishop Parker furnished Day with a font of Anglo-Saxon types which the printer used to issue \textit{A Testimonie of Antiquitie} in 1566-67. William Lambarde's \textit{Archaionomia} (a collection of Anglo-Saxon laws) appeared in 1568, Foxe published the Gospels in Old English in 1571, and Parker brought about the printing of Asser's \textit{Life of Alfred} and the preface to Gregory's \textit{Pastoral Care} in Old English characters in 1574. See Adams' \textit{Old English Scholarship in England from 1566-1800}, Yale Studies in English, LV (New Haven, 1917), Chapter I.}

\footnote{159}{See "A Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset," ed. Cowper, p. cxxi.}

\footnote{160}{\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 135-38.}
church service were originally produced in Latin and English Common Law in French for convenient understanding of the people, but now they need to put in the vernacular to preserve that understanding.161

In another place in the "Dialogue," Starkey plays hard on the national shame of foreign language articulation of a proud native English institution. Lupset is made to say,

Our commyn lay ys wryten in the French tonge, and therin dysputyd and tought, wych, besyde that hyt ys agayne that commyn wele, ys also ignomynyouse and dyshonowre to our natyon; for as much as therby ys testyfyd our subjectyon to the Normannys. Thys thynge apperyth to me not wel; for commyn law wold euer be wryten in the commyn tong, that every man that wold myght understond the bettur such statutys and ordynancys as he ys bounden to observer.162

Pole agrees and argues further for the translation of Latin church law into English.163 Time and again Starkey thrusts his own propagandist

161 Ibid., p. 136.
162 Ibid., pp. 122-23.
163 Still another passage contends that to have the church service in a strange tongue is like trying to tell a tale to a deaf man (p. 212). All this agitation for the Englishing of scripture and church services ultimately bore fruit. The Litany was put forth in English in 1544, and an English communion service was added to the old Latin one in 1548. The Primers--Marshall's (1534); Bishop Hilsey's (1539); King Henr'y's (1545)--contributed significantly to the trend and paved the way for the English Book of Common Prayer through the Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552. Cranmer was responsible for a large part of this movement. For a scholarly and definitive treatment of the vernacular's rise in the English Primers, see Charles C. Butterworth, The English Primers (1529-1545) (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953). Butterworth points out that in the Primers printed between 1490 and 1523, although the text of the Psalms and other Biblical passages was printed exclusively in Latin, non-scriptural passages appeared increasingly in English (pp. 5-6).

Of course, this persistent swing to the vernacular did not go unopposed by advocates of the old status quo. The author of "A pore helpe" (c. 1547?) disapproves strongly of those who

fayne would haue the mattés
And eueninge songe also
In English to be do
With mariage and baptising
patriotism over the native language and Henry's assumption of church power into the mouth of Pole. Inexorably, unsuspectingly he was sealing his doom as an irresponsible ventriloquist, but it is highly significant in the history of developing English autonomy and nationalism that this man's political career should crumble in the excesses of importunate patriotic service to the crown.

Not only the intrinsic merit of English, but the honor of her noblest literary masters became a subject of pride as this area of self-sufficiency expanded. Among Leland's congratulatory Latin poems is a series of about thirty epigrams celebrating the life and death of Sir Thomas Wyatt (1542). Leland praises Wyatt as a great exponent of the English tongue and shows clearly that in addition to their growing sense of language equality, Englishmen were now consciously thinking of England as a literary rival to Italy. One of Leland's quatrains

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Burialles and other thyng
In vulgare tonge to saye and sing
(University Microfilms no. 1301 (Ohio State University Library)
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Queen Mary displayed a definite sympathy for Latin and encouraged its literary defense. In Respublica (1553), Oppression masquerading as Reformation fails to comprehend a Latin phrase uttered by Avarice whereupon the latter cries,

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Loe, here a fyne felowe to have a bisshopricke!
a verse of lattyn he cannot vnderstande,
yet dareth he presume boldelye to take in hande,
Into a-deanerie or Archdeaconrye to Choppe,
And to have the livelood awaie from a bissropp.
(lines 921-25)
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George Marshall, author of "A compendious treatise in metre" (1554), designed to show Catholicism's historical authority, criticizes the new religion in his dedicatory epistle and attacks the Protestant claim that God's word must be translated into the English tongue (Fugitive Tracts, No. XV).

titled "Anglus Par Italia" runs,

Bella suum merito jactet florentia Dantem  
Regia Petrarchae carmina Roma probet.  
Nis non inferior patrio sermone Viatus  
Eloquii secum qui decus omne tuit.  

Three of Leland's Latin poems praise Chaucer. One, "De Gallofrido Chaucero, Equite," is very like the quatrain just mentioned except that it substitutes Chaucer's name for Wyatt's. Surrey too praised Wyatt's teeming English mind,

where that some work of fame  
was dayly wrought, to turne to Britaines gyn,  
and lamented the silence of "a toung, that serued in forein realmes his king." The preface to Songes and Sonettes, written by the right honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other (1557) is even more explicit in praise of the English language as a first-rate source of eloquence.

Our tong is able in that kynde[poetry]to do as praise-worthelye as § rest[Latins, Italians, etc.] the honorable stile of the noble earle of Surrey, and the weightinesse of the depewitted air Thomas Wyat the elders verse, with seuerall graces in sondry good Englishe writers, do show abundantly. It resteth now (gentle reder) that thou thinke it not euill doon, to publish, to the honor of the Englishe tong, and for profit of the studious of Englishe eloquence, those workes which the vngentle horders vp of such treasure haue hereto­fore enuied thee.

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165 Fuller's translation:
Let Florence fair her Dante's justly boast,  
And royal Rome her Petrarch's numbered feet:  
In English Wiat both of them doth coast,  
In whom all graceful eloquence doth meet.  
(Worthies, ed. Nuttall (1840), II, 152)

166 Quoted by H.H. Hudson, The Epigram in the English Renaissance, p. 91. Leland's epigrams span the years from about 1530 to 1547 although they were not collected and printed until 1589.  
167 "Wyatt resteth here," Padelford, p. 81.  
Very early in Elizabeth's reign Barnabe Googe added to the theme of native literary excellence with the chauvinistic opinion that Thomas Phaer's Englishing of Virgil's Aeneid (nine books had been completed before Phaer's death in 1560) was superior to the original! Says Googe in "An Epytaphe of Maister Thomas Phayre,"

The hawtye verse, yat Maro wrote
made Rome to wonder muche
And meruayle none for why the Style
and waightynes was suche,
That all men judged Parnassus Mownt
had clefte her selfe in twayne.
And brought forth one, that seemd to drop
from out Mineruaes brayne.
But wonder more, maye Bryttayne great
wher Phayre dyd florysh late,
And barreyne tong with swete accord
reduced to suche estate:
That Virgils verse hath greater grace
in forrayne foote obtaynde,
Than in his own, who whilst he lyued
eche other Poets staynde.169

Later in the poem Googe praises the translations of Surrey and Grimald also. Another eulogy, "Of Edwardes of the Chappell," insists that the work of Richard Edwards, poet and Master of the Chapel Royal, would silence Plautus and Terence were they alive and make them "burne with teares" over their inferiority to this English writer!170

Pursuing the humanistic eagerness to adapt their foreign sources to English use and advantage, English translators of all sorts of tracts both

169Eglogs, Epytaphes, & Sonettes (1563), ed. Arber, p. 72. Phaer himself had undertaken the translation to protect his native language against the charge of barbarism and to encourage Englishmen to poetry by demonstrating the capacity of the English language for eloquence. See R.F. Jones, p. 170.

170Arber, p. 80. Edwards was a good poet. He wrote the Excellent Comedie of...Damon and Pithias (1571) and compiled the Paradise of Daynty Devises (published in 1576 after his death) in which many of his poems appear
ancient and modern gradually abandoned self-conscious apologies for the
native language and became preoccupied instead with preserving its self-
sufficient purity. Peter Betham, whose translation of "The preceptes of
Warre set forth by James the Erle of Purlilia" appeared in 1544, attacks
translators who "do marre and misframe our Englysshe taunge, through
theyr termes unnedefullye borowed of other languages," 171 and Thomas
Wilson's well-known Art of Rhetorique (1553) insists upon the importance
of writing about English subjects in the native language avoiding Latinisms
and other foreign affectations. 172 Roger Ascham pointedly announces that
he could have written his Toxophilus in Latin or Greek, but has preferred
rather to write, "this Englishe matter in the Englishe tongue, for
Englishe men." 173 Although it is every writer's responsibility to write
so that all can understand, "many English writers have not done so, but
vsinge straunge wordes as latin, french and Italian, do make all thinges
darke and harde." 174 Still later the theme is sounded again in Sir John
Cheke's letter to Thomas Hoby, written as a preface to Hoby's translation
of Castiglione's Courtier in 1561. Cheke declares, "I am of this opinion
that our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, vnmixt and vnmanegeled
with borowing of other tungen, wherein if we take not heed by tijm, ever
borowing and neuer payeng, she shal be fain to kep her house as bankrupt." 175

171 Censura Literaria, VII, 68-69.
172 See Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique, ed. G.H. Mair (Oxford, 1909),
in Tudor and Stuart Library, XVI, 162 ff.
174 Ibid., p. 18.
175 Quoted from Mair, p. xxix.
Certainly a growing pride in the English language was one of the strongest and most prominent threads in the pattern of early Tudor self-sufficiency. Gradually and unspectacularly the masses had come to accept English as the prime means of communication over Latin and French, and upon this massive shift Reformation apologists made propagandist hay. Fabian and the translator of Leland's occasional verses, men with no particular axes to grind, turned Latin into English simply to gain wider understanding among their readers, but the burning of Tyndale's English Testament gave Reformation woodsmen and unexpected opportunity to sharpen their weapons. Satirists such as Roy and Barlow snapped up the chance to broaden the implications of this act and eagerly exploited the current dependence of popular understanding on the vernacular. Henry VIII's break with Rome gave timely impetus to the rising cry for the native language by crystalizing the nebulous English gropings toward self-sufficient autonomy, and patriotic propagandists such as Thomas Starkey bridled at the nationalistic dishonor attending French and Latin expressions of native English institutions.

Gradually, however, a feeling for the adequacy of English itself caught up with its utilitarian value in promoting popular understanding. Rastell, Skelton, and the early translators came to regard native expression as the equal of any foreign tongue. Once again the opportunist Reformers extended this phase of native pride to condemn Latin as the language of heresy ("A Compendious olde treatyse") and elevate English as God's Word in purity ("Rede me").

Finally, toward the end of the early Tudor period, these stages of pride in the vernacular fathered the beginnings of a faith in the high
virtues of English as illustrated by her own literary masters (Chaucer, Wyatt, Surrey etc.). Although the judgment of an Englishman who blithely subordinated the great Latinist Virgil to such an undistinguished native writer as Phaer, and who insisted that the admittedly competent Richard Edwards would make Plautus and Terence burn with inferiority, was distinctly less critical than patriotic, it nevertheless boldly proclaimed a rising English consciousness.

**Law and Justice**

Law and justice had long been rockbeds of English life, but they assumed particular importance in pre-Elizabethan England as Henry VIII shook the very foundations of the legal and administrative relationship between the spiritual and the temporal spheres. Recent study has shown that although Henry's legislative enactments and his political propagandists built a structure of virtually absolute jurisdicational control in the spiritual realm, a strong medieval legacy of high respect for Divine, Natural, and Positive Law combined with an insular pride in the unique English Common Law to keep the king under a good measure of restraint in the temporal realm. ^176

Obviously it became extremely important after Henry's assumption of church power in 1534 to stabilize the king's new position on the legal grounds which had for centuries been so important to Englishmen. ^177

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^177 Wingfield-Stratford often jeopardizes his role as an objective historian of English patriotism with comments such as his aside about traditional English veneration of law. Commenting on the popular love for
Before Henry succeeded in doing this, there had been a long history of debate over the legal and jurisdictional rights of church and state forces. For centuries English kings had clashed with the Roman clergy over administrative prerogatives. By the early fifteenth century the controversy was being carried on in literary form by Jack Upland (symbolizing the Wycliffite leaning toward the state's priority) and Daw Topias, the friar (symbolizing the Catholic opposition to state control). It may be traced in Wright's *Political Poems and Songs*.  

Tudor accession preserved a temporarily amicable relationship between church and state, but even under Henry VII, whose preoccupying goals were peaceful stability and unity, benefit of clergy still rankled English temporal consciousness. Bacon records that Henry VII ordered clerks of minor orders convicted of crimes to be burned on the hand "both because they might taste some corporal punishment, and that they

such technical English outlaws as Robin Hood, Adam Bell etc., he hastens to say, "It would not be just to ascribe this trait to a sympathy with crime for crime's sake, on the part of the most law-abiding people in the world." (*History of English Patriotism*, I, 69. Italics are mine).

A long poem, "Jack Upland" (II, 16 ff.) violently attacks the church of Rome and the friars who showed obedience neither to the prelates of the church nor to the crown. A reply by Daw Topias (II, 39 ff.) denies in scurrilously indignant terms that friars are other than liege subjects to the king, but Jack Upland presses the point in his own rejoinder. He reasserts that the friars' non-allegiance to the crown and disobedience to laws of the realm was notorious, citing the practice of priors' taking friars charged with crimes out of the hands of temporal justice without the king's authority. Daw defends the right of the clergy to keep prisons and hold courts, but Upland counters that sentences and punishments of bishops are arbitrary and unjust, whereas the king caused the law to be executed by judges who are bound to administer justice with impartiality.
might carry a brand of infamy." A statute of Henry VIII's second year deprived all persons in minor orders guilty of murder or robbery of their privileges. In 1515 concern became acute when Hunne was allegedly murdered in the Tower of St. Paul's, and the next year Leo X issued a Bull deploring the fact that many in England entered into minor orders apparently not so much to proceed to the priesthood as to commit infamous crimes with impunity. Dr. Henry Standish, among others, attacked benefit of clergy (although he himself was attacked in Roy and Barlow's "Rede me" as the Judas who betrayed the Gospel brought into England by "good christen men with pure effecte"), but not until Henry's legislative campaign against the clergy did the state make much legal headway against clerical privilege.

Sanctuary, too, did much to irritate the proponents of temporal justice, and not until the monasteries were dissolved and Henry VIII had legally suppressed most of the remaining immunities was the state's clear command over spiritual forces finally realized. The final development of Henry VIII's temporal invasion of the spiritual realm left only such doctrinally inviolate functions as the conferring of grace by consecration and by the administration of the Sacraments to the clergy. All jurisdictional rights were taken over by the king in the name of

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180 Ibid.
181 See "Rede me," ed. Arber, p. 117.
182 Skelton, however, as a loyal member of the church, struck out against attempts to abolish the rights of sanctuary (see "Speke Parrot," lines 122-28).
the state.\(^{183}\)

However, this spectacular legal struggle over religion with all its attendant nationalism tends to obscure a long-standing but never so significantly spotlighted pride in England's separately developed structure of Common Law. This too had latent nationalistic connotations, although not the sort which inspired writers very often to eulogistic praise.

To Henry II England chiefly owes her government by Common Law rather than by Roman Civil Law. Virtually all the continental powers modeled their legal structures on the great Justinian code, but Henry II worked through his centralizing *curia regis* and sent his itinerant justices throughout the land to develop and spread a single set of unified English national laws. The introduction of the jury as a normal part of legal procedure was one of Henry II's lasting achievements, and although the jury was used in Henry II's day principally to decide ownership or possession of land, and although jurors were then selected on the basis of previous knowledge of facts and already formed opinions rather than ignorance of facts and impartiality, the jury system had the germ of representative government in it and ultimately became the protector of popular liberties and a boon to Common Law.

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\(^{183}\)Baumer says,

It is evident that by the end of his reign Henry VIII had acceded to a position of preeminence within the ecclesiastical sphere of which his predecessors had never dreamed. The Royal Supremacy of 1547 was a far cry from the medieval position which the king had held in relation to the Church in 1529. Still hampered by natural and positive law in the secular realm...he had become a sovereign indeed with sovereign power in respect to the Church, absolute, above parliamentary or convocational control. (*Early Tudor Theory of Kingship*, pp. 31-32)
Thus the Human Law with which men were continually in contact—the Human Law which itself is but a reflection of higher and more immutable kinds of law—had its principal and superior expression to Englishmen in the Common Law.\textsuperscript{184} Down into the Tudor period Englishmen acknowledged their unique legacy with a kind of passive pride, and just as it required foreign criticism to rouse pre-Elizabethan Englishmen to literary defense of their own virtue, so did it require an apparent threat to the traditional adequacy of the Common Law to stir them to defend its character. Under Henry VIII the prerogative courts—Chancery, Star Chamber, and Requests—began more and more boldly to interpret and extend and sometimes even to revise the decisions of the Common Law in the name of justice and strong government.\textsuperscript{185} Common lawyers became jealous over the increasing influence of the prerogative courts. Wolsey was accused of granting injunctions to stay the Common Laws, and in 1547 Chancellor Wriothesley was indicted for having "many times altered and violated" the laws of the realm through decrees made in Chancery.\textsuperscript{186} In fact a "serjeant at the laws of England"

\textsuperscript{184} The medieval conception of law derived largely from St. Thomas Aquinas, who held in his \textit{Summa Theologica} that there are four closely interrelated kinds of law: (1) Eternal Law, identified with God's reason and beyond man's comprehension, (2) Natural Law, an imperfect reflection of Eternal Law in man's nature directing him to strive for the perfect life, (3) Divine Law, the reflection of Eternal Law in the scriptures, and (4) Human Law, the formal expression of Natural Law in man-made codes of law. See the summary in Baumer, p. 7. For a good discussion of how reverently medieval Englishmen regarded Common Law (their own native expression of Human Law), see the second chapter of C.H. McIlwain's \textit{The High Court of Parliament and its Supremacy} (New Haven, 1910).


\textsuperscript{186} Baumer, p. 178.
was moved to write a strong defense of Common Law against the encroachments of Chancery after Christopher St. German's *Doctor and Student* appeared in 1530. However, this militant defense was apparently the result of apprehensive sensitivity more than anything else, for St. German and other propagandists on law and the royal authority did not maintain in their tracts that the king was a law unto himself who could ride roughshod over the tenets of Common Law. Rather they argued that the prerogative courts were responsible for promoting the spirit and intent of the sometimes inequitable rigidity of the Common Law.¹⁸⁷

As one might expect, the fine points of law were no more the subject of pre-Elizabethan Tudor poetry and verse than were the theoretical examinations of kingship. Prose propagandists such as Christopher St. German carried the full weight of justifying Henry's precise legal position; but just as the theory of early Tudor kingship dealt its heavy impact on poetry and verse through the *actuality* of each contemporary monarch's authoritative existence, so did the general concern and respect for law and justice leave its indelible stamp on these same poets and versifiers.

