THE RISE AND PROGRESS

of

EUPHUISM

in

ENGLISH LITERATURE

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"Jedes schriftstellerische Erzeugnis ist..... das Product des nationalen Denkens oder Erkennens auf der einen und der individuellen Beanlagung, Erziehung und Eigentümlichkeit auf der andern Seite.. Wir gelangen...zu dem Ergebnis, dass bei der Darstellung stets ein Kompromiss zwischen den verschiedenen Factoren, dem nationalen und dem individuellen, dem generischen und dem biographischen geschlossen werden muss".

ELZE.

(Every literary growth is the product of national thought and education on the one hand, and of individual ability, education, and peculiarity on the other.....We come to the conclusion that in production a compromise must always be effected between the two different factors, the national and the individual, the generic and the biographic.)

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CHAPTER 1.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

A. T H E R E N A I S S A N C E A N D H U M A N I S M.

Of the many claims to attention and consideration that the Renaissance in all its vast and various ramifications may make, not the least compelling in importance as well as in interest is its stimulus to literary productivity. All nations of Western Europe came under the influence of this mighty movement and while individual idiosyncrasies tempered and fashioned its development in each country, there was abundant evidence on all sides of close resemblances in general effect. The restless and reckless spirit of Tudor England with its fecundity of inspiration, its eager curiosity and yearning for novelty and adventure, differed little in its main aspects from the kindred intellectual and active spirit of the France, Spain, and Italy contemporaneous with it. All countries were inspired by the re-discovery of the classical tongues, all became imbued with the free, fresh, and versatile spirit of the Italian Renaissance.

Italy handed on the torch to Spain, France, Germany

and England, and, though in each country the flame varied according to national currents, in none of them did it wholly lose the Italian colouring which it obtained in crossing into Western Europe.

This Italian influence, however, only hastened processes already at work. The causes of this universal movement are difficult of determination, but we may certainly set down some of the more important. With the fourteenth century began the knell of feudalism: the Renaissance of the sixteenth century witnessed its death. Feudal society was immediately controlled by the local aristocracy, the institution of knighthood having a practical aim, being, in fact, the basis of all secular authority in the Middle Ages. But the foreign and civil wars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries swept away by far the greater portion of its power, and in its place left a national society which adopted by degrees the inevitable monarchical principle. The change, if slow, was complete in effect, and is seen perhaps in no ways better than in the obsolescence of the external appointments of the nobility. Armour was no longer thought necessary, but troublesome; strong castles and keeps were considered dark and confining; chivalry and its ideals were then passing away. The influence of the knight became centralised in the hands of the sovereign prince; life of the castle gave place to life of the court, bequeathing as a last gift some few vestiges of the old chivalric discipline. The old class-divisions, thus became obscured and superseded by the newly-discovered divisions of nationality. Briefly, the old order of the Middle Ages was changed, its mysteries unveiled, its terrors and superstitions ridiculed, its reasonings confuted, its blind faith confounded; all gradually yielded to the new

régime of modern times.

With the passing of the old feudal nobility, in most countries, certainly in Italy and England, a new centre of national culture was formed,—that of the Court. The old idea of the chivalrous knight thus fell before the new idea of the courtier or fine gentleman, and this found expression no longer in the tedious and much despised romances of Amadis, Sir Guy and Sir Bevis, but in moral court treatises which were universally popular, and of which the works of Guevara, Castiglione and Lyly are the most celebrated instances. These didactic disquisitions had for their object the definition of courtly education, the conduct, manners and speech which the knight should adopt in his new capacity of courtier.

Now, the aim of the courtier has always been distinction, and superiority to the vulgar and common-place. Naturally there presented itself the need of finding a language, distinguished and refined, essentially remote from the tongue of the common people, which should be a fitting instrument for the delicate exigencies of courtly conversation and literature. And in the courts of the Renaissance with their intense love and admiration of learning, was it not equally natural in order to satisfy this need, that men should go to the classics and especially the classical rhetoricians, for models of good and correct speech? It was exactly this that was done, although, as it is our purpose to show, the process of moulding and incorporating was by no means a conscious one. In most countries the rhetorical style had been the medium of the scholar prior to becoming the speech of the court. The humanists, indeed, exercised themselves in the fundamentals of our modern prose style.

But humanism admired in antiquity not only the greatness of thoughts and doctrines; partly from the mediaeval preference for words rather than ideas, and partly from the late Latin of the writers studied, it was also sensible to the harmony and clarity of form. Its exponents, observing the poverty of modern prose, became ashamed, and conceived the desire of elevating their natural tongues to a like degree of perfection. European culture was thus almost simultaneously affected. The same desire to refine the language, even the same excessive love of ornament, was manifested in all countries, modified, however, as is but to be expected, by the differences of national circumstances and conditions. "Concettism" in Italy, "Cultorism" in Spain, "Euphuism" in England, the conceits of the "Précieuses" and the côteries of the seventeenth century France, even the pedantic mannerisms of Hoffmans_waldau and Lohenstein in Germany; these were the several outcomes of the effort to ameliorate the national idiom, though witnessed at slightly different times and in different surroundings. The laudatory ambition of the humanists so passed into an affectation, and this became in turn a type of universal disease whose symptoms in individual cases were peculiar, yet none the less recognisable and distinct.

This universality is a fact which no critic can afford to disregard. "The criticism", wrote Mathew Arnold, "the criticism which alone can help us for the future is the criticism which regards Europe as being for intellectual and spiritual purposes, one great confederation bound to a joint action and working to a common result." The course of literature in any single country is only intelligible when it is seen in position and studied in close relationship to surrounding influences.

This principle then must guide us in our study of the inception, ascendency, and decline of Euphuism, the most popular affectation of Elizabethan England.

B. EUPHUISM AND ITS CRITICS.

"Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit", the first work of John Lyly, was "lying bound on the Stationer's Stall at Christmas," 1578; its sequel "Euphues and his England" appeared some two years later, in the spring of 1580. Both works enjoyed hitherto unequalled popularity, six editions being required in as many years, and frequent reprints being made until 1636, when both finally passed out of vogue. Save one solitary edition in the eighteenth century, "Euphues" was completely forgotten until Arber's useful reprint appeared in 1868, and since this time it has attracted the increasing attention of critics. With these facts in mind, it is perhaps easy to understand the abuse with which, after the few years of its triumph, it has been almost universally assailed, and the purblind, indiscriminate criticism which, that of recent years excepted, has rated it as nonsense, bombast and contemptuous affectation. Sir Walter Scott's caricature of the Euphuist in "The Monastery" - an historical faux pas for which he has been sufficiently upbraided - undoubtedly did much to spread the idea that Euphuism, the term comprehending the style of Lyly, was synonymous with extravagance and absurdity. Craik better than any other sums up this attitude of the early nineteenth century. "Pedantic and far fetched allusion, elaborate in directness, a cloying smoothness and drowsy monotony of diction, alliteration,

punning and such like puerilities, - these are the main ingredients of Euphuism," he writes.* One could cite other opinions equally uncritical and more condemnatory, but it were a waste of time and labour. Even in these days, Euphuism to the average reader is the equivalent of preciousness and fastidious delicacy of language. The last forty years, however, have done much to clarify and define this conception more precisely, and modern criticism cannot but be grateful for the detailed studies of Drs.Weymouth and Landman, Mr.Child, Professors Bond and Feuillerat, to mention only the names of principals. Where the earlier critics saw only confused and chaotic corruptions of wit, these writers have discovered a certain well-defined and clearly-drawn method, directed with fixed and rigorous purpose to the attainment of a perfect prose-style.

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* *Craik.G.L: A Manual of English Literature.*

CHAPTER II.

THE ANATOMY OF EUPHUISM.

A. RHETORICAL DEVICES.

The following enumeration of the characteristics of Euphuism is far from being exhaustive and can, in no\ sense, lay claim to originality. All that is attempted is a brief review of its main outlines in as much as they relate to the investigation of its origin and development and to the determination of its place and influence in the literary history of the country.

Lyly's style is little elusive and easy of analysis, being the deliberate combination of various common rhetorical devices. With its many defects and its many merits, its occasional heights of eloquence, and its frequent grotesqueness of hyperbole, Euphuism is nothing more than the careful, calculated effort of a scholar; further, it is the cumulative and culminating expression of a desire long manifest in England, to write prose with clearness and fineness, with culture and ornament. With these two aims in view, the characteristics of this style may be grouped in two main classes: firstly, those dealing with the structure of sentences, and secondly, those concerned with means of ornament and illustration.

A. STRUCTURAL DEVICES.

In structure Lyly aimed at precision and emphasis by the supreme use, or better, abuse, of parallelism or antithesis: his intention seems to have been the writing of a prolonged and most elaborate essay in this almost exclusive manner. Mr. Child simplifying and amplifying the previous investigations of Weymouth and Landmann, who discovered that beneath this "Curtizan-like painted affectation" lay a definite theory of style, maintains this to be the one simple principle in practice, applied not only as Landmann thought, in the ordering of single sentences, but also in every structural relation. This simple principle which he regards as embodying the "essential character" of the Euphuistic rhetoric is "the inducement of artificial emphasis through antithesis and repitition - antithesis to give pointed expression to the thought and repitition to enforce it"*. Thus for simple example of antithesis, Venice is found to be "a place of more pleasure than profit, and yet of more profit than piety." Again, Euphues is described as a young gallant "of more wit than wealth, and yet of more wealth than wisdom." Each example will be observed to consist of two parts, which are approximately equal in length and weight. This correspondence is known as parison or balance, and either of the above quotations is a parisonic antithesis. So many of Lyly's sentences are formed upon this system that it is a characteristic feature of the style, though it is not exhibited in every sentence of a period.

* *C.G.Child: John Lyly and Euphuism.*

Balance is also found in the structure of the sentence itself and sometimes there are several pairs of balanced clauses and phrases, in construction each similar or built on the conjunctions: "although.....yet," "not.....but," "either.....or"..... This device, to which the term parallelism is applied, is instanced in the following passages:

> "Though thou have eaten the seedes of Rockatte which breed incontinency, yet have I chewed the leaf Cress which maintaineth modesty. THough thou bear in thy bosom the herb Araxa most noisome to Virginity, yet have I the stone that groweth in the mount Tmolus, the upholder of chastity*";
>
> "To love and to live well is wished of many, but incident to few. To live and to love well is incident to few, but in different to all. To love without reason is an argument of lust, to live without love, a token of folly. The measure of love is to have no mean, the end to be everlasting+."

"Repetition" therefore, must include the terms parison and parallelism.

Lyly's paragraphs seldom admit of much logical progression or development of thought: they are constructed on the parallel basis by the simple juxta-position of antithetical clauses and phrases. This is exemplified by Mr.Child with unerring skill in his analysis of ~~the~~ Eubulus's address in the opening pages of the "Anatomy of Wit" It is shown that the single lengthy paragraph may be divided into six groups of ideas, each one fundamentally based on this principle of parallelism and balance.

* *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit.* + *Euphues and his England.*

Lyly further seeks emphasis by the abundant use of rhetorical questions and infinite repetition of word and sense. Assistant to these devices are other means such as alliteration, assonance, rhyme, punning and further word play. Alliteration in "Euphues" may be simple, as in the example: "in the greenest grass in the greatest serpent," or transverse, as instanced in the sentence: "Although hitherto, Euphues, I have shrined thee in my heart for a trusty friend, I will shun thee hereafter as a trothless foe." In this sentence its common use to mark parison should be noted.

(b) ORNAMENTAL DEVICES.

In the second class of characteristics, the means employed for ornament and illustration, Lyly adopted many of the mannerisms of his contemporaries and predecessors. His fantastic similes and comparisons, his exuberance of decorated language, his grave moral sentiments stamp him as much a scholastic, as his predilection for incidents in ancient history and mythology, declare him a son of the Renaissance and an Elizabethan. There is an appeal to classical authority for every stated fact: lovers are never mentioned but some reference to Aeneas and Dido, Troilus and Cressida must appear; and certainly the author never alludes to friendship without quoting Damon and Pythias, Pylades and Opestes, David and Jonathan. There is a wealth of classical allusion often to adorn the story of the most common every-day experiences. This taste for learning - a puerile pedantry, is distinctly mediaeval, but

Lyly goes at once beyond all his predecessors in his profuse employment of simile. In this lies his real differentia, the quality that is almost as much in evidence as antithesis, though far more characteristic of the author: the use of extraordinary similes drawn especially from the fantastic fauna and flora of the Middle Ages and from a fabulous natural history not unworthy of "Sir John Mandeville."

> " I have read," he writes, "I have read that the bull being tied to the fig-tree loseth his tale; that the whole herd of deer stand at gaze if they smell a sweet apple."

These "facts of nature," however, are not all taken from Pliny's "Natural History," nor from Lyly's still more compendious " unnatural natural history;" crowding upon them, come others which seem to be reported from personal observation or from popular belief and preverbs. He preceeds to prove that there is no medicine for the malady of love in this manner:

> "The filthy sow when she is sick eateth the sea-crab and is immediately recured: the tortoise, having tasted the viper, sucketh origanum and is quickly revived: the bear ready to pine licketh up the ants, and is recovered: the dog, having surfeited, to procure his vomit eateth grass and findeth remedy: the hart being pierced with the dart, runneth out of hand to the herb dictanun, and is healed. And can men by no way, procure a remedy for the impatient disease of love is not unlike the fig tree whose fruit is sweet, whose root is more bitter than the claw of a bittern: or like the apple in Persia, whose blossom savoureth like honey, whose bud is more sour than gall*."

*Bond: Works 1.208. *Euphues. The Amatomy of Wit.*

Here, indeed, are the "similitudes.....that....come in multitudes": here, if anywhere, is the

"Talking of stones stars plants of fishes flies
Playing with words, and idle similes".

To summarise, then, Lyly aimed, in the first place, at precision and emphasis by the use of antithesis; by the careful balance of word, phrase and clause; by constant repetition of the same idea; by the employment of alliteration, simple and transverse, of rhymes, puns and other paronomasia. In the second place, for ornament and illustration he turned to similes and comparisons of various kinds: to historical allusions from Plutarch and Pliny; to classical mythology found in Ovid and Vergil; to recondite knowledge of all kinds, drawn from folk-lore, magic and medicine, above all from the "Historia Naturalis" of Pliny, mediaeval bestiaries, and his own fecundity of invention.

These qualities, therefore, are the constituent elements of Euphuism. General definitions of the rhetoric are to be avoided, especially such as that of Landmann,who, repeating Weymouth, considers "transverse alliteration in parisonic antithetical clauses as the indispensable criterion" of its presence - a statement which may only be accepted after very considerable addition and modification.

(B) ITS ELIZABETHAN SIGNIFICANCE.

It has been affirmed by a very able critic that Euphuism to the Elizabethan had quite another signification. At first sight it seems peculiar that the term should be applied to the style of "Euphues" in particular, when most of its characteristics were common to all contemporary writers, and its only difference

was the abundant use of invented similes from a fabulous natural history. Very naturally this latter feature was the chief cause of attraction, and writers who allude to "Euphues" generally mention or riducule only its strange and fantastic similitudes. Harvey, the coiner of the word," cannot stand nosing of candlesticks or Euphuing of Similes alla Savoica"..... and "could name the party that, in comparison of his own natural inventions, termed Plin y a barren womb"* Elsewhere he avers that "Greene's pamphlets, Euphues similes, double V's phrases are too well known to go unknown+." Nash, in his youth an admirer of "Euphues," queries, "Do I talk of any counterfeit birds or herbs or stones?" Other ahthors in praise or in dispraise refer to this single characteristic. It was this usage that invoked Shakspere's parody in Henry 1V. Part 1. where the simile of the camomile is textually reproduced, and that led Drayton, in the seventeenth century, to hail Sidney as the refiner of Lyly's "idle similies". The author of the "Apologie for Poetrie" goes further and in a famous passage denounces "the coursing of a letter" as well as the "similitudes ....that come in multitudes."

From such premises M. Feuillerat argues that Euphuism to contemporary writers "satirisait simplement la tendance qu'avait Lyly à glisser parmi ses comparaisons des faits de nature inventés." His conclusion cannot be wholly accepted. Admittedly the illustrations are prominent. Jusserand even declares: "The abundance and strangeness of the ornaments are so striking .....that nothing else, at first, draws the attention, and in that especially consists Euphuism**". This is not true

* *Advertisement for Papp-Hatchett (1589).* + *Pierce's Supererogation (156*

** *A Literary History of the English People.*

of the modern reader, though probably of the Elizabethan whose one great craving was for the peculiar and rare, and extravagant. Lyly's readers admired the oddities and decorations; his imitators copied the ornamental rather than the structural devices. It was the blindness of the age that could not see the valuable principles underlying his extravagances, and that delayed the attainment of a perfect prose-style till the days of the Restoration*.

In defence of this attitude it may be urged that Lyly's characteristics of balance, antithesis, repetition, alliteration, classical allusiveness, and even similes, were in general use by prose-writers, but never equally emphasised and exaggerated. Similes from fabulous natural history were gradually coming into use before "Euphues," though that book established them and set up a larger collection than any other. They were thus regarded as Lyly's most salient characteristic and, their employment being the only essential quality by which his style differed from others, were immediately seized for satirical purposes. We may not infer from this that adverse critics did not recognise other elements in Euphuism, for they would surely take the features readiest for ridicule. But the practice of the Elizabethan prose-writer would belie this; ~~for~~ the gaudy or forcible inexpression was almost universally sought for, and the more important matter of sentence structure generally disregarded.

M.Feuillerat's thesis is partly correct. Euphuism to contemporaries signified the extravagant use of ornament, particularly of similes from a highly improbable and unnatural natural history.

* *Vide infra* p.120.

C H A P T E R 111.

T H E R I S E O F E U P H U I S M.

A. CRITICAL OPINIONS.

Criticism has long raged over the vexed question of the origins of Euphuism: critics have long decided that the style did not originate with Lyly himself. If other than external evidence were desired, it is to be found in the dedicatory epistle to Part 11, where the author openly acknowledges that he may "seem to glean after another's cart", signifying probably his immediate exemplar Pettie or his models and sources in general. But to define exactly the 'cart' is by nature a task difficult and complex, and the way has been still further obstructed by the quick-set hedge of controversy, so that it is as quixotic as well-nigh impossible to attempt to disencumber the truth from its surrounding mass of irrationality and exaggeration. Certainly, as Gabriel Harvey tells us, "young Euphues hatched the eggs that his elder friends laid", but almost equally certain is it our opinion that no critic has discovered the eggs, or elder friends, or, briefly, solved with any claim to finality the important problem of origins.

Literary historians, however, are generally agreed that its immediate origin lay in a certain stylistic tendency, then fashionable in England and reaching its culmination in Lyly. There is no such unanimity about its ultimate origin.

Many writers regard it as one of the extravagant follies which came in at the Renaissance, when, as they assert, each country tried to cultivate a vernacular literature and yet avoid servile imitation of Greek and Latin models. Others, reflecting on the higher influence of Italian literature upon English during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, have thought it to be the natural result of such predominance, and have argued an Italian origin. Likewise it has been awarded a French origin. Further, Euphuism has been attributed to the mannerism of one single author, and the names of Isocrates, Du Bartas, Marini, Congora, Cuevara and Lord Berners have been severally submitted as claimants for the honour of paternity. The most recent, and perhaps most truthful, of ~~the~~ theories is that of Professor Feuillerat* who realises the futility of assigning to a particular person what was essentially a general influence. ~~The Professor of Rennes ascribes~~ the Euphuistic style to the imitation of Greek and Latin writers, particularly of Gorgias and Isocrates, and dimly traces its constituent elements in the works of three English writers from the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Such is the chaos of critical confusion. Few, indeed, of the above theories will suffer minute investigation. Such conjectures as those assigning the origin of the style to Marini, Congora or Du Bartas are almost prima facie preposterous. Marini was born in 1569, and was consequently only ten years of age when "Euphues" was written; at this time, Congora, the date of whose birth is 1561, was a youth of eighteen; Du Bartas had produced his "Création du Monde, ou la Semaine", some few months previously, if not in the same year. That Lyly was indebted to these authors is therefore an assertion as absurd as nugatory,

*Feuillerat: *John Lyly*.

the dates rendering the first case impossible, the second highly improbable, the third exceedingly unfeasible. On the other hand the connection of Euphuism with the Renaissance, the relations of England with the Italy of that time, cannot be lightly passed by.