Henry of Richmond's supposed exhortation to his troops at Bosworth gains its authority from the justifications of both Divine and Human Law against tyrannous acts. Henry declares,

> I doubt not but God will rather aid us: yea, (and fight for us) than see us vanquished and profligated, by such as neither fear Him nor His laws, nor yet regard justice or

¹⁸⁷ Baumer observes, "They did not regard the prerogative courts as a threat to the common law, nor did they directly oppose the jurisdiction of the king's council to the ordinary courts. They looked on chancery, star chamber, and requests rather as necessary instruments in softening the rigidity of the common law, and in extending it in the interest of justice" (pp. 180-81).
honesty. Our cause is so just, that no enterprise can be of more virtue both by the laws Divine and Civil; for, what can be a more honest, goodly, or godly quarrel, than to fight against a captain being an homicide and murderer of his own blood and progeny?188

Furthermore, André reminds us in "The Twelve Triumphs of Henry VII,"189 it is Henry's justice through the enforcement of law (symbolized by the bow) which enabled the first Tudor king to drive robbers from the land. The Venetian ambassador who visited England at the turn of the century disagreed with André's patriotic claim, however. For all England's elaborate judicial and punitive structure, he says, "there is no country in the world where there are so many thieves and robbers as in England."190 Nevertheless, a bit earlier in his account the ambassador had been impressed that although Englishmen generally seemed to "hate their present, and extol their dead sovereigns," they "reject the Cesarean code of laws, and adopt those given to them by their own kings."191

The Venetian's observation that England's lawlessness seemed to be the bad effect of an excellent native legal structure to prevent it received a more detailed commentary from Barclay in his Ship of Fools. In a section titled, "Of euyl Counsellours, Juges and men of lawe," Barclay complains that these officers ignore their public duty and "labour for theyr pryuate auayle." They know neither Civil Law nor Canon Law.

188 The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources, I, 7.
189 See the Fifth Exploit, Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, pp. 140-41.
190 "A Relation," p. 34.
191 Ibid., p. 32.
Rome, he warns, got not its honor or empire through such selfish legal irresponsibility.

When noble Rome all the world dyd goueme
Theyr counsellers were olde men iust and prudent
Whiche egally dyd every thynge descerne
Wherby theyr Empyre became so excellent
But nowe a dayes he shall haue his intent
That hath most golde, and so it is befall
That aungels worke wonders in westmynster hall. 192

Barclay follows this jibe with a further charge that money has usurped the function of justice in English courts of law, then, in an original envoy, calls on the youth of England—particularly the students of Chancery—to release Justice and make her again supreme.

Therfore ye yonge Studentes of the Chauncery:
(I speke nat to the olde the Cure of them is past)
Remember that Justyce longe hath in bondage be
Reduce ye hir nowe vnto lybertye at the last.
Endeuer you hir bondes to louse or to brast
Hir raunsome is payde and more by a thousande pounde
And yet alas the lady Justyce lyeth bounde
...
Lay to your handes and helpe hir from daungere
And hir restore vnto his lybertye
That pore men and monyles may hir onys se. 193

Even though Barclay's long satire was published in 1509, shortly after Henry VIII ascended the throne, the poet's wide-ranging purpose gave him a broad perspective. Speaking as he was to all England, he called urgently for the return of Justice. But the laws of courtly flattery lent quite a different tone to poets who addressed Henry directly on his coronation. Skelton, for example, does not need to hope. He is confidently

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192 Ship of Fools, ed. Jamieson, I, 25. Westminster Hall was the home of the Common Pleas Court.
193 Ibid., pp. 27-28.
sure that Henry's reign will bring back Justice.

Astrea, Justice hight,
That from the starry sky
Shall now come and do right,
This hundred yeare scantily
A man kowd not aspy
That Right dwelt vs among, 194
And that was the more wrong.

To further indulge his flattery of the new king, Skelton predicts that the abuses of recent years (perpetrated not by Henry VII, naturally, but by his extortionist ministers, Empson and Dudley) will yield to the firm enforcement of law under Henry VIII.

Right shall the foxis chare,
The wolvis, the beris also,
That wroght have moche care,
And brought Englond in wo:
They shall wirry no mo,
Nor wrote the Rosary
By extort trecherly:

Of this our noble king
The law they shall not breke;
They shall com to rekening;
No man for them wil speke. 195

More too, in his deep belief in the temporal king's moral responsibility to his subjects, could praise Henry VIII's incipient justice in 1509. In his coronation review of Henry VIII's redress of former evils, More emphasizes the trial and confinement of plotters and informers (probably a reference to Empson and Dudley) and the restoration of law to its ancient force and dignity. 196

195 Ibid., p. x. Henry did yield to the public outcry: he sanctioned the trial and execution (on August 17, 1510) of the two ministers whom his father had so staunchly protected.
Reformation literature began early, of course, to criticize Roman encroachments on English laws. The author of "The Ruyn' of a Ream" indignantly denounces the Romish clergy that pours money into papal coffers for Bulls and dispensations to the dishonor of English law.

For thousands they goeth, ye may be Asuryd;  
Theyre honours to opethyne, owr lawys be Subvertyd  
evyre worse & worse.  
(lines 151-53)

While the Reformation attack on Romish corruption of English institutions gathered momentum, John Skelton (now disenchanted) broadcast Wolsey's ministerial corruption of those same native institutions. Playing on the traditional English respect for law, he hammers one of his sharpest spikes into his sweeping indictment of the cardinal's contempt for public service. Typically, he generalizes in "Speke Parrot":

So many thevys hangyd, and thevys never the lesse;  
So myche prisonment ffors matyrys not worthe an hawe;  
So myche papers weryng for ryghte a smalle exesse;  
So myche pelory pajauntes vndyr colower of good lawe;  
So myche townyng on the cooke stole for every guy gaw;  
So myche mokkyshye makyng of statutes of array;--  
Syns Dewcalyons flodde was nevyr, I dar sey.  
(lines 470-76)

But in "Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?" Skelton traces Wolsey's direct contempt for the Common Law and his highlanded dealing in the encroaching prerogative courts of Chancery and Star Chamber.

Juges of the kynges lawes,  
He countys them foles and dawes;  
Sergyantes of the coyfe eke,  
He sayth they are to seke  
In pletynge of theyr case  
At the Commune Place,  
Or at the Kynges Benche;  
He wryngeth them suche a wrenche,  
That all our lerned men  
Dare nat set theyr penne  
To plete a trew tryall  
Within Westmynster hall;
In the Chauncery where he sitteth,
But suche as he admittest
None so hardy to speke;
He sayth, thou huddypake,
Thy lernynge is to lowde,
Thy tonge is nat well thowde,
To seke before our grace;
And openly in that place
He rages and he raues,
And calst them cankerd knaues:
Thus royally he dothe deale
Vnder the kynges brode seale;
And in the Checker he them cheks;
In the Ster Chambre he noddis and beks,197
And bereth him there so stowte,
That no man dare rowte,
Duke, erle, baron, nor lorde,
But to his sentence must accorde;
Whether he be knyght or squyre
All men must folow his desyre.
(lines 311-42)

In a later passage the disgruntled poet returns once again to Wolseyl's
countempt for every aspect of religious and Common Law.

   Strawe for lawe canon,
   Or for the lawe common,
   Or for lawe cyuyll!
   It shall be as he wyll.
    (lines 413-16)

All his designs are despotically thrust forward in the prerogative courts

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197In another place Skelton elaborates on Wolsey's tyrannical domination in Star Chamber.

   He is set so hye
   In his ierarchy
   Of frantycke frenesy
   And follyshe fantasy,
   That in the Chambre of Starres
   All maters there he marres;
   Clappynge his rod on the borde,
   No man dare speke a worde,
   For he hathe all the sayenge,
   Without any renayenge.
    (lines 181-90)
"vnder the kynges brode seale." Once again Skelton has called a patriotically charged subject (the English veneration for their own Common Law) to promote his own personal attack on his arch enemy.

English belief in the high authority of law did not escape the attention of those who fought for the old religious regime, either. In his ballad supporting the Pilgrimage of Grace, Dr. John Pickering tried hard, as we have seen, to walk the perilous tightrope between advocating religious rebellion and maintaining loyalty to the crown. At a time when virtually every nationalistic argument seemed to have been identified with the temporal move against the religious houses, perceptive Roman Catholics maneuvered desperately to avoid being cornered and branded as foreign and unpatriotic influences. Pickering's adroit maneuvering took several forms. His most obvious intent was to show that the pilgrims were not rising against the king, but only "faith to mayntene, and Ryght of this londe." But this was a negative virtue; Pickering needed a positive argument. Since nationalistic sentiment seemed to have closed ranks behind the crown's bold policy, Pickering piped his "soldiers" to the fight with a Biblical example heavy with religious, legal, and nationalistic connotations. Let the valiant Maccabees be your inspiration, he cries to the outnumbered pilgrims.

The machabies beyng fewe in the comparason of ther enmys, that in number wer many mo,

198 It is clear that Wolsey did give his support to the prerogative courts. He was indicted in 1529 for reversing Common Law decisions, and once stopped a suit brought against him in the Common Pleas with the argument that such a court ought not to have jurisdiction over a chancellor (see Baumer, op. cit., pp. 179-80).
By thus identifying militant opposition to the dissolution with the cause of the pre-Christian Jewish family which led the patriotic crusade to retrieve Jewish political, legal, and religious life from Syrian domination, Pickering sought to counter the nationalistic sympathy for the dissolution which centered in the English crown. The authority of law was a significant support to Maccabean opposition, Pickering asserts, at just this time when Henry was directing the whole weight of his commandeered legal prerogative against the Romish influence.  

In propagandizing Henry's legal autonomy, Starkey drew on the authority

199 "An Exhortacyon to the Nobylles and Commons of the Northe," lines 49-60. Italics are mine.

200 Together with the later Robin Hood allegory, "The overthowe of the Abbyes," this piece gives a revealing picture of how anti-dissolution sentiment (which symbolized the old religion forces) sought patriotic and nationalistic connections to combat insular support for Henry's break with Rome and assumption of power in the spiritual realm. Pickering identified the Pilgrimage rebels' cause with Maccabean nationalism against Syrian domination—an argument which is all the more significant when we remember that Cardinal Morton, anxious to raise money for Henry VII, had also cited the Maccabees as examples of patriotic duty (see Mackie, The Earlier Tudors, p. 140)—and the "Overthowe" author brought the nationalistic connotations back home by personifying the victims of the dissolution as noble English archer-heroes.
of both Roman Civil Law and English Common Law. In a tract entitled "An exhortation to the people instructynge theym to unitie and obedience" (1535), Starkey reminded his readers of Justinian's law code, which in one part seemed to grant legislative freedom to areas of Roman influence. Starkey centered his attention on a Civil Law decree recognizing the ecclesiastical independence of the see of Constantinople under the archbishop, but he ignored the context which granted precedence to the Pope over the archbishop at Constantinople. Thus he interpreted the Roman Civil Law in terms of the national freedom which Henry was seeking to establish. When Pole is made to argue in the "Dialogue" for the English adoption of Roman law, it is this same motif of national independence which stands out, for Pole favors a law which would prohibit any cause being sued outside of England "except causys of scysme in the fayth." However, Lupset points out that the English tradition of Common Law would make acceptance of Roman law difficult in England. In another part of the "Dialogue," as we have noted, Lupset argues strenuously for the translation of the Common Law into English so that England may escape a reminder that she had been subjected by the Normans.

Popular commentators on the economic and spiritual state of England paid their respects to law too. The author of "Now a Dayes" grieves over contemporary degeneration and reminds his readers that reverence for law and obedience to the prince were the staples upon which England thrived in olden times.

Than made they such ordynaunce,
that every man with Reverence

201 See Zeeveld, Foundations of Tudor Policy, pp. 130-32.
Vnder law and obedience
ther prince should obey;
And while this people pure,
ther goodnes Dede endure,
So long, I yow ensure,
this lond myght not Decay.
(lines 25-32)

Now, however, all has changed and laws are exploited to advance the rich
and trample on the poor. The poor man, forced to thievery by circumstances
beyond his control, becomes the ironic victim of "justice".

Yff he stele ffor necessite,
Ther ys none other remedye
But the law will shortlye
Hang him all save the hedd.

And thus the people with gret cruelte
vse the law with extremyte;
The world ys without all
pite.203
(lines 101-07)

Running through the poem is a definite sensitivity about the rich man's
ability to circumvent the traditional protection of the poor by the
Common Law.

A Rich man withowt wysdom,
A wyse man without discresion,

203 More had expressed the same attitude in indignant detail in the
first book of Utopia. After discussing a variety of contemporary English
ills conducive to thievery, including the oppressive enclosure movement,
More emphasizes the irony of severe punishment.

Dowteles, ongles yowe fynde a remedye for thyes enormytyes,
yowe shall in vayne auuance your selfes of executinge iustice
vpon fellones...For by sufferynge your youthe wantonlye and
viciouslye to be brought up, and to be infected even from theyr
tender age by lytle and lytle wyth vyce; than a goddes name to
be punyshed, when they commyte the same faultes after they be
comm to mennes state, whiche from ther youthe they were euer
lyke to doo: in thyse pointe, I praye yowe, what other thynge
dooye, then make theues, and then punyshe them?
(Utopia, p. 58)
A foole naturall for his promotion,  
A Ruler shal become;  
Than shall he mervelous statutes cry,  
made by his grete pollicy,  
The Rich to be avaunce d therby,  
and the poore cleane vndone.  
(lines 121-28)

Another piece on the same theme indicts corrupt lawyers for perverting the law and using their office "the truth to refuse." Still another lament over England's decay carried forward in the Piers Ploughman tradition gives a very interesting commentary on corruption of English law.

Entitled "Conscience," it traces the frustrating contemporary experiences of Langland's moral personification who won the king to his side, reproved Mede, brought sinners to repentence, and sent them seeking for truth. The author, walking "by one wood side" meets a ragged old man (Conscience) who tells him that he was, when young, honored by dukes and in courts of law. Landlords obeyed him, and merchants. No usury was practiced. Then in came Pride, Covetousness, Lechery, and Usury, who together overthrew him. He tried to settle several places but always he was told to move on. He was unwelcome in London, and after being driven off by some cobblers, he sought refuge where he was sure he would be sympathetically received—at the courts of law.

"Then did I remember & call to my minde  
they court of conscience where once I did sit,  
not doubting but there some favor I shold find,  
for my name & the place agreed soe fitt.  
but therof my purpose I fayled a whitt,

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205 Printed in Percy's Folio Manuscript, II, 183-89. The date is uncertain. Furnivall can only conjecture that it is later than 1497.
for the judge did use my name in every condition
for Lawyers with their gu[i][lle]tts wold get a dismissal.

"then westminster hall was noe place for me;
good god! how the Lawyers began to assemble;
& fearfull they were lest there I shold be!
the silly poore clarkes began to trem belle;
I showed them my cause, & did not dissemble.
soe then they gaue me some mony my charges to beare,
but they swore me on a booke I must never come there.206
(lines 74-87)

Now the editors of the Percy Folio do not identify it, but it seems
clear that the "court of conscience" of line 75 is none other than the
Court of Chancery. Cavendish in his Life of Cardinal Wolsey quotes a
speech by Wolsey wherein the cardinal defends the Chancery Court as a
mitigator of the Common Law. Wolsey says,

The king ought of his royal dignity and prerogative to
mitigate the rigour of the law, where conscience hath the
most force; therefore, in his royal place of equal justice,
he hath constitute a chancellor, an officer to execute justice
with clemency, where conscience is opposed by the rigour of
the law. And therefore the Court of Chancery hath been hereto­
fore commonly called the Court of Conscience; because it hath
jurisdiction to command the high ministers of the common law
to spare execution and judgment, where conscience hath most
effect.207

Exiled from Chancery, Conscience goes to "Westminster hall" (home of the
Court of Common Pleas), but there too he is greeted with fearful animos­
ity and sent away once again. Thus we have a sixteenth-century allegor­i­
cal indictment in the medieval tradition, condemning on the one hand
the prerogative Chancery Court, where Conscience notes ironically that
the judge "did use my name in every condition" as an excuse to dismiss
or mitigate punishment, and on the other hand the Common Law Courts,

206 The word "gu[i][lle]tts" in line 80 means quibbles, subtleties.
207 The Life of Cardinal Wolsey. By George Cavendish, his Gentle­
man Usher. From the Original Autograph Manuscript, ed. Samuel W.
where the corrupt lawyers resort typically to bribery to get rid of Conscience.

A spot review at this point will reveal a familiar pattern. Barclay, a university product and an early champion of Henry VIII, had directed his moral barbs at the Common Law Courts ("aungels worke wonders in westmynster hall"), and looked to a royal prerogative court for the return of "lady Justyce" (his appeal is to the "yonge Studentes of the Chauncery"). Contrarily, Skelton, in his preoccupying campaign against Wolsey, abhorred the cardinal's meddling contempt for Common Law and sought bitterly to expose his presumptuous maneuvering in the acquiescent prerogative Courts of Chancery and Star Chamber. But the anonymous popular moralist who wrote "Conscience," unfettered as he was by courtly ties or ministerial hatred, and intent on purging England of her pride and iniquity, claps his sweeping ethical judgment upon both Common Law and prerogative courts indiscriminately. If the Common Pleas Court is polluted with avarice and bribery, the Chancery Court is saturated with hypocrisy and pretended mercy. This changing emphasis shows once again how varying particular motives shaped pre-Elizabethan approaches to national or institutional questions.

The reigns of Edward VI and Mary I saw no slackening in the importance of law. In his "Voyce of the laste trumpet" (1550), Robert Crowley devotes some 131 lines to the theme. Reminding lawyers that "thy callyng is good and godly," he reprimands them for abusing their proper function out of greed and charges them to fulfill the law's originally pure purpose.

Fyrst call vnto thy memorye
For what cause the laws wer fyrst made;
And then apply the busily
To the same ende to vse thy trade.
The lawes were made, undoubtedly
That al suche men as are oppreste,
Myght in the same fynde remedy,
And leade their lyues in quiet reste.
(lines 901-08)

The Protestant climate of Edward's rule interpreted the law as the agent and protector of Reformation, quite naturally. William Gray's New Year's gifts to Somerset in 1550 and 1551 complain that the justices who know how some Romish representatives of the clergy are trying to make the Reformed service like the old popish Mass "stand by and her yt, and kepe the kynges pese," and even the anonymous author of a ballad to the new queen in 1553 reacted to Mary's Latin Mass before Parliament on October 5 with the solemn warning that "all is done with-out a lawe."  

Nevertheless, Northumberland's attempt to divert the Tudor line gave early Marian versifiers, particularly Catholics, an excellent chance to eulogize the rightful accession of a lawful queen and to condemn the illegal forces that temporarily opposed her. Writers such as George Cavendish took advantage of Mary's vigorous preference for the old religion to condemn that tireless Reformation agent, Thomas Cromwell, for inventing "lawes God's people to confound." Cavendish attributes Cromwell's downfall mainly to his disobedience of law and has him confess in the "Metrical Visions," "thus straytly the lawes my subtill wytt abused."  

A summary, which is now in order, will show that pre-Elizabethan poets and versifiers did not distinguish the various levels of law (Eternal, Natural, Divine, Positive, Human etc.) which came down from the Middle Ages.

208 Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 420.
209 Ibid., I, 433.
210 Ed. Singer, p. 54.
Rather they pleaded their respective causes in the name of law generally. But a close examination of the theme reveals that early Tudor poets were concerned almost exclusively with Human Law—in other words with English Common Law, which they regarded as a proud native institution, although its original purity seemed to have been greatly corrupted by irresponsible contemporary practitioners. Possessing such authority, the law was inevitably used as were the bow and the idea of public duty to elaborate or justify particular causes. Barclay regarded it as a potential agent for returning moral justice to England; Skelton made its exploitation a major witness in his prosecution of Wolsey; anti-papal forces used it to advance the cause of English autonomy (Starkey even interpreted Roman law to nationalistic advantage); Roman Catholics interpreted it to their advantage (in support of the Pilgrimage of Grace, Pickering transferred the sanction of law to Maccabean nationalism; Cavendish indicted Cromwell for proceeding against the law); popular economic critics pleaded the cause of the poor through perversion of the legal structure by the rich; the "Conscience" moralist used the status of English law as a measure of national corruption and immorality; and finally Englishmen united to proclaim Mary's rightful accession to the throne in the name of the law. Beyond a doubt Englishmen looked upon the law, for all its administrative shortcomings, as one of their most valuable native resources.

Development and Expansion

Although isolationism and anti-foreign sentiment were common in early Tudor England, a word should be said about the birth of broader concerns. Sprinkled sparsely in among such familiar admonitions as Barclay's to forget
geographical exploration for self-knowledge, and Crowley's not to speak and worry about foreign developments, were some early suggestions that greatness lay beyond the sea. Fleeting and hesitant though they were, they represented a strong English confidence and pride in embryo.

Pre-Elizabethan writers produced nothing like the mid-fifteenth-century "Libel of English Policy," with its remarkably sustained sense of England's commercial position in the world, but they did have occasional flashes of vision and perspective. Bernard André, in a Latin song on Henry's victory at Bosworth in 1485, punctuates his formal, mythological eulogy with an observation that hulls of English pine may now sail through the vast waters of the Caspian Sea to the far-off land of the Scythians. More's first piece on Henry VIII's coronation praises the new king for opening the sea for trade and lightening the harsh duties on merchants. Early in Edward VI's reign the author of "Vox Populi" struck out at cowardly and unimaginative merchants who, fearful of becoming "ventring men," hugged local waters to the discredit of English enterprise.

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\text{Lett marchant men goe sayle,} \\
\text{for that ys ther trwe waylle.} \\
\text{(lines 282-83)}
\]

An Oxford mathematician and cosmographer named Robert Record published The Castle of Knowledge (1556) in "explication of the sphere" to facilitate the search for a short route to Cathay.

In addition to these occasional commercial looks beyond the immediate

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211 Memorial of King Henry the Seventh, p. 36.
212 See STC 20796; and Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 525.
English horizon, there was, of course, the aroused consciousness of former empire. The fifteenth century had witnessed the steady decline of English foreign power, although writers such as John Hardyng urged English kings to seek again the great empire bequeathed by Edward III and Henry V. Driven back and back until she was actually in danger of losing all her continental holdings, England woke to the immense strategic importance of Calais. A fifteenth-century commentator on the siege of Calais declared,

Only God, in whom ys all..., Sav Caleys that ryall towne, That ever yt mot wel cheve Unto the crown of merly Yngland, Whils that this world wyll stand, That neany emmys ytt greve. Lytelle wote the fool, Who my3th ches, What harm yt wer God Caleys to lese.213

Down into the Tudor period this proud concern over England's base across the channel pricked men's consciousness, and its ultimate loss to French arms in 1558 was a crushing blow to English self-respect.

However, before this calamity, Henry VIII had stirred Englishmen to renewed interest in empire. More's indignant blasts at Brixius, and Skelton's spirited celebrations of the battles of Spurs and Flodden Field were struck off in response to Henry's campaign for his "rights" in France. Skelton's Latin chorus on English victory at Spurs confidently warns the Gauls that their whole land will soon submit to Henry's sword.

Moreover, Grafton's reprinting of Hardyng's Chronicle in 1543 was presented partially as a support of Henry VIII's imperial designs. In his "Proheme" Hardyng had reviewed the right of English kings to the realms of France, Scotland, Portugal, and even Jerusalem. Edward III, for

213Political Poems and Songs, II, 156.
example, had clear title to France:

Edward the thyrde that was king of this land
By ryght title and very iuste descent,
And kyng of Fraunce, as I can vnderstande,
By his mother quene Isabell the gent,
Sister and heyre of Charles by hole entent;
For Charles dyed without any chylde,
The ryght descent vnto his mother mylde.

Why shulde ye French forbarre you of your right,
Sith God of Heauen, in libro Numeri,
Gaue to Moises this lawe that nowe is lyght,
In the chapiter seuen and twenty,
By these wordes, the daughte ryghtfully
Of Salphaat aske the fathers heritage,
Geue them in possessyon amongethe cosynage.

Hardyng takes up each of Edward III's sons and traces his lineage. He sees for his addressee "my lorde of Yorke" right title to a good part of the world. He even claims title to Jerusalem for the English crown through "erle Geffraye," a Plantagenet who was eldest son of Fouke, King of Jerusalem; for Geffraye's son was none other than Henry II. Grafton's own comments indicate that he was much more concerned with Hardyng's attitude toward Scotland than he was with English empire, but the chronicle clearly sheds implicit praise upon early Tudor campaigns, and it joins the Agincourt revival in poetic commendation of Henry VIII's own imperialism.

However, it was the New World rather than the continent which was ultimately to pay huge rewards to English expansion. Barclay had noticed the Spanish and Portuguese explorations in the Ship of Fools (1509), but had directed Englishmen back to microcosmic self-knowledge. Upon two other Englishmen, the western discoveries had a stronger effect,

214 The Chronicle of John Hardyng...together with the Continuation by Richard Grafton, ed. Ellis, p. 16. Shakespeare takes over this argument in Henry V, where the Archbishop of Canterbury justifies his king's claim to France (Act I, scene ii).
215 Ibid., p. 22.
216 See p. 56 above.
however. It seems fairly well established, now, that More drew on Vespucci's Quattuor...nauigationes (published in 1507) for atmosphere and some of the details of his non-existent society.\textsuperscript{217} Hythlodaye is introduced to More as one who has been on one of Vespucci's voyages of discovery,\textsuperscript{218} and his ultimate description of Utopia strongly reflects Vespucci's account of natives who despise gold and have communal habits.

About an English acquaintance who affected French manners, More could be indignantly insular,\textsuperscript{219} but in his philosophic creation of the ideal society, he ranged far beyond the compromising actualities of English and continental life to the new and exciting reports of a distant and newly discovered society.

At about this same time, an English dramatic poet viewed the western discoveries in a more direct and practical light. In The Four Elements (c. 1517) More's brother-in-law, John Rastell, muses enviously about what a desirable thing it would have been if the English had first taken possession of the New World.

\begin{verbatim}
Oh, what a thing had be then,
If that they that be Englishmen
Might have been the first of all
That there should have taken possession,
And made first building and habitation,
A memory perpetual!
And also what an honourable thing,
Both to the realm and to the king,
To have had his dominion extending
There into so far a ground,
Which the noble king of late memory,
The most wise prince the seventh Herry,
Caused first for to be found.\textsuperscript{220}
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{218}Utopia, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{219}See p. 59 above.
However, this was unusual sentiment in pre-Elizabethan England. John Cabot's voyage to North America in 1497 was a private venture, although Henry VII granted him a monopoly of trade in any lands he should discover, and even though Cabot was rewarded upon his return with a pension, the voyage seems not to have excited poetic comment. So did the occasional attempts to discover a new route to the east during Henry VIII's reign go relatively unacknowledged by the poets and versifiers. Not until 1553 was a strong effort made to find an eastern route, but Sir Hugh Willoughby, who led three ships to the northeast, perished in the arctic winter to dim the achievement of his second in command, Richard Chancellor, who did succeed in establishing commercial relations with Russia. Henry VIII founded the royal navy and William Hawkins made trading voyages to Brazil in the 1530's but not until the days of Sir John Hawkins, Frobisher, Gilbert, and Drake did English seamen push their way into the main stream of nationalism and finally realize the glory that had for so long surrounded the English archer and soldier.

**God's Concern for England**

It seems fitting to conclude this chapter with a brief discussion of a power which although universal was at least thought of as a native English resource. Other nations and groups claimed God's special concern, of course, but Tudor Englishmen seemed to be particularly convinced that they were divinely favored.

Certainly, two of the most often-acknowledged recipients of God's propitious regard were the sovereign and England's fighting forces. All four pre-Elizabethan Tudor monarchs enjoyed the claim of divine appointment,
as we observed in the preceding chapter. This theory was based largely upon Biblical suggestions about the God-king relationship, but Tudor Englishmen extended this general sanction and interpreted their own sovereigns as agents of God's special concern for England. John de Giglis celebrated Henry VII as the God-inspired avenger of tyranny after he put down Richard, but Henry's peaceful policy quickly was identified with God's merciful will. Bernard André greeted Henry's return from Gaul in 1492 with a Latin eulogy declaring that love of peace moved immortal God, observing from on high the lands shattered by a martial whirlwind, to close the horrid jaws of Mars with a hundred fetters. André welcomes Henry as a noble and all-conquering king who symbolizes the heaven-directed destiny of England.

The general theme of André's "Twelve Triumphs of Henry VII" is bathed in the feeling that nothing can injure those whom God means to help. God helped Henry conquer Charles VIII of France (first exploit); God accomplished the destruction of a usurping tyrant (Richard III) through Henry (third exploit);222 through the gift of Grace, Henry subdued the Scottish king (eighth exploit); God sustains and protects the English king in his fight against the envious foreign interference of Maximilian, Philip of Burgundy, and Margaret of Burgundy (ninth exploit); and ultimately André elevates Henry VII to greater stature than his legendary counterpart, Hercules, through the implied judgment

221 Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, pp. 61-64.
222 Interestingly enough, a Yorkist apologist, reviewing the evils of Lancastrian rule at the beginning of Edward IV's reign, had seen God striking down Henry IV with leprosy for tyranny and usurping the rightful crown of His "true knight," Richard II. See the poem printed in Wright's Political Poems and Songs, II, 267 ff.
of divinity. Hercules fell victim to divine retribution in the form of the centaur's poisoned shirt for breaking his marriage vow; but Henry, faithful and virtuous, is preserved always from harm and can expect the continuing love of God. One wonders what André would have said had his hero been Henry VIII instead!

Hawes and Skelton both saw God's guiding hand in the union of the red and white roses, and in his coronation tribute to Henry VIII, Hawes counsels the king not to be concerned over the murmured envies and reproaches of other nations, for God will defend the right.223 Alexander Barclay added his support in the Ship of Fools to the theory of God's providential plan for England through Henry VIII.

In 1519 John Gowgh, an English printer, translated from the French "The Abbreuyacyon of all generall counceellys holden in Grecia, Germania, Italia, and Gallia." The tract is a history of the Church of Rome, and the English translator prays that his readers will heed the Romish abuses of temporal power. But he is particularly anxious to demonstrate God's paternal love for England expressed through His provision of such a noble king as Henry VIII. Gowgh hopes for a perfect harmony wherein all English Christians will,

with our hole mynd, hart & affexion, draw, in one lyue, in one fayth and lawe, with one god whiche is only in heauen, and fyx our hartes with one accorde vnder our onely Kynge Henry the viii, whose actes sheweth hym that he hath ben, is & shalbe even preserued of God, and sent to vs as an Angely-call kynge to gouern the people of God from all Babylonytys, Ydolaters, Murderers, Destroyers of the Israelytys...God of his infynyt power hath not wrought in one kynge so hye and wonderfull actys cyuyll and dyuyne & worthy of memorye both farre and nere,...as he hathe wroughte in this our moste

223"A Joyfull medytacyon to all Englonde of the coronacyon of... Kynge Henry the eyght."
right and worthy kynge nowe raynginge ouer vs passynge all
kynges wrytten of in the olde Testamente.\textsuperscript{224}

Henry's break with Rome was the signal for loyal Englishmen to
extol their king as God's agent against foreign domination. Morison's
"Exhortation" (1539) ends with a prophecy of how the English lion will
confound all the evil stratagems of the "yelling egle" (Rome) and "save
the residue of Goddes people, filling them full of joye and comfort,
even while the worlde endureth." Ascham rejoices in a Latin poem to
Henry VIII that the dreadful authority of pontifical Rome has been
broken and attributes Henry's power and purpose to Christ who guides
England's destiny.\textsuperscript{225} Again a ballad dealing with the riots that grew
out of the dissolution of monasteries in Cornwall and Devon (April, 1548)
reports with relish the overthrow of the rebels whose hearts were devoted
to "the popes lawes." The concluding lines of each stanza declare that
in spite of great provision and preparation on the rebels' part, "God
hath gyuen our Kynge the victorye."\textsuperscript{226}

Mary's energetic suppression of Northumberland's plot to seize the
throne fired English faith in God's omnipotent concern anew. Richard
Beard's ballad on Mary's triumph reminds Englishmen that God, who might
have "destroyde vs every one," has once again preserved the causes of
truth, justice, and law in England.

How wonderfly doote the God with vs
His people England deale;
Suche ioy as wee scarce looked for
Among vs to reueale.\textsuperscript{227}

\textsuperscript{224} Censura Literaria, VII, 359-60.
\textsuperscript{225} Works, ed. Giles, III, 277-78.
\textsuperscript{226} Printed in Rollins' Old English Ballads, pp. ix-x.
\textsuperscript{227} Fugitive Tracts, No. 18.
William Forrest declares that God has brought Mary's enemies in hand in a piece entitled, "A New Ballade of the Marigolde," and Thomas Water- toune's "A ninuectye agaynst Treason" is a short testimonial to God's continuous frustration of all enemies to the English crown from Henry VII's time down to the Northumberland plot. Two other ballads on Queen Mary (Nowe singe, nowe springe, oure care is exil'd" and "An Ave Maria") sound the theme again. Leonard Stopes, author of the latter, writes,

Blessed be, therfore, our Lorde God aboue,
And Marie, our Maistresse, our merciful Quene;
For vnto this lande our Lorde, for her loue,
Hath of his mercy most mercifull bene.

Is not her highnesse most worthy of prayse,
And England moch holden her grace to comend?
But whō it hath pleased our Lord many wayse,
His bountefull blesseyng on vs for to sende.  

William Forrest even sees God's justification of Catherine of Arragon in Mary's crown. If God had thought there was anything amiss in Henry's marriage to Catherine, argues Forrest, He would not have exalted Mary and made her Queen of England. Clearly, early Tudor adherence to the theory of divine appointment provided fertile soil for expanding a belief in the heaven-favored destiny of England.

Supplementing England's pride in her fighting forces ran a strong current of faith in God's support of the right. Tudor England's military undertakings were nearly always interpreted as righteous crusades. Henry of Richmond's reported address to his troops at Bosworth begins in this

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228 Printed in *The Harleian Miscellany*, ed. Park, X, 253-54.
229 Printed in Rollins' *Old English Ballads*, pp. 2-7.
230 Ibid., pp. 16-17.
manner:

If ever God gave victory to men fighting in a just quarrel, or if He ever aided such as made war for the wealth and tuition of their own natural and nutritive country, or if He ever succoured them which冒险ured their lives for the relief of innocents, suppressing of malefactors and apparent offenders—no doubt, my fellows and friends, but He of his bountiful goodness will this day send us triumphant victory and a lucky journey over our proud enemy and arrogant adversary. 232

Richard III's forces are identified with injustice, dishonesty, and general opposition to God's will. Henry predicts that God will either deliver these evil forces into Henry's hands or cause them "cowardly to fly and not abide the battle." This early conception of an English Tudor God takes on even more significance when we remember that André declares in his "Twelve Triumphs" that it was Divine Will which caused Richard to take the boar as his emblem and with his iniquity thus symbolized to suffer death at the hands of God's chosen agent.

English military triumphs of 1513 all drew assertions of God's will from poets and ballad-writers. One of More's epigrams briefly reviews the deceitful nature of foreign designs on England and then declares God's judgment through Tudor England's fighting sons. 233 While dutiful Henry, with victorious armies, was reclaiming France for the Roman Pontiff, More says, James, King of Scots, was wickedly trying to overthrow the kingdom of the Britons. His alliances under oath did not prevent his bearing arms against his own wife's brother or from joining the French enemy in treachery—actions which bear out his boyhood tendency

232 The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources, I, 6.
233 The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More, p. 115.
toward crime. English agents of God's moral judgment have thus brought about the destruction of James and his men.

Other pieces on Flodden Field repeat the belief in an English Tudor God. The author of "The Bataile of Brampton or Flodden Field" addresses his opening lines directly to God.

King James is dead; have mercy on vs all,
    For thou haste him prostrate so sodaynly,
(Which was our noble prince his enemy,)
That us to withstand hee had no might:
So thy helpe, O Lord, preservde King Henry's right.\textsuperscript{234}

The anonymous author of "Flodden Ffeilde" departs momentarily from his baronial defense of the Stanleys at Flodden to observe,

This Noble King Harry wan great victoryes in france
    Thorrow the Might that Christ Jesus did him send.\textsuperscript{235}

Skelton's Latin chorus on the Battle of Spurs attributes the English victory to further evidence of Divine Will in favor of the English people.\textsuperscript{236}

John Scot's timely printing of a long poem on Agincourt during Henry VIII's reign pays tribute, as we have seen, to God and St. George for their protection of English causes. In one place St. George's commanding presence over English forces is attributed to the firm support of the "holygoste," and in another King Henry is represented as the agent of Divine Will.

Lo! thus our comely Kynge conquered the fyld,
Be the grace of god omnypotent.\textsuperscript{237}

\textsuperscript{234} The piece is printed in Weber's \textit{The Battle of Flodden Field}, pp. 259-67.
\textsuperscript{235} Percy's \textit{Folio Manuscript}, I, 339, lines 496-97.
\textsuperscript{236} Dyce, I, 191.
In his printing of Hardyng's chronicle in 1543, Richard Grafton centers God's militant favor in the House of his patron, Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk.

And because it hath pleased almighty God,
In the right title and querele of Englande,
To use your stocke as an iron rod,
Wherewith to scourge the falsehood of Scotland,
In whom is no truthe ne holde of any bande;
Ihon Hardynges chronicle, as me thought, was
Most mete to bee dedicated to your grace.238

Later on Grafton refers pointedly to the Scots as "people whom God dooth hate & curse," and he presents a brief history of God's stern punishment of the treacherously rebellious Scots through His noble English agent, the House of Howard.

A prose account of the English expedition into Scotland in 1544 describes in terms of righteous judgment "the apparent continuance of GOD's favour vnto the purposes of the Englishmen."239 Following a vivid description of the rather merciless English dealings with the northern enemy, the author elaborates on his theme.

In these victories, who is to be most highest lauded but GOD? by whose goodness the Englishmen hath had of a great season notable victories and matters worthy of triumphs. And for the continuance of GOD's favour toward us, let us pray for the prosperous estate of our noble good and victorious Lord Governor and King &c.: for whose sake doubtless, GOD hath spreaded his blessing over us, in peace to have mirth, and in wars to have victory.240

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238 The Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng...together with the Continuation by Richard Grafton, ed. Ellis, p. 1.
239 This account of the fall of Leith, the capture and burning of Edinburgh, Lord Eure's raid into Scotland, and the sack of Jedburgh was sent to "The Right Honourable Lord Russell, Lord Privy Seal; from the King's army there: by a friend of his." It is printed in Pollard's Tudor Tracts, pp. 37-51.
240 Ibid., pp. 50-51.
William Patten echoes the theme in his account of the 1547 expedition into Scotland when he reports that the Scots were made "captive and thrall to our Prince's own will" through "the sufferance of GOD's favour (which thanks to His Majesty! hath not yet left us)." The author of "Vox Populi" calls on the blessing of a Tudor God to accompany the English fleet sailing north in the same engagement.