B. THE INFLUENCE FROM ITALY.

Again and again has it been pointed out that the effort in elaboration of which "Euphuism" is the consummation in England, is the literary outcome of the Renaissance; that all this preoccupation with style, this study of eloquence and love of ornate phrasing, is a general result of the revived study of the classics, in particular of the carefully balanced periods of Cicero, of the sententiousness and concise antitheses of Seneca of the embellishments of the elder Pliny and other writers of the Silver Age. Italy was the first home of the rivival of letters in Europe: Italy was the foster-parent of the movement through all its phases. But it is interesting and important to notice that other countries did not encounter this movement in its full force and vigour. When the French King Charles VIII. and the "Barbarians" invaded Italy in 1494, the tide of the early Renaissance was polluted and turned: the age of Ariosto and Tasso had become corrupted at the time of its greatest glory by excessive attention to form, at the expense of thought. And Europe awoke to full consciousness of the wonders of Italian literature, in the age of the

Petrarchisti, of Aretino, of Doni, and later, of Marini. That France, Spain, and England should be attracted by the affectations of Italy rather than by what was best and lasting in that literature is surely no wonder. At all times it is easier to imitate the mannerisms of an imitator, than to emulate the style of a genius. Thus the nations beyond the Alps drank of a tainted stream.

It was not only the affectations of Italian literature that influenced England. Englishmen of the sixteenth century frequently travelled to Italy on diplomatic missions, on business affairs, or on pleasure bent. In this manner they were brought to the very sources of Italian culture, particularly to the worship of Petrarch at Florence, a city inevitably connected with the Medici, and then enjoying a remarkable commercial and litery reputation. Florence, and the Platonic Academy founded there by the Medici, exercised considerable influence on contemporary literature, and to Mézières, the French Academician, must be given the credit of tracing in the title of "Euphues", in the symposium at Lucilla's supper, in the character sketches and observations of polite society as seen in the garden-talk, and the supper-discussions of Part II, several fashions of distinct Italian origin. Such customs undoubtedly did obtain in England, as the aspersions of many writers inveighing against "the Italianate Englishman" will attest.

The most marked characteristic of the fine gentleman of Italy was his dainty wit and ingenious affected conversation, and this fashion of the Court was at once imported into England and adopted. Lyly therefore had some model of his style in the language of his times, yet here it is necessary to proceed with caution. There is abundant evidence of the use and abuse of "inkhorn terms", and terms Italianate in the literature of "Euphues" day. The "Dark words ..... daily spoken in Court"* of which Puttenham speaks, were simply foreign words of fashionably affected form brought into the country by the "secretaries and merchants and travellers". Rapidly as these advanced in favor, Lyly carefully, almost scrupulously eschewed them. "It is a world", he says, "to see how Englishmen desire to bear finer speech than the language will allow, to eat finer bread than is made with wheat, to wear finer cloth than is wrought of wool". Doubtless his earnest desire and effort to be perspicuous governed him in the choice of words, constraining him to the use of pure English, and it is by no means idle to remark how few of his words have passed out of use - Mr. Child estimates that "but a small fraction of one per cent are obsolete" - and how much more modern his diction seems than that of most of his contemporaries. The author of "Euphues" certainly strove to gratify the taste for "finer speech", but did so without debasing the currency.

Morley and Mezieres, whose work on Lyly is little more than a fresh and energetic resume of Morley, are the chief propounders of this Italian Theory. Thus Mezieres opines: "Par son style Lyly est un Italien plutot qu'un Anglais";+ and elsewhere: "Il ("Euphues")

*Puttenham, G: Arte of English Poesie.

+Prédécesseurs et contemporains de Shakspeare.

vient en droite ligne d'Italie, de l'ecole platonicienne de Florence". Morley* argues that Italian influence created the atmosphere in which Lyly flourished. Euphuism he considers to be a strongly individualised form of the most characteristic Italianism - the inane worship of conceits, a cultus lasting in his opinion from the times of Surrey to those of Dryden and exemplified in the works of Fuller, Browne and Andrewes. This, however, is to mistake the real nature of Euphuism, and to use the word in connotation as "a convenient word for artificial wit". Euphuism is complex in its impression on the reader, being a combination of structural and ornamental devices, and the criticism which either neglects notice of the more individually characteristic features or affirms that prose is Euphuistic or not according to the presence or absence of one, two, or more of these features is surely unworthy of serious regard, however, illustrious the author or however trustworthy his assertions. The same writer further considers Euphuism with Marinism, Gongorism and French Précios ité as the mere froths of an age of ferment. Such movements, we must admit, whether leavened by Italy or not, were all influential in the refinement and establishment of their several languages and literatures, but in that relation only may they be justly compared. In no way do they correspond as regards character and the direct consequences produced; and their ultimate origin can only with slight residuum of truth be said to be common in the desire to refine and reform a language by adapting the practice of early writers to the requirements of the then modern conversation.

* Quarterly Review, 1861, CIX.

But Euphuism, we assert emphatically, of all phases of literary mannerism, is no frothy exudation. Other and later extravagances there were, but mere fantasies, fickle as evanescent: Euphuism on the contrary was of vaster significance and of considerable dynamical importance. Its artificiality, the art which cannot conceal itself, was not empty, but full of meaning and import to succeeding generations; its very extravagance was not vapidity but a laudatory anxiety striving with eager effort to attain clarity, exactness, and emphasis. Euphuism was influenced by Italy in a slight degree; only inasmuch as Italian literature helped to hasten a process already unconsciously at work.

C. THE INFLUENCE FROM SPAIN.

Equally unsatisfactory, and yet more pernicious in its fascination, is the theory first advanced by Dr. Landmann* that Euphuism was of purely Spanish origin. According to the German, Euphuism is an imitation or adaptation of the style of Don Antonio de Guevara, whose work, "Libro de I Emperador Marco Aurelio cõ Relox de Principes", was published in 1529 and immediately leapt into fame. It is significant to observe that the work was extensively translated into French, the first edition of René Bertaut appearing in 1531. From this edition Lord Berners made the first English translation, entitled, "The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius", in 1532, and Sir Thomas North used a later version of the same translator in "The Diall of Princes", published in 1557. Landmann is very positive with regard to his

* *New Shaks. Soc. Trans. 1880-82.*

theory, and in the "alto estilo" of the Spaniard finds many of the characteristics of Euphuism, such as the parallelism of sentences, the balanced antitheses, consonance and rhyme, allusions to ancient history and mythology, the similes taken from nature. He of course acknowledges the intervention of North's "Dial" and Pettie's "Pallace of Pleasure" with the essentially English addition of alliteration, and remarks of the latter book that it "exhibited already to the minutest degree, all the specific elements of Euphuism", though he is certain thatit was North's translation of 1557 that served to introduce into England the style of the Spanish author. Of this assertion, repeated still more emphatically by Mr. Bond, we shall have more to say latter.

Dr. Landmann has earned the grateful thanks of all for having directed attention to the extensive popularity and influence of Guevara in England. It is difficult, however, nay, impossible in the light of historical facts, to follow his argument that Guevarism is the sole source of Euphuism: his whole method of reasoning is so replete with inexactitudes and self-contradictions and has given rise to so much fatuous commentary and conjecture that it were almost as futile to discriminate or select, and would certainly contribute to involve still more intricately a discussion which of all things requires clearness and perspicuity. But the theory still widely obtains, though were it not for this and the fact that until very recent years no determined effort was made to lay this exiguous spectre, we should be disposed now and for ever to quit its mention.

To dispose, then, of this Guevara theory, we shall cite but one remark of Professor Feuillerat, which is sufficient to shake the very foundation; "Le guévarisme et le nor_thisme ne sont pas tels que le docteur Landmann les a definis" In the first place,

though evidence testifies that he knew Spanish, North did not translate from the original Castilian but from the attenuated, obscure, and very certainly modified, French version of Rene Bertaut, dated 1540. This in itself constitutes a serious drawback to acceptance; the style of the Spaniard could not but suffer distortion from an Englishman's translation of a Frenchman's translation of Spanish. Secondly, as Professor Feuillerat excellently demonstrates, Dr. Landmann has noticed only those characteristics of Guevara which are represented in the style of "Euphues", and in so doing, neglected mention of an artifice far more frequently employed than parallelism or balanced antithesis - the endless and incessant repetition of the same word, causing it to rebound and echo from phrase to phrase. Again, to adopt broad distinctions, Guevara subordinates his clauses, writing in the periodic style: Lyly, following rather the crisp, glittering manner of Seneca, prefers to co-ordinate. This, further, is the one feature of Guevarism exactly mirrored in Northism, as in the following passage:

> "The greatest vanity that I find in the world is, that vain men are not only content to be vain in their life: but also to procure to leave a memory of their vanity, after their Death. For it is thought good unto vain and light men, which serve the world in vain works; that at the hour of their death, when they perceive that they can do no more, and that they can no longer prevail, they offer themselves unto death, which now they see approach them."
>
> (The Dial of Princes. Prologue.

Thus the prose-style of Guevara and his English translator are distinctly and essentially opposed to Euphuism in one important aspect, and English prose as seen in North takes a direction contrary

to that of the Euphuists.* Still further, in disproof of Dr. Landmann's theses, it may be urged that England was familiar with certain traits of Euphuism many years before the authorized publication of Guevara's work in 1529. Mr. Sidney Lee+ has asserted and supported by parallel extracts the fact that Berners was everywhit as Euphuistic as North. This means, Mr. Wilson points out, that Berners who had not read Castilian, "was not writing Euphuism in 1524, five years before Guevara published his book"++. And were it necessary to combat the idea that the "Relox" had been previously pirated, examples from Fisher, More and Elyot containing, as will be shown, the certain seeds of Euphuism, might be adduced.

Exactly how much of Lyly's peculiar style may be due to Spanish as well as Italian influences cannot be determined with any preciseness. The English fashion owed little if anything to the Spanish "alto estilo". Indeed, we find at one and the same time in England and Spain a certain peculiar and exclusively popular style, its existence in both cases independent. The only possible inference is that both were ultimately due to the same causes, and this undoubtedly was the cause. Similiar national conditions prevailed in both countries; in both countries an attempt was being made to improve the vernacular, and in each instance it was the late Latin stylists and their extravagances that were imitated; in both countries arose the need for a courtly diction owing to the growing power of the monarch and the increasing influence of the Court. Like causes produced like effects. But one must also remember the inter-relationship of England and Spain in the days of the Tudor monarchs. After the Marriage of Henry VIII

* Vide infra Pp. [illegible]. + Huon of Bordeaux (appendix).

++ Wilson : John Lyly.

with Catherine of Aragon, the English court was much frequented by Spaniards—indeed is not Don Adriano, the fantastical Spaniard, butted by reason of this?- Spain was the cynosure of European eyes, and Spanish manners, in England, surely for a time, were much simulated. One need not emphasise the many and close connections of England and Spain in the reign of Mary, or the frequent maritime encounters of Spanish and English vessels in the times of Elizabeth; all point to an intimacy more or less great between the two nations.

Nevertheless, these facts do not account for the ready acceptance of such style as Guevara's in England. Whatever be the origin of Euphuism, the "Libro Aureo" of the Spanish Historiographer met with no luke-warm reception; it was the most famous peninsular production of Lyly's day. But Guevara did not, "both create a taste and satisfy it". The taste was already there. Among a certain class of Englishman existed a wide and far-reaching interest in Spanish literature, and, as Mr. Wilson, following Underhill*, desultorily proves, a Spanish tradition existed at Oxford from the early sixteenth century; further, the Euphuistic rhetoric was slowly evolving in England, its traces being visible in many contemporary writers. This was the favourable atmosphere into which Guevara was introduced, and the number of English translations is the surest evidence of his popularity. But Euphuism did not take its rise in Guevarism; nor was Guevara an isolated stylist. Euphuism had its origin in certain stylistic tendencies fashionable at this time and natural to this stage of England's literary developments: the coincidence of a similar style in Spain does not imply that either influenced the other, but merely that the productive causes in both instances were correspondent. The most that may be

* *Underhill: Spanish Literature in Tudor England.*

said is that Guevara met with success in England only because his style had some of the characteristics of comtemporary English prose; that he helped to establish on a firmer basis some of the marked features of the Euphuistic style. Spanish intervention was therefore not fundamental but confirmatory; it assisted and quickened a development of which the original impulse was English.

D. NATIVE ORIGINS AND INFLUENCES.

The cosmopolitanism of literary effort is thus easy of exaggeration, and an English source for the affectation is far more likely than a foreign one. Historians are unanimous in their belief that not the least important of the influences productive of this 'common infection' was the wide-stretching movement of the classical Renaissance, and that one of the certain bequests of that movement was the taste for ornamental and highly decorated language. A significant instance of this is seen in the gradual change of curricula in the schools: logic, for long the groundwork of mediaeval thought and literature, eventually gave place to rhetoric, the third and generally neglected science of the Trivium. Barzizza, Vittorino da Feltre, and Guarino, of the fifteenth century, taught and read purely for the sake of obtaining information, matter itself being all-important and sufficient: Sturm and the Jesuits, of the sixteenth century, studied language as an end in itself, concerning themselves with grammatical and stylistic niceties, with manner everywhere at the expense of matter. The love of rhetoric was soon supreme; men became intoxicated with the melody and beauty of words. It is noteworthy that the humanists were attracted not to artists remarkable for simplicity and restraint but to those who employed mechanical devices to give to their style a glittering and artificial brilliance. In this sense Ascham rightly complained in a letter to Sturm of the age's preference of Lucian, Plutarch, Seneca, Aulus Gellius and Apuleius to those whom he considered better authors.

But all the writers of antiquity who cultivated an artistic or decorative prose have used these same artifices of style, just as the Euphuists. Balance, antithesis, rhyme, paronomasia, are to be found separately and conjunctively in Herodotus, Thucydides,and Lysias; here and there in Plato*; with profusion in Sallust Nepos, Seneca, Tacitus, the Elder Pliny; in the complicated wheeling and soaring of Cicero, and in Apuleius, Tertullian and Cyprian: Professor Feuillerat, with the keen insight of the French man-of-letters, has advanced a novel and yet very credible theory that the Euphuistic writers are an English branch of the school of Gorgias, the Greek orator of the fourth century B.C. Isocrates, he affirms, who employed the figures of his master Gorgias, with the greatest success, enjoyed a great vogue during the Renaissance and so caused the adoption of these figures by English stylists. Now evidence is not wanting to show that the "old man eloquent" had in England quite a particular repute; his works formed one of the prescribed studies at both Universities; Elizabeth, Ascham tells us, was initiated into the charms of Greek by perusing one of his discourses; in contemporary handbooks of rhetoric he is the oft-quoted exemplar of a perfect and polished style. Nevertheless in attributing the foundations of a style to one man it is not difficult to over-estimate. The humanists were not content to find the principles of style in the ancient writers alone, but lost themselves in the study and admiration of the old orators and rhetoricians. They "plundered" (to use the word of Du Bellay's manifesto) Cicero, Quintilian, Hermogenes, and in their own turn established rules for the art of writing which were revealed in the

* *of Symposium 197D, the peroration of Agathon's speech.*

numerous manuals which appeared in constant succession from the beginning of the sixteenth century. Leonard Cox began the practice in England with "The Art or Craft of Rhetoric" first published in 1524. Following him came Wilson, whose "Art of Rhetoric" (1553) was probably the most famous book of its kind, and after him, Sherry, Ramelde, and Peacham, to mention only the predecessors of Lyly. Such treatises undoubtedly reflected many of the methods of Isocrates*, but in an indirect manner and in conjunction with those of other renowned rhetoricians. Further, it is most necessary not to forget the influence of the Bible, super-added to that of the classics, and in whose parallel passages of Hebrew poetry Gorgias himself probably found much to remark.

One cannot but be grateful to Professor Feuillerat for having directed attention to the seeds of Euphuism observable in English, not foreign, writers of the early sixteenth century. A history of literature with no sense of perspective is, for practical purposes, valueless; and of all periods of literature it is generally the earlier, and less known, that suffer from this defect. The natural result of such error is that the productions of later periods are mis-judged, and this has eminently been the lot of the Elizabethans, whose literature, bordering as it does on the terra incognita of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, has been over-praised: "its revolutions and innovations, its glory and its rapture and its daring, these things have been recognised; not so fully their indebtedness to the poetry, the rhetoric, and the literary skill of the middle Ages." The obligations of the late Tudor

*Wilson frequently adopts the figures of Isocrates and holds them up as models of the perfect style. Vid. inf. P.56 .

poets, prose-writers and dramatists to classical or foreign models have been fully, perhaps too fully, recognised; but their sense of gratatude to a preceding age has long remained unexposed, unnoticed, undiscovered.

Mr. Sidney Lee was the first to protest against the Guevara -North theory of origin in his criticism* of the article on Euphuism+ by Mrs. Humphrey Ward, in which she deliberately follows Dr. Landmann. His criticism, afterwards enlarged in an appendix to the edition of Berners's "Huon of Bordeaux," contains the following passage: "Lord Berners's sentences are Euphuistic beyond question; they are characterised by forced antitheses, alliteration and far-fetched illustrations from natural phenomena peculiar to Lyly and his successors." This is the first recognition that Berners, who is important as the translator of Guevara previous to North, presented the features of Euphuism in their entirety in the Prologue to his translation of Froissart. Mr. Lee pointedly denies that Berners is any less Euphuistic than North, and gives parallel extracts in proof of this, but the same critic was hardly conscious of the significance of this discovery. It meant, as Mr. Wilson declares, that Berners was writing Crephuism in 1524 (the date of the Prologue), five years before Guevara published his book in Spain.

Feuillerat boldly advances a step further and avoids the "des le début du 16e siècle bien avant que Guevara songeât à ecrire son fameux oeuvre, tous les éléments constitutifs de l'euphuisme étaient déjà couramment employée par les écrivains anglais, par ceux du moins qui faisaient effort de style." We must not understand by this, that the full-

* *Athenaeum (July 14. 1883).* + *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

blown Euphuism of Pettie and Lyly existed from the early sixteenth century: nothing could be more erroneous, yet Professor Feuillerat is by no means explicit on the point. None can doubt that the "Euphuistic rhetoric" of Berners, whatever the origin, was premature and merely tentative: none can doubt that "The Golden Boke" no more than slightly influenced the development of English prose-style until the time of Pettie, although "at least twelve editions of this book are recorded between 1534-60*" Nevertheless, Berners, his antecedents and contemporaries, were feeling a way towards Euphuism,-a tendency which is to be traced among writers who were other-wise quite outside this group. Almost all the constituent elements of Euphuism were in extensive circulation from the first years of this century: there was but lacking the master's hand to weld them into unity, to give them the air of exaggeration requisite for popular success and general adoption and imitation.

(a) FIFTEENTH CENTURY PROSE.

If we hopefully venture into the confused confines of the fifteenth century prose, we shall meet with scant success. Faintly perceptible traces of some particular feature of Euphuism may be found in an odd writer here and there but the repeated and deliberate use of the artifices of style is seldom encountered, and indeed, not to be expected. In the "century of the commons," prose-writing began to assume importance: in truth, prose at this time may be said to have had its origin, though it is not until some time after

*Globe Froissart ed. Macaulay.

the beginning of the sixteenth century that we can properly date the rise of standard prose literature. This early prose is naturally crude and inartistic, but occasionally it has the countervailing merits of purity and simplicity. Though not receiving much artificial cultivation, the language in its exercise by persons of quite respectable scholarship must have acquired on the whole considerable enlargement of its capacities and powers, and, if not used with great artistic skill and feeling, it must certainly have been carried forward towards maturity by the very impulse of the principle of developmen.

It is impossible to estimate exactly the influence of much a compilation as the Wycliffe Bible, brought to a conclusion in 1400. Its direct forcible English, reflected in the succeeding century by Latimer and others, is indisputable in its effectiveness, while the very nature of its contents, including admirable translations of Hebraic parison and parallelism, could not fail to impress its readers even though in slight measures only. These two figures of style afterwards so prominently characteristic of Euphuism, though it is only rational to suppose that Lyly, if directly indebted to the Bible for such models, would turn rather to the version of Tyndale and Coverdale, are so excellently rendered in Wycliffe that we cannot forbear quotation. From Chapter XIV. of Proverbs, written almost exclusively an balanced antitheses, we cull the following:

"The dignite of the king is in the multitude of purple: and the schenschipe of a prince is in the fewnesse of puple. He that is pacient, is governed bi myche wisdom; but he that is impacient, enhaunsith his foli. Helthe of herte is the lijf of fleischis; envye is rot of boonys. He that falsli chalengith a nedi man dispisith his maker; but he that hath merci on a pore man, onourith that makere."

(Wycliffite Version of the Poetical Books of the Bible.)

Prose-writers of the fifteenth century, therefore, call for little comment. The "Repressor" of Bishop Pecock (C.1450) is interesting in its use of repetition; words and terms are recapitulated with the unweariness of legal iteration, and always with accuracy and definition. Discussing the relation of reason and scripture he writes:

"And if any seeming discord be betwixt the words written in the outward book of Holy Scripture, and the doom of reason writ in man's soul, the words so written without forth ought be expounded and be interpreted and brought for to accord with the doom of reason in thilk matter; and the doom of reason ought not for to be expounded, glazed, interpreted, and brought for to accord with the said outward writing in Holy Scripture of the Bible or aughtwhere else out of the Bible."