There were, of course, other evidences of God's special concern for England. Carmelianus' Latin poem on Prince Arthur's birth represents Henry Tudor's emancipating rule as the direct result of a merciful God who took pity on the miserable state of England and called a meeting of saints in heaven to resolve the York-Lancaster feud. Robert Fabyan, in his chronicle of 1516, sees God as the protector and defender of London. John Bale strongly emphasizes the association in his *Kyne Johan*, where God appears as the Spouse of England against the papist forces. Evidence of God's implied support of true and accurate English histories is also a claim of Bale's. In his commentary on Leland's "New Year's Gift" to Henry VIII (Leland wrote a letter to the king declaring his plan in his description of England), Bale observes that the lack of available histories and chronicles has caused recent chroniclers such as Hardyng, Caxton, Fabyan, and Polydore Vergil to err. However, the printing of chronicles and antiquities will tend to reduce these errors and make histories more accurate, continues Bale. "To sende them fourth abroade amonche men,—for that purpose (I thynke) God hath in

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Thus through His granting of printing to man, God implicitly furthers the true record of England's ancient glory and worth.

Finally, a piece entitled "Dr. Haddon's Exhortation to England to repent" warns that a morally and spiritually sound kingdom is directly dependent upon God's favor.\(^{243}\) Without His help Englishmen cannot preserve the realm, but with His help,

> Then England shall beginne to singe songes, prayse, & lymnes, Righte humblye;

> ... Then England shall of Realmes be head, & of the world the onely quene; then service shall be ministred to god, as it is well besene!

(lines 129-36)

Conclusion

In spite of an early longing for peace and unity and in spite of an originally defensive isolationism, pre-Elizabethan Tudor England gave sure and varied signs that she was building a new destiny out of the ruins of her fifteenth-century continental and domestic wars. Although early Tudor Englishmen often channeled the ideas and ideals which were to become Elizabethan patriotic ends toward demanding personal or localized problems, they laid the foundations for a new pride.

\(^{242}\) See The Itinerary of John Leland In or About the Years 1535-1543, ed. Lucy T. Smith (London, 1907-10), I, xii.

\(^{243}\) Written by Dr. Walter Hadden, Cambridge humanist and friend of Cheke and Ascham, the piece is printed in Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 326-30. The poem appears in Harl. MS. 425, ff. 73-74, where the date of composition (in Latin) is given as 1551 and Arthur Golding is noted as the translator. No date for Golding's translation is given, but it was probably made well after 1551 since Golding would have been only about fifteen years old at that time.
in the particularly English attributes of their heritage. In a number of spheres they singled out unique native resources and nominated them for appropriate praise and use. In the commercial world, England had wool. William Forrest put the matter simply:

Heere in Englande wone speciall haue wee:  
Woolle, for whiche manye greate suetours hither bee.  

...  
oh! some witt politike shewe reason whye  
myght not the same heere so perfected bee,  
wee, to profite by owre owne Commoditee?

In the realm of heroic tradition England laid claim to St. George and particularly to British Arthur. Caxton proudly printed an English account of "kyng Arthur whyche ought moost to be remembred emonge vs englysshe men tofore al other crysten kynges"; and the patriotic Welshman, Arthur Kelton, dismissed foreign pride in other heroes with the self-sufficient reminder,

We Arthur most worthyest of all  
Ought to remember, in our fantasy  
Passyng all other.

In the vast area of human skill and excellence, Englishmen could look to their own superiority in feats of arms and their surpassing dexterity with the longbow. Advertising the former, Peter Betham declared that "the youthe of Englande doth so floryshe in warlye knowlelage, that they passe all other bothe Grekes and Romans to thys daye;" and in his explanatory preface to *Toxophilus*, Roger Ascham justifies a long discourse on archery with a logically simple maxim: "that is euermore to regarde and set most by that thing whereunto nature hath made them moost apt, and use hath made them moost fitte.  

By this matter I meane the shotyng in the long bowe, for English men."244

244 *Toxophilus*, p. 16.
In the field of political administration the unique triumph of Englishmen was that they "reject[ed] the Cesarean code of laws, and adopt[ed] those given to them by their own kings"--a fact whose national significance was further emphasized by Starkey's indignant claim through Lupset that English Common Law bound up in the French language was "ignominouse and dyshonowre to our natyon; for as much as therby ys testyfyd our subiectyon to the Normannys."

Finally, toward the end of the early Tudor period, self-sufficient patriotism swept somewhat uncritically into the aesthetic sphere. John Leland declared Wyatt's poetic superiority to Dante and Petrarch, and Barnabe Googe insisted chauvinistically that through Thomas Phaer,

Virgils verse hath greater grace
in forrayne foote obtaynde,
Than in his own, who whilst he lyued
eche other Poets staynde.

Over an England animated by this increasingly insistent sense of independent self-sufficiency watched a propitious and protective Tudor God--the very apotheosis of swelling native confidence and pride.

When Elizabethan Englishmen had nourished, expanded, and blended the strains introduced by their predecessors and when isolationism had shed its defensive identity to become a proud positive force, Thomas Churchyard could announce England's confident new role in such purely patriotic terms as these:

This ILE, is Kirnell of the Nutte,
and those that neare vs dwell,
(Our forraine neighbours rounde about,)
I counte them but the shell:
...
O ENGLANDE, thou art blest in deede,
thy necke is free from yoke:
Thy armes are stronge, thy body sounde,
and in good bowre be spoke,
Thy youth and age haue able ioynts,
to trie thy cause in feelde;
And as that now in troublous tymes,
the Lorde hath been thy sheelde.
So looke when comes in cunnyng knacks,
thy whole account is made,
That plainnes shall make finenes feele,
the weight of Bilbowe blade.
More blessed than thy neighbours all,
by proof thou art as yet:
More likely art thou by that cause,
in peace and reste to sit.
More good in season hast thou done,
than thousands well can waye:
Moste happie is thy state therefore,
and surer stands thy stays.
Than maiest thou be the Kirnell sweete,
that many wishe to haue:
But none can spoile, nor scarce dare touche,
Such grace great God thee gaue.
That garde shall keepe the Kirnell long,
from worme and wicked soile:
And sende good fortune sondrie waies,
vnto this blessed soile.\textsuperscript{245}

Still later an infinitely superior poet eloquently enriched the same theme. In Shakespeare's Richard II, the ailing John of Gaunt delivers the well-known tribute to England as

This other Eden, demi-paradise,
This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war,
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands.\textsuperscript{246}

\textsuperscript{245}The Miserie of Flavnders, Calamitie of Fraunce, Misfortune of Portugall, Vnquietnes of Irelande, Troubles of Scotlande: And the blessed State of Englande (1579), sigs E\textsubscript{3} - E\textsubscript{4}.

\textsuperscript{246}Act II, scene i.
CHAPTER 7

HISTORY

Early Tudor history writing showed the clear effects of native pride. With the notable exception of Grafton's printing of Hardyng's verse chronicle in 1543, the extended histories and chronicles which appeared before Elizabeth ascended the throne were written mainly in prose. It is both interesting and revealing to trace the effects of rising nationalism on the chronicles which were written and published during this period. I shall do this briefly and selectively in order to provide a background for the poetry and verse, which in general concerned itself with recent and contemporary history interpreted from some emotional point of view.

William R. Trimble has determined that there were ninety-three books printed between 1485 and 1548 which can be considered as histories.² Twenty-six of these appeared in one edition only, sixty-seven appeared in two or more editions of twenty-two titles, and twenty-nine were translations from other languages, chiefly Latin and French. Before 1530 Tudor history publications were chiefly either chronicles or translations of ancient, medieval and contemporary non-English historians. They relied very heavily upon other sources, accepting uncritically what was set down and adding little that was new. However, the 1530's and the 1540's brought a strong spirit of interpretive nationalism and the beginnings of a critical approach to the historical scene. These two forces were not equally dominant, nor did

they nourish one another. Henry VIII's military ambitions and the break with Rome were the main spurs to aroused nationalism. Neither theme encouraged an objective or critical historical attitude. Alexander Barclay's second eclogue, written early in Henry VIII's reign, noted the contemporary tendency of flattering courtiers to present histories "swetely saused with adulation."

True histories of actes auncient
Be falsely turned some princes to content
And namely when suche histories testifie
Blame or disworship touching his progenie.
Then newe histories be fayned of the olde,
With flattery paynted and lyes manyfold.²

It was just such a spirit of exaggerated French patriotism in Germanus Brixius¹ Latin account of contemporary naval history that drove Sir Thomas More to his caustic English reply about 1513.³ Similar nationalistic feeling spurred John Leland to attack Hector Boethius¹ history of Scotland (1527) in a Latin epigram which claims that the Scottish historian's lies are as numerous as the waves of the sea and the stars of the sky.⁴ Still another militant English reaction to foreign "history" was John Coke's "Debate Betwene the Heraldes of Englande and Fraunce" (1550) written to counteract the "harty malyce" of a fifteenth-century French piece, "Debat des Herauts d'Armes de France et d' Angleterre," dealing with Julius Caesar's three invasions of England, the last of which brought Englishmen to their knees and made them obedient to Rome. Coke searched out many histories and wrote his own piece in which the English herald condenses Hardyng's version of Caesar's invasions as an example of British valor.⁵

²Ed. B. White, lines 309-14.
³See p. 89 above.
Several extended histories and chronicles were especially designed to provide support for Henry VIII's French and Scottish campaigns. Henry V and the Agincourt tradition were revived in ballads and poetry, as we have noted, but the whole scope of Henry V's great martial reputation found expression in two extended treatments of England's earlier hero-king. Titus Livius' *Vita Henrici Quinti* (written at the instigation of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, about 1437-38) was translated in the autumn of 1513; and Robert Redmayne wrote a highly patriotic Latin life of Henry V about 1540. Both provided an atmosphere of historical justification and glory for Henry VIII's vision of empire. Richard Grafton's printing of Hardyng's verse chronicle in 1543 was designed, as we have seen, to encourage Henry VIII's continental ambitions and especially to support his vigorous campaign to bring about the unity of England and Scotland. Furthermore, Anthony Cope's *The Historie of Two the Moste Noble Capitames of the Worlde, Anniball and Scipio* (1544) was a timely review of heroic warrior deeds.

The other strong nationalistic motif of Henry VIII's reign, anti-Romanist sentiment, colored nearly all of the histories and chronicles which postdated 1534. In both Grafton's publication of Hardyng, and Edward Hall's patriotic chronicle of 1542, anti-papal sentiment joins with the theme of unity (geographical in the former and civil in the latter) to lend a distinctly patriotic tone to English history. Grafton's praise

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6*Kingsford, English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 64-65.
7Tbid., p. 69.
of Hardyng as a persistent prosecutor of Scottish disobedience is qualified by a necessary comment on the "popyshe errour" of Hardyng's times. Although Grafton demonstrates a rather unusual reluctance to tamper with these "errors",

> It wer an vnquod thyng yt we should go about
> To alter and chaunge that olde men haue wryte,

he makes clear his morally patriotic purpose in allowing them to stand. It is fitting that his contemporaries reflect on "the darkenesse of those dayes" which has now yielded to the bright radiance of truth under Henry VIII, a prince sent from heaven "all Popyshe trumperye for to confounde."9

The handling of later editions of Fabyan's *Concordance of Histories*, first published in 1516 by Pynson, illustrates well how directly Henry's assumption of church power influenced most historical accounts. Unwilling merely to identify the popish tone of the chronicle, the publishers of the 1542 edition and the 1559 edition omitted some passages and altered others to conform with the Reformation policy. The Act of Supremacy in 1534 had abolished papal authority in England; the name of the Pope was erased from the Service Books and forbidden to be used. In consequence the 1542 and 1559 editions omitted such sections as these: "The Seven Ioys of the blessed Virgin" with verses commending the persecution of one Badby, a Lollard; innumerable miracles, particularly where taken from the "Legend of Saints" or attributed to Popes; the whole of the twenty-eighth year of Henry III; all passages which tended to encourage houses of religion, penance, pilgrimage, or preservation of relics; and whatever passages

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8 Ed. Ellis, p. 12.
9 Ibid.
related offenses done to the Church of Rome, the shrines of the saints etc. Also omitted were passages in which any king, whether of England or France, was described as "enemy to holy religious places," and those relating to the struggle between Henry II and Archbishop Becket. Becket is no longer mentioned as a "glorious martyr" and "blessed saint" but rather as a "traitorous bishop." The words "holy" and "blessed" are rarely bestowed on saints and martyrs. The word "Pope" is uniformly changed to "bishop of Rome."10

John Leland, keeper of Henry VIII's libraries, court poet, and tireless investigator of English antiquities claimed that his researches had enlightened him"concerning the usurpid autorite of the Bishop of Rome and his complices, to the manifeste and violente derogation of kingely dignite,"11 and his "Antiphilarchia" was written in patriotic defense of the king against the ambitious empire of the Romish bishop. There was in Leland, however, a patriotic devotion to English history both past and present which went far beyond this national religious support. Like Bale, he was determined to bring old writers and books on English enterprises to the attention of his contemporaries. For years he travelled extensively in England and Wales gathering information and his writings reflect the growing pride of an Englishman for his country. In 1546 he wrote "The Laboriouse Journey and Serche of Johan Leylande for Englandes Antiquitees, Geven of hum as a Newe Yeares Gyfte to King Henry the viii. in the xxxvii Yeare of his Raygne,"12 in which he gives a clear statement

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10See Ellis's preface to his 1811 publication of the chronicle, pp. xviii-xx.
11The Itinerary of John Leland In or About the Years 1535-1543, ed. Lucy T. Smith (London, 1907-10), I, xxxix.
12It is printed by Miss Smith, I, xxvii-xliii.
of his purpose. He informs Henry that he has conserved many good authors and old manuscripts in the king's libraries "wherby I truste right shortly so to describe your moste noble reaulme, and to publische the Majeste and the excellent actes of yourw progenitors (hitherto sore obscurid booth for lak of enprinting of such workes as lay secretely yn corners, and also bycause men of eloquence hath not enterprisid to set them forthe yn a florishing style...) that al the worlde shaul evidently perceyve that no particular region may justely be more extollid then yours for trewe nobilite and vertues at al pointes renowned." Anxious that all the world shall be educated to England's greatness, Leland goes on to say that some of these old documents have been printed abroad "that not...only the Germanes, but also the Italians them self, that counte, as the Grekes did full arrogantely, al other nations to be barbarus and onletterid saving their owne, shaul have a directe occasi­on openly of force to say that Britannia prima fuit parens, attrix, (addo hoc etiam & jure quodam optimo) conservatrix cum virorum magnorum, tum maxime ingeniorum." Leland's spirited defense of Arthur and Brute as historically authent­ic British ancestors illustrates again how strongly Englishmen had come to emphasize the nationally heroic aspects of their heritage and how will­ing they were to look upon anything which attested Britain's glory as "true history." The Middle Ages had bequeathed Tudor England a profound re­spect for moral instruction. The same standards which had caused Virgil's

13 Ibid., p. xxxviii.
14 Ibid., pp. xxviii-xxxix.
Aeneid to be moralized into the *Virgiliano Continensia* by Fulgentius in the sixth century, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* to be reworked into the *Ovid Moralise* in the thirteenth century, and Lydgate and the moral Gower to be studied more than Chaucer were applied to history by early Tudor Englishmen. History was highly rewarding because it taught governors to pursue virtue, warriors to defend their native land, and potential doers of evil to abstain from wrongdoing; but to a rapidly increasing degree the strict moral function of history was overshadowed by nationalistic preoccupations as Tudor England flexed the muscles of its new autonomy. Even the original animating force of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, heavily influenced as it was by the moral tone of Boccaccio and Lydgate, rose from a desire to deal with English historical subjects which had been neglected in Boccaccio.

However, even though nationalism heavily influenced the histories which appeared after the 1530's and tended to work against the growth of a critical historical attitude, such an attitude did appear. Both John Rastell and Polydore Vergil took exception to the general tendency of Tudor historiographers to accept without question the accounts of Britain's origins and early development. Geoffrey of Monmouth, Higden, and the various versions of the fifteenth century *Brut* chronicle set the stage for early Tudor acquaintance with and general belief in Britain's legendary origins. But in his *Pastime of People, or the Chronicles of Divers Realms* (1529), Rastell attacks the fanciful and legendary accounts

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15 For a good discussion of the fifteenth century *Brut* see the fifth chapter of Kingsford's *English Historical Literature of the Fifteenth Century*. 
of how Britain got its name and was settled. Of the story that a race of Giants ruled Britain until the coming of Brute, Rastell says, "But this... semyth more meruelouse thā trew; and though it hath cōtynued here in Englōd and takyn for a trewth amōg vs Englyshmē, yet other peopull do therfore laugh vs to skorne, and so me semyth they may ryght well."¹⁶ Rastell discounts the story of Brute's founding of Britain too, claiming that Gildas and Bede make no mention of it. Rather than bow to national belief Rastell holds it up as the potential opponent of accuracy. Some say, he reports, that "Galfridus," who first mentions the story of Brute, was a Welshman and made up the story in praise of his own country. Rastell neither confirms nor denies the story, but he prints it, not because he wants people to believe it, but because it contains examples of vice and tyranny revenged by God's wrath; lessons which are worthy of contemporary study.¹⁷ To Rastell, morality, not interpretive nationalism, is the proper guardian of history.

Polydore Vergil's history of England was begun about 1505 and was near completion in 1516 although the first edition did not appear until 1534. The Anglica Historia was written at Henry VII's command, and it is the first truly critical history of England. Polydore drew on Fabyan's chronicle and the Brut but his avowed purpose was to be impartial and objective. He rejected Geoffrey of Monmouth as an untrustworthy writer.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 6-7.
and took critical aim at the legendary accounts of Britain's origin, but Polydore was an Italian and his objective approach to English history did not go down well with Englishmen newly inspired with the fire of nationalism. Leland and others criticized him so vehemently that his readable, consecutive narrative became temporarily the object of scorn rather than imitation.

This then is the general picture of early Tudor historiography. History was highly regarded and often presented to a populace convinced of its didactic moral power. Before the 1530's it was highly imitative and generally uncritical, but as Henry VIII began to reshape England's destiny, English historians interpreted old sources and produced new ones under the influence of swelling nationalism. Henry's military campaigns and his separation of the English church from foreign control, the dominating stimulants to the increased national tone of history, tended on the one hand to narrow the scope of history away from the universal sweep of the old chronicle, and on the other to postpone a really objective critical approach to English history. Nevertheless a critical attitude did appear in Rastell's qualified questioning of British legends and in Polydore's remarkably consistent objective history even though it could scarcely yet compete with the insistent national tide.

Since poetry and verse are usually more closely allied with emotion than prose, and since nationalism is often apt to be explosively emotional, one might expect that pre-Elizabethan Tudor poets and versifiers would deal with the most national and least objective aspects of history. During the early years of Tudor rule this was certainly true of the court
poets. They interpreted both ancient and contemporary history freely and uncritically to the nationalistic glory of the crown. Henry VII's courtiers built a belief in England's developing historic destiny in the theme of Arthur's return in Henry VII and his son. The first Tudor's fashioning of contemporary history was interpreted symbolically and patriotically by André in terms of the legendary feats of Hercules. Both Skelton and More, in their roles as court poets, interpreted respectively the victory at Flodden and the naval battle of 1512 in strong nationalistic terms.

However, although the popular baronial apologists and the dependents of noble patrons looked upon history no more objectively than did the court poets, their uncritical approach was not the result of a crown-conscious nationalism. Rather it was the result of a very practical desire to glorify a more immediate object of allegiance. Thus while André's treatment of the historic event which established Tudor rule (in "The Twelve Triumphs") centers attention on Henry Tudor as an English Hercules, the anonymous popular poems on Bosworth Field make Henry's role distinctly subordinate to that of the lords. An old eagle (Sir William Stanley, Lord Derby), a young eagle (Lord Strange, eldest son of Lord Stanley), and a blue boar (the Earl of Oxford) dominate the scene in "The: rose of Englande."¹⁺⁸ "Bosworth Feilde" interprets events leading up to the battle in terms of Stanley activity, and the final lines call for Christ's

¹⁺８The poem is printed in Percy's Folio Manuscript, III, 189-96.
blessing not on the new king but on "stanleys blood, where-soeuer they bee."\textsuperscript{19} "Ladye Bessiye" gives an elaborate account of how Elizabeth (daughter to King Edward and niece to Richard III) and Lord Stanley secure the support of various nobles against King Richard.\textsuperscript{20} All three pieces suggest that the history of Tudor accession was dominated and directed by the House of Stanley.

Baronial bias continued to influence accounts of contemporary history on into succeeding reigns. As we have noted earlier, the Battle of Flodden Field in 1513 inspired widespread praise of the Earl of Surrey, and by extension the whole Howard House. Skelton lauded Surrey in both his English and Latin pieces on Flodden Field, and he extends his praise of the Howards in \textit{Magnificence} (1516), "Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?" (1522), and "The Doughty Duke of Albany" (1523). Elaborate eulogies of the Howard House as the agent of fashioning a proud English history came also from the pens of Barclay (in the fourth of his eclogues) and Grafton (in his verse preface to Hardyng's chronicle).

The Stanley minstrels were unwilling to allow the Howards to assume most of the credit for the great English victory over the Scots at Flodden. To them, the two greatest Stanley contributions had been made on the battlefields at Bosworth and Flodden and they were determined in their baronial patriotism to record both events historically as Stanley triumphs. "Scotish Ffeilde" (composed originally about 1515) is a short alliterative

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid., pp. 235-39.  
\textsuperscript{20}Ibid., pp. 321-63.
verse chronicle designed exactly for this purpose. The poem begins with the Battle of Bosworth Field and traces events up until 1513 concluding with the Battle of Flodden Field, all in honor of the Stanleys.

A later piece on Flodden by a Stanley apologist takes up the Stanley-Howard relationship quite directly at the expense of the Howards. Entitled "Fflodden Ffeilde" as it is printed in Percy's Folio Manuscript, the poem seeks to show how the Stanleys overcame the malicious Howard charge of Stanley cowardice in battle. The action centers around a yeoman of the guard who seeks protection from the Earl of Derby against the consequences of attacking some men who called the yeoman (a Stanleyite) a coward. The whole case is built around a letter delivered to Henry VIII in France which the author of this poem claims Surrey wrote. The letter charged Lancashire and Cheshire men with cowardice at Flodden. Hall, in his account of the battle, speaks of a secret letter reporting the flight of Cheshire men—a letter which caused "grate hartebuming and manye woordes," but the editors of Percy's Folio say there is not the slightest reason for supposing that the letter was written by Surrey. Thus the author of this piece interprets and arranges historical facts in order to promote his own conviction. The very first stanza speaks of this letter, written and sealed by Surrey's own hand, which causes Henry to summon Lord Derby for an explanation. Meanwhile Sir Ralph Egerton and Sir William Brereton defend the loyalty and courage of the Stanleys and

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21 Printed in Percy's Folio Manuscript, I, 212-34.
22 I, 318-40.
23 Ibid., p. 315.
Lancashire and Cheshire men. Nevertheless, when Derby appears, Henry taunts him about the charges of cowardice, driving the earl into a review of previous Stanley service.

"Wee were neuer cowards," said the Erle,
"by him that deerlye dyed on tree!
who brought in your father att Milford Hauen
King Henery the 7th fersooth was hee;

"thorow the towne of fortune wee did him bring,
& soe conveyd him to Shrewsburye,
& soe crowned him a Noble king;
& Richard that day wee deemed to dye."  

Ultimately a letter arrives from the queen vindicating Lancashire and Cheshire men at Flodden. Derby is received back in favor and Surrey is condemned for his false report.

"It was a wronge wryting," sayd our King
"that came ffrom the Erle of Surrey;
but I shall him teach his prince to know,
if euer wee come in our countrye!"  

Derby is granted permission to judge Surrey and decides to spare his life.

Still another long poem on Flodden Field printed by Henry Weber advances the Stanley banner beyond those of all other English captains. Where the piece just discussed treated Surrey as an absent villain, Weber's poem plays up the envious jealousy Surrey shows toward the Stanleys in the preparations for the battle against the Scots. The Stanleys themselves appear always as noble-hearted and brave servants of the English cause. When, for example, Stanley, in response to Surrey's call to arms,

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24 Ibid., p. 323.
25 Ibid., p. 335.
26 The Battle of Floddon Field; A Poem of the Sixteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1808), pp. 1-120. Weber thinks the original of the version he prints was produced about the middle of the sixteenth century.
is slighted by Tunstal, who joins Surrey directly, Stanley accepts the slight graciously and goes to join Howard too. Again when, with 26,000 troops at his command, Surrey decides to wait for more help from the queen rather than attack the Scottish host of 100,000, Sir Edward Stanley fixes Surrey with an accusing eye and launches into a long and elaborate historical justification for faith in smaller fighting forces and English valor. God will help the English cause.

What though our foes be five to one;
For that let not our stomachs fail;
God gives the stroke when all is done;
If it please him, we shall prevail.
(lines 945-48)

Gideon overcame the Midian hosts. Jonathan put the Philistians to flight. The Macedonian Prince, outnumbered four to one, defeated Darius. Livy records that the Romans fought best and most effectively when they were outnumbered. Scipio, so beset, put Hannibal to flight. Then Stanley turns to English history. Europe resounds with the exploits of Henry V, who brought down the French hosts at Agincourt. He fought until he was proclaimed heir of France, and he would have extended English law to all of France had he been granted a longer life. With particular relish Stanley reminds his commander that the Earl of Richmond with a small force defeated Richard III at Bosworth Field (a battle in which the Stanleys fought for Henry and the Howards for Richard).²⁷ Cries Stanley

²⁷Camden records a story which suggests how the Howards were able to establish themselves in Henry VII's favor so soon after having fought for Richard's cause.

When Richard the Third was slain at Bosworth and with him John Howard Duke of Norfolk, King Henry the seventh
with patriotic passion,

    So though the Scottish host be great,
    Let us not stint, but them withstand;
In battle bold we shall them beat,
    For God will help us with his hand.
...

In better cause we cannot die,
    Than fighting for our country's right.

(lines 1009-28)

Narrowing his historical instruction of Surrey to English-Scottish martial engagements, Stanley refers to the slaying of the Scottish King Malcom III, killed by an English blade when he invaded England in 1092; to the English victory at Neville's Cross in 1346; to Percy's victory over the Scottish nobles Murray, Mordack, Angus, and Douglas when the latter invaded Northumberland in 1402. The same fortunes will now prevail, for the English are in the right, declares Stanley, and he offers to lead the attack with his men from Lancashire and Cheshire.

demanded of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, the Duke's son and heir, then taken Prisoner, how he durst bear Arms in the behalf of that tyrant Richard. He answered: "He was my crowned King, and if the Parliamentary authority of England set the Crown upon a stock, I will fight for that stock: And as I fought then for him, I will fight for you, when you are established by the said authority." And so he did for his son King Henry the eighth at Flodden field.

(Remains concerning Britain (London, 1870), p. 294.)

Exactly the same sort of shifting allegiance with shifting power is described in "The: rose of England," where Mitton, the bailiff, blocks Henry of Richmond's passage at Shrewsbury with the statement that he recognizes only King Richard, but announces that he will support Richmond no less stoutly if and when he should become king (see p. 29 above).
All those assembled look on Stanley with awe and admiration after this speech. They urge Surrey to put Stanley in the van.

But on that side the Earl of Surrey
Wext deaf, for why, he could not hear:
For stirred up now with Stanley's glory,
His rancour old he did uprear.
(lines 1090-93)

Surrey reasserts his position as King's lieutenant declaring that he will make all decisions. Our Stanleyite author then elaborates on Surrey's feeling of jealousy against Stanley, describing the English commander as worried lest Stanley gain too much honor. Displaying a "hateful heart" toward Stanley blood, Surrey appoints his own son, the Lord Admiral, to lead the van. For fifty-two succeeding stanzas, we are belabored with an account of other Surrey appointments to key positions of nobles whom he favors and who have aided him in the past.

The actual account of the battle pays tribute to Surrey's fighting courage, but the final section of the long poem is given over completely to praise of Stanley valor and courage. Stanley charges his tired but noble Lancashire and Cheshire men to great deeds. He remembers that his father was a scourge to the Scots (he had captured Barwick town) and he resolves to carry on the noble family tradition. With a cry of "Stanley Stout" his men fall on the Scots. The Scots are "stonisht sore" at Stanley's name and resist fiercely, but many of them are slain by Stanley arrows. There is no suggestion here of cowardice or flight. Indeed Stanley pursues the retreating Scots to the very place where the Scottish king himself fights. When James is finally fatally wounded, our writer declares that although no one is sure who killed James, "Stanley still most like was thought."
I have discussed these Stanley pieces in some detail because they reveal clearly a "patriotic" approach to contemporary history which emphasized a radically different area from that emphasized by the court poets. The court poets paid homage to the crown, linked the Tudor king with Arthur's return, and celebrated his acts by comparing them to those of the great historical and legendary heroes. The baronial apologists acknowledged the crown, paid homage to the great lords, arranged historical details to suit their cause, and erected a structure of historical prestige around the House of Howard or the House of Stanley while the courtiers eulogized the House of Tudor. It is highly significant that the Stanley view of contemporary history should assume that a letter to Henry in France charging Stanley cowardice was positively written by Surrey, that the unknown slayer of the Scottish king at Flodden was a Stanley, and that the inspiring proponent of traditional English valor against great odds in the face of Howard caution was Sir Edward Stanley. It is no less significant that all the references to past historical events in the last piece discussed are designed either to clarify the role of the Stanley House in moulding English success in war, or to support Sir Edward Stanley in his patriotically inspiring assertion of England's great fighting heart. Clearly the authority of history could serve the baronial apologist just as unobjectively but just as effectively as it could serve the crown-conscious court poet.

I have concentrated on the Stanley cycle, but there were other noble Houses which received similar tribute. Ballads celebrating the Percy family, including the famous "Chevy Chace," were immensely popular in the
fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and one William Perris, secretary to Henry, fifth Earl of Northumberland (d. 1527) composed for his patron a metrical "Chronicle of the family of Percy."  28

The historical virtue and service of the Howard House was a prime subject of tribute for Richard Grafton in his reprinting of Hardyng's verse chronicle in 1543. In his dedication of the chronicle to Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, and father of the poet Surrey, Grafton devotes twenty-two stanzas of rhyme-royal praise to the duke "of noble auncestrie and blood descended" and his family. The Howards, he declares, have been chosen by God to administer divinely-willed punishment upon the Scots and bring about English-Scottish unity under English control. Grafton lauds his patron's own father (Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, and later second Duke of Norfolk), who in the twelfth year of Henry VII's reign "yode into Scotlande their pryde to restrein," 29 and who won the great victory at Flodden in the succeeding reign. Interestingly Grafton reports that it was the Howards who "slew there King Iamy, and brought him to England." 30 Moving on to the deeds of his own patron, Grafton speaks of the destruction of Jedworth in the fifteenth year of the present reign, the repelling of Albany's forces, and finally the English campaign into

28See Kingsford's English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century, p. 252. The tract was edited by J. Besley in 1845 from a transcript in the Dodsworth MSS. in the Bodleian Library.
29Ed. Ellis, p. 3.
30Ibid., p. 4.
Scotland in 1542. This brings Grafton's survey of Howard action against the Scots up to date and he concludes his little dedicatory chronicle with a reassertion of the Howards' divinely functional role in promoting the causes of England.

This introductory history of the Howard House takes on added significance when it is thought of in connection with Grafton's prefatory remarks about the function of history in general. Chronicle writers, says Grafton, are man's greatest literary benefactors.

Emonges all wryters that haue put in vre Their penne and style, thynges to endite, None haue behynd them left so greate treasure, Ne to their posteritee haue dooen suche delite, As thei which haue taken peines to write Chronycles and actes of eche nacion, And have of the same made true relacion.\(^31\)

By studying history man may discover the clear-cut outlines of virtue and vice, loyalty and disloyalty, which will act as a guide to his own acts. The Bible books of "Judges" and "Kings" have themselves the form and course of history, as have the books inscribed "Paralipomena" and "The Machabees." If these historical sections of the Bible had not been written, great damage would have been done to English faith,

But the spirite of God the author was, That those examples might bee our glasse.\(^32\)

Chronicle writers, then, are "worthie laude, thanke, honour, & immortal fame."

Here in 1543, in the first act of his career as a writer and printer of history, Richard Grafton, a prosperous London merchant, brings together

\(^31\) Ibid., p. 7.  
\(^32\) Ibid., p. 9.
the historical motivations which had marked the divergent approaches of the court poets and the popular baronial apologists. For Grafton paid his respects to both strong monarchy and one of the great noble Houses. His chronicle is on the one hand a timely national tribute to a powerful English king engaged in a military campaign to achieve the unity of England and Scotland and regain a portion of former empire; on the other hand it is a pean of praise to the great Howard family as the indispensable agent of both divine and royal accomplishment. Neither motif lent itself to historical objectivity, but each reveals an aspect of early Tudor historiography which worked against the new critical approach of Polydore Vergil. Over this marriage presided the sometimes dominant, sometimes subordinate, but ever present moral function of history to instruct man to the virtuous life.

In other ways early Tudor poetry reflected the patriotic and nationalistic aspects of English "history." Livy, in his personal analysis of what should be the province of history, suggested that legendary accounts of Roman beginnings belong more naturally to the poets than to historians. Tudor English poets accepted their own legendary origins virtually as fact.

The Brute legend, suspected by Rastell and directly criticized by Polydore, flits unquestioned through pre-Elizabethan verse. In a Latin poem on the projected marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, John de Giglis pays elaborate courtly tribute to both parties and declares it fitting that Henry should have received his realms from his ancestor
Brutus. 33 The author of "An Honour to London" (1501) begins his panegyric to the city with a direct allusion to its supposed founding by Brute.

Gladdeth a man, thowe lusty Troyomond,
Citie that somtime cleped was Newe Troye. 34

In his coronation ode for Henry VIII's accession in 1509, John Skelton invokes the Trojan origins of the British race through his reference to the new king as "our Priamus of Troy." 35 Even the anonymous author of "Scotish Ffeilde" includes the story in his baronial patriotism. Paying tribute to the men of Lancashire and Cheshire who did so much to further the causes of both Henry VII and Henry VIII, he writes,

Much worshipp haue the woone in warre: their was of their names in France & in few lands: soe fayre them behappen sith Brute heere abode: & first built vp houses. 36

Robert Fabian, in a verse section of his Prologue to the second volume of his chronicle (first published in 1516), prepares for his discussion of London with the comment that England's greatest city

hath borne iust rulynge,
Sene the fyrste wynnynge
Of this ile land by Brute, 37

and he later on refers to London as "Troynouante."

Again Skelton, the sharp-tongued defender of Englishmen against the insulting Scot, Dundas, and the laureate of English fighting forces

33 Memorials of King Henry the Seventh, p. lviii.
34 Reliquiae Antiquae, p. 205.
35 Line 48.
36 Percy's Folio Manuscript, I, 213.
37 Ed. Ellis, p. 293.
against the French and Scots, proudly paints his own portrait through
the adulatory praise of Gower in "The Garland of Laurel" (1522-23).
Into Gower's mouth Skelton puts words which represent Skelton as the
patriotic champion of the great race descended from Brute.

Ye haue deseryd to haue an enplement
In our college abowe the sterry sky,
By cause that ye encrese and amplify
The brutid Britons of Brutus Albion,
That weyny was loste when that we were gone.
(lines 402-06)

A later and superior poet, Sir Thomas Wyatt (whom the poet Surrey praised
as a great servant to his king and country) in a beautiful little lyric
records his patriotic joy at leaving Spain and turning homeward not to
prosaic London, but to "the town that Brutus sowght by dremis."38

Perhaps the most clear-cut nationalistic acceptance and use of the
Brute story in pre-Elizabethan poetry is to be found in Arthur Kelton's
"A comendacion of welshmen" (1546). Eager to praise his countrymen and
to remind his readers of the strong Welsh background of the Tudors,
Kelton reaches back to anchor Welsh beginnings in the Trojan legend.
Kelton's Welsh patriotism knows no bounds, and he looks upon the Brute
story as sober history. From "noble Troy" came the Welsh progenitor,

Most noble brute
The seede, the frute
The name and language
The playne discent
The norishment
Of the welshmens linage

38"Tagus Farewell", The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt, ed. Foxwell,
I, 57.
Thus may ye see
That Welshmen be
Of the blood imperiall
Of nature fre
Cosyns in degre
To the goddes immortall
...
Lykewise syth Brute
Did institute
Cambre fyrist into wales
Ther to remayne
In roughe and playne
Among moutaynes & vales

Yet vnto this daye
Perceyue ye maye
Thesame stocke & lynage.

From these beginnings sprang Arthur, Cadwalader, and ultimately Henry VII. The whole poem glows with patriotic praise of the House of Tudor, which is exalted chiefly through its connections with a noble and "historic" British past.

Still another reference to England's Trojan origins occurs in "An Epitaph upon the Deth of Kyng Edward" (n.d.). Nowhere in my examination of pre-Elizabethan Tudor poetry and verse have I discovered a critical comment on the Brute legend. It seems clear that early Tudor poets and versifiers applied none of the objective historical standards to the legend which marked the attitudes of Rastell and particularly Polydore Vergil. Instead they accepted it patriotically and applied it often

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39 Quoted from Millican's Spenser and the Table Round, pp. 28-29.
40 In Higden's Polychronicon, translated into English in 1387 by John Trevesa, and published by Caxton in 1482, there is a rhymed description of Wales which also emphasizes the Brute story.
quite consciously to dignify such subjects of native pride as the royal
House and London.