It is a far cry from this pointless artifice to Lyly's careful and perpetual repetition in sense as well as form, but here is the early use of the artifice in all its

nakedness. Balance of phrase with phrase, doublets, triplets, and even quadruplets, the so common devices of Tudor prose, are also to be observed in Pecock, as in the above-cited passage.

The "Morte D'Arthur" was one of the most popular books of the next century, yet with all its wonderful simplicity, its absence of any trick or affectation, its unsurpassed adaptation of style to thought, perhaps its only concern to the zetetic student of Euphuism is its unerring selection of words and phrases from the vernacular, which are again used and immortalized by Lyly.

Fortescue in "the Governance of England" is frankly archaic and formal, with lucidity of expression, yet no pretension to elegance, or ornament. The style of the lawyer is seen in his use of the rhetorical question; ~~and~~ repetition of words, and the use of doublets and triplets, are also evidenced.

The work of Capgrave, Latin chronicler and vernacular historian, is only of importance to the philologist. His English prose is generally graceless, rhythmless, colourless and effortless.

Worthy of more than passing mention is the beautiful "Ladder of Perfection", the work of Hylton, an Augustinian canon of Nottinghamshire*. His use of pairs of words and phrases differs from that of most of his contemporaries in that it is seldom pleonastic. Of more moment to us however is his practice of illustration which is very frequent and ranges from the simple comparison ("as full of sin as a hide or skin is full of flesh") to the complete metaphor. Thus he speaks of meekness and love as two strings, which, "well fastened with

* *Cambr. Hist. of Engl. Lit. Vol.II.*

the mynde of Jesu maketh good accorde in the harpe of the soule whan they be craftely touched with the finger of reason; for the lower thou smytest upon that one the hyer sowneth that other". This is a feature of style which gradually increased in vogue, and developed at length into the fantastic far-fetched similes of Lyly and the boldest of his school.

The work of Caxton need not detain us, admirable as are its qualities of clearness, of facile fluency and polish in expression, and of discrimination in the selection of "rude plain and curious terms". His prefaces, however, are pretentious, with obvious marks of a groping for effect, and serve to remind us, not a little perhaps, of the ornamental attempts of his fellow translator, Lord Berners.

The last writer of this century to claim notice is Robert Fabyan, the author of "The Concordance of Histories." His style is usually bald and flat, but is noteworthy for its occasional interest in literary devices, though showing but little advance in the graces of composition. Here and there the touch is distinctly and intentionally decorative, and like Fortescue and later the Elizabethans, it is his practice to introduce Latin quotations, with the English translation following.

In these different ways, writers of the fifteenth century were forming the nucleus of Elizabethan and prose style: they were accumulating a vocabulary; they were moulding the grammar and rendering more flexible the syntactical structure; by constant practice or by appropriation, conscious and unconscious, from French and Latin sources, they were discovering the artifices of style, and exercising them in their multifarious and

multitudinous ways.

(Some literary historians rank Lord Berners with Caxton and Malory, as writers of the same style and century, but Lord Berners concerns us principally as the first English translator of Guevara; consequently, we shall treat his works in conjunction with those of North and other Guevarists, though this is out of strict chronological order in a criticism of sixteenth century prose.)

(b) FISHER, MORE, AND ELYOT.

It is both natural and to be expected that the prose of the reign of Henry VIII. should manifest more obviously the marks of attention to, and development of, style. These characteristics, found in the works of the preceding century in the embryonic state, we shall observe gradually to mature and in the age of Elizabeth to fall over-ripe into the gross exaggerations of "Euphues." The early uses of balance, repetition, of rhetorical questions, of classical quotation, of similes and comparisons, we have remarked in the century of Wycliffe, Pecock, Malory, Fortescue, Capgrave, Caxton, Hylton and Fabyan; their uses in the next century were to be further extended, and added to them were to be the more definitely Euphuistic qualities of Antithesis, parallelism, alliteration simple and transverse, rhyme, consonance and annomination. These latter qualities M. Feuillerat exemplifies in quotations from three leading prose-writers of the first half century - Fisher, More and Elyot. It would avail little to reproduce any of these passages here; but we have gone to the works of these three

writers and have established independent and confirmatory evidence, some of which we append. Fisher, writing in 1509 thus expounds the prophet Ezekiel in the funeral sermon on Henry V111.

> "If the righteous man haved lived never so virtuously, and in the end of his life commit one deadly sin and so depart, all his righteous dealing before shall not defend him from ever-lasting damnation, and in contrary wise, if the sinful man have lived never so wretchedly in times past yet in the end of his life, if he return from his wickedness unto God, all his wickedness before shall not let him to be saved."

Even in this short passage repetition, parallelism, balance and simple alliteration are to be found. The same qualities with annomination and continuous alliteration are again instanced:

> "Thus according to my promise at the beginning, I have perused this psalm in the person of this noble man; dividing it in three parts, in a commendation of him, in a moving of you to have compassion upon him, and in a comforting of you again"
>
> (Funeral Sermon King Henry V111.)

The same writer employs comparisons and similes, at times homely and humorous, at other times so far-fetched and over-elaborated as to be grotesque - a usage seen in the famous comparison of the Crucified to a parchment which is stretched and set up to dry; the scourging has set up the ruled lines,

and the five wounds are illuminated capitals. But, in spite of Professor Saintsbury's assertion to the contrary, the paragraph is neglected, the sentences are wrongly punctuated, and the logical connection of thought is often confused. Nevertheless, Fisher is a leading figure among contemporary divines. His work is necessarily rhetorical, yet at this time rhetoric was in the air; the manuals and guide books to composition were beginning their vogue. This constitutes his historical importance to us: he is trying these various devices; he is shaping the tools of style. He deliberately experiments for rhetorical effect, practising parallelism, badance and other figures: there is the old love of quotation from the classics, and doublets and triplets* are abundantly, but more effectively used. The writer of the two funeral sermons on Henry VIII. and his mother, Margaret, Countess of Richmond, is keenly alive to the value of inversion, mixing long and short sentences, and using it with varied and skilful effect, everywhere with the hand of the artist. He describes the weeping of the Countess's household in this manner:

> "But specyally when they saw the dethe so fast upon her, and that she must nedes depart from them, and they should forgoe so gentyll a maistris, so tender a Lady, then wept they mervaylously; wept her Ladys and kynes women to whom she was full kinde; wept her poore gentylwoman whom she had loved so tenderly before; went her Chaplayns and Preests; wept her other true and faythfull servants"
>
> (Funeral Sermon on Margaret, Countess of Richmond).

** It is probable that the letter "from a Lincolnshire Gentleman" quoted in Wilson's "Art of Rhetoric" is more than mildly satirical of this use of triplets in Fisher.*

In those two sermons, is much noble and sonorous rhetoric, and the graces of rhythm and cadence are not entirely wanting. Fisher was an innovator: he was the one of the very earliest English writers - perhaps the first - to have a conscious pleasure in style, and to choose and adopt certain means and methods to achieve a style; he was an artist, crude, indeed, in many places, but whose influence by deft and original treatment of English can never be slighted or disregarded.

Sir Thomas More is still further remarkable for his union of a finished classical style with racy colloquial English. If one must search for the above mentioned characteristics in Fisher, in More they strike the eye on almost every page of "The Historie of Richard III," the translated "Life of John Picus, Earl of Mirandula," "The Pitiful Life of King Edward V," and, indeed, many of his controversal writings*. The tendency to alliteration is decidedly prominent:

> "For the self night next before his death, the Lord Stanley sent a trusty secret messenger unto him at mid-night in all the haste, requiring him to rise and ride away with him,"

and

> "This is now no new thing, nor the first time that heresies have been in hand with the matter."

These are instances of the simple euphonic kind, which it would be easy to multiply; the rarer and more emphatic transverse variety is not uncommon, as in the following:

** We shall not expect to find any of these marks in the more-important "Utopia," the original of which is in Latin, and the English version by another hand.*

"All the lords much dismayed and sore marvelling of this manner of sudden change, and what thing should him ail"

The use of similes and comparisons is not frequent, though balanced phrases, parallel clauses, word-play, classical allusions, and stray antitheses are never lacking. As a general example of More's style in which these features are displayed, we select this passage from one of his latest works "A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation". (1534).

"But thus much of that matter sufficeth for own purpose, that whereas you demand me whether in tribulation men may not sometimes refresh themselves with wordly mirth and recreation, I can no more say, but he that cannot long endure to hold up his head and hear talking of Heaven, except he be now and then between (as though Heaven were heaviness) refreshed with a merry foolish tale, there is none other remedy but you must let him have it: better would I wish it; but I cannot help it. Howbeit, let us, by mine advice make thsse kinds of recreation as short and as seldom as we can; let them serve us but for sauce, and make them not our meat, and let us pray unto God, and all our good friends for us, that we may feel such a savour in the delight of Heaven, that in respect of the talking of the joys thereof, all worldly recreation be but a grief to think on."

We can thus mark the careful cultivation of an easy and nervous prose-style,-an end obtained, as Erasmus tells us, after long and continuous practice. Hallam praises the 'Historie'

as"the first example of good English language: pure and perspicuous, well-chosen, without vulgarisms and pedantry", and More has been discreetly styled the father of English prose. The works of the greatest English humanist are the earliest instances of a classic style, and as such had no light and trivial influence.

Again, many of these features of style are to be found in the flowing prose of Sir Thomas Elyot, who enlivens his narrative with personal experiences, introduced, as he says, to make "varietie". In other respects than mere chronological order Elyot is a connecting link between More and Ascham. His English is less archaic than the former's, and less modern than the latter's; his sentences are neither so unwieldly as many of More's, nor yet so animated as Ascham's. Further, the aims of their principal works may be said to coincide: each attempted in his own peculiar way to raise the standard of education and refinement. Elyot* is worthy of particular attention in this direction. Guides and hand-books to courtly education, dealing with its more superficial aspects, had appeared in England from the middle of the last century: "The Boke named the Governour" belongs to the same genre, but surpasses them inestimably, and is entitled to serious consideration by the side of Hoby's translation of "Il Cortegiano" of Castiglione. Sir Thomas Elyot further anticipates Lyly in many places, especially in his ideas on the nursing and early training of children - ideas which in Lyly's "Euphues and his Ephoebus" are almost literally reproduced. Perhaps this is not beyond explanation. Elyot

** Elyot defends the mother tongue in "The Castell of Health;"- wherein contrary to custom he has "written physicke in Englishe".*

worked at the same subject in "The Education or Pringinge up of Children, translated out of Plutarche," and Professor Rushton long since pointed out that the "Euphues and his Epoebus" is a close translation of Plutarchs" De Educatione".

Elyot interests further in another translation: "The Doctrineof Princes, made by the noble oratour Isocrates, and translated out of Greke into Englishe.*" Naturally such a translation is replete with instances of parison, parallelism, antithesis and other figures of speech common to the Greek rhetorician. This fact detracts not a little from the forcefulness of the examples of such figures selected from Elyot by M.Feuillerat, all of which are taken from this work. The professor, who elsewhere seeks to prove the vogue and influence of Isocrates, does not allude to the original author of "The Doctrine," and consequently leaves the careless reader with a mistaken impression of Elyot's general style. As a specimen of this, take the following passage lamenting the decay of learning among gentlemen,- a passage in which these characteristics are discoverable but in no wise so obviously apparent:

> "The second occasion wherefore gentlemen's children seldom have sufficient learning is avarice. For where their parents will not adventure to send them far out of their proper countries, partly for fear of death, which perchance dare not approach them at home with their father; partly for expense of money, which they suppose would be less in their own houses or in a village, with some of their tenants or friends; having seldom any regard to the teacher whether he be well learned or ignorant."
>
> (The Governour).

* *Another instance of the popularity of Isocrates.*

In the light of such and other passages exhibiting with perfect clearness the style, the various structural and ornamental devices, of Euphuistic rhetoric it is supremely impossible to consider theories, attributing its origin to somesome-foreign source. This origin, if indeed the origin of so complex a thing as style can be definitely and satisfactorily determined, is English to the roots. We have laboured to show that the seeds, out of which Euphuism grew, was sown in the 15th century; its blade we have marked in the works of Fisher, More and Elyot; the ear, we shall discover in the translations of Berners and North; the full ear, in the writings of Pettie and Lyly. The luxuriant literatures of the South very contanly helped and warmed the seed into life, but the seed, beyond all doubt and dispute, had been in the ground many years, almost a century previously.

(c). THE CAMBRIDGE SCHOOL OF PROSE-WRITERS.

The age, indeed, of the critical cultivation of language for the purposes of prose composition had begun, and, though at first this object was pursued after the best and wisest methods, by the close of the reign of Henry VIII, the foundations of what was destined to be the Euphuistic tradition had been clearly laid. Literature as it developed in the reign of Elizabeth ran contrari-wise to the hopes and wishes of them who initiated the movement. These men it should be added were not Elizabethans. There is much justification of the popular usage which extends the Elizabethan age far into the seventeenth century, but the custom which extends the term backwards beyond the limits of the reign itself, has little

but its carelessness to recommend it; the barrier that divides Spenser and Lyly and Sidney and Marlowe from the group of scholars who laboured for the Revival of Learning in England is considerable, if not impassable. The men of the early English Renaissance belonged to a graver school than their successors. They were no pomp-loving courtiers, no bold adventurers, still less wordy swash-bucklers or literary dandies. Elyot, Cheke, Smith, Ascham, Wilson, Udall, Haddon and the rest were sober livers, Protestants, and scholars, concerned rather with the establishment of a solid educational system and the elevation of popular morality than preoccupied with the lighter interests of literary diversion and the allurements of style. A celebrated French critic of the nineteenth century has remarked that our literature is one vast sermon, and it is perhaps typical of the English temper that the revival of the classical tongues, which in Italy produced paganism and the 'Carpe diem' philosophy, should in England have made for seriousness in life and the Reformation in religion. The scholars, however, were fighting against forces too formidable and powerful; but their efforts were not wholly in vain, if their objects were eventually defeated. In the age of the Italianate Englishman, when the absurd exaggerations of speech and dress, the transpontine novels, and the effeminite verse of Ataly were in great vogue and estimation, they struggled fiercely and manfully for sound education, for good classical scholarship, and above all for the purity and strength of our native English.

The revival of letters thus influenced England in two contradictory ways. It produced two schools of writers: the first, which gave "English matter in the English tongue

for English men," and of which Ascham is an exemplar; the second, which strove for something loftier, more elaborate and peculiar, whose chief representative is John Lyly. The former acted as a restraining influence on the latter which had begun to make its presence known and appreciated from the opening years of the century, and it is possible that but for the endeavours of Ascham and his school our current English might have been as completely Latinized as Italian or Spanish. Latinism, consequent upon the study of the ancients, became a craze, and ran through the journey-work of the age in a wild excess. Wilson in the "Art of Rhetoric" has an example of this Latinized diction in a letter which he declares to be authentic and no caricature:

> "Pondering, expending, and revoluting with myself, your urgent affability and ingenious capacity for mundane affairs, I cannot but celebrate and extol your magnifical dexterity above all other.....I doubt not but you will adjuvate such poor adnihilate orphans as whilome were condisciples with you, and of antique familiarity in Lincolnshire."

The minor and forgotten authors of the day gloated over these alti-sonant and ear-filling expressions, and bandied them about their black letter pages with the peculiar delight of a child with a new toy. Nor did the affectation pass out of date until Sidney in "The Lady of the May" and Shakspere in "Love's Labour's Lost" had had occasion to laugh over it and hold it up to ridicule and scorn

The chief service that Cheke, Ascham and their fellows, the "Cambridge prose-men", rendered to English literature, was the crusade against this exaggerated Latinity, which they had

helped to make possible, and which largely consisted of the so-called "inkhorn terms"..... These writers employed various ways to enforce their doctrine; they argued that the classical languages were undeniably great, yet it was the duty of every Englishman to make the best of English and use Greek and Latin to support and not supplant his native language. This surely was a most important work. For the last century words had poured into the vocabulary from all sides; rhetorical devices had been discovered and employed by Fisher, More, Berners, Latimer and the Bible translators. But all was confusion; no standard English existed; 'aureateness", archaism, and vernacularity vied one with another for supremacy. The little band of scholars set themselves to guard against these dangers, and reduce the contending elements to order. And they taught English literary prose its rudiments; their lesson was effective in mitigating the revolutionary extravagance of Euphuism in the next generation.

The aim of these foster-fathers of the Renaissance was the promulgation of scholarship, the bringing of learning and literature within the reach of humble people. Each championed the rights of English speech to a place in the world of letters. Sir John Cheke, literary dictator to his age, though little of a constructive critic, laid down the law most absolutely in a letter prefixed to Hoby's "Courtyer"; "I am of this opinion that our tung shold be written cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangeled with borrowing of other tunges." Ascham, of greater importance in his influence, recommends to him that would write well in any tongue the counsel of Aristotle- "to speake as the common people do, to think as wise men do, *"

* *Toxophilus (Dedication).*

and goes on to regret that "many English writers have not done so, but usinge strange wordes as latin, french and Italian, do make all thinges darke and harde." Wilson is of the same mind: "I had rather follow his (Demosthenes') veyne, the wyche was to speake simply and plainly to the common people's understanding, than to over-flouryshe wyth superfluous speach, although I myht thereby be counted equall with the best that ever wrate Englysh"*. To speak to the common people's understanding was to delete all such foreign words from the English vocabulary. "The Cambridge prose-men" were all upholders of the Saxon, followers of Latimer, whom Wilson elsewhere calls "the father of all preachers". In their day the supreme virtue of style was the use of plain English and the avoidance of prevalent affectations. On the one hand were the pedants, the Ciceronians, and ink-horn rhetoricians; on the other, were the fine courtiers who would "talk nothinge but Chaucer+", and encumber their expression with archaic words. Between these dangers Ascham and his fellows tried to steer. They held fast to the Saxon vernacularity and carefully eschewed everything not familiar to the common people, which did not actually exist on living lips.

Their efforts failed, and their ideals had to wait for acceptance till the age of the Restoration. English prose was loosed from the bonds of Cheke and Ascham by the group of university wits who re-made English poetry. But deep in the general vocabulary of Lyly their power survived. "Considering the large infusion of foreign terms, the free coinage of Latinisms, which the language was undergoing at this period, Lyly deserved the praise of conservatism," writes Professor Bond. "Englishmen desire to heare finer speech than the language will allowe,"

* *The Three Orations of Demosthenes by Thomas Wilson, 1573.*

\+ *Wilson: Art of Rhetorique.*

wrote the author of "Euphues", and in practice he showed himself a rigorous purist. Whatever may be said of his style, it can never be reproached that his language was affected; his grammar is nothing curious and conforms to the canons of the times. Very few of his Latinisms, which are obvious rather than awkward and then not confined to him, have passed out of use, and the percentage of obsolete words an 'Euphues'is comparative to that of other authors, a minimum. In vocabulary Lyly belongs to the school of Cheke, Ascham and Wilson, the declared enemies of "ink-horn terms,..... strange terms of other languages, ...and many dark words*." To quote Professor Ward, "Lyly had too sound and too sincere a literary sense to Hispaniolise, Italianate, or Gallicise his English, either in vocabulary or syntax+."

His patient effort and search for clearness and preciseness undoubtedly benefited English, and it is to him and his congeners that we must accredit the fact that our language was not submerged by the avadanche of fantastic diction for in any way enfeebled and emasculated at a most critical juncture of its development

(d) CHEKE, ASCHAM, WILSON & LATIMER.

But the writers of the Cambridge school are of consequence on other considerations. The successors and contemporaries of Berners, Fisher, More and Elyot, their styles have many elements in common. Sir John Cheke, memorable for the promotion of the study of Greek at Cambridge, is important more from the indirect impress of his personality than from the direct influence of his prose-writings. His acuteness and brilliance

Puttenham (?): Arte of English Poetrie.
+ Ward: English Dramatic Literature.

of criticism are well seen in his remarks on the style of Sallust which he declared, was "more art than nature, and more labour than art. And his labour too much toil, as it were with an uncontented care to write better than he could," - a sparkling euphuism, and incidentally an excellent comment thereon. His most serious English work is a tract, "The Hurt of Sedition" (1549), written according to the principles of his school in unaffected, homely language, but exhibiting at the same time a parallelism and balance of clause-construction that one would hardly expect. Of the lessons taught by sedition he writes:

> "For we see such miseries hang over the whole state of the commonwealth, through the great misorder of your sedition, that it maketh us much to rejoice, that we have been neither partners of your doings, nor conspirers of your counsels. For even as the Lacedaemonians for the avoiding of drunkenness did cause their sons to behold their servants when they were drunk, that by beholding their beastliness, they might avoid the like vice: even so hath God like a merciful father stayed us from your wickedness, that by beholding the filth of your fault, we might justly for offence abhor you like rebels, whom else by nature we love like Englishmen."