The national aspect of history had a strong effect on the poetic
development of another early Tudor theme: the fall of princes. History
became the dignified and authoritative antidote to wrenching change in
pre-Elizabethan England. Henry VII commissioned Bernard André to justify
and stabilize his own reign historically and Polydore Vergil to record
the broader aspects of English history. Reformists and supporters of
Henry VIII's assumption of church power in England rushed to demonstrate
the historical authority for temporal rule in the religious sphere. The
renewed interest in history inspired by such very practical demands joined
with a firm belief in moral instruction inherited from medieval times
to nourish a genre which incorporated both elements. In the fall-of-
princes theme, historical and legendary figures announced through their
misfortune the fickleness of Fate and more particularly how moral
retribution relentlessly pursued sinfulness and vice.

Probably the two strongest influences upon Tudor development of
the theme were Boccaccio's De Casibus Virorum Illustrium (c. 1363) and
Lydgate's Fall of Princes (1430-40). Boccaccio's work included strong
elements of the De Contemptu Mundi literature, and it emphasized the role

\[42\] For a thorough discussion of Boaccaccio, Chaucer, and Lydgate
as they point the way toward the Mirror for Magistrates, see Willard
Farnham, The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy (Berkeley, University
of California Press, 1936), Chapters III-IV.
of Fortune (virtually synonymous with God's will), but it also drew much of its animating force from general history. As Farnham says, "On its humanistic side it was a learned and eminently useful compilation from universal history." Lydgate's loose translation of De Casibus, made via a French version by Laurent de Premierfait, put heavy emphasis on the didactic moral side of the theme. To Lydgate, it was not enough that man reflect on the vicissitudes of Fortune; he must be confronted directly and often with the nature of his sins and the lesson of moral retribution. Particularly heinous to Lydgate was the sin of opposing the Christian faith, and whenever he comes upon it in his roster of fallen men, he dwells with righteous conviction upon the justice of the victim's downfall. Yet Lydgate, too, could place the blame occasionally upon the unpredictable hand of Fate when his subject seemed free from corruption and sin. In the case of noble Arthur "cheef sonne of Brutis Albioun," it is not inherent sinfulness which brings the hero down, but Fate acting through the deceitfulness of Mordred.

The disposicioun
Of Fate and Fortune, most furious & wood,
Caused his destruccion be vnkynde blood.44

44 Lydgate's Fall of Princes, ed. Henry Bergen, EETS, Extra Series, 123 (London, 1924), 911, lines 3148-50. George Cavendish, adapting the mirror theme to the contemporary religious scene, was later to attribute the deaths of two Catholics beheaded for promoting the cause of Reginald Pole, not to moral retribution but to Fate in the form of "unkyne blood." (See below, p. 391 ).
Lydgate's long poetic chronicle of the victims of Fate and their own sinfulness remained popular throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. The *Fall of Princes* was printed four times in pre-Elizabethan Tudor England: in 1494 and 1527 by Pynson, in 1554 by Tottel, and in 1555 by John Wayland. It inspired such short poetic imitations as "The Fall of Princes," a song written probably shortly after the death of Henry VIII, in which legendary and historical figures from Adam and Eve to Henry himself attest that even the greatest and noblest personages must succumb to the conqueror worm. Significantly this little piece emphasizes the heroes of British history and tradition toward the end, and the last stanza asserts, in contemporary recognition of the late king's heroic role, that Henry VIII deserved to be spared from death more than any of the great figures of the past. Such adaptation of the old theme draws from the *Percy Folio* editor a comment that "though the climax is to us an anti-climax, it is useful as a sign of the times." The piece is a clear early indication that Tudor Englishmen were beginning to shift the emphasis of the mirror tradition away from the universal history of Boccaccio and Lydgate and toward their own British and English history.

Early individual mirrors on English subjects supported this shift. John Skelton wrote some verses "On the Death of the Noble Prince, King Edward the Fourth" (1483-84), in which Edward is made to note the fall

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45 Farnham, pp. 278-79.
48 Printed in Dyce, I, 1-5.
of Alexander, Samson, Solomon, Absolom etc. and humbly to bemoan his own fate. Skelton's verses attribute Edward's fall to Fortune rather than the consequences of sin, but events of about the same time inspired comment which dealt with the justice of moral retribution. An ill-fated preliminary to Henry of Richmond's successful accession to the English crown involved the Duke of Buckingham in 1483. When, in late autumn of that year, Henry had been chosen by the nobles to end Richard's usurpation and had been declared by the Marquess of Dorset, Buckingham led a rising at Brecon. However, Henry was prevented from landing and the unsupported insurgents were forced to disperse. The duke disguised himself as a commoner, made his way to the hut of Banister, one of his servants, and thus escaped detection until Banister treacherously betrayed his master to King Richard. Since Buckingham's capture and subsequent execution (on All-Souls Day, 1483) marked the end of a brave attempt to bring in Henry, Tudor poets and versifiers made this historic incident the subject of didactic moral judgment against the traitorous Banister. A later ballad of uncertain date entitled "A song of the Duke of Buckingham" traces the history of Banister's "most hatefull wicked deed" in short, jingling stanzas and records his punishment in the misfortunes of his progeny. His eldest son went mad, his daughter drowned, and his young son lived long in shame. It is the same kind of moral judgment which the Scottish poet Robert Henryson handed out in "The Testament of Cresseid" (written about 1500), where Chaucer's heroine is stricken with leprosy for

49Printed in Rollins' Old English Ballads, pp. 351-58.
her sins, but here an unknown ballad writer rings it down upon a traitor to the cause of establishing Tudor sovereignty in England. In another piece on the same theme,\(^50\) moral retribution takes a slightly different form. One son turns made, the other is drowned, and the daughter becomes a strumpet. As for old Banister, he

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\text{liued long in shame,} \\
\text{& att the length did dye;} \\
\text{& thus they Lord did plague them all} \\
\text{ffor this his trecherye.}
\]

(lines 125-28)

No matter how the details of retribution varied, they attested the strong moral judgment of God upon the head of one who presumed to betray the cause of a noble lord engaged in the historic if abortive establishment of Tudor rule in England. That this subject long remained of great interest as an individual English mirror can be seen in recorded treatments of the theme. "The murnynge of Edward Duke of Buckyngham" was registered in 1557-58;\(^51\) Sackville's excellent "Complaynt of Henrye duke of Buckingham" was added to the 1563 edition of *A Mirror for Magistrates*; "A mournefull songe comparatively of the miserable ende of Bannister that betraied the duke of Buckingham his lord and master to the punishement of mystres Shore, & c" was registered January 18, 1600;\(^52\) and "The Life and Death of the Great Duke of Buckingham; who came to an untimely End, for consenting to the deposing of two gallant young Princes, King Edward the Fourth's

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\(^{50}\)"Buckingam betrayd by Banister," printed in *Percy's Folio Manuscript*, II, 255-59. Although it is impossible to determine the dates of these two ballads, Rollins declares that the one he prints is much earlier than this one in the *Folio*.

\(^{51}\)Reprinted in *Ballads from Manuscripts*, II, 62.

\(^{52}\)Reprinted in the Pepys collection (I, 64), and Evans's *Old Ballads* (1810), III, 23.
Children. To the tune of *Shore's Wife* appeared in Richard Johnson's *Crown Garland of Golden Roses* (1612). Even Holinshed recorded the pattern of moral retribution in his chronicle, taking it quite possibly from some verse account.

Whether this Banaster bewraied the duke more for feare than couetous, manie men doo doubt; but sure it is, that shortlie after he had betraied the duke his master, his sonne and heire waxed mad, & so died in a bores stie; his eldest daughter of excellent beautie, was suddenlie striken with a foule leprosie; his second sonne maruellouslie deformed of his lims, and made lame; his younger sonne in a small puddle was strangled and drowned; and he being of extreame age, arraigned, and found guilty of a murther, and by his clergie saued.

Poetic accounts of Tudor history did not need to be cast in the mirror tradition to provide patriotic applications of moral judgment. Several of the Buckingham pieces, for example, are direct accounts rather than personal lamentations. Bernard André's "Twelve Triumphs" makes pointed use of the "judgment" theme too. Richard III, symbolically revealed as a loathsome opponent to God's will through his emblem, the boar, falls victim to Henry of Richmond's righteous sword. Even Henry's great heroic counterpart yields to the first Tudor king's spotless virtue. At the end of his patriotic poem André takes care to explain how Hercules, despite his heroic deeds, ultimately fell victim to divine retribution in the shape of a poisoned cloak for breaking his marriage vow. Contrast this judgment, remarks André proudly, with the divine favor which now

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attends and always will attend the noble King of England.\textsuperscript{55}

Early in the sixteenth century Sir Thomas More contributed a historic mirror on a contemporary English subject. When the mother of Henry VIII died in 1503, More wrote "A Ruefull Lamentation...of the Dethe of Quene Elizabeth, Mother to King Henry the Eighth, Wife to King Henry Seventh, & Eldest Daughter to King Edward the Fourth, Which Quene Elizabeth Died in Childbed in February in the Yere of our Lord 1503 and, in the 18 Yere of the Raigne of King Henry the Seventh."\textsuperscript{56} Unlike most of the later mirrors, these verses have the protagonist lamenting her fall before death. Elizabeth, as we noted earlier, had been much celebrated in courtly literature when she married Henry Tudor in 1486, and she was a fitting subject for the melancholy \textit{ubi sunt} theme when she died. Quite naturally More looked upon the death of this woman who had symbolized civil unity to early Tudor Englishmen not as moral retribution but as the inexorable will of Fate. Elizabeth comments on the shortness of life, commends herself to God, takes leave of her children, and gently prepares to die.

Other contemporary subjects of poems in the mirror tradition were King James of Scotland and Anne Boleyn. "The Lamentation of King James IV, slain at Flodden," which appeared in the \textit{Mirror for Magistrates}, was probably written not long after the battle in 1513.\textsuperscript{57} "Anne Boleyn's

\textsuperscript{55}See the conclusion of the poem, \textit{Memorials of King Henry the Seventh}, pp. 149-53.


\textsuperscript{57}See W.F. Trench, \textit{A Mirror for Magistrates: Its Origin and Influence} (Edinburgh, 1898), pp. 91, 105.
Fortune\textsuperscript{58} is an interesting little ballad combining an allegorical description of how Anne became Henry VIII's second queen with her personal lamentation and repentance. Although she comments typically upon the fickleness of Fortune, she is made to acknowledge her own adulterous guilt introducing the theme of retribution.

"For myne offence I am full woo! 
& yf I had hurte my selfe, & nomoo, 
I had don welle & I had don soo; 
...
"I had A lover stedfaste & trewe: 
A-lase that ever I chaungyd for new!
(lines 77-86)

Sir David Lyndsay produced a Scottish piece sometime after 1546 which in its English publication contributed nearly as much to the record of frustrated anti-English designs as did the earlier lamentation of James over his fate at Flodden. "The Tragedy of the late most reuerende father Davuid, by the mercie of God Cardinall and archbishoppe of sainct Andrewes" deals with the assassination of David Cardinal Beaton on May 29, 1546. In the lament, Beaton's ghost admits his inadequate qualifications for the high office of cardinal, acknowledges the wrong he has done, and reflects on his just punishment. Although the poem is anti-papist in its original Scottish form, an epistle to the reader by Robert Burrant in a London edition adapted to English purposes affirms that England is the better off for the demise of one more evil agent of the Whore of Babylon.\textsuperscript{59}

The growing popularity of these individual mirrors on English subjects, or subjects which could be adapted to English interests, did

\textsuperscript{58}Printed in Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 409-13.
\textsuperscript{59}See Farnham, p. 273.
much to nationalize the universal historical approach of Boccaccio and Lydgate. The 1494 and 1527 editions of the *Fall of Princes* had been direct reproductions of Lydgate's long poem, but about 1554 John Wayland proposed a reprinting which would remedy a great deficiency in Boaccaccio: the neglect of English princes. William Baldwin was to aid in the project, and his personal account of the planning of the projected edition shows clearly how strong was the nationalistic motivation. Having agreed that a continuation of Lydgate adapted to English interests was desirable, the planners investigated available chronicles, and one of them reported,

> I meruaile what Bochas meaneth to forget among his myserable princes, such as wer of our nacion, whose numbre is as great, as their aduentures wunderful: For to let passe all, both Britons, Danes, and Saxons, and to cum to the last Conquest, what a sorte are they, and sum euen in his owne tyme? As for example, king Rycharde the fyrste, slayne with a quarlle in his chiefe prosperitie, also king Iohn his brother as sum saye, poysned: are not their histories rufull and of rare example? But as it shoulde appeare, he beynge an Italien, mynded most the Roman and Italike story, or els perhaps he wanted our countrey chronicles. It were therfore a goodlye and a notable matter to searche & dyscourse oure whole storye from the fyrst beginning of the inhabitynge of the yle.\(^60\)

However, these were critical times. The political machinations of Somerset and Northumberland, the tragic manipulation of Lady Jane Grey, and the vacillating religious question were all strong in men's minds. The projected inclusion of British subjects in the new edition fell victim to this political and religious uncertainty, and Wayland's printing of the *Fall of Princes* about 1555 carried only a part title about the

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"memorial" of English princes to remind readers of the swing to native interests. Not until 1559 did the actual *Mirror for Magistrates* finally bring English princes to the fore, but it is highly significant that the publication of the *Mirror* marked the end of Lydgate's universal historical approach and the advent of a strong native concern. The *Mirror* and its progeny flooded Elizabethan England with morally didactic English history while Lydgate's book was not reprinted again until the twentieth century.

At about the same time that Wayland, Baldwin, and their group were conceiving their English continuation of Lydgate, George Cavendish was at work on a similar project with a Catholic tone. His "Metrical Visions" is cast in the tradition of Boccaccio and Lydgate, but his ghosts are those of contemporary and recent English historical figures. We have already noted how strongly the authority of kingship influenced Cavendish in the treatment of his subjects. His Catholic belief led him to depict Henry VIII as a king whose "magestie is slaundred and defamed" by the violation of his marriage bond to Catherine of Arragon, but Henry's self-

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62 Farnham, p. 278.

63 See p. 223 above.
condemnation is followed by an epitaph which compares the dead monarch to the greatest figures of legend and history. Wherever Cavendish can, he emphasizes the moral retribution which attends rebellion and disobedience, particularly when it proceeds against Catholic tradition. Cromwell, who had been so instrumental in suppressing the religious houses and obliterating the remains of Catholic superstition, is made to plead his lawlessness, his "extort power and insacyat tyrannye." On the other hand, Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, and Lord Montacute (strong opponents of Henry VIII's seizure of church power who were beheaded in 1538 for promoting the cause of Reginald Pole) are represented by ghosts who lament their misunderstood motives. The falls of Henry VIII and Cromwell indicated moral judgment for individual sin, but these two Catholic martyrs are absolved of wrongdoing by Cavendish, who attributes their fall to the ignoble accusation of Montacute's brother, Geoffrey Pole.  

Wolsey, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, the Duke of Somerset, and the Duke of Northumberland are other subjects whose falls illustrate that the tenets of morality can just as clearly be taught from English history as they can from universal history. For the same reasons that the English Mirror was not published until 1559, Cavendish's rehearsal of English victims of Fortune from Wolsey to Queen Mary remained unprinted. The "Metrical Visions" lay in manuscript until published with Cavendish's Life of Cardinal Wolsey by S.W. Singer in 1825.

64 Ed. S.W. Singer, II, 58.
In final illustration of the increasing emphasis upon English history in the mirror tradition, we should mention William Forrest's "History of Grisild the Second" again. Forrest finished the long poem and presented it to Queen Mary in 1558. Like Cavendish, Forrest could safely project a strong Catholic attitude in "Grisild" most of which was probably written in Mary's reign. To Forrest, the tragic fall of Grisild (Catherine of Arragon), a patient and completely virtuous woman, reflects no inherent sinfulness deserving God's moral judgment. On the contrary, Grisild expresses great wonderment over her treatment by Walter (Henry VIII) and worries over the real recipient of God's judgment concerning her abandonment: England itself.

[She] tooke in goode worthe her constellation,
Lamentynge (rather) the dissipation
Of thynges insurginge to Englandys vndoinge
Then in her cause the wrongefull mysusinge. 65

As a result of her cruel and selfish treatment,

This noble Brytayne hathe beene plaged fore
With sundrye and manye trybulations. 66

Wolsey's fall, on the other hand, is attributed to his own sinfulness—to his animosity toward Catherine and his original recommendation that Henry take Anne as a concubine and not as a queen. 67 Such single English mirrors as Forrest's were to multiply rapidly in Elizabethan England under the influence of the Mirror for Magistrates. 68

Once again England, toward the end of the pre-Elizabethan period,

66 Ibid., p. 94.
67 Ibid., pp. 58-59.
68 See Farnham, Chater Five ("The Progeny of the 'Mirror'"), and Zocca, Chapter Six ("Single Mirrors: English History, Real and Legendary").
was demonstrating a sense of self-sufficiency. As Barclay nationalized his foreign source in the *Ship of Fools*, as such humanists as Elyot and Starkey adapted their sources to English needs, and as Crowley applied the theory of public duty to Protestant England, so did the poetic guardians of the Fall-of-Princes theme finally turn from Boccaccio and Lydgate to seek the rewards of moral history in the annals of their native land.

Before closing this discussion of history's function in early Tudor England, I must emphasize again how studiously writers on both sides of the Reformation issue sought justification in historical accounts. I have dealt with this matter in detail in an earlier chapter, and here I need only point out that the contentious religious question contributed strongly to unobjective history. The emergence of an English church free from Roman domination breathed a spirit of self-sufficient nationalism into the view of the past. In the same way that Henry VII's court poets and later Arthur Kelton interpreted British history to glorify Tudor ancestry, so did the advocates of a separated English church arrange historical facts to comply with their own convictions. Bale's pseudo-historical *Kynge Johan* is definite Protestant propaganda, and Thomas Gibson's "A breue Cronycle of the Bysshope of Romes blessynge...from the tyme of Kinge Haralde vnto this daye" (c. 1550) takes clear liberties with historical facts in the reigns of William II and Edward II in its author's attempt to exalt temporal resistance to papal power. Such pre-Elizabethan

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69Chapter Five *passim.*
70See p. 242 above.
pieces helped to create a nationalized religious climate which would shortly inspire John Foxe to write his tremendously influential *Actes and Monuments* (first English edition in 1563)—a work which divided church history into five periods demonstrating the creeping usurpation of Antichrist, but propagandizing England's role as a constant resistor of such evil and the ultimate champion of the true Protestant church.\(^7\)

In summary we can conclude that pre-Elizabethan Tudor poetry and verse emphasized the contemporary and the unobjective (particularly the national) aspects of history. Before the 1530's there was a strong divergence in the approaches of the court poets and the popular versifiers. The court poets, anxious to weave a justifying literary web around the new Tudor line and animated by an increasingly crown-conscious nationalism, sang their formal songs in praise of Henry VII, Henry VIII and their Trojan and Arthurian ancestry. Contemporary historical events such as the Siege of Boulogne (1492) and the various attempts to reestablish Yorkist rule in England labored under the generalized heroic treatment of foreign courtiers such as Johannes Opicius and Bernard André. The popular writers, on the other hand, although no more objective with history than the court poets, demonstrated early the continuing baronial relationships

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\(^7\)See William Haller's excellent article, "John Foxe, and the Puritan Revolution" in *The Seventeenth Century: Studies in the History of English thought and literature from Bacon to Pope*, by Richard Foster Jones and others writing in his honor (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1951), pp. 209-24. Haller points out that Foxe's church history taught Protestants to believe that "the true church since apostolic times had always in some guise or other been present in England, that in England, though constantly beset, it had never been overwhelmed, that in England the Reformation had begun and had spread thence to all the world, and that in England it was now or soon or eventually, if Englishmen did their part, to be finally consumated and the power of Antichrist brought to an end" (p. 218).
which had assumed such importance in fifteenth-century England where strong monarchy was lacking. Their treatment of contemporary historical events was specific and detailed where the court poets were abstract and general, but their unobjectivity was sponsored by the great noble Houses of Percy, Stanley, and Howard rather than the crown. While the court poets eulogized the House of Tudor in terms of unity and peace and forged a historic link with great British kings, the popular writers recorded the contentious history of the highly competitive noble Houses and spun out partisan reviews of military service to the crown. Richard Grafton, who owed his patronage to the Howards, but who typified the swelling response to crown-conscious nationalism, combined the two themes in his printing of Hardyng's chronicle in 1543.

The baronial approach gradually yielded to a national approach as Henry VIII achieved new prestige and power for the crown. His strong military campaigns into France and Scotland inspired such contemporary poetic historical interpretations as More's epigrams against Brixius and Skelton's outspoken pieces on Flodden Field and the Battle of Spurs, and such returns to more distant history as the Agincourt revival and Grafton's reprinting of Hardyng's verse chronicle. His separation of the English church from foreign control precipitated a torrent of historical and pseudo-historical condemnations of papal power in England, preparing the way for John Foxe's Actes and Monuments. Thus three focal points--strong monarchy, revived military activity, and native religious autonomy--fashioned the nationalized poetic approach to history which helped smother Polydore Vergil's introduction of a critical attitude toward England's past. There was too much in the present pointing toward
self-sufficient vitality to permit anyone to successfully establish historical objectivity, and such romantic themes as the Brute legend ran unquestioned through the poetry and verse.

Lastly, the whole narrowing and nationalizing of the Fall-of-Princes theme away from the universal historical approach of Boccaccio and Lydgate owed its impetus to poets and printers who responded to the catalysis of England's developing autonomy. Although the *Mirror for Magistrates* was not published until 1559, it was conceived in its strongly native form well before Elizabeth ascended the throne. The subjects from contemporary English history around whom the scattered early individual mirrors were moulded gave a clear indication of how moral instruction was linked with native pride in this kind of history. Blind Fortune and divine moral judgment, the two forces which controlled human destiny in Boccaccio and Lydgate, were interestingly differentiated in these early Tudor pieces. To unretributive Fortune were ascribed the passing of such nobly symbolic personages as Edward IV (Skelton), Henry VII's queen, Elizabeth (More), and Henry of Richmond's unfortunate supporter, Buckingham; but the weight of moral retribution is strong in the recorded fates of those who represented opposition to Tudor aspirations: the treacherous Banister, King James of Scotland, and the Scottish Cardinal Beaton.

George Cavendish ultimately turned Fate and Judgment partially to religious uses late in the pre-Elizabethan period. Cavendish sees the hand of Judgment punishing the sins of Cromwell, Henry VIII for breaking his marriage bond, and Somerset, while the militant Romanists Exeter and Montacute are advanced as the innocent victims of ironic Fate.
William Forrest applies as much moral judgment as he dares to Henry VIII and Wolsey in support of the mother of the staunch Catholic queen under whose shadow he wrote. But whether moral judgment served the purposes of early patriotism or religious conviction, at least the subjects of these pieces in the mirror tradition were either themselves English or ones which had a direct bearing on contemporary English history. Pre-Elizabethan Tudor poets and versifiers had clearly helped substantially to mould a sense of historic self-sufficiency in England.
CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The period from 1485 to 1558 was an extremely important one in the history of England. It marked the emergence of a people reduced by foreign and domestic wars into a nation revitalized by strong monarchy and new autonomy. In the pre-Elizabethan Tudor period much of the foundation was laid for the great literary patriots who were to follow: Spenser, Shakespeare, Daniel, and Drayton. The bricklayers for that foundation were many, although they were often undistinguished, but the masonry was solid and serviceable. Warmed by the emotional fire of rising nationalism and self-sufficiency, early Tudor poets and versifiers contributed significantly to the perpetuation of their own native institutions.

Under the first Tudor monarch unity and peace were the major literary concerns. Both were heavily advertised in the formal Latin poetry of the court circle, and although the two themes sprang defensively from a long period of frustration and economic strain, they gradually assumed positive proportions under the shrewd stabilizing policies of Henry VII. Under Henry VIII the idea of unity shifted its emphasis from the chiefly civil concerns of the first Tudor king to embrace broader national and geographic problems. Poetic commentators on this metamorphosis remained true to the vivid, emotional side of the problem, emphasizing the treacherous insubordination of the Scots, while state officials and prose writers argued the theoretic advantages of union.

The sanction of power, which was to play such a strong role in developing nationalism under Henry VIII, had two distinct foci in early
Tudor England. To the court poets, power meant the crown, but to a large number of private citizens, power still manifested itself in the great noble Houses, and the baronial apologists rewrote recent and contemporary history to propagandize individual causes. Henry VII's own successful assertiveness combined with a general poetic indictment of Richard III as a tyrannical usurper to distract attention from Henry's relatively weak legal claim to the English throne, but poets and versifiers moved quickly to justify the Tudor line by identifying it with ancient and heroic British kings and by energetically hoping for and celebrating the arrival of heirs to the crown.

The originally defensive isolationism which seized Englishmen in the early sixteenth century gave rise to strong anti-foreign sentiment. Attacks on the alien influence came from every level of poetic expression—from the anonymous ballad to the academic Latin verses of Sir Thomas More. Aside from the torrent of abuse heaped on the forces of Rome, the French and the Scots were the most consistent targets of self-conscious English emotionalism: the French because they corrupted Englishmen with the excesses of fashion and because they still resisted English claims to continental dominions, the Scots because they represented the epitome of insubordination and treachery. Toward the close of the pre-Elizabethan period the proud Spaniard drew English animosity through Mary's unpopular marriage to Philip II.

But like the ideal of unity, isolationism evolved from its contentious defensiveness into a positive and self-consciously constructive force. Even before the break with Rome in 1534, a new sense of English
autonomy and self-sufficiency struck sparks in the poetry and verse, and Henry VIII's assumption of church power fanned the flame into a blaze. Englishmen became increasingly aware of the native aspects of their heritage. They had their own law, their own language, their own natural and educational resources, their own heroic history and tradition, and best of all their own natural abilities. It was but a short step from awareness of these resources to reliance on them. In militant verse Englishmen argued for the processing of their own wool, the revival of archery, the historic authenticity of Brute and Arthur, the excellence of their own tongue and its literary exponents. Urged on by strong monarchy and convinced of their own divinely inspired mission, they prepared for a new age.

One recent commentator on nationalism has said: "In its essence nationhood is always a matter of spirit...a nation is a 'spiritual principle' sustained by the continuing force of a tradition from one generation to another and inspired by the memory of 'great things done together' and the desire to do more of them. It is chiefly this spiritual character that differentiates a nation from a state. The nation is incorporated in the state as the soul in the body." A full sense of nationhood was not to be realized in England until late Elizabethan times, but the first four Tudor monarchs did much to nourish it. Henry VIII, in particular, inspired Englishmen to the memory of "great things done together," as the revival of literary interest in Edward III and Henry V well indicates, and such publications as Grafton's

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edition of Hardyng's verse chronicle in 1543 typified the swelling Tudor desire to extend that tradition of high accomplishment.

It should be clear now that pre-Elizabethan poetry and verse contributed most to the growth of English patriotism and nationalism in three general ways: (1) by continuously advertising the authority of Tudor monarchy, (2) by leading the attack on presumptuous foreign influences and designs of every sort, and (3) by propagandizing the military glory of England both past and present. The first contribution was initiated by the court poets and picked up later by the popular writers, the second was sponsored just about equally by intellectual and popular poets, and the third was advanced strongly by the popular writers and echoed by the intellectual circle. All three poetic focal points involved highly emotional subject matter, and it is not surprising that early Tudor patriotism has often been charged with being contentiously insular. But contentious insularity was a necessary step toward ultimate self-confidence.

In addition to these three areas of extended and specific concern, there were a number of areas in which early Tudor poets strongly reflected and perpetuated ideas which were somewhat more abstract and therefore more naturally the subject of prose development. The Tudor theory of kingship, for example, received detailed treatment in a number of prose tracts, but relatively little specific poetic comment. The importance of education, the nature and authority of law, the principle of duty to the state, and the use of the longbow were other subjects of elaborate prose comment which were cast in a more restricted but usually more vivid atmosphere by poets and versifiers. Furthermore the poetic tendency to be immediate, localized, and often personal contributed strongly to the
regular employment of subjects with patriotic and nationalistic emotional prestige to demanding social, political, and religious questions. Skelton drew heavily on the ideals of public duty and English law to condemn his personal enemy, Wolsey, while the anonymous popular writers employed the same ideals to indict clerical responsibility for a variety of social evils. New pride in the vernacular was called to support the attack on Roman control of the English church; and the English longbow, suggestive of much that was valiant and honorable in English history, was commissioned periodically to lend symbolic prestige to a variety of causes. Pre-Elizabethan poetry and verse give ample evidence that a companion development to a growing sense of nationalism and self-sufficiency was the realization that the "patriotic" approach could be eminently useful. It is not at all easy to determine in a given case whether some patriotic ideal was consciously used to further a particular cause, or whether that cause or conviction inspired a kind of spontaneous "patriotism." However, such evidence as Skelton's attack on Wolsey, Roy and Barlow's satiric indictment of religious abuses in England, the Robin Hood allegory on the dissolution of the monasteries, Pickering's ingenious ballad on the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the excesses of Thomas Starkey's interpretive and propagandist attitude indicates clearly that "patriotism" served often as a means rather than an end.

It can fairly be said that the poetry and verse which helped to build an early Tudor sense of patriotic pride was not confined to any particular literary level or group. Neither are there any figures which stand out as particularly strong and conscious patriotic poets. Edward III's great military exploits inspired Lawrence Minot's poetic patriotism
in the fourteenth century, an England blessed with former honor and glory but declining militarily and commercially inspired the remarkable "Libel of English Policy" in the fifteenth century, and an Elizabethan English nation full of a sense of greatness produced such outstanding patriotic spokesmen as Spenser, Daniel, and Drayton; but pre-Elizabethan Tudor Englishmen were too close to demanding economic, social, and religious changes, too concerned with the immediate problems of adjustment to think and write poetically in any sustained patriotic sense. They felt the swell of national pride, indeed in a variety of ways they helped greatly to perpetuate it, but in the final analysis the patriotism of early Tudor poetry and verse is not so much a strong governing principle as it is a cumulative and incremental awareness which emerged from the political and social scene and crystallized the focal points of native pride.

My main purpose in this thesis has been to trace the ideological pattern of pre-Elizabethan "patriotic" poetry and verse. Now a word should be said about literary stature. Generally speaking, early Tudor poetry associated in any sense with patriotism or nationalism is undistinguished. The Latin and occasional French poetry written by Henry VII's courtiers is formally ponderous and it loses itself in repetitious, allusion-studded hyperbole. On the other hand, the vast body of satiric and popular ballad verse, which so successfully illuminates the issues and reveals the temper of pre-Elizabethan England, is too contentious, too unfamiliar with proportion and restraint to rise to eloquence. For all its topical quality, its vividness, and its directness, for all its ability to involve a reader, it derives its emotional power from its lack
of inhibition rather than from any inherent beauty. Louis B. Wright's comment that "the history of Elizabethan patriotism as it affected the literate populace could almost be written from broadside ballads," if extended to include the long popular satires, applies equally well to early Tudor England. But it was just this immediacy, just this journalistic reporting and editorializing which defined the function of the popular verse commentator that caused him to ignore, if he understood them, the qualities of good poetry. He was in a very real sense the newspaper reporter of his time, although completely unfettered with our present dictum of objectivity, and his goal was to dispense information rather than ascend Parnassus.3

"Rede me and be nott wrothe" (1528), a long verse tract against English religious abuses, is typical of the strong and weak points of contemporary verse satire. Arber, who edited the tract, declared, "Intrinsically it is one of the worthiest Satires in our language. Its spirit is excellent. I say no thinge but trothe is its true motto. It is more salt than bitter; and where bitter, it is more from its facts than its expression."4 With this judgment John M. Berdan disagreed violently:

It is an underground sewer of vile, corrupted matter. To call it a satire is to justify billingsgate, since whatever power it may have arises from the fact that the two

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2Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England, p. 421.
3For an account of how John Skelton played the part of a reporter in dashing off and later revising his popular accounts of Flodden Field and the Battle of Spurs, see Nelson, John Skelton Laureate, pp. 134-37.
4English Reprints, XXVIII (1871), 7.
authors lack any restraint in making their nasty accusations. The plea may be made that they felt that in fighting against the party in power any method was justifiable, and that by their writing they were running the risk of their lives. However, convincing this may be as an explanation of the motive, it does not alter the fact that the result is disgraceful.5

Although I do not particularly relish the role of compromiser, I feel sure that the truth lies somewhere between these two attitudes. Arber's assertion that the tract's plea of truth is valid suggests that his critical judgment of literary merit is colored by his own sympathy with the subject matter; Berdan, on the other hand, springs to the attack on the heels of this flat statement: "If there were any desire to present the truth, the work would be interesting as throwing light upon persons and conditions in a transition period; if the work represented even the opinions of a party, there would be an historic value... On neither of these accounts does the piece... have much value.6 I do not find the piece distinguished in any literary sense, but neither does it impress me as "an underground sewer of vile, corrupted matter." I think Berdan is mistaken when he declares that it does not even represent the opinions of a party. In my discussion of the tract I have shown that the attitudes toward Wolsey, the Englishing of scripture, and the irresponsibility of the clergy reflect very definite prevailing opinions. But the piece was written and printed on the continent and the authors could afford to be more uninhibited than if they had been writing in England. The result is that although the tract is interesting for its

5*Early Tudor Poetry*, p. 212.
subject matter, it is too intense and repetitious to be good poetry. The dissonant screech of a grinding ax drowns out any melody.

These are the same qualities that prevent Skelton from achieving poetic heights in his satires. Skelton is an important poet—he is perhaps even an essential poet to the student of early Tudor thought—but he is never a great poet, and sometimes not even a good one. His patriotism is contentiously volcanic and he often becomes too deeply involved in raking an opponent while justifying himself to deserve more than the critically compromising tag of "vividly interesting." His lines against Dundas typify his abrasive approach. Presented as a defense of Englishmen, they are little more than an intemperate and extended personal attack on the Scot. His short, staccato lines sting with sling-shot power, but even though he varies his stress, his rhyme scheme, and his stanza form, there is a repetitive sameness about his effect. Enough of Skelton's verse has been quoted above to obviate further illustration. The pattern is easy to identify elsewhere as "Skeltonic" and Skelton had a host of imitators. In "The Image of Ypocresye" (1533-34), for example, a disciple complains for some 2500 lines about corruption among the clergy. Long passages in which the repeated rhyme jangles with maddening insistence weary the reader. In one place the abused layman carries forth the author's criticism with this hopefully naive reference to the clergy:

I will give while I maye,
That, when I am away,
They shall both singe and saye,
And for my Soules helthe pray,
Tyll it be domes day:
So, after this array,—
Alake and well a waye!—
We oure landes straye,
And other goodes decay;
Wherat ye laughe and play:
And natheles allwye
We dayly pay and pay,
To haue youe to go gaye
With wonderfull araye,
As Dysardes in a play.7

This effect may well owe its influence to Medieval Latin, as Berdan
insists,8 but such writing, common as it was in the early Tudor period,
hardly deserves the label of poetry. "Vox Populi Vox Dei" is another
long criticism of the social scene in the Skeltonic manner which reflects
the same poetic vices. Although the shepherd-narrator presents a highly
interesting case for the abused commoner, a case which drew heavily upon
proper recognition of the commoner's capacity for serving and defending
the commonwealth, the rocking trimeter verses and the frequent weak-
syllable rhyme succeed only in conforming to a standard. The reader is
left uninspired; but, as we have already pointed out, the motivation for
verse satire and criticism at this time must not be lost sight of.
These writers were not trying to produce poetry; rather they were seek-
ing a critical outlet in a form emphasizing emotional appeal.

Even Skelton himself recognized that poetry might not be the ideal
vehicle for polemics. In "A replycacion agaynst certayne yong scolers
abiured of late," he follows up his attack on certain young men who
employ the little knowledge they have gained to heretical purposes with
a final passage answering in advance "all waywarde or frowarde alterca-
cyons that can or may be made or obiected agaynst Skelton laureate,deuyser
of this Replycacyon."9 Here Skelton anticipates an objection about the

7Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 192, lines 365-79.
8See Berdan, Early Tudor Poetry, pp. 167-68.
9Printed in Dyce, I, 206-24.
function of poetry.

Ye saye that poetry
Maye nat flye so hye
In theology,
Nor analogy,
Nor philology,
Nor philosophy,
To answere or reply
Agaynst suche heresy.
(lines 306-13)

Citing King David's high achievement in "Spyrituall poetry," Skelton moves off into a description of the poet's lofty and inspired calling.

There is a spyrituall,
And a mysteriiall,
And a mysticall
Effecte energiiall,
As Grekes do it call
Of suche an industry,
And suche a pregnacy,
Of heauenly inspyracion
In laureate creacyon,
Of poetes commendacion,
That of diuynge myseracion
God maketh his habytacion
In poetes whiche excelles,
And soiourns with them and dwelles.
(lines 365-78)

On this high but somewhat irrelevant plane, Skelton justifies his poetic attack on heresy. His own poetic flight is restricted again by the freight of invective. He laments that these young heretics "stynke vnbrent" for the blasphemy that has issued from their "lyppes polluted" and "ianglyng iawes." It is highly significant at this time that a poet who understood what makes for good poetry should feel compelled to defend himself in advance against his own argumentativeness, and that he should conclude that defense with a description of poetic inspiration which his own peculiar personality prevented him from achieving.

Still Skelton must be given his due. Whatever his shortcomings, he is vigorous and sharp. If his poetry is often too strongly personal,
it is the more human for it. Although he accepted many of the old allegorical conventions, the force of his personality led him out of the vague abstractions which often attended the medieval form and introduced to his readers a vital and active mind.

When we turn from extended social and religious verse commentary to the field of battle, however, the poetic quality of early Tudor verse improves. It improves largely because of the nature of battle itself. Physical combat commands the poetic stage like an overpowering personality, and the verse celebrations of early Tudor feats of war benefit from this commanding immediacy. Weak rhymes become rare, and monosyllabic virility takes charge. The diction is often crude and contemptuously partisan. An anonymous ballad on the Battle of Pinkie Cleugh (1547) reports that the retreating Scots “ran soe fast that the fell on their Nose,”¹⁰ but such uninspired lines are redeemed by strikingly effective images (“they fished before their netts were spunn”) and by rousing graphic descriptions (the Scots fled “when they heard our great gunnes cracke”).¹¹

Sixteenth-century popular battle songs can hardly match the truly moving lines of “Cheuy Chase,” however. In that gripping account of early border warfare which moved Sir Philip Sidney to high praise, the tone is consistently noble. The ringing lines are forged on the anvil of confident pride, but there is none of the contemptuous sarcasm which compromises the strength of some sixteenth-century battle pieces.