The word-play, the alliteration simple and transverse, the repetition, the balance, are all used so frequently and with such an air of unconsciousness that classification of such a style is supererogatory. We should expect Cheke to abound in classical allusiveness and in the use of rhetorical questions. There is one passage, however, a few paragraphs below that cited above, in which these questions are accumulated so extensively

as to be remarkable and invite immediate comparison with Lyly:

> "He that faulteth against God's ordinance, Who hath forbidden all faults, and thereby ought again to be punished by God's ordinance..... How then do you take in hand to reform? Be ye kings? By what authority? or by what occasion? Be ye the king's officers? By what commission? Be ye called of God? By what tokens declare ye that?....?....? ....?" and so forth.

This can well be likened to the soliloquies of Philantus and Camilla.

Many similar features are to be found in Cheke's pupil. Some critics, observing these Euphuistic figures, so plentiful in "Toxophilus" and "The Scholemaster", have argued not altogether incorrectly for a kind of "Euphuism ~~is~~ before Euphues " Ascham 'affects the latter' in many places with too great facility: "Much music marreth men's manners;*" "crafty conveyance, brainless brawling, false forswearing*" and like phrases are common. A custom almost as frequent in occurence, and equally puerile in its abuse, is that of ordering his sentences in parallel and antithetical clauses. Here is an example chosen at hap-hazard from"The Scholemaster:

> "I know some great and good ones in court were authors, that honest citizens of London should watch at every gate to take misordered persons in apparel, I know that honest Londoners did so; and I saw (which I saw then and report now with great grief) that some courtly men were offended with these good men of London: and (that which grieved me most of all) I saw the very same time; for all these good orders commanded from the court

**The Scholemaster.*

and executed in London; I saw, I say, come out of London even unto the presence of the prince, a great rabble of mean and light persons in apparel, for matter against law, for making against order, for fashion, namely hose, so without all order, as he thought himself most brave, that durst do more in breaking order, and was most monstrous in misorder."

Here is none of the clearness, but some of the cleverness of Lyly, with all his fondness for figures, all his pleasantry, word-play, and punning. Ascham has the same writer's fertility of illustration from familiar objects, and, of course, the same indulgence of classical allusion and quotation. Distinguishing quick wits and hard wits, he writes:

"In wood and stone, not the softest but hardest be always aptest for portraiture, both fairest for pleasure, and most durable for profit*".

He was a bold champion of the vernacular; his simplicity is not seldom pedantic, often amounting to uncouthness in the desire to avoid the ornate and recondite. Of deliberate consciousness of purpose none is surer. He endeavours to achieve "all right congruity; propriety of words; order in sentences; the right imitation; to invent good matter, to dispose of it in good order." All his energies strained in the one direction; he was determined to ameliorate England, Englishmen, and in particular the English tongue. His is the first model of a plain, down-right and yet accomplished style, which aims at rhetorical effect and studiously refrains from elaborate arrangement or exaggerated diction. In no sense

* *The Schoolmaster.*

is it "a mode of impassioned prose"; it frequently declines into dulness and insipidity. But it is the prose that rose to the sublime heights of Hooker, and became, when purged of its looseness, the spoiled darling of Elizabeth's court, under the erratic talent of Lyly. "Toxophilus" and "The Scholemaster" are lively embodiments of the temporal characteristics of English prose, for between the times of their publication the period of experiment in vocabulary and rhetorical arrangement of sentences had come to an end. Ascham marks a definite advance on More and Fisher, but nevertheless he is still remote from Lyly*.

"The Arte of Rhetorique" (1553?) calls for more than ordinary mention. Not the first of its kind by some twenty-nine years, it seems to have had the greatest success and influence, and in many ways it serves as a landmark in the history of the English Renaissance. The study and practice of "the facundious art of rhetoric+", consequent upon the enthusiasm for the writings of the ancients and supported not a little by the manuals of its principles which appeared from time to time, were universal and immediate in their effects on literature. The early drama, with its preference for long declamatory speeches and sententiousness; the new prose, with its oddities of diction and profusion of ornament and figure; the new poetry, with its delicate sensuousness and extravagance; all owe their origin to the fashion of rhetoric. Of all the manuals that preceeded Wilson's none was of arresting importance. Wilson was the formalist of the Cambridge School, and as such was the first Englishman to deal thoroughly and systematically with the ways and means of literature.

** Of the place and influence of "The Scholemaster" among the books of etiquette and courtly education,* *See p.8.*

+ Berners: Arthur of Little Britain.

Wilson's treatise stands in the line of direct descent from classical prototypes, the first two books being a careful and skilfully constructed compilation from Quintilian, the third, from Cicero. It is the third book which contains the really literary part of the matter, the acute observations of its author, a man of action and of the world. In the exordium of this book Wilson makes the most pronounced of all the indictments against literary affectation. "Among all other lessons", he writes, "this should first be learned that we never affect any strange inkhorn terms, but to speak as is commonly received: neither seeking to be overfine, nor yet living over-careless, using our speech as most men do, and ordering our wits as the fewest have done*". He then proceeds to complain about "outlandish English", "French English", "English Italianated", condemning, further, "the fine courtier" who "will talk nothing but Chaucer", the "far-journeyed gentlemen that will powder their talk with over-sea language", and "the unlearned or foolish fantastical that smell but of learning" and over-Latin their tongues. Yet there is little originality, when one has excepted this denunciation of the use of foreign phrase and idiom. Its admonition, however, was not untimely, for this "counterfeiting the King's English" was the "common infection" of the contemporary writer or speaker.

"The Arte of Rhetorique" was written rather for speakers than for writers; "to speak plainly and nakedly after the common sort of men in few words," was the principle and aim of its author. To the Elizabethan and his near predecessor, only slight, if indeed any, distinction was recognized between the spoken and written styles. Theoretically, this was as

* *Observe the balance, repetition and annomination.*

sure as their annihilation of difference between verse and prose, although practically, in both cases there was variance and modifilation. This inter-relation may be illustrated from Sidney's "Apologie for Poetrie". Indicating the excesses which poets must avoid, he criticizes the elaborate and ornamentation of contemporaneous prose, Euphuism in particular, and then continues: "Me thinks I deserve to be pounded for straying from poetry to oratory: but both have such an affinity in this wordish consideration, that I think this digression will make my meaning receive the fuller understanding*." 'Oratory' is used almost as the Synonym for 'prose'+, and the affinity of prose and poetry is also established. The writer R.B. further declared that his "tales are reported in a manner extempore", and it would appear that Pettie and Lyly made a similar claim. This mutual relationship accounts to a considerable degree for the use in prose of many of the καλλωτίσματα of verse, and, vice-versa, of the use in poetry of many of the structural devices of prose.

It is but a short step from use to abuse, and the trick of alliteration, whose presence in the fifteenth century we have remarked, now received a fillip by the reviving interest in the writings of Langland. Mr. Child shows by many examples that at the beginning of the sixteenth century poetry abused alliteration: examples an numerous can be given to prove that the vice spread and strayed widely in the domains of prose. The author of "The Arte of Rhetorique" is very wrath against two impurities - the excess of alliteration, and another prevailing affectation of ending all sentences in the same manner. Latimer whom Wilson appraises, is a

* *Arber: Apologie* ~~p69~~.

+ Cicero uses 'oratio' for prose-style, and 'solota oratio' when it is necessary to mark the distinction.

frequent offender in this matter.

> "Down with Christ's cross, up with purgatory pick purse up with him, the popish purgatory I mean - Away with clothing the naked, the poor and impotent, up with decking of images and gay garnishing of stockes and stones..... Oh that our prelates would be as diligent to sow the corn of good doctrine as Sathin is to sow cockel and darnel".
>
> (The Sermon of the Plough.)

Again:

> "But now for the fault of unpreaching prelates, me think I could guess what might be said for excusing of them. They are so troubled with lordly living, they be so placed in palaces, couched in courts, ruffling in their rents, dancing in their dominions, burdened with ambassages, pampering of their paunches like a monk that maketh his jubilee, munching in their mangers, and moiling in their gay manors and mansions, and so troubled with loitering in their lordships, that they cannot attend to it."

Perhaps this latter passage is somewhat exceptional, but Latimer never omitted to take advantage of an effective device. His is essentially a speaking style, lush with homely truths, rife with rugged maxims hewn from daily existence, and expressed in the same natural and simple language. He appreciates the power of the short sentence or phrase, and, in this, his style contrasts strongly with the periodic experiments of his time. Nevertheless, like the "ancient preachers" of Wilson, he realised that he "must now and then play the fool in the pulpit, to serve the tickle ears of a fleeting audience*".

** Wilson: Arte of Rhetorique.*

Professor W.P.Ker remarks this use as "a rudimentary euphuism of balanced and alliterative phrases, probably, like the alliteration, in Anglo-Saxon homilies, borrowed from the popular poetry."

One of the most prominent features of Euphuism was ornamentation by means of similes drawn from a legendary or mythical natural history; this is recommended by Thomas Wilson. He writes:

> "Oftentimes brute beasts and things which have no life minister great matter in this behalf. Therefore those that delight to prove things by similitudes, must learn to know the nature of divers beasts, of metals, of stones, and all such as have any virtue in them, and be applied to man's life."

Many passages in the book have the Euphuistic ring, especially those discussing figures of speech:: The remarks on parison or balance are still intelligible, far more so than those of Drs.Weymouth and Landmann; their quotation here will perhaps serve as an indication of the matter contained in these treatises of rhetoric:

> "Paria paribus relata. Equal members are such, when the one half of a sentence answereth to the other, with just proportion of number, not that of the syllables of necessity should be of just number that that the ear might judge them to be so equal that there may appear small difference. As thus.....learning is dangerous if an evil man have it. The more noble a man is, the more gentle he should be. Isocrates passeth in this behalf, who is thought to write altogether

"in number, keeping just proportion, in framing of his sentences."

(The Arte of Rhetorique.)

Wilson was held in high esteem as a guide of letters for some generations, and it is difficult at this date preperly to value his influence. His horror of the "inusitatum verbum" assisted him to avoid the inkhorn terms of his contemporaries, and directed the attention of latter to the curse of "aureation", and to the latent powers of the vernacular. Shakspere himself is said to have studied "The Arte of Rhetorique, " and to have profited by the book*. By its aid the structural and ornamental devices were for the first time clearly discussed and illustrated: rhetoric, its theory and practice, became more studied, more popular among men of letters than ever. The affection of Euphuism is directly based on the principles of Rhetoric.

(e) BERNERS AND NORTH.

We may now turn to the English translators of Guevara. It has been shown that Berners's translation of "The Golden Book" reproduced both style and sense in a degree equal to that of North: that Berners wrote Euphuistic English previous to the work of the Spaniard+. John Bourchier, Lord Berners is known chiefly by his translation from the French of Froissart, Huon of Bordeaux, and Arthur of Little Britain;

** cf. Shakspere's sonnets 1-19 with Erasmus's "Discourse Persuading a Young Man to Marriage," quoted in "The Arte of Rhetorique".*

+ Professor Courthope (Hist. Engl. Poetry II. 184) and Professor Bond (John Lyly (I.138) both maintain North to be the founder of the Euphuistic literary tradition.

his versions of the writings of the Bishop of Guadix, and of Diego de San Pedro have been generally disregarded. But both are of importance in the consideration of his work, for both have the same Euphuistic syntax, and both - 'El Carcel de Amor' probably as much as 'El Relox' - did a great deal to establish fashion of prose that was taken up afterwards by Lyly and his contemporaries. A study of the style of these different translations is interesting and illuminating. The "Huon of Bordeaux" is written in plain, straight-forward English, and bears scarcely a trace of the graceful and fluent style of the "Froissart", still less of the later novel experiments found in "The Golden Boke" or "The Prison of Love". The truth is that *"Berners was no consistent Euphuist,* for it cannot be argled that he was unacquainted with Peninsular affectations until the time of his work on Guevara, which occupied him up to within six days of his death. Earlier writings, and, in particular, as Mr. Lee points out, the translation of Froissart's Prologue "shows him to have come under Guevara's or a similar influence before translating "The Golden Boke".*

> "The most profytable thyng in this worlde for the instytucion of the humane lyfe is historie", he writes in the Prologue. "Ones, the continual redyng thereof maketh yonge men equall in prudence to olde men, and to olde fathers stryken in age it mynystreth experyence of thynges. More it yeldeth private persons worthy of dignyte, rule and governaunce; it compelleth themperours hygh rulers, and governours to do noble dedes, to thende they way optayne immortall glory: "it exciteth moveth and stereth the strong, hardy warriors for the great laude

* *Lee: Huon of Bordeaux (App. 1.)*

"that they have after they ben deed promptly to go in hande with great and harde parels in defence of their countre: it prohybyteth reprovable persons to do mischevous dedes.....What moved the strong and ferse Hercules to enter pryse in his lyfe so many great incomparable labours and parylls?.....What moved and stered Phaleryus, the kynge of Phtholome, oft and delygently to rede bokes?....."

(The Cronycle of Sir John Froissart).

Here, one might say, is full-mouthed Euphuistic rhetoric, patent by its parallelism of construction, its repetition of thought, its oratorical questioning , its classical references. But Euphuism, we have shown, is much more: a very prominent feature to Lyly's contemporaries its essential feature, was its enrichment of style "with strange similes"; and its most emphatically characteristic feature is antithesis generally in conjunction with parison. These distinctive marks are quite missing in the prologue to the "Froissart", and only appear in the translations of San Pedro and Guevara*. The prologues to the translations from the French, therefore, are not really Euphuistic; they are merely Berners's experiments in the ornate, and are not to be compared to "Euphues", but rather to the early prefaces of Caxton. Not much more successful , though more lavish, than these, they may best be called amplifications. The use

*(*Perhaps it should be explained that to us parallelism and parison have to do with form, the latter with balance, the former with similarity, of sentence, clause, or phrase - structure: antithesis deals with sense, the opposition of words of contrary meaning).*

of triplets - "emperors, high rulers, and governors", "exciteth, moveth and stirreth"; the preference for inversion - "as said is", "I pray them that shall default find"; the employment of rhetorical questions and classical allusions, would link him more closely to English composition of the fifteenth century that to Spanish syntax of the sixteenth.

Again, the prologue to "Arthur of Little Britain" makes less use of triplets and mechanical repetition, much to the gain of the style. But the author speaks of "fresshe ornate polysshed Englysshe", and confesses his failure in "the facondy-ous arte of rhetoryke", showing thereby his interest in the accomplishments of style. These accomplishments were the devices for effect used by Pecock, Fortescue, Caxton, Fabyan, Hylton, Fisher, and More: Berners as yet had come not under Guev-ara's, but the "similar influence" of his forerunners and contemporaries.

In the prose of the fifteenth century we observe frequent usage of repetition, balance, illustrations from natural history, classical allusions, and alliteration: one artifice of style was seldom, or never, introduced - antithesis, verbal or structural. Arrangement of clauses on this principal was the "sine qua non" of San Pedro and Guevara, and it was Lord Berners's translations of these writers' works that first attracted attention to this most outstanding element of the later Euphuism. "The Golden Boke", however, exhibits other characteristics, as witness the following version of part of Guevara's prologue";

> "There is nothynge so entier but it deminisheth; nor nothynge so hole, that that it is wery; nor nothynge so strong, but that it breaketh; nor nothynge so well

"kept, but that it corrupteth.....The fruites in the spryngynge tyme have not the virtue to gyve sustenannce, nor perfyte swetenesse to satisfie the taste of them that eateth thereof: but thanne passeth the season of summer and harvest comethe, which tyme doth better rype them, and thanne that that we do eate, doth profyte us, the profe thereof is ryte savery nesse and gyveth the more force and virtue, and the greater is the taste".

The national bent for rhetorical and cumulative expression must have been an excellent preparation to the reception of such a style. It is crude and clumsy; its repetitions, antithetical and alliterative combinations, have no proportion, no elegance, no harmony: the art to produce such effects was yet to be found, for to this neither Berners, nor his relative and disciple, Sir Francis Bryan, had attained. In many ways it is a faithful and good translation, but the "sauce of the said sweet style", to use the nephew's phrase, lacks savour.

From 1534 to 1557, it is possible to trace the growth of the Euphuistic tendencies in many writers, but it must also be remembered that Englishmen of the period sought firstly and finally for clearness and préciseness of expression. This is the time of Cheke, Ascham, Wilson, and the Cambridge School, writers who, we have agreed, made use of not a few of these artificial graces of the later Euphuism, but who, nevertheless, were unrelenting and unswerving in their eagerness for the perspicuous phrase and the appropriate word. Who can credit for instance that Ascham, whose declared instruction is" to speake as the common people do, to think as wise men do", and to effect "propriety in words, order in sentences", would

deliberately model his alliteration, or repetition, or balanced antitheses, which we have shown to constitute no small part of his style, on Berners's version of "The Golden Book"? or that Wilson, who Hated "to overflouryshe wyth superfluous speach," imitated the same mannerisms in examples of rhetorical figures plainly translated from Cicero, and which the modern translator could not forbear to translate similarly? In both cases it was not the influence of Guevara, but that of classical study and the English tradition. French and Italian influences were also at work in this, the child-hood stage of "Euphues."

But if the first translation of Guevara was influential in teaching England anything, its instruction was directed to the use and potentialities of parisonic antithesis. An interesting example of the extensive use of this figure is furnished in a letter to the princess Elizabeth to Edward VI. in 1552. The king had asked for her portrait;

> "My picture I mean: in which of the inward good mind towards your grace might as well be declared as the outward face and countenance shall be seen, I would not have tarried the commandment, but prevented it, nor have been the last to grant it, but the first to offer it."
>
> (Aikin: Memorials of the Court of Elizabeth).

The prevalence of antithesis, then, is not attributable to North.

"The Golden Book of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius" seems to have exercised a strange fascination over England. Professor Ker has wittily styled it "The Brazen Calf" of the Renaissance, and the sobriquet is apposite when one reflects

of its idolatrous English worshippers who called for some twelve editions and another translation before 1560. There was no more popular book, nor more potent influence in the sixteenth century. "The Diall of Princes.....Englysshed oute of the Frenche, by Thomas North" appeared in 1557, and was in a second edition by the following year. Landmann declares that the specific elements of Guevarism and Euphuism are reflected far more in North than in his predecessors. This is only true proportionally, for it is not sufficiently remembered by critics that Berners's and North's works differ in matter and consequently somewhat in style: Berners translated Bèrtaut's "Livre Dore" (1531), and North the same writer's "L'orloge des Princes" (1540), the former a translation of the "Libro Aureo", the latter, of the "Relox de Principes." The "Libro Aureo" does not contain quite so many figures of speech as the "Relox", and the characteristics of the Guevaristic style do not seem fully developed. Hence the difference between the two French versions, and consequently between the two English* But 'Northism', like the style of Berners, differs from the Euphuism of Lyly in certain respects. Euphuistic leanings are to be noticed in detached passages. Consonance, alliteration, annomination, parallelism and balanced antitheses, are thus found:

"For in the war, honour by tarrying is obtained, but in the vice of the flesh, victory by flying is obtained."

Again observe these qualities, and the favourite Lylian artifice of accumulating similes from natural history:

"And therefore the wivell is not so hurtful to the corn, nor the lowest to oats, nor worms to vines, nor maggots

* *The fore-quoted comparison of the two translations is from Guevara's prologue.*

"to fruit, nor moths to garments, as woman is to man, that once was his friend and now become his enemy. For like as in time of her love, she robbed and spoiled him of his goods: so likewise in time of her hatred, she devoureth all his good fame and reputation"*.

(The Diall of Princes.)

Such passages are exceptional rather than regular: North has no universal Euphuistic tendency. We have noticed further that the use of antithesis is not much more pronounced than in Berners, that rhetorical questions are few in number: we have discovered no single instance of a far-fetched or invented simile. "The Diall" seems to emphasise more the principles of balancing member with member of sentence, of alliterating for euphonic and emphatic effect, of illustrating by similes from well-known facts of nature.