Our English archers bend their bowes—
their harts were good & trew,
reports the author of "Cheuy Chase." In the death of Sir Hugh Mont­
gomery, the Scottish knight who has slain Lord Percy, the author demon­
strates his skill with movingly simple and graphic language. An
anonymous English archer accomplishes the feat:

Against Sir Hugh Mountgomerye
his shaft full right he sett;
the grey goose winge that was there-on,
in his harts bloode was wett.12

Although early Tudor songs rarely achieve this poetic quality, they can
reproduce some of the spontaneous thrill of battle. Even the jagged,
unrhymed lines of "Scotish Ffeilde" illuminate the clash between English
and Scottish forces in 1513 with a kind of blunt eloquence.

They trunmpetts full truly: they tryden together,
Many shames in that showe: with theire shrill pipes;
heauenly was theire Melody: their Mirth to heare,
how the songen with a showte: all the shawes ouer!
there was gurding forth of gunns: with many great stones,
Archers vttered out their arrowes: and [egerlie they shotten,]
they proched vs with speares: & put many over
that they blood out brast: at there broken harnish,
there was swinging out of swords: & swapping of headds;
we blanked them with bills: through all their bright armor
that all the dale dunned: of their derfe strokes.13

But even the battle songs can become tedious and pedestrian when
the action is weighed down by argumentative bias. The Stanley apologists,
for example, freight their accounts of Bosworth Field and Flodden Field
with long and repetitious catalogues of baronial virtue. Consequently
these pieces fall partial victim to the same poetic vices that character­
ize the argumentative social and religious satires. Poetry nearly always

12Ibid., II, 14.
13Ibid., I, 228, lines 319-29.
suffers when it admits the belligerent debater into its household.

Standing against the Skeltonic trimeters whose repetitive cadence lent importunity to contemporary verse satire and criticism, and the popular ballad meter which so successfully conveyed the present action of battle, was the relatively impersonal dignity of the traditional rhyme-royal stanza. Introduced by Chaucer and adopted by Lydgate, it became the standard form for chivalric and high moral themes. Although Chaucer was well regarded by early Tudor Englishmen, Lydgate, because of his high moral tone, was perhaps even more revered. His Temple of Glas and Fall of Princes had wide influence on late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century writers. Stephen Hawes turned particularly to Lydgate for inspiration, praising him as the bulwark of literary morality against all lesser occasional literature ("balades of fervent amyte" and "gestes and tryfles wythout frutefulnes"), and acknowledging him as

the most dulcet sprynge
Of famous rethoryke, wyth balade ryall,
The chefe orygynal of my lernyng.15

Hawes used the rhyme-royal stanza not only for such moral and chivalric allegories as the Example of Virtue and the Pastime of Pleasure, but

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14Caxton paid glowing tribute to Chaucer as

fader and founder of ornate eloquence,
That enlumened hast alle our bretayne.

also for his courtly laudations. His song to Prince Henry (later Henry VIII) at the end of the *Example of Virtue* and his "Joyful Meditation" on Henry's coronation in 1509 are both examples of the form.

Throughout the pre-Elizabethan period, rhyme-royal stanza is invoked to lend dignity and formal prestige to subject matter. Barclay uses it in the *Ship of Fools* and the *Life of St. George*; Robert Fabian employs it in a twenty-eight-stanza verse prologue to his chronicle; and Richard Grafton perpetuates its historic application in the verse dedication to the Duke of Norfolk preceding Hardyng's rhyme-royal chronicle. Lily's verses on Charles V's entry into London in 1522 are cast in this stanza form as are Leland's and Udall's verses on the coronation of Anne Boleyn. Even the verse satirists occasionally used the form. The "Treatyse of this Galaunt," "The Ruyn of a Ream," and the section in "Rede me and be nott wrothe" condemning Wolsey for his role in the burning of Tyndale's English Testament are all written in rhyme-royal stanza. Later it was the vehicle for such ambitious projects as Cavendish's "Metrical Visions," and Forrest's "Grisild the Second" and "Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practice."

None of the early Tudor rhyme-royalists distinguishes himself with the form. Hawes is voluminous and abstract and Barclay often gives the impression of struggling to meet rhythmical and metrical demands. However Barclay, as a preacher, was deeply involved with moral judgment, and like so many other self-conscious poets he advances his worthy purpose as a justification for his lack of eloquence. Still, it must be pointed out that Barclay's most successful poetry in the *Ship of Fools* is written
about his most original subjects. His envoys, where he departs completely from his French and Latin sources, are often the strongest and most appealing parts of the long poem. In this connection it is evident that Barclay's ecclesiastical patriotism contributes to his most effective poetry, for in the very adaptation of Brant's subject matter to English purposes, we find him being most earnest, most direct, and most impressive. When Brant's Maximilian yields to Barclay's Henry VIII, we are exposed not to sterile courtly flattery but to genuine and occasionally moving patriotism. Simple strength and goodness, not fantastically exaggerated abilities, inspire Barclay's commendation of Henry as the hope of England and the potential champion of Christendom.

He seketh nat his kyngdome to auaunce
By gyle disceyte: nor other lyke falsnes
His mynde nat elate with scornfull statelynes
But in the playne path of goodnes lawe and right
The fere of god alway before his syght

As longe as this noble Prynce shall be our gyde
With vs all honour godnes and ioy shall growe
With perfyte peas about on euery syde
In welth and ryches we shall habounde and flowe.16

Another patriotic preacher, with a somewhat different religious goal, did not reach even the modest poetic heights of Barclay. Robert Crowley was perhaps even more dedicated to the moral and spiritual regeneration of England than was Barclay. Conceiving of himself as a modern day Isaiah sent to "tell the lorde's people of their iniquitie," he set out in "One and Thytie Epigrammes" to classify and pass judgment

16 Jamieson, II, p. 207.
on England's many sins. But as a poet he fails almost completely. The short dimeter and trimeter lines in which his epigrams are cast rock and jingle unevenly; the rhymes are weak and often badly forced. Even when the meter is even and the rhymes are true, a reader gets the feeling less of verse than of the repetitive and emotional cadence which characterizes even present-day evangelists. "The Voyce of the last trumpet," Crowley's metrical sermon condemning rebellion, urging obedience to the king, and calling for the application of each man's talents and resources to the good of the commonwealth, is scarcely a poetic improvement on the epigrams. Frequent tetrameter lines slow the pace a bit, but the alternating rhyme and the unimaginative diction keep it from being distinguished in any metrical way. The piece is simply an intensely sincere sermon turned into verse. Its chief distinguishing feature, so far as our examination is concerned, is that it clearly represents the Tudor verse metamorphosis of public duty from a means toward an end.

However the poetic muse did not completely ignore the proponents of early Tudor patriotism. "An Honour to London" (1501), wherein glows a present and historic pride in the symbolic center of English life, exaggerates the city's virtues, but comes across successfully as a poem. It is short enough (seven eight-line stanzas) to escape the contemporary poetic vice of tedious overstatement, and its pentameter lines and interlocking rhyme (ababccbc) allow the thought to come through without focusing undue attention on the form. The rhythm is not always regular and the rhyme occasionally falls on a weak, unaccented syllable, but there is imagination and poetic unity to be found here. Each stanza takes
up some new aspect of London's glory, but each returns to the thematic
tribute, "London! thowe arte the rowre of cities all." The overall
effect is a pleasant one.

But the best poetry comes from the pens of Wyatt and Surrey.
Neither devoted a major part of his writing to patriotic sentiment, but
each in his own way expressed his love for England. Wyatt devoted most
of his life to the service of the crown, and his extended visits to the
continent in such official capacities as ambassador to Spain left him
with a deep appreciation of his native land. The eloquent little poem
written on his departure from Spain in 1539, which graces so many
anthologies, deserves every bit of its high reputation. Infused with
a quiet and sensitive patriotism, it stands in simple and perfect con­
trast to the abrasiveness of much early Tudor native pride.

Tagus, fare well, that westward with thy stremis,
Torns up the grayns of gold already tryd:
With spurr and sayle for I go seke the Temis,
Gayward the sonne, that showth her wealthi pry:
And to the town that Brutus sowght by dremis.
Like bendyd mone doth lend her lusty syd;
My Kyng my Contry alone for whome I lyve:
Of myghty love the winges for this me gyve.

Coupled with the poet's joy at being "here...in Kent and Christendome"
away from the compromising and artificial demands of continental life,
which he expresses in the closing lines of "Myn owne John Poynz,"
"Tagus, farewell" reveals the poetic qualities which elevate Wyatt far
beyond all his pre-Elizabethan rivals with the possible exception of
Surrey.

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17 For two stanzas of the poem see p. 261 above.
18 The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt, ed. Foxwell, I, 57.
19 See p. 104 above.
Surrey's patriotism is neither so directly expressed nor so strong as Wyatt's. Yet Surrey, in his lament of Wyatt's death, grieved over the silence of "a tounge, that serued in forein realmes his king;" and he was quick to honor the selfless sacrifice of Thomas Clere, Surrey's companion and squire who received a mortal wound in saving his lord's life at the siege of Montreuil (September 19, 1544) and died the following April. Elsewhere, Surrey's patriotism centers in the land and the English environment as sources of personal joy. "The soote season" speaks of "bud and blome," of the green that "hath clad the hill and eke the vale," of the "buck in brake," and the "swift swallow;" and Surrey's simple, personal elegy to Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond in 1537 relives the joys of an English countryside: "the large green courts," "the secret groves," and "the wild forest."

The chasm between the work of these two serious poets, who sought English eloquence among foreign forms, and the argumentative verse of the social commentators and religious satirists is, of course, tremendously wide. One wishes there were more real poetry in the early Tudor period, but it is not difficult to account for the lack of it. The rapidly changing climate of pre-Elizabethan England encouraged the polemicist rather than the soaring spirit. The air was too turbulent for either contemplative poetic inspiration or serene patriotism.

It is important to point out that while Wyatt and Surrey were ex-

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20"Norfolk sprang thee," Poems, ed. Padelford, p. 82.
21"The soote season," ibid., p. 45.
22"so crowell prison! how could betyde," ibid., p. 69.
experimenting with a variety of verse forms in their search for worthy
English expression, a host of medieval and scholastic influences still
governed the great body of early Tudor verse.23 The poetic expression
of native pride was therefore very often clothed in old and traditional
robes.

Allegory and personification were two of the strongest carry-overs
from medieval tradition. Even a cursory glance at the political poems
of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries reveals how common were these
poetic conventions in England. A song on the death of Edward III per-
sonifies former England as a great warship with Edward as the rudder
and the commons as the mast; a long piece on the deposition of Richard
II is presented as a continuation of Piers Ploughman, and the allegory
is abandoned only at the end for direct criticism of Richard;24 and a
Yorkist poem written shortly after the Battle of Towton (1461) represents
England as a garden long overgrown with weeds (Lancastrian misrule) but
yearning after the "sweet herbs" of Yorkist rule.25

Much of the late medieval appetite for allegory can be traced back
to the immensely popular and influential French poem, "Le Roman de la
Rose." Chaucer translated it, and it fathered such allegorical descendants
as the "Flower and the Leaf," "The Assembly of Ladies," and the "Court of
Love."26 Although "Le Roman de la Rose" was an erotic allegory, the
tradition which grew out of it influenced a number of other areas in-

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23 See Berdan's Early Tudor Poetry, Chapter Two ("The Medieval
Tradition"), and Chapter Three ("The Scholastic Tradition").
24 Wright, Political Poems and Songs, I, 368.
25 Ibid., II, 267.
26 See Berdan, p. 60 ff.
cluding the political sphere. For example, the fifteenth-century Lancaster-York struggle, with its coincidental symbols of a red and a white rose, received elaborate poetic and verse treatment which reflected not only the allegorical context of the "Roman" tradition, but even the specific details of a walled garden harboring a blooming rose. Both popular and intellectual poets responded to the lure of allegory and personification. Over and over again, in late fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century pieces, popular writers cast political events in symbolic form. Contemporary popular history is written in terms of graphic personifications—the Stanley eagle, the Tudor rose, and the York boar. Great official occasions were also the subject of allegorical treatment. In "The Thrissil and the Rois," written to celebrate the marriage of Princess Margaret Tudor to King James IV of Scotland in 1503, William Dunbar presents a full development of the tradition. In addition to the allegorical discussion, his rhyme-royal verses include the conventional dream structure. The poet lies asleep and dreams that he is led into a beautiful garden by Aurora and May. There Dame Nature calls together all the flowers and beasts, crowns the red lion (of the Scottish arms) king of beasts, and the eagle king of birds. Calling forth the flowers, then, she crowns the "awfull Thrissill" (symbol of the Scottish king) and counsels him to hold no other flower so dear as "the fresche Ros of cullour reid and quhyt"
(Margaret Tudor). All the birds join in a chorus of praise so loud that it wakes the dreamer. \(^{28}\) Leland's and Udall's verses on the coronation of Anne Boleyn (1533) describe the event in an allegorical pageant of a falcon and a rose, \(^{29}\) and an anonymous recorder of "Anne Boleyn's Fortune" traces her subsequent fall in a similar allegory, wherein a great storm destroys the falcon's nest in the rose tree. \(^{30}\)

A variety of sources served allegorical comment on the early Tudor political and social scene. The anonymous moral author of "Conscience" forged his criticism from the *Piers Ploughman* tradition, as we have seen; another unknown writer personified his disapproval of the dissolution of the monasteries in English folk hero champions of the bow; and still another poet cast his elegy on Lord Admiral Seymour in the form of a little allegory entitled "The Hospitable Oak." \(^{31}\) Although Thomas Seymour's execution in 1549 ended the career of a devious and ambitious man, the author of this little poem personifies him as a "lustie tree" sacred to Jove, which gave shade and protection to all shepherds roundabout, but was maliciously cut down for shading "too

\(^{28}\) See the poem as it is printed in *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. W. Mackenzie (Edinburgh, The Porpoise Press, 1932), pp. 107-12.

\(^{29}\) See p. 183 above.

\(^{30}\) Printed in *Ballads from Manuscripts*, I, 409-13.

much grounde." The piece ends with Jove's angry promise to put the

The isolationism of early Tudor times encouraged the microcosmic
allegory too. Earlier political commentators had adopted the ship as
a convenient symbol of the state of England. In addition to a four­
teenth-century poem, which we have mentioned several times, describing
England as a ship which has weathered all storms, there is a poem
written by a Lancastrian partisan in 1458 which exploits the same image.33
Henry VI's government is personified as a ship with young Prince Edward
as the mast and various nobles as other functional parts. In early
Tudor England, the ship becomes a microcosmic symbol for Barclay's
encyclopedic examination of English society (Ship of Fools) and
Skelton's sharp satire of court life (Bowge of Court).

The medieval popularity of the conflictus, or poetic debate,
carried over into early Tudor verse also. This form developd along
several lines34 including the simple dialogue, and its dramatic
qualities fit naturally into the polemic atmosphere of pre-Elizabethan
England. The accusations of unpatriotic action against English religious
sects are carried on in dialogue form in "Rede me and be nott wrothe"
(1528) and again in "A Proper Dyaloge between a Gentillman and a

32 Later on Spenser included an allegory of the oak and the briar
in the February eclogue of "The Shepheardes Calender."

33 Printed as the second of "XXV Political Poems of the reigns of
Henry VII and Edward IV communicated by Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., in
a Letter to John Gage Rokewode, Esq. Director S.A." (March 7, 1842),
in Archaeologia, XXIX, 318-47.

34 See Berdan, p. 128 ff.
husbandman" (1530). Copland's "The Highway to the Spital-House" (1535-36) is a dialogue between the author and the porter of a spital house. The religious question, of course, lent itself naturally to debate. The argument was carried on in such pieces as "A newe ballade made of Thomas Cromwel, called Trolle on away" (1540), wherein a lady demands Cromwell's execution in a dialogue with the king, and it appeared in the numerous verse arguments between varying personifications of the Papist and the Reformer. Strong patriotic sentiments were advanced also in prose adaptations of the form. Starkey's "Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset" (1535), and John Coke's "Debate Betwene the Heraldes of Englande and Fraunce" (1550) both ring with English national pride.

The medieval influence was not completely dominant, however. The pastoral tradition with its classic overtones played a part in furthering early Tudor political and social comment. Alexander Barclay, in the prologue to his "Eclogues" (1513-14), mentions Theocritus and Vergil as forerunners of the form, but his special debt is to a more recent writer, the moste famous Baptist Mantuan The best of that sort since Poetes first began. Barclay's Englishing of the eclogue form suffers poetically from first efforts, but it is significant that this attempt was not a subjectively sterile one. Barclay adapted his sources to English subject matter,

36 Mantuan's ten "Eclogues" were first printed in 1498 and immediately became very popular.
even as he had in the *Ship of Fools*, and his eclogues include tributes to Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Sir Edward Howard. Other evidences of the pastoral tradition are to be found in Johannes Opicius's Latin poem on the marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, in which Meliboeus and Mopsus carry on a shepherd's dialogue over the virtues of the union; the Robin Hood allegory against the dissolution of the monasteries, which unfolds in a pastoral dialogue between Watkyn and Jeffray; and "Vox Populi," wherein the elaborate indictment of social abuses and the exploitation of the commoner is delivered by a shepherd-narrator.

The intellectual writers drew heavily, of course, from the great wells of classic legend and mythology. Henry VII's court poets filled their Latin pieces with classical allusions, and Bernard André erected an elaborate contemporary parallel of the Hercules legend in the "Twelve Triumphs." Skelton's Parrot in "Speke Parrot" is Psyttacus, son of Deucalion. Again in Leland's and Udall's verses on the coronation of Anne Boleyn, there are elaborate references to the Muses and Graces. One of the pageants is an adaptation of the Judgment of Paris. Latin verses record that Paris disdained the offerings of Juno (kingdoms), Minerva (skill and wisdom), and Venus (a lady love) for his golden apple, and awarded it instead to Queen

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37See p. 9 above.
38See p. 154 above.
Thus pre-Elizabethan poetry and verse, which helped so greatly to
crystalize the areas of native English pride, drew on a variety of
traditions both ancient and medieval from the eclogue and classic
mythology to medieval allegory and poetic debate. The results were
not often inspiring as poetry, but they were highly significant records
of an English consciousness coming awake.

40 Ballads from Manuscripts, I, 397.
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AUTobiography

I, John Roland Pierce, was born in Lakewood, Ohio, September 6, 1926. I received my secondary school education in the public schools of Painesville, Ohio, and my undergraduate training at Hobart College, Geneva, New York, and Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. I received the Bachelor of Arts degree from Dartmouth in 1947 and the Master of Arts degree from Ohio State University in 1949. While in residence at Ohio State University I served as a Graduate Assistant in the Department of English and taught Freshman English until I left in 1953 to take a position as Instructor of English at Louisiana State University. In 1954 I accepted a position as Assistant Director of Student Affairs at Case Institute of Technology in Cleveland, Ohio. I held this position for two years and then became an Instructor in the Department of Humanities and Social Studies. In 1959 I became Assistant Professor of English at Case Institute of Technology.