A comparison of Berner's and North's translations is exceedingly interesting, and such a study carried out with the accuracy of the scholar and collated with the two different French originals should throw much light on the distinctive mannerisms and influences of the two writers. A comprehensive critism of both, we think, would rate the influence of Berners little below that of North. The use of balanced antitheses by the early Guevarists may be referred in large measure to the prompting of Lord Berners, though it was brought into greater prominence by the later translator. Professor Bond, therefore, seriously commits himself when he declares that "North endeavoured, what Berners had not aimed at, to reproduce in his "Diall" the characteristics of Guevara's style, with

* *To make the parallel with Lyly more effective the extract on p. should be read with this.*

the notable addition of an alliteration natural to English, and not to Spanish: and it is he who must be regarded as the real founder (sic) of our Euphuistic literary fashion.*" Lyly may have borrowed from North rather than from Berners; but careful study proves Berners to exhibit "the characteristics of Guevara's style" almost as much as North, and "The Golden Boke" had an almost phenomenal popularity, so that if we are to discriminate between the two writers, it is Berners, and not North who may incorrectly be described as "the real founder". To be true, however, in Berners there is very little alliteration: in North it appears in a considerable quantity, but is not used in any systematic way. This is only natural, for alliteration is an essentially Saxon characteristic and, so, not to be found in Spanish. Much has been written about the uses of alliteration, and Dr. Schwann is nearest the truth when he asserts that the Euphuists used it as a means of emphasising certain words in a balanced phrase. Dr.Landmann has pointed out that Guevara obtained this end by the use of consonance and rhyme - a use perceptible in Berners. Now before the appearance of the latter's translation, alliteration was not generally employed in prose, if much more in poetry; but immediately afterwards the tendency to introduce it becomes evident. It should be noted, too, that this device had suddenly re-appeared in great vigour in English verse so that the early Euphuists, following Guevara in the use of consonance and annomination, could not help adding what was eminently native and prevalent. The introduction into prose, therefore, of alliteration is not entirely due to North; it was used extensively by his predecessors - by Latimer, to take one salient exemplar; it came in the natural course of development, as a result of its fitness.

* *Bond: Wks.1.138; cf. Courthope: Hist.Engl. Poetry. 1.184.*

Then we must not accept unrenervedly the statement of landmann that "North's style exhibits to a much higher degree than Berners' the specific elements of Guevarism and Euphuism, viz: parison, antithesis, and above all transverse alliteration." The"above all" is misleading, and a consequence of Dr. Landmann's error in styling that particular variety of alliteration one of the "indispensable criteria" of Euphuism. He is twice wrong, for the transverse form is by no means habitual or even familiar in"Euphues", whereas in "The Diall" it appears very rarely. Justice has hardly been done to Lord Berners.

(f). WYATT, SURREY AND CHURCHYARD.

With the advent of North, we arrive at the Elizabethan period proper. During its opening stages there is an obvious tendency to ornamentation, which is seen perhaps more particularly in verse rather than in prose. Ornamentation to the earlier poets was nearly synonymous with experiment, and experiment, fresh eager, and versatile is the key-note of the whole age. The year of "The Diall", 1557, also saw the publication of the first poetical miscellany - that of Tottel; following came "The Paradise of Dainty Devices," "The Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions," collections which by their very names evince a striving for novelty and effect, and which by their contents exhibit the gradual developments of the taste for embellishment, from the refining efforts of Surrey up to the point at which Gascoigne and Churchyard began to anticipate the movement of Lyly. Wyatt and Surray were the prime movers; poets of an earlier generation, they first set the feet of Englishmen in the direction of Italy, and then by their

own example taught English versifiers to look outside their own literature for other models, other themes, other verse-forms, and other measures. The work of each may be thus broadly differentiated: Wyatt, the older and earlier writer, was the pioneer; Surrey, the young stylist, the reformer of versification, the refiner of diction, and the innovator of poetical syntax. In many places the latter poet manifests a euphuistic proclivity that is unmistakable in its use of parallel arrangement of clauses, of antithesis, of alliteration, of balance in word and phrase. Mr. Child* , in explanation of the transferred use of alliteration in prose, has made a most elaborate analysis of such passages in contemporary verse, with the result that even a cursory glance at this will convince the reader of the many common qualities of Euphuism and poetry, and indicate how easy and natural was the transition of alliteration and kindred artifices to the other medium.

(g). EARLY ELIZABETHAN PROSE.

The ornamental and decorative were sought for with no less persistency in prose that in contemporary verse. Until the time of North, Englishmen had concerned themselves primarily with matter, and but secondarily with manner. This does not imply that they gave no consideration to style, for the form of many writers would immediately confute such a statement. It means that their intention was genuinely to promulgate ideas; to do this in clear plain English, adopting here and there a set rhetorical device, and then never as an end, but only as a means of emphatic and effective expression. Their business was the provision of "English matter in the English tongue for

* *Child: John Lyly and Euphuism, pp. 71-75.*

Englishmen," and this, till the reign of Elizbeth began, had occupied them seriously and sufficiently. Indeed, generally speaking, we can say that the whole body of Elizabethan prose, with one prominent exception, is devoted to the pursuit of matter rather than manner: the age used prose, not for literary or artistic purposes, but for the purpose of instruction, argument and information. The solitary exception is the prose of the Euphuists.

This, then, was the state of the earliest Elizabethan prose-writers. They understood the use of rhetorical figures and forms for heightening and improving style, exercising themselves therein as discretion and occasion demanded, but always with an eye to clearness, correctness and perspicuity. These are the indigenous and fundamental qualities of the styles of Berners, Fisher, More, Elyot, Ascham and even North: We have shown that every characteristic feature of Euphuism has been employed by them at some time or another, but never generally and as a recognised method of composition. But with the setting of poetry in the direction of the ornate, the course of prose was similarly deflected. Englishmen found still greater pleasure in the practice of rhetoric, and in the trial in prose of what had hitherto been regarded as the peculiar properties of poetry. They grew tired of the plain style which had probably reached its highest pitch of development, and in their longing for something new had experimented in the florid, and found it pleasant to the taste. Flux governs all things in the literary, as in the other, world: styles wax and wane, flourish and decay; plain becomes florid, and florid becomes plain; nothing is established, nothing is permanent, and only extremes are with accuracy determined.

(h) PAINTER, FENTON, AND GASCOIGNE.

Prose in the hands of the Euphuists after North is approaching one of these extremes. The writer who in verse is frankly contemptuous of mechanical devices, will declare in prose his love of the highly-wrought; the translator of the Italian novel becomes an enthusiast for eloquence and in many a passage will display his affection for, and aspiration to, an "estilo culto." It is but one step to Pettie, the perfect Euphuist, and then another only to Lyly, the hyperbolist, who exaggerated to catch the popular ear.

From 1566, onwards, translations of Italian novels appeared in various collections, and in many of these the Euphuistic bacillus is discernible. Incidentally, we may note that they form the first stages in the evolution of prose-fiction and afford an interesting study in their transition from translation to adaptation, and from adaptation to invention. The first of these was William Painter's "Palace of Pleasure" (1566), a collection of a hundred and one tales from the Latin, Italian, and French, and a work which possesses attraction for the student of Euphuism on account of the qualities of that style which are discoverable in it. But two critics seem to deny this: Mr. Whibley* and Professor Morley+ are in agreement that Painter, "unlike most of his fellows, avoided embroidery*". Our reading of the book would establish the very contrary: its author, in places (sic) is as Euphuistic as North, if indeed the term may with accurary be applied to that writer. We have found it a safe rule in our study of style to turn first to an author's preface, as it is generally there, if anywhere, that traces of

* *Cambr.Hist. Engl. Lit.III. (Article:Eliz.Trans.).*

\+ *English Writers VIII.*

the elaborate and lofty are to be seen. The preface of Painter bears the best well, and contains frequent instances of parallelism, parison, antithesis, anecdotes and classical accusions with some little alliteration and much repetition. There are no similes, however, from natural history - few occur in the whole collection, yet the author makes exaggerated use of the rhetorical question, and, fact that is generally attributed to Pettie, introduces the rhetorical response. To explain how "profitable and pleasant they (the tales) will be liked of the indifferent reader," no fewer than sixteen questions and answers, and four conditional clauses are required. In support of the same argument, the author writes:

> "Pleasaunt be they for that they recreate, and refresh weried mindes, defatigated either with paineful travaile, or with continuall care, occasioning them to shunne and avoid heavinesse of minde, vain fantasies and idle cogitations. Pleasannt so well abroad as at home, to avoyde the grief of Winter's might and length of Sommer's day, which the travailers on foote may be use for a staye to ease their weried bodye, and the journeors on horsback for a chariot or lesse painful meane of travaile, insteade of a merie companion to shorten the tedious toyle of werie wayes. Delectable they be (no doubt) for al sortes of men, for the sad, the angry, the cholericke, the pleasannt, the whole and sicke, and for al other with whatsoever passion rising either by nature or use they be affected."
>
> (The Palace of Pleasure.)

It surely cannot be urged that this is not embroidery, although under no consideration can it be called Euphuism. And Painter's prose in the tales has not everywhere the same high colouring as this: the Euphuistic rhetoric which was then in the shaping, and whose influences are seen at work in "The Palace of Pleasure", had not yet attained to constant and consistent usage in any single author, and for this it had still to wait some ten years.

The following year saw the publication of another set of tales, again from Italian origins, but this time through a French version. Geoffrey Fenton had Englished Belleforest's "Histories Trogiques", versions of the novels of Bandello, and in the translation had shown himself almost a complete Euphuist. The two most characteristic marks of "Euphues" - antithesis and the extravagant similes from natural history, are apparent, as well as alliteration and the recurrent rhetorical question. Fenton alludes in transverse alliteration, for instance, to the "secte femenyne" as "that flattering crew of flickeringe creatures. Again, he makes frequent reference to "herbs or beasts which Ind or Afric hold"; he introduces us to the 'salamandre', the scorpion, the 'basilike', the 'tygre', the 'libarde', and the chameleon, which is "norished by the breath of the ayre". And he even speaks of "the stone Scylicia, uppon whom the more you beate to bruse or breake yt in pieces, the greater hardnes is driven into it." This is Lyly's "stone of Sicilia, the which the more it is beaten the harder it is," and Pettie's "stoneof Scilitia," Mr. Bond* quoted Lyly's example as an invented simile, and in his notes ascribes it to

* *Bond: Wks. I. 132 and 337.*

the "Pallace of Pleasure"; he is probably correct, Pettie's book being Lyly's model for much matter as well as manner, yet its use in the "Tragicall Discourses" is earlier. But such similes are the very breath of "Euphues", and the significance of their rare use in the tales of Fenton has not yet been realised. In fact, Mr. Bond and others declare their invention to be the one peculiar preperty of Lyly, and the only device which he can be said to have added to the already full-blown Euphuism of Pettie.

It should be remembered, however, that there are some devices of Euphuism much less conspicuous in Fenton, and others considerably modified by Lyly in application. Among these may be grouped the parallelistic arrangement of sentences, balance, repetition, and antithesis, which, compared with their uses by his successor, are but little displayed. Lyly, again like Fenton, obtains emphasis by a series of similes, but with a difference: Lyly seldom stays to elaborate and expand each one before passing to the next, whereas Fenton loves to linger. In this way the sentences of the 'Discourses' have a tendency to subordination and lengthy otiose statement: Lyly's, by way of contrast, are oftenest co-ordinated and striking by their antithetical brevity and conciseness. Such eddying of thought is typically medieval:

> "The fierce elephant standes not in awe of his keeper by force of any stripes, but is made tractable to bende his large bodie whilest he mounte upon his backe, by certeine familiar voices and stroakhnges of the keper, wherewith he over cometh the naturall rudeness and crueltie of the beaste,*"

* *Fenton: Tragicall Discourses.*

this is but one of his comparisons to prove that woman is reformed rather by 'entreaity' than 'by feare or torment'.

Fenton makes an advance on North chiefly in the direction of ornament. His inconsistent balanced style may be explained to some extent, for he was a student of Guevara while turning the "Histores Tragiques," and in 1577 published his "Golden Epistles," another collection of translations, in this instance from the familiar letters of the Spaniard. Yet with this, one reflects, there was the conjoint influence of Belleforest, himself an elaborator, and who, with the other authors of contemporary France, probably helped to mould the style of his translator as much as the renowned Bishop of Guadix. The "Tragicall Discourses" is a landmark in the rise of Euphuism generally unrecognised; had it been built more carefully and coherently it would have rivalled "The Petite Pallace" itself.

Such translations, especially those from Guevara and the Spanish, aided somewhat by North's"Diall," served to stimulate interest in the new mannerisms of style. Even the level-headed Gascoigne could lose himself in pretentiousness, and importune the Queen in the following strain:

> "Your majesty, being of god godly, and on our earth our god, by God appointed, I presume likewise to knock at the gates of your gracious Goodness, hoping that your Highness will set me on work, though it were noon and past before I sought service; for, most gracious lady, though I have over long loitered, though I have garnishly gadded, and though I have tilled the soil of fancy, and reaped the fruit of folly, I may not yet always wander wildly, nor

"finally conclude to despair cowardly, I may not, like a babe, for one trifle taken from me, throw away the rest which might have been my contentation*".

(The Hermit's Tale. Address to the Queen)

This is not comparable to any of the passages previously cited, but is worthy of regard in coming from a writer who, in his critical work, strongly advised simplicity, and a poet whose verses are but little affected by the vice of alliteration so apparent in his prefaces. Nor can it said that with Professor Godrthope, that "his prose.....anticipates the chief mannerisms of Lyly." The "Certain Notes of Instruction concerning the Making of Rhyme" is written in the plain style, and by its freedom from affectation contrasts as strongly with the above address as "The Arte of Poetrie" with the "Arcadia." It is but a witness to the rapidly developing vogue of fine writing.

(k) "THE PETITE PALLACE OF PETTIE".

But the decisive moment when the real Euphuism first appeared was in 1576. That year saw the publication of the "Petite Pallace of Pettie, his Pleasure," in many ways an advance on the previous translations, and supremely important in its pronounced and unmistakably Euphuistic style. Pettie gives us the complex impression due to the methodical combination of structural and ornamental devices which we have said constitutes the only true and complete Euphuism. The tricks of rhetoric were the means, and not the end, of prose-writers previous to North; by North and his compeers, they were used

*cf. *Dedications of Dryden's plays, and, in lesser degree, those of Massinger.*

as an end, in and for themselves, only on occasion; to Pettie, and his follower Lyly, they were the absolute end, positively introduced for that, and no other purpose. The "Petite Pallace" thus did more to establish the Euphuistic method than "The Diall," "The Golden Boke" or any other work of the same or preceding century: it employed not occasionally but constantly, not artlessly but with determined art and exaggeration, all the artifices of which previous writings had shown only a tentative and moderate practice. Its value is enhanced when we find that though there were other translators of Guevara, there was no continuous imitation of North, and consequently, no gradual growth in the style between 1557 and 1576. It is but one step, we repeat between North and Pettie, but the step is over the wide gulf that separates the desultory experimentalist from the orderly and regular practitioner. Pettie reduced North's occasional use of devices to a system, which he still further developed. "The Diall" has but few instances of similes from natural history, and of rhetorical questions: Pettie used these frequently with rhetorical response, and, according to Mr. Child, introduced allusions to fabulous natural history, though it is seen that Fenton anticipated him here at least once.

It is fairly obvious that Pettie's collection of twelve stories was familiar to Lyly from the many striking similarities of style and treatment. Mr. Warwick Bond has prepared an analysis of the"Petite Pallace" and finds that it contains everyone of the characteristics of the "Anatomy of Wit", both as regards structure and ornament; he further discovers resemblances of Pettie and Lyly in treatment, in the subordinate places assigned to action, in the employment

of set discourses, of misogynist tirades, and of asides to the reader. There is, indeed, so close a correspondence between them that a hasty reader could very easily mastake a page of "Euphues" for such a passage as the following:

> "Lyke as the Greyhounde is greeved to see the Hare, if hee bee kept in slippe, and the Hauke the Partridge, if she bee tyed in lunes, and as the common saying is, yt which the eye seeth, the hart geeveth, Likewise .....to heare of your unlucky linking with any, would bee deathitselfe unto mee, to think that my only joy should live in annoy. Therefore I thinke the best way to mitigate my martirdome, is to absente myselfe from both hearing and seeing. I could reave myselfe of life, and so rid myselfe of strife but alas to imbrue my hands in mine owne blond, would but bring to my body destruction, to my soule damnation, to my freendes desolation, and to yourselfe defamation."
>
> (A Petite Pallace of Pettie, his Pleasure).

Or again, this reply of Camma to Sinorix, illustrating Pettie's facility an antithesis and in'running on the letter:

> "Your couragious persisting in your purpose, proveth you rather a desperate sot then a discreet souldier: for to hop against the hill, and strive against the streame, hath ever been counted extreame folly."

We observe similes from the facts of nature, antithesis, parallelism of clauses, balance of phrases, repetition, a proverb, alliteration of the two varieties, and rhyme, assonance and consonance to emphasise structural relationships; and these

devices are used as frequently and as cleverly as Lyly. No reader of the "Petite Pallace' can doubt for a moment that its author was the creator of the fully developed Euphuism, or that Lyly,its long-vaunted originator, only imitated and polished the model offered to him.

E. S U M M A R Y.

Here we conclude our discussion of the origins of Euphuism. We have seen that it is a mistake to consider these any other than English; that literatures are inter-dependent only to a certain extent, beyond which exaggeration and distortion of facts are to be looked for. The Renaissance, affecting all European literatures, was the great productive cause of literary and stylistic effort, but influenced the several nations in several and distinct ways. Italy, and Spain, had their peculiar mannerisms which affected England only in limited degree. The Italianate Englishman was the most obvious result of England's intercourse with that country: Italian literature only helped to hasten a process already, if darkly, at work. The relations of England and Spain in the sixteenth century were many and intimate. Spanish literature was read, and Guevara, was popular in that his style possessed similarities to that forming in our native compositions: his 'alto estilo' did not call into existence the Euphuistic mannerism, but assisted, modified, quickened a development of which the origin was innately and instinctively English. This we found in the prose-writers of the fifteenth century who, by their use of repetition, comparison, classical quotation and allusion, were discovering and exercising the devices of style

from which Euphuism subsequently evolved. Their work was carried forward by the study of the classics, in particular of Isocrates and Cicero, and by the books of rhetoric emanating from such study. The early humanists with Fisher, More, and Elyot, we saw, practised these structural and ornamental devices; Cheke, Ascham, and Wilson, writers of the Cambridge School, seriously devoted themselves to the study of style, condemning the excessive use of Latinisms or the search for the ornate and recondite, and sternly endeavouring to mould English to classical forms. By such means the tricks of the style afterwards known as Euphuistic gradually crept into vogue. The influence of Guevara prompted the movement still further; his translators, served to emphasize the importance of style and, in particular the use of antithesis and parison. Berners had the greater popularity, though North perdaps marks a slight advance in the direction of Euphuism. Rhetoric then leapt into favour. Englishmen of the early part of the sixteenth sentury concerned themselves rather with ideas than with expression, using effective forms as occasion only demanded. Now they were tired of the plain style and looked deliberately for the elaborate and forcible. Alliteration, the bane of contemporary poetry, became generally used in prose. Painter, Fenton, and Gascoigne made various efforts to attain an ornamental and attractive style, and, close following them, though widely separated by intensity, frequency, and accumulation of rhetorical artifice, came Pettie, the the supreme formulator of Euphuism.

The style of Pettie and Lyly, therefore, must not be attributed to any single writer or movement; nor was it of foreign origin. It was a movement of native birth and

continuous growth. It was cradled in the fifteenth century, suckled by Fisher, More and Elyot, passing a vigorous childhood under the discipline of Berners and the Cambridge School; its youth guided by North, the rhetoricians, and Fenton was eager, daring and versatile; it reached the prime of manhood under Pettie and Lyly, sinking into old age and decay in the last years of the sixteenth century.

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C H A P T E R IV.

T H E P R O G E N I T O R S O F "E U P H U E S".

"The Anatomy of Wit" was inscribed as "verie pleasant for all gentlemen to read, and most necessarie to remember," reminding the reader of the Puritan severity underlying its coquetry of style and expression. Lyly, true Englishman that he showed himself, was serious-hearted, "un pen theologien meme"*, and while striving to carry to the extreme the artificiality of his school, never once lost sight entirely of the animating didactic purpose that stamps his works as belonging to the English Renaissance. England, we have shown, took the Renaissince seriously; her scholars were grave livers who sought to instruct their country-men in the meaning and importance of a serious and not fantastic education. And the author of"Euphues" claims kindred with them. His book is the lineal descendant of a series of treatises, the earliest of which had appeared in the last century and which aimed at the instruction and breeding of a courtier and gentleman. "The Babees Boke (1475) a lytyl reporte of how young people should behave", and "A Boke of Nurture" (written 1450) attempted to teach good manners; then came the sober and weighty "Governour" (1531) of Elyot, some five or six

* *Mézières: Prédécesseurs.*

'myrrours of good maners', Ascham's "Scholemaster"(pub.1570) and Sir Humphrey Gilbert's "Queene Elizabethes Academy", which dealt with the training not only in letters but also in the social life.

Of these the more important were the works of Elyot and Ascham. The purpose of the "Governour", like that of the "Utopia", was to describe "the form of a just public weal", and to this end, the author concentrates on what to him is the most vital aspect of national welfare - the fitting education of its future rulers. Much of the ground covered in the book was afterwards re-traversed by Ascham, whose "Scholemaster" enlarges somewhat more on the ethics of the schoolroom, and propounds a definite system of educational rules.

But there were works other than English that helped to influence Lyly. North's translation of Guevara's "El Relox de Principes" and Hoby's version of Castiglione's "Il Cortegiano" had aroused considerable enthusiasm, and probably incited Lyly's work, though they did not account for it altogether.

"The Diall of Princes" is a work of three books furnishing instructions and examples for the guidance of Kings, princes and governors. The first book would show that 'a prince ought to be a good Christian'; the second 'how a prince ought to govern his wife and children'; the third 'how a prince ought to govern his person and commonwealth'. Evidence is not wanting to prove that Lyly was indebted to North's work, not only for style, but for plan and even subject matter, and it must certainly be regarded as one of his sources.

Quite as influential on "Euphues" and more so perhaps on England was Sir Thomas Hoby's "Courtier" (1561), a work which contributed very extensively to the imitation and introduction of Italian customs in this country*. The Italianate Englishman, so bitterly reproached by contemporaries, had brought back with his new-fangled mannerisms of speech and costume a love of Italian poetry and romance. Ascham in a famous passage deplored the encroaching influence. Vicious as he thought the "Morte D'Arthur," he declared that "ten Morte Arthurs do not the tenth part so much harm as one of these bookes made in Italie and translated in England." This was a condemnation of the translations of Painter and Fenton which were appearing as Ascham wrote. But the same writer did not condemn all 'bookes made in Italie'. "To joyne learning with cumlie exercises Conte Baldesaer Castiglione in his booke cortegiane, doth truelie teache," he wrote; "which booke advisedlie read, and diligentlie folowed, but one yeare at home in England, would do a yong gentleman more good, I wisse, then three yeares travell abrode spent in Italie." Hoby's "Courtier" had won his difficult approval.

In many ways the book anticipates "The Anatomy of Wit" and continues the work of the preceding mirrors or handbooks of courtly education. It is an elaborate treatise on the life, manners, and morals of the Italian courts, striving, as Lyly in his character of Ephoebus, to depict the perfect type of the gentleman of the Renaissince. The immediate plan of "The Courtyer" is found in the "Decameron" of Boccaccio, though its form of a symposium probably owes some-

*Johnson, recommending the reading of "Il Cortegiano," called it "The best that was ever written upon good breeding." cf. Boswell's Life. ed. Croker. P.359.

thing more to the "De Oratore" of Cicero, or the "Banquet" of Plato. It consists of a conversation among certain guests of the Count of Urbino. Suggestions for the night's diversion have been made, when one of the Company proposes that it "be this, that one of the Company be chosen to describe a perfect Courtier, and explain all the conditions and particular qualities required of the man who deserves the character." Discussion ensues and continues four nights, dividing itself into four parts according to tie four principal orations. Book the first thus 'entreateth of the perfect qualities of a courtier', and the second, 'of the use of them'; the third book is concerned with 'the conditions and qualities of a waiting gentlewoman, the fourth, with 'the end of a courtier and of honest love'. The last book is to us the most important, and probably influenced Lyly in no slight degree. Like "Euphues" it is an example of rhetoric in the language of love composed to suit the dainty taste of the Court. Metaphysical and not physical love had long been the study of aristocratic Europe and treatises on the Ars Amatoria had appeared early and frequently flourished. With the decay of chivalry, however, and the transference of the centre of influence from castle to court, the old love-allegories and romances lost their popularity and dropped out of vogue. To take their place was little but the Petrarcanism of the school of Wyatt and Surrey, which availed nothing. But in 1561 came Sir Thomas Hoby's translation which fulfilled creditably, if not completely, the requirements of an age which demanded besides a new code of manners, an explanation and accomodation of the science of aristocratic love-making, according to the claims of the New Learning. Lyly, in deliberately setting himself to supply this taste, could have had no better model to guide his

hand than "The Courtyer".

Castiglione, like Ficino and Mirandola was an ardent Platonist, and a student particularly, it would seem, of the "Phaedrus " and "Symposium". There is no surprise, then, to find the principal part of "The Courtyer" in the fourth book which contains the oration of Bembo, an impassioned discourse and a lofty mystical exposition of Platonic love and beauty. None who reads this book can mistake its parallelism with the similar book of John Lyly. There are the fashionable symposia and wit-combats, the same sophistic questionings, and the same casuistical disquisitions, discussions and analysis of the passion of love. To take an instance from the close of "The Courtyer", Perothino inveighs against love in this wise:

> O bitter sweetness: O poisoned drug of healing for the insanity of lovers: O grievous joy, that entertainest thy possessors with no sweeter fruit than remorse: O beauty that art no longer seen, that, like a thin smoke, thou vadest away, leaving to the eyes that beheld thee nothing but their tears: O wings that for all ye raise us on high, yet when your frail fabric is melted in the sun, ye bring us to suffer the naked fate of Icarus of falling headlong into the sea".

This is certainly the matter, and in some respects the manner, of Lyly. The use of tropes and oxymoron would suggest rather the author of the "Arcadia" that of "Euphues", but the use of repetition, parallelism, homely simile, and classical allusion, are sufficiently reminiscent of the writings of the Cambridge School to rank Hoby's work with theirs as a direct forbear of Euphuism. Allusions to well-known passages in the classics are very common in "The Courtyer", and they are used in a

concatenation to produce cumalative effect, exactly as in Lyly*. Very truly these are the introductions of the Ilalian, but that does not prevent their influence in a translation on the later Englishman.

While "Euphues" therefore owed a large share of its popularity to the excessive mannerism of style, its debt to opportunity and circumstances must not be neglected. It was the right book at the right moment. It developed the disordered and confused ideas of Ascham, giving them a new interpretation and importance; it continued the educative work of "The Courtyer". By such means it raised itself above the level of a simple advisory treatise to the position of being one of the most representative, though not the greatest, books of the age.

.....

* *The author cannot speak of knowledge, but he must also mention Alexander, Alcibriades, Caesar, Scipio, Pompey, Brutus, Hannibal, all the great generals who were men of letters.*

C H A P T E R V.

L Y L Y'S S O U R C E S.

There is no close a connection between the sources and the style that without mention of them any study of Euphuism could not but be incomplete. Both book and style we have shown to be nearer obsolescence than innovation, and this will be readily appreciated by a survey of the more obvious appropriations. Lyly, like many greater Elizabethans, was not altogether guiltless of 'the higher plagiarism';

"In Saturn's reign
Such mixture was not held a stain",

and the author of"Euphues" borrowed in the imperious manner of his times. His borrowings, however, are openly confessed: "if I seeme to glean after another's cart.....I will not deny", he writes in the Epistle Dedicatory to the Second Part, and further "The Anatomy of Wit" was entered in the Stationers' Register as "compiled by John Lyllie".

If Lyly was indebted to Pettie for the chief model of Euphuistic style, his creditor for subject-matter was much rather North, the translator of "Guevara". Dr. Landmann with exaggeration expresses this debt: "'The Diall of Princes' and Lyly's 'Euphues' exhibit the same style. They coincide in their contents in many points and both show the same dissertations on the same

subjects. In both works are letters fixed at the end, and these letters treat of the same matter. In both occur the same persons and some of these bear the same names; the principal contents of each are long soliloquies and moral dissertations on love and ladies, god, friendship, youth and education, court and country*". Professor Feuillerat emphatically denies these assertions: he can see no resemblance either in plan or conception between the English and Spanish work; that certain persons bear the same names would only prove that such names (Livia, Camilla, Lucilla) were common; if the two authors have met in the development of certain subjects, then it is due to the commonplaceness of the subject. Much of this is true, for the above names are very ordinary and discussions as to the existence of god, and the education of children, satires on women, love and court-life were abounding in many books of the day. But this negation of indebtedness would seem to take little account of the value of suggestion. This is Lyly's real debt to North. M. Feuillerat may point out that Lyly differs only in introducing first a story of love, but this is the cunning of the greater artist who gives the jam before the powder; he may show excellently, and in work that must have entailed much laborious research, that Lyly's "Euphues and his Epoebus" is a veritable English translation of Plutarch's "De Educatione", that the letter to Botonio is an abbreviated version of Plutarch's "De Exilio", that the basis of "Euphues and Atheos" is found in two passage literally translated from the 'De Natura Deorum' of Cicero, or, again as he most valuably discloses, that the "Cooling Carde" is a wonderful alteration, abbreviation and imitation of Ovid's "Remedium Amoris"+.

* *Landmann: Shakspere and Euphuism. Journal New Shaks. Soc. 1880-*

+ *Lyly's debts were recognised by contemporaries. Nash declared: "To imitate it (Euphuism) I abhor, otherwise than it imitates Plutarch, Ovid, and the choicest Latin Authors."*

Lyly with great probability went to the originals for these various dissertations, but it is almost as certain that he would not have written them, had not this attention been attracted by their appearance in "The Diall". There is too great a coincidence to admit of any other solution; the correspondent borrowings from the same originals are too frequent. Again, there are many apparent reminiscences which on research are found to be only vague echoes. Lyly probably knew his classics as well as Guevara, and the mere mention of, say education in "The Diall" would set his tenacious memory setting at once in the direction of Plutarch. Many resemblances are rendered imperfect by the deft adaptation of Lyly who invaded his authors, as Ben Jonson, "like a monarch". But credit must be given to North's suggestibility.

There were other works of Lyly's predecessors to which he may have turned; such are the translations of Painter and Fenton, the "Description of Britain" (1577) by William Harrison, and the "Proverbes" (1546) of John Heywood.

Illustration by means of proverb, folk-lore, and knowledge of medicine and magic, we remarked, was the most prominent ornamental feature of Euphuism. Lyly's source or sources of this recondite learning cannot but be various. It is another link with mediaevalism, a survival of the old scholastic method of advancing a theory and expounding by example. The long-winded Bestiaries elucidated moral and religious questions by the application of physical facts, and later the Physiologi, used as school text-books, had disseminated a large amount of mythology about the habit of animals. For these similitudes and "stories of Beasts, Foules, and Fishes", Lyly undoubtedly went to the original and parent source, the "Historia Naturalis" of Pliny, also availing himself of the curious learning found in

such books as " The boke of Secretes of Albartus Magnus, of the vertues of Herbes, Stones, and certaine Beastes &c." or the "Liber de Proprietatibus Rerum" by Bartholomaeus. Such illustrations were not strange and unfamiliar to Lyly's greatest contemporaries.*

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* *Cf. Shakespere for instance, in not a few places.*

C H A P T E R VI.

T H E P R O G R E S S O F E U P H U I S M.

A. LYLY'S ADVANCE ON PETTIE.

Pettie's book secured neither general imitation of its style nor success for its author. It was thrust aside after two years by the much more pretentious and, disregarding style, better constructed "Euphues" of Lyly. Gabriel Harvey said that Young Euphues had hatched the eggs laid by his elder friends, and it is certain that one of those eggs, and the largest, was laid by Pettie. But in the natural world the responsibility of the parent generally rests with the one that hatches, and full credit must be given to Lyly for his handling and popularization of the bantling of his fore-runners. "The Petite Pallace" was his chief exemplar, a complete model of the unique style, but there can be no doubt that Lyly went slightly beyond Pettie in elaborating the tricks of style and in rendering that style more admired by virtue of his theme and matter. That "duplicating triplicating, or multiplying habit," arising as Professor Bond* well observes, "from an unusual activity and alertness in the composing brain, which continually thrusts upon the writer

* *Bond: Wks. I.539.*

parallel or opposed instances, and parallel forms of expression" ministered not a little to the exact balance and antithesis that are so characteristic of Lyly. One observes the same habit in Pettie, but his is a somewhat crude and inartistic use, with only a faint conception of its subtlety and finer graces, and seemingly the resultant of a brain less vigorous, of a wit less sprightly, and less ingenious. The latter's style was still mediocre, and consequently, did not suffice to raise his work above the level of other versions and imitations of foreign writers.

Again, Pettie's lapses into metrical rhythim have been pointed out as defects observed and avoided by his followers. There is a definite character in Lyly's prose, a perceptible rise and fall, a clearly marked individual movement that is quite distinguished from that of poetry, and which he shared in common with Burton, Browne, Milton, Dryden, De Quincey, Carlyle, Ruskin, indeed, all writers of "impassioned prose". Lyly's sentences have a characteristic rhythm united with many of the devices of poetry, but they may never be compared to Pettie's, whose rhythm is regular and poetic, and whose inversions are deliberately introduced to that end.*

The triumph of "Euphues" over the preceding example of the same style, in most respects, proves conclusively that other merits had contributed to its success. A direct negative must be given to Dr. Landmann's assertion that "the importance of the book does not rest with the contents but with the style". Pettie was an obscure translator of tales foreign in subject and sentiment to his countrymen, which gave temporary attractiveness

*Goodlet wrongly declared passages of Lyly's prose to be metrical, where it was clearly the rhythmical use of balanced antitheses.

by their use of the "new English". Lyly had the courtier's instinct for what would please, associated with deftness and refinement which fitted him to put it in attractive form. Ascham had condemned the Italianate Englishman, and lamented the luxury and licentiousness of the age. Lyly thought good to revive much of the teaching of "The Scholemaster" but was sufficiently wise to mask his moralising under the exterior of a love-story, told after the fashionable dainty manner, and with wonderful verbal dexterity. The work, too, is thoroughly English in spirit, and the spice of satirical flavour in its indictment of Court and University added considerably to its general appreciation. At once it was the subject of debate, and when, two years later, to "Euphues and his England" were appended the consolatory address "To my verie good friends the gentlemen Scholars of Oxford", and the elegiacs in praise of the Queen, Lyly's work attained universal admiration and immediate popular success.

Lyly made Euphuism famous, then, despite the fact that he marks the culmination rather than the inception of a movement. He was not behind nor before his time, not more than on a level with it, constituting and reading from himself the measure of the age. It is this that made for his triumph. He came at the opportune moment, when the prolix, impossible romances of chivalry and the witty, amusing, but generally coarse fabliaux were falling into desuetude, when the fashionable world lived in an exotic atmosphere, and when the affected prose-style had reached its very zenith. Quick to seize the favourable occasion, Lyly composed a romance of contemporary life, with a portraiture of the fair sex even more chivalrous, unnatural and conventional, with analytical study of character, and written in a style

calculated to attract attention by its very exaggeration. Lyly was no genius but an 'arriviste'. He knew that his books would share the fate of Pettie's, unless he further amplified and heightened the mannerisms of that writer. He had talent sufficient to succeed, but not to rank him above his age and for all time.

It is evident that Lyly was discontented with the general style of the Cambridge School which set itself "to speak plainly and simply and not to over flourish with superfluous speech". But Lyly was as classical and rhetorical as any of them: they and their ancient originals were his teachers in the matters of antithesis and parison; they had instructed him in the use of almost every feature of what was afterwards to be called Euphuism. This is the anomaly, that they were assistants in a movement to which in avowed declaration they were fundamentally opposed. We may not say that Lyly deliberately set himself against their principles, but at least is it certain that his work is diametrically contrary to theirs in effect. The desire to express things in a manner distinct and different from that of all other people was definitely encouraged and introduced into literature. And the special method employed for enforcing this revolt was the fabrication of the extraordinary similes and illustrations so derided by contemporaries. This is his title to mention in the history of English prose: he sought for the first time, on a scale sufficiently lavish to claim attention, to intensify and to variegate, to devulgarise the vulgar, to aggrandise the trivial, to produce manner independent of matter, and style as a complete end in itself.

B. EUPHUISM AND POETRY.

Poets and prose-writers of the latter half of the sixteenth century were remarkably daring in experiment; they belonged to the generation of adventurers and explorers, and set out to conquer a verse-form or fashion a prose-style with the light-heartedness and confidence with which they sailed for El Dorado. Prose and poetry previous to 1600 evolved in courses that were generally parallel, that of prose perhaps being somewhat less conspicuous but certainly no less Elizabethan in its proneness to exuberance, spontaneity, and eager versatility. Lyly's style in this made no exception: it was an attempt to assert the worthiness of prose-writing, a plea for its recognition as an art no less than the writing of poetry.

Euphuism marks the transition from poetry to prose. "The Age of Elizabeth is an age of which prose may be regarded as merely the overflow," wrote Mr. Walter Raleigh*, and balance, elegance and harmony were appropriated contributions from an age of poetry to the development of prose-style. There is no need to re-iterate here the many close relations of poetry and prose, nor anything of the Elizabethans' conception of that intimacy. The use of rhythm in prose had been counselled by Gorgias and the other Greek rhetoricians; "Versus enim veteres illi in hac soluta oratione propemodum, hoc est numeros quosdam nobis esse adhibendos putaverunt" +
The figures of style practised were often productive of poetical rhythm, so that confusion between the two forms was

*Raleigh; ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ex *The English Novel.*

+ *For the old masters held that in prose we ought almost to employ verses, that is, a sort of rhythm,* (Cicero: *De Oratore*) III. 44.

frequent. Again, poetry of the time abused the prose-devices of antithesis and parison, and there are many resemblances between contemporary prose and the poetic style of the followers of Wyatt and Surrey. Now the prose of "Euphues" in many places approximates to poetry. If one excepts antithesis and comparison, two figures more intimately related to thought than to form, the remaining structural characteristics - the balance of words and phrases, rhyme, alliteration, assonance and consonance, cannot fail to strike one as essentially those of poetry. It is in the search for a style approaching poetry as closely as possible that the mannerism of Lyly consists.

Prose and poetry, however, can never be united in the same composition, for the prose will either be too poetic, or vice versa, the poetry too prosaic. Lyly approaches dangerously near the former of these. He has borrowed too many of the devices of poetry - rhyme, alliteration, and word-play, for his prose to be simple and manly; his rhythm, due to the constant use of parison and antithesis, is often too nearly regular and metrical to please. Moreover, Lyly was by nature a poet, even if we do not credit him with the authorship of those few melodious lyrics that have generally been attributed to him; his treatment of sources instances not a little the poetical instinct and conception. If it be part of the pont's aim to "make familiar things be as if they were not familiar," to discover truths old as the ages and declare them to the world with beauty and vigour of language as facts fresh and vital to himself, then the author of "Euphues", may surely be styled poet. But Lyly had his defects: he had not the esemplastic or shaping imagination of the great poet, that dissolves, diffuses, dissipates

its suggestions to re-create and mould them into definite coherent form. He had the "natural ear", and a graceful if often recondite fancy, but after all he was a man of only one rhythm. He harps forever on the same string of antithesis, and with none of the variations of a Paganini. Again, there is a plethora of ornament and illustration, a redundancy of expression, a constant iteration of thought, a "decies repetita" that frequently grows into a monotony and weariness. If he showed "virtue her own feature, scorn her own form and pressure", his special observance had also been to overstep "the modesty of nature". "That honny-flowing matron Eloquence," as Sidney declared, he had "apparelled, or rather disguised, in a Curtizan-like painted affectation."

C. THE IMITATION OF EUPHUISM.

If the abundance and strangeness of Lyly's ornaments were despised and derided by some comtemporaries, there were others who were only too glad to follow him and, taking advantage of the craze inaugurated by "Euphues", become his most slavish imitators. "Love-pamphlets", mirrors, "cooling-cards" and anatomies following the publication of Lyly's novel with startling rapidity and profusion, had a vogue from 1580 to 1590 which may only be paralleled by that of the sonnet-sequences in the last decade of the century. In many of these the style as well as the plan of the "Euphues" was worked into their title-page, while the majority wrote specially for "the ladies and gentlewoemen of England." It were futile and foreign to our purpose to analyse these novels, especially when the task has been ably completed by M.Jusserand. We

shall therefore concern ourselves with the imitation of the style Euphuism itself.

(a). Gosson, Riche, and Warner.

In the August of 1579 was published Gosson's "Schoole of Abuse", a work embodying many of the peculiar features of Euphuism. "The Anatomy of Wit", it will be remembered, had been published in December of the preceding year. This short interval between the dates has led not a few critics to consider Gosson a Euphuist and yet not a follower of Lyly. Professor Sanitsbury thus writes "Gosson must have mastered the Lylyan style in the same circumstances and situations as Lyly than have directly borrowed it from his fellow at Oxford". We venture to suggest, however, that there was time enough for Gosson to have read "Euphues" before writing his own short treatise. Those were the days of rapid composition. If Greene, according to Nash,"in a night and day would have yarked up a pamphlet as well as in seven years", then it is surely not unreasonable to suppose that Gosson could have "yarked up" his pamphlet in a space of six or seven months. The style of the "School" is almost as Euphuistic as Lyly's, and suggests that this Puritan palinode was little in earnest but rather a trick to catch the public eye and secure to its author something of the success of Euphues. Here are the repetition, antithesis, the parallelism and accumulation of similes from natural and unnatural history:

"There is more peril in close Fistoloes, then onwarde sores; in secret ambushe, then maine battels; in undermining, then playne assaulting; in friends then foes; in civill discorde, then forraine wars. Small are the

abuses and slight are the faultes, that nowe in Theaters escape the poets pen: But tal Cedars, from little graynes shoote high: great oakes, from slender rootes spread wide: Large streames, from narrowe springes runne farre: One little sparke, fyers a whole Citie: one dramme of Eleborus ransackes every vaine: The fish Remora hath a small body, and great force too staye shippers against winde and tide: Ichneumon a little worme, overcomes the elephant: The Viter slayes the Bul; The weesel the cockatrice..... ut the abuses of plaics cannot be shown"*

This use of illustration is more excessive than that of Lyly, and may well be compared to the similar exaggeration in the later works of Greene, Lyly's most famous pupil.

Closely following the publication of "Euphues and his England" came Anthony Munday's "Zelanto" (1580), "Riche: His Farewell to the Militarie profession" (1581), Melbancke's "Philotimus" (1583), and Warner's "Pan, his Syrinx" (1584), novels containing Eulogies, discussions, and disputations of England, woman, fortune and nature, all imitations of "Euphues", but in style rather than in matter. For the most part there is little Euphuism in them, even in passages. The style of Lyly was too elaborate and complicated to be grasped at first sight and forthwith imitated. Warner and Riche+ occasionally attain to a use of balance, antithesis, and illustration, but never with the same directness and emphasis.

(b) Greene.

The most notable imitator of Euphuism was Greene -

*The Schoole of Abuse.

+ Riche alludes to "this Euphues, who is curious in describing the Anatomie of Wit".

"Euphues' Ape" as Harvey nicknamed him,-who out-Lylyed Lyly in exaggerated decoration. His first novels "Mamillia" (1583), and "The Myrrour of Modestie (1584), very obviously shew "Euphues" to have been his model in matter and manner. In "Mamillia" the fickle Pharicles undeservingly wins the hand of the lady after many obstinate questionings of the nature of love and its follies. Every artifice of Euphuism is evident and used with others to create the complex impression that is necessary to the true style. Greene had developed the mimetic faculty very carefully, for, except that the similes from fabulous natural history are not so copious, one might very easily take a page of any of his early novels for a page of the real "Euphues". The speech in "Mamillia" in reply to the interrogation "What is love?" is exactly the address of Euphues to Lucilla, but its great length precludes quotation. As an example of Greene's early style the following extract chosen casually is not untypical.

> "For the nature of men as I have heard say, is like the Amber stone, which will burn outwardly, and freese inwardly: and like the Barke of the Myrtle tree, which growes in the mountaynes in Armenia, that is, as hot as fire in the tast, and as colde as water in the operation. The dogge bytest forest, when hee doeth not barke: the Onix is hottest when it lookes white, the Sirens meane most mischiefe, when they sing: the Tyger then hideth his crabbed countenance, when he meaneth to take his pray: and a man doth most dissemble when he speakes fayrest. Trythew, Mamillia, ere thou trust; prove ere thou put in practise, cast the water ere thou appoint the medicine, doe all things with deliberation, goe as the snaile faire and

'softly, hast makes waste, the maulte is ever sweetest, where the ' fire is softest".

(Ma millia Wks. ll.).

"The Myrrour of Modestie" (1584), or, to give it its transversely alliterative sub-title,"A Princelie Mirrour of Peereless Modestie," is a version of the apocryphal story of Susanna. Only by its lengthy soliloquies and discourses, its rhetorical interrogation, its occasional antithesis and alliteration may it be connected with "Euphues," for, a religious story, it has much biblical, not classical, allusion and quotation, and contains few illustrations, with no occumulation of similes from a fantastic zoology. The notice of the Russian biographer prefixed to Grosart's edition is an entire misconception:* neither in plan nor in style is the "Myrrour" a "slavish and ridiculous imitation of Lyly".

The dialectical element of "Euphues" runs through "Morando",(1587) "Penelope's Web", and "Euphues: His Censure to Philantus",(1587), the last two being companion works, one describing the perfect wife, the other the perfect warrior. Here one perceives a slight change in the style. Greene's Euphuism undergoes a gradual simplification. These are many passages which are still unmistakable modelled on the "Euphues", but the general effect is no longer Euphuistic. The "Censure to Philantus" has little of that early crispness, neatness and precision; the sentences are commonly long and languid, and though employing the mechanical devices here and there remind one rather of the loose ramblings of the "Arcadia" than of short antitheses of the "Anatomy of Wit".

*Mr. Bond indorses that critic's opinion that the 'Myrrour' imitates "ridiculously". cf. Wks.1.148.

This tendency is further illustrated in "Perimedes the Blacksmith" and "Pandosto", both published in 1588, and comparatively free from rhetorical paraphernalia. The latter, interesting by reason of its connection with "The Winter's Tale", has its purple patches of Euphuism but is generally written in the simple narrative style. The cumulative effect is quite wanting, and one may read three or four pages without finding a single Euphuistic device. The balance of Lyly has never wholly disappeared, but there is none of the old constancy in its employment, and the mechanical artifices are used only sporadically. The Preface most fully exhibits antithetical balance, alliteration simple and transverse, classical allusions and"strange similes", but in few other places is there the same conjunction and then it is so unusual to be remarkable. If there be any striking feature in "Pandosto", it is the use of fantastic and invented similes, but even here they are not used with the same constancy as in other novels. These we have said were the outstanding feature of Lyly's contemporaries, and his faithful imitator used them very copiously to the end, even when his direct model was Sidney. In"Pandosto" we still read of "the stone Galactites", "the herb Trigian" and "the tree Alpya", but such are the only instances in some twenty-five pages.

Greene's new style appears best in "Menaphon" (1589). The sub-title " Camillas alarus to slumbering Euphues" would connect the writer with Lyly, but the pastoral back-ground and the picturesque metaphorical style point for models to the "Arcadia" rather than to "The Anatomy of Wit." Samela, whose name at once recalls Sidney's Pamela, is thus addressed:

" I tell thee faire Nymph, these Plaines that thou seest

"stretching southward, are pastures belonging to Menaphon: there growes the cintfoyle, and the hyacinth, the cowsloppe, the primrose, and the violet, which my flockes shall spare for flowers to make thæ garlands..... The mountaine tops shall be thy mornings walke, and the shadie valleies, thy evenings arbour: as much as Menaphon owes shall beat Samelas command, if she like to live with Menaphon."

This is the very poetic vein of the "Arcadia."

It has been suggested that Greene's work was a direct challenge to the popularity of Sidney's, but there is a difficulty here between the dates of publication, and further, we consider "Pandosto" to be less Euphuistic if not more Arcadian than "Menaphon". The latter work has still many passages indubitable Euphuistic, especially speeches and soliloquies, but there is never the same emphasis on form, the same careful balance and precision, as in the "Euphues". To take such a Euphuistic passage:

"Unhappy Samela, born to mishaps, and forepointed to sinister fortunes, whose blooms were ripened by mischance, and whose fruite is like to wither with despaire, in thy youth sate discontent pruning herselfe in thy forhead, now in thine age sorow hides herselfe amongst the wrinckles of thy face: thou art thus unfortunate in thy Prime, and crossed with contrarie accidents in thy Autumne, as haplesse as Helena, to have the burden of warres laid on the wings of thy beautie. And who must be the champion? whose sword must pearce the helme of thine enemie.....;*"

* *Greene - Menaphon.*

We may mark at once the similarity and yet dissimilarity. Lyly, even in his plays, is never so metaphorical as in this opening sentence, and never uses personification in the novels. Nash in the remarkable preface would alienate Greene further by his indictment of Lyly's style. The author of "Menaphon" he would have us believe superiour to "such present orators as.....must borrow invention of Ariosto, and his countrymen, take up choyce of words by exchange in Tullies Tusculane,.....Similitudes...from the plentie of Plutarch and Plinie,.....and use the remédie of contraries*". Such a criticism is of much interest coming from a writer who "readd Euphues when he was a little ape in Cambridge, and thought it was ipse ille +". It is certainly evidence that there were some who were tired of the glittering extravagancies and exaggerations of Lyly.

Greene's later works are realistic rather than idealistic. "Philomela" (1592), however, seems a reversion to the early Euphuistic style, for the novel is nearly one unbroken series of similes, natural and fabulous. Other characteristics of Euphuism are present, but their use is never so frequent or so strained as in "Euphues" itself. The following passage, chosen quite at random, might well have been penned by Lyly:

> "Lutesio, now I see the strongest oake hath his sap and his wormes: that Ravens will breed in the fairest Ash, and that the musked Angelica beares a deaw, that shining like pearle, being tasted is most prejuditiall, that the holiest men in shew are the hollowest men in substance,

* *Preface to Menaphon.*

\+ *Strange Newes - Nash.*

"and where there is the preater florish of vertue, there in time appeareth the greatest blemish of vanitie."

(Philomela: Wks.XI.)

In the love-pamphlets, therefore, Greene was nothing but the happy imitator of Lyly*. Indeed, in later works all the features of the latter's style are to be found, though with this difference that their volume gradually diminishes. There was a great reaction in favour of simplicity about 1587, perhaps first observable in "Euphues' Censure", and more marked in "Pandosto" and "Menaphon", yet whether the change was one to Sidney or Nash is a matter of some dispute.

(c) Lodge.

Like the later novels of Greene, the works of Lodge are intermittently Euphuistic. "Rosalynde: Euphues Golden Legacie" has been declared by Landmann to be "Euphuistic in style and Arcadian in content". The "Arcadia", which was published in the same year 1590, has the same pastoral setting, the same, ideal temper, but it is difficult to believe that it influenced "Rosalynde" any more than "Menaphon" to which it also has similarities. The three works probably point to the setting in of a new style derived from Italy and influencing the three writers almost simultaneously+. Lodge has not regularly followed Lyly. His Euphuism is confined to passages which, like the alternative title, he seems to have intentionally interpolated, mainly from a desire to catch a little of the reflected glory of Lyly's success. There is further seen in his works the sweetness, the simplicity, the poetic element, as we have called it, which has been manifest in various writings from about 1585. No single mark of Euphuism is wanting in

Brenton, pupil of Greene, has occasional Euphuistic passages.

+ The plays of Lyly bear traces of the style. cf.P.126.

"Rosalynde", and there are paragraphs as cumulative in impression as Lyly's, but yet with a peculiar softness and richness. The following speech of Montanus whose "face was as full of grief as his heart was of sorrows" is alliterative, antithetical, balanced; it contains classical allusions, and a series of similes from natural history. Yet its Euphuism is not that of Lyly.

> "I am, Sir, love's swain, as full of inward discontents as I seem fraught with outward follies. mine eyes like bees delight in sweet flowers, they carry home to the hive of my heart far more gall than honey, and for one drop of pure dew a ton full of deadly aconiton. I hunt with the fly to pursue the Eagle that flying too nigh the sun, I perish with the sun: my thoughts are above my reach, and my desires more than my fortunes, yet neither greater than my loves. But daring with Phaethon, I fall with Icarus, and seeking to pass the moan, I die for being mean; my night sleeps are waking slumbers, as full of sorrows as they be far from rest; and my day's labours are fruitless amours, staring at a star and stumbling at a straw..... The wisest counsellors are my deepestdiscontents, and I hate that which shall salve my harm, like the patient which stung by the Tarantula loathes music and yet the disease incurable but by music....."

The tone is too quiet and subdued for Euphues: the similes have become metaphors and are used descriptively not argument-

atively.

Such passages are not uncommon in "Rosalynde", and rank Lodge with Greene as one of the most complete Euphuists. But the style is not consistent. "The Historie of Robert second Duke of Normandie"(1591), has few resemblances to it; "Euphues shadow, the battaile of the Sences" (1592) is again remarkably Euphuistic in passages; "A Margarite of America" (1596) is perceptably modelled on the plan, but not the style, of Euphues . Lodge's prose on the whole is more lax and languid than Lyly's, though characterised by many of his artificial devices.

Euphuism therefore enjoyed a remarkable vogue during the decade following its first decisive appearance, and by so contributing to the generalisation of the style Lyly rendered a most important service to English prose. His mannerisms are discoverable in greater or less degree in the works of Gosson, Munday, Riche, Melbancke, Warner, Wilkinson, Dickenson, Gibbon, Mulcaster, and especially Greene and Lodge; they coloured moral treatises, "love-pamphlets", romances, even political and contraversial writings. The nation was "in his debt, for a new English which hee taught them*"; in fact "Euphues" was the well-established model of the cultivated speech and fine-filed conversation of the Elizabethan courtier.

* *Blount: Six Court Comedies (Address to the Reader).*

D. SIR PHILIP SIDNEY'S ARCADIA."

Meanwhile, Sir Philip Sidney had written an ample pastoral romance, which was circulating for some years in manuscript and published as "The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia" in 1590. The success equalled that of "Euphues", and if the view of Dr. Landmann be accepted, "Arcadianism" at once supplanted the affectation of Lyly in popular favour. Novelty is always a great attraction and the style was at once remarked: it was as elaborate and complicated as Euphuism, and yet different: further, it was written not by a courtier but by a most famous aristocrat, so that it is likely that if it did not at once supercede the prevailing fashionable parlance, it at last shared its sway over the courtly and fashionable world.

In few respects can the "Arcadia" be pronounced original: its inspiration is due to the "Diana Enamorada" of Montemayor; its style probably takes its origin in the study of Italian prose and verse, which had been steadily making progress from the early decades of the century*. Sidney was well acquainted with Italy: his taste was formed in an Italian School, as the "Astrophel and Stella", with its issue of Platonic and Petrarcan conceits, evinces.

Of Sidney's hatred of Euphuism there can be no doubt. In a well known passage he shews "some one or two spots of the

With the contention of Landmann and Scwann as to whether its style was affected by Montemayor or not, we are not concerned.

common infection",

> "Now for the outside of it, which is words,..... it is even well worse. So is that honny flowing Matron, Eloquence, apparelled, or rather disguised, in a curtizan-like painted affectation, one time with so farre sette words, they may seeme monsters.....another tyme, with coursing of a letter, as if they were bound to followe the method of a Dictionary extreamelie winter-starved. But I would this fault were only peculier to versifiers, and had not as large possession among prose-printers;..... .....Truly I could wish.....the diligent imitators of Tullie and Demosthenes (most worthy to be imitated) did not so much keep, Nizolian Paper-bookes of their figures and phrases.....For nowe they Sugar and Spice, upon every dish that is served to the table;.....for similitudes in certaine printed discourses, I think all Herbarists, all stories of Beasts, "Foules, and Fishes, are rifled up, that they come in multitudes, to waite upon any of our conceits: which certainly is as absurd a subject to the eares, as is possible: for the force of a similitude, not being to proove anything to a contrary disputer, but onely to explain to a willing hearer, when that is done, the rest is a most tedious pratling."*

These are obvious references to the excessive alliteration, the rhetorical figures and extravagant similes to be found in contemporary writing, especially the Euphuistic style. Inferring from this attack on the three most characteristic features of Euphuism, we shall rightly expect to find little or no trace of

* *Sidney: An apologie for Poetrie.*

them in the style of the "Arcadia". And this is the case, despite Professor Ward's assertion that "of all the significant characteristic of Euphuism hardly one, unless it be a certain monotony of cadence... ... is altogether missing in his book".

Professor Ward does not definitely declare that the "Arcadia" is Euphuistic, but that there is a "Euphuistic element in the style of the book". If such an element exist, it is very attenuated. To take the qualities of Euphuism into consideration, we find slight evidence of the three qualities singled out in the above-quoted denouncement: alliteration is very seldom used, "figures" but rarely, "strange similies" perhaps once or twice*. Similes from natural history are discoverable, rhetorical questions are employed: there is abundant word-play, but of a different nature from that of"Euphues": balanced antitheses and parallelism of clause structure, common featuresof Lyly's prose, are used so infrequently as to be unnoticeable; the knights of the "Arcadia" bear classical names, but we have observed little other historical or mythological allusiveness. The only true common factor of the two writers was in their natures; each was a poet, and each wrote a prose-style having many poetical analogies.

If there are no traces of formal Euphuism in the work of Sidney, yet his own devices of style are to be noticed. It is generally a direct narrative style with simple clauses, sometimes confused by lengthy circumlocutions, but attracting no attention by structural peculiarities. Bold and excessive personification, in many places taking the especial form of the "pathetic fallacy", hyperbole and strikingly vivid metaphor, a particular use of figurative language,these are the novel and individual features of Sidnedian prose. Little, indeed, is said plainly; tropes disguise

* *cf. Drayton:*

"Sidney did first reduce
Our tongue from Lyly's writting then in use."

the common-place. At the whipping of Philoclea, "the very stone wals did yeeld drops of sweat for agonie of such mischiefe"*. The watchman on the top of the keep" did not only see a great dust arise (which the earth sent up as if it would strive to have clouds as well as the ayre), but might spie sometimes, especially when the dust (wherein the naked worm did apparell it selfe) was carried aside from them, the shining of armour, like flashing of lightning, wherewith the clouds did seeme to bee with childe."*. Here is an essential point of difference between the two writers. Sidney's language is umconsciously tropical, especially in its use of metaphor: Lyly employs no other tropes but metaphor, and this very limitedly and with deliberation. "Euphues" everywhere bears the marks of artificiality, as if everything had been carefully thought out before setting on paper, and nothing left to sudden impulse or the inspiration of the moment. Illustrations and similes come not singly, but in battalions.+ Occasionally they show Lyly, the poet of a bright fancy, of keen and vivid powers of illustration, but very seldom, as is the case of Sidney, the poet of the glowing word, of a "fine madness", or of tenderness and pathos. There is also in the"Arcadia" a richness of colouring that belongs peculiarly to the Renaissance, and is to be found in a few writings as "The New Atlantis","The Faerie Queene" and perhaps "Antony and Cleopatra". Sidney's tropes are generally striking and picturesque, and often seem struck at the white heat of the momentary impulse; they are to be found on every page and are very rarely "so farre sette" and inapposite as to be

* *Sidney: Arcadia.*

+ *Vide supra p.11.*

incapable of application to their objects. Opening at random, we find such examples as "a cloudy countenance*", "like a bemired dog, would defile with fawning*", or again, "gorgeous eloquence+", "misty fearefulness of foggy desires+". Lyly's epithets, which are hardly more numerous than his tropes, are often careless, catachrestic and tautological.

Sidney has a boyish love for puns and every form of word-play. He has none of the subtle and ingenious uses of Lyly, and is often tiresomely repetitious; a quibble is to him, far more than Shakspere, what luminous vapours are to the traveller: he follows it at all ventures. "Sorry, sorry for Pamela", he writes, but exceedingly exceeding that exceedingness in fear for Philoclia." And Pamela discoursing on faith says:

> "Again, it is as absurd in nature that from an unity many contraries should proceed, still kept in an unity, as that from the number of contraries an unity should arise. I say still, if you banish both a singularity and a plurality of judgment from among them, then, if so earthly a mind can lift herself up so high, do but conceive how a thing where to you give the highest and most excellent kind of being, which is eternity, can be of a base and vilest degree of being, and next to a not-being, which is so to be as not to enjoy his own being."
>
> (Arcadia: Bk.III.)

Such baffling and abstruse word-jingles are not encountered in Lyly. This repetition of words is not a little remindful of

* *Arcadia.*

\+ *An apologie for Poetrie.*

the prose of North* and Guevara, and still further like that, in its tendency to periodic construction of sentence and preference of subordinated to co-ordinated clauses. The following sentence from Book III. of the "Arcadia," describing the death of the squire, is no unusual example:

> "Then sorrowing not only of his own sorrow, but the past-comfort sorrow which he fore-knew his mother would take, who, with many tears and misgiving sighs, had suffered him to go with his elder brother Philanax, blotted out all figures of pity out of his minde, and putting forward his horse while Ismenus doubled two or three more valiant than well-set blows, saying to himself, "Let other mothers bewail an untimely death as well as mine," he thrust him through, and the boy, fierce though beautiful, and beautiful though dying, not able to keep his falling feet, fell down to the earth, which he bit for anger, repining at his fortune, and as long as he could resisting death, which might seem unwilling too, so long he was in taking away his young struggling soul"
>
> (Ibid.)

This is involved and long drawn out by the frequent use of parenthesis and the participial phrase - two features never noticed in "Euphues" - and has little of the "linked sweetness." Sidney, like North and Guevara, is a Ciceronian. "Tullie" he thought "most worthy to be imitated". Now, the prose of the Lyly and the Euphuists was of an entirely different nature. As regards form, it has none of the dignity, gravity or confusion of "The Diall"; it is crisp, alert, vivacious and epigrammatic, passing from sentence to sentence with extreme lightness and vigour. The "Arcadia" perhaps, has a greater

**Vide supra p. 23.*

unity, its similes and illustrations do not crowd and hurry one upon the other, attracting all attention to themselves, and giving the style an apparently rambling, disconnected character as in "Euphues". Sidney cannot be compared to Hooker and Milton; his is only a vague rush-light glimmer of their unity "produced by the unity of subject and the perpetual growth and evolution of the thoughts, one generating, and explaining, and justifying the place of another, not, as it is in Seneca, where the thoughts, striking as they are, are merely strung together like beads, without any causation or progression"* Seneca's style is Lyly's nearest classical equivalent, but this is by no means "harena sine calce." There is a logical unity and progression of thoughts observable in both writers, which the attentive reader can always discover and disentangle from its superfluity of ornament and rhetoric. Further, Mr. Child proves that Lyly's discourses are divisible into groups of balanced clauses, each with its appropriate illustrations or antitheses, and each assisting, though somewhat obscuredly, the general development of thought. This is a unique feature, and certainly unlike Sidney's or any other prose. Again, it must be noted that Sidney invariably uses illustrations for narrative and descriptive purposes: Lyly's similes are usually in a heap, and employed only for argument and inference.

There are thus many essential differences between the two writers. To generalise, the "Arcadia" has a unity of subject, but its author writes in a loose and much encumbered manner, caring little about the form of his sentences, thinking only of the elaborate and ornamental phrases that would please the clever Countess. Lyly, on the contrary, wrote a conscious

* *Coleridge: Lectures on Shakespere, XIV.*

and systematic style, troubling little about development of thought, so long as he emphasised and repeated his grave reflections and weighty moralisings. Sidney, the aristocrat, the "warbler of poetic prose", composed his "Arcadia" for pleasure, and courtly entertainment: Lyly, the struggling courtier, composed his "Euphues" with didactic purpose and for courtly education. Arcadianism, again tends in a direction opposite to that of Euphuism, whose closest analogies are French. The fundamental spirit of French literature is its love of rhetoric and clarity, its power of selection and refinement. Lyly has in him something of this spirit, its lightness, its polish, its delicious wit, and its well-ordered movement; his style and language differ in degree less than in kind from the greatest ever moulded by the lips of man. France, it is said, is made illustrious by her prose-writers, England by her poets: it is greatly to the credit of John Lyly, writing in an age most productive of poetry, to have turned the attention of Englishmen to the higher qualities of prose, to clearness, elegance, precision, and to the necessity of deliberate and carefully-directed effort.

E. EUPHUISM COMPARED WITH CONTEMPORARY PROSE.

Lyly was less the chief of a school than the cunning craftsman who exploited the literary methods of his fore-runners and who as such must be credited with having given to those methods a specific and striking expression as well as an extensive and, in many ways, permanent currency. His influence on the love-pamphlets and romances that followed in the wake

of the successful "Anatomy of Wit", we have seen, was considerable, but that influence continued further over the whole body of English prose. If the bubble of Euphuism was pricked about 1590 by Arcadianism and other influences, so that its individual character began rapidly to disappear, nevertheless, many of its several features survived long afterwards (indeed, still survive), in the general heart of prose-style. If Euphuism is memorable in literature for nothing else, it is for having taught Englishmen the supreme importance in style of the architectural spirit.

Lyly is conspicuous as the first writer to make a thorough and systematic attempt in the practice of prose-writing as an art. Before him there had been hardly anyone of whom this could be said except Fisher, and Fisher's efforts were as different from Lyly's as was his aim. Lyly and the Euphuists, in the outer darkness of Elizabethan obscurity and involved expression, alone recognised the necessity and value in prose of the principles of order and design. For the first time in our literature men wrote to charm and entice the reader, not merely by what was said, but by the manner of saying it. Authors realised that "in prose no less than in poetry, the reader demands to be lured onward by a succession of half-imperceptible shocks of pleasure in the beauty and vigour of diction, or in the ingenuity of phrasing, in sentence after sentence*" Lyly's twofold aim was elegance with precision; he sought 'fitte phrases', 'pithy sentences', 'gallant tropes', 'flowing speeche', and 'plaine sence'. In nice adaption of word to idea he is often most felicitous, and Webbe's praise is not altogether exaggerative that in ministering to "the great good

* Bond : Works I. 146.

grace and sweete vogue which eloquence hath attained in our speech... .....he hath stept one steppe further therein than any either before or since.*" His desire for precision led him to employ frequently the short clearly-constructed sentence that was to be the basis of the great prose-writers of the Restoration and even of to-day. His thoughts and care are seen in the distribution of his matter into paragraphs - a small point about which his greater contemporaries were often exceedingly negligent. Again, as an instance of his selecting and refining powers, it is noteworthy that only a minute fraction of the number of words in "Euphues" has now become obsolete.

The Euphuism of Lyly, then, with all its tendencies to elaboration might very well have exerted a healthy influence on subsequent writings. As it is, the estimate of Webbe is not far wrong, for Lyly probably did more for the cause of clearness and refinement than any predecessor, contemporary or close successor. The Elizabethan's reckless and overwhelming display of ornament is tempered and restrained in "Euphues" by regards for lucidity and attention to form.

Incoherence is the besetting sun of Elizabethan prose. Its writers, generally active and full-blooded men of the world, lived in a whirl of excitement, feeling so much and so strongly that they could hardly stay to disentangle and arrange even for the crudest expression. Vehement and impulsive, they sought naturally for the word of power for the lofty and sonorous; they were more tolerant of fustian and rant than of pedestrian plainness and simplicity; with Nash, they seemed to say: "no wind that blows strong but is boisterous; no speech of any power to confute or assuage but must be swelling and boisterous." Perhaps it was

* *Webbe: Discourse of English Poetrie.*

these preferences that welcomed the "Euphues" with its ornate bravery or the "Arcadia" with its picturesque phrases but long overladen sentences. Certain it is that the Elizabethans were not equally discriminative, for had Euphuism been truly appreciated, it might have given us in the sixteenth century that clearness and fluency of construction, that purity and elegance of diction which were not prominent in our prose, in the first case till the days of Dryden, in the second till the days of Pater and the purists.

Arcadianism had come as a reaction against Euphuism, attempting, perhaps deliberately, to replace its unconcealed art by simplicity. But how infinitely preferable is the "Euphues" with all its artificiality to the artful artlessness of the "Arcadia" and its interminable sentences and confusions of syntax. Sidney's influence, nevertheless, was paramount, if short-lived, and from 1590 the power of Lyly waned. The rise of bourgeois literature was even then imminent, and some few years were sufficient to oust the moral treatise and court ramance from their continued supremacy, though not to change the temper of the age. Greene, Nash, Dekker changed idealism for realism but their taste in expression was still for the forceful, violent, and impetuous, wth a hap-hazard attention to arrangement. By such and other contemporary writers Lyly was admired but soon forgotten, and the value of his sharp and pointed style can only be appreciated by contrast.

Pamphleteers, controversialists, historians, chroniclers, romancers, and "realists," all shared the general love of elaboration, almost all were regardless or reckless of structure, almost all wrote because they had something which they could not but declare, notwithstanding that in its declaration they were careless and

indifferent. Anacolutha, obscurity, prolixity and inconsistency everywhere abound; even the greatest writers show a disregard for the proper limits of the sentence. Sir Walter Raleigh for instance, rarely knows when to end a sentence: he can write manly and lucid prose when his patriotic ardour marshals and divides his clauses, but when he would be eloquent, his style is lax, lumbering, and long-winded. Thus he describes the loss of the "Revenge" in "A Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of Agores":

> "Sir Richard finding himself is this distress and unable any longer to make resistance, having endured in this fifteen hours' fight the assaults of fifteen several Armadoes, all by turns aboard him, and by estimation eight hundred shot of great artillery besides many assaults and entries, and that himself and the ship must needs be possessed by the enemy who were now cast all in a ring round about him, the Revenge not abde to move one way or other but as she was moved with the waves and billows of the sea: commanded the master-gunner, whom he knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sink the ship....." and the sentence

continues for some hundred and twenty words further. This is no conspicuous example, for the "History of the World" contains sentences that are even more elephantine. Raleigh's prose is often strong and vigorous, lit here and there by the splendour of a magnificient phrase, but entirely indiscriminate in the matter of sentence-structure. In avoiding the fantasticalities of Euphuism, he had also avoided its sense of form and method.

The same carelessness is referred to in "Martin Marprelate Epistle", where the writer ridicules Dean Bridge's "Defence of the

Government of the Church of England", a pamphlet bewilderingly obscure and diffuse. "Learned brother Bridges", he writes, alluding to the lengthy sentences, "a man might almost run himself out of breath before he could come to a full point in many places in your book".

The biographer of Sidney errs similarly. Sonorous, vivid, and picturesque, with a natural ear for rhythm, there are few styles so brilliant and interesting as that of Fulke Greville. But there are also few styles so involved, so periphrastic and cumbrous, or so elaborately indirect. This oratorical obscurity, the cause of which is often the inconsistent system of punctuation, is exemplified in the following eulogy of Queen Elizabeth:

> "In a word, she preserved her Religion without waving, kept both her Martiall, and Civill Government intire above neglect, or practice, by which, with a multitude of like instances, she manifests to the World that the well-governing of a Princes own Inheritances, is (in the cleare House of Fame) superior to all the far noised conquests of her over-griping Ancestors, since what Man lives, conversant in the Calenders of estates, but must know, that had not these wind blown conquests of ours happily been scattered, they must in time have turned the moderate wealth, and degrees of England into the nasty poverty of the French peasants; brought home Mandates instead of Lawes, waved our freedomes in Parliaments with new christned Impositions, and in the end have subjected native and active Albion to become a Province, and so inferior to her owne dearly bought forraign conquests, being forced to yeeld up the superlative

works of power, to the equall Laws of Nature, which almost everywhere (America excepted) proclaims the greater to be naturally a Law-giver over the lesse"

(The Life of Sir Philip Sidney. Ch.XVI.)

Instances of such defects could be multiplied innumerably. Lack of ease and fluency, pedantry, excessive decoration, bold figures, employment of words in an excessively strained sense, inexpert arrangement of sentences and clauses, ungainly prolixity and obscurity often arising, not from sterility but from superfetation of thought - these are the common imperfections of Elizabethan prose. "Euphues", we have observed, has many faults, but it can never seriously be objected that its pages are marred by the great malady of the time - a want of clearness and coherence. Lyly's sentences are simple and never inclined to the periodic or involved. True, the logical continuity of thought is not always immediately apparent, being hidden under the many similes and illustrations which overload the narrative and absorb the greater part of the attention; but it is there for the careful reader to discover. The Elizabethans did not realise the importance of form in prose. If they recognised at all the principle of design in Lyly, they were impressed more by ornament. The opposition to Euphuism of Hooker, Raleigh, Bacon and others was not directed against its use of parison and antithesis, but against the strangeness and accumulation of similes employed. In mention of Euphuism by contemporaries, all its structural devices are passed by, and the ornamental only singled out. The Euphuists imitated the "similitudes that come in multitudes" much more than the balance and parallelism of form. Sidney alone, perhaps, thrust at its artificial structure, further pointing out its 'tedious' and 'absurd' uses of illustration.

This mistaking of Lyly's purpose we cannot help thinking a misfortune. As a rule Elizibethan prose is careful or vigorous of thought, and careless in expression: that of "Euphues" is careful in expression, but careless and enfeebled of thought. Contemporary prose would have benefited considerably by a principle of design, not so complicated, and yet on the same lines,as that of Lyly. It was his blunder to abuse this principle,and, in his blind devotion to write, forgetful of the dependence of form on matter: it was unwisdom in his fellow-writers not to perceive his finer aims. As it is, there are few whose meanings are so easily to be caught and appreciated on a first perusal, and very few who will admit reading, as they were probably written, with all marks of punctuation removed. Lyly recognised the importance of selection in the matters of diction and form; with few others he understood and sometimes practised that "just equihpoise of matter and manner" that creates correct style, and to him must be given credit for exaggerating and first calling attention to the significance of such a style in the history of English prose literature. The age of Elizabeth was an age of experiment. Metals of all kinds went indiscriminately into its crucible, and the compound of prose-style did not issue forth until late in the next century. Then, its mould and material bore no few resemblances to the much-maligned, and now disregarded Euphuism of John Lyly.

F. THE EUPHUISM OF THE PLAYS.

"Euphues and his England" was the last work of Lyly in the form of the prose-romance. From the time of its publication in 1580, he was to engage his talents in another direction - the production of plays for the court, written for the most part, to suit Elizabeth and her ladies, they could amuse and gratify only those acquainted with the court-atmosphere and court-surroundings. With one exception, all have classical themes, and are generally unsuited for dramatic representation. Unreal, and unlifelike, their artificiality only relieved here and there by brilliant wit and repartee, or by the stray flowers of poetic fancy, they possess little interest save their quaintness for the reader of to-day. To the general student and critic, they are important by reason of their influence on the development of the drama. Lyly has even been injudiciously called "the father of English comedy," but with this we are not concerned. He was the first to write an original play in prose; between his plays and Shakspere's there is an established connection.

Lyly's comedies, excepting "The Woman in the Moon", are written in prose. The peculiar form of Euphuism is again employed, but it is no longer the exaggerated form of the novels. It would appear that Lyly had perceived his errors, and endeavoured in some measure to retrieve them by pruning excrescences, and by retaining only the inherent and generally valuable qualities of his style. Whether this reform was forced or not upon the author by the exigencies of dramatic composition is an important question, but it is at least determinable that from the "Anatomy of Wit" to "The Woman in the Moon", there is a continual decrease

and modification in the use of euphuistic devices. There is a marked quantitative, as well as qualitative, difference between the Euphuism of the plays and that of the romances.

Briefly, the Euphuism of the plays is diluted. Its characteristics are unaltered, but gradually employed less and less, and in isolated passages, rarely producing that complex and cumulative effect that is necessary to the correct Euphuism. Parallelism and antithesis are used throughout with the old regularity, but balanced clauses and phrases are less to be observed. The swarms of similes but rarely occur. When their place is not taken by bold metaphor or hyperbole, they are employed no longer as in the "Euphues" for illustration and argument, but for ornament, picturesqueness, and description*. There is a more guarded use of allusions to classical history and mythology. Alliteration is much less frequent, and assonance, consonance, annomination, and rhyme, almost totally disappear. The artificial devices of Euphuism gradually fade and vanish. Three plays are perhaps typical of this change. "Campaspe", written 1579-80, and acted 1581-2, was Lyly's first play after the success of "Euphues", and preserved the Euphuistic form in a high degree. Many of its speeches are lengthy and elaborate, and almost exactly similar to the set discourses of the romances, no single characteristic being absent. Hephestion tries to dissuade Alexander from Campaspe, in a speech of seventy six lines, part of which we quote as a specimen of Lyly's dramatic Euphuism:

> "What! is the Son of Philip, King of Macedon, become the subject of Campaspe, the captive of Thebes?..... will you handle the spindle with Hercules, when you

* *Compare a similar use in "Arcadia".*

"should shake the spear with Achilles? Is the warlike sound of drum and trump turned to the soft noise of lyre and lute?.....But you love, ah grief! but whom? Campaspe, ah shame!.....I, but she is beautiful; yea, but not therefore chaste:.....I, but she is wise, yea, but she is a woman! Beauty is like the blackberry, which seemeth red, when it is not ripe, resembling precious stones that are polished with honey, which the smoother they look, the sooner they break. It is thought wonderful among the sea-men, that Mugil, of all fishes the swiftest, is found in the belly of the Bret, of all the slowest. And shall it not seem monstrous to wise men, that the heart of the great conquerer of the world, should be found in the hands of the weakest creature of nature? of a woman? of a captive?* "

The many resemblances of this style to that of "Euphues", would doubtless account for the play's success, some three additions appearing in 1584, its year of publication.

These devices so obvious in "Campaspe" are much simplified in "Endimion", written some five years later - an interval during which two other plays had been produced. Transition Euphuism is prominent, even in the prologue and epilogue. "The Man in the Moone" shows Lyly, the poet; it is his most delicate, fanciful, and charming conception, and this poetic quality seems to govern the whole play. There is a sweet fluency, almost witchery, of expression, which in some passages rises to the very height of eloquence. Geron counsels Eumenides to release Endimion:

* *Campaspe II.2.34 - 55.*

"Love is but an eye-worm, which only tickleth the head with hopes and wishes: friendship, the image of eternity, in which there is nothing movable, nothing mischievous. As much difference is there between beauty and virtue, bodies and shadows, colours and life - so great odds is there between love and friendship. Love in a Chameleon which draweth nothing into the mouth but air, and nourisheth nothing in the body but lungs: believe me, Eumenides, desire dies in the same moment that beauty sickens, and beauty fadeth in the same instant that it flourisheth. When adversities flow, then love ebbs: but friendship standeth stiffly in storms. Time writes wrinkles in a fair face, but addeth fresh colours to a fast friend, which neither heat, nor cold, nor misery, nor place, nor destiny, can alter or diminish. Oh friendship! of all things the most rare, and therefore most rare because most excellent whose comfort in misery is always sweet, and whose counsels in prosperity are ever fortunate*".

This is the lofty note of the "Phaedrus", the grand rhythm of the "Proverbs" and the "Song of the Bow". And how different this from the staccato antithesis, sententiousness and disconnected manner of the "Euphues"! The balance, the antithesis never jars; the parallelism is perfect. It is "cold philosophy" to analyse such a passage, but we must observe the elements of Euphuism put to a nobler and more splendid use. In the first sentence are found balance, antithesis, and transverse alliteration. Then comes a cluster of illustrations to differentiate friendship and love. The

* *Endimion, The Man in the Moone III.4.129-139.*

Metaphor "love is a chameleon' is a notable instance of Lyly's changed use of the simile from fabulous natural history. A common enough allusion* in the "Anatomy of Wit" it would have been a simile, accompanied by some five or six others, and used argumentatively to point out the inanity of love and its brevity of duration. The parallelism and balance of the next sentence are admirable, and there are the proverb, euphonic alliteration and word-play, the common-places of the romances. This passage is an example of the perfected Euphuism. It is perhaps rare as it is excellent, and shows the inherent good qualities and capabilities of Lyly's instrument. Had he written so in the "Euphues", Englishmen would have had a more consummate, if less imitable model of style, but is it questionable whether it would have been followed, for in those days as in ours, exaggeration was as essential to popularity and success. "Mother Bombie", the most intricate and popular of Lyly's comedies, was written to suit the vulgar taste in 1590. As a result, it is remarkable for the general abandonment of Euphuistic devices. The phrase is used intentionally, for Euphuism itself, in which such devices combine to produce the impression, has at last come to its death. Balance and antithesis are still evident, but employed singly do not strike with their pristine forcefulness.

Mr. Child considers the fact as " indubitable that Lyly was giving up his use of mechanical devices", and adds that this "is not to be referred to the exigencies of dramatic composition+". He has further constructed tables showing

*cf. Tottel's Miscellany.

+ Child: John Lyly and Euphuism p.100.

this falling-off partial in "Euphues and his England", and gradual in the plays. In the former case this is explainable, but in the latter Mr. Child's observations include Lyly's last work "Love's Metamorphosis", and with these it is impossible for us to concur. The figures, as they stand support Mr. Child's thesis irrefutably, and while deeply grateful for the patient effort that brought them forth, we cannot but register our personal impression that this last play is more Euphuistic that the reckoning would warrant. In support of this, too, is the opinion of Mr. Bond who remarks: "The Euphuistic character of the writing in 'Love's Metamorphosis', is to my mind far more marked than in 'Endimion', 'Midas' or 'Mother Bombie', more even than in 'Gallathea', and contains, too, reminiscences of the sentiments or allusions in 'Euphues' that are more salient than in the other plays. I believe this may be due to his having recently revised that work"*. Again, it is significant that Lyly, after generally neglecting artificial devices in "Mother Bombie", should once more introduce them in "Love's Metamorphosis", a play separated from the former by nine or ten years. We cannot agree with Mr. Child that this change is not to be referred to dramatic requirements. Dramatic dialogue required a brisker, more rapid movement than the deliberate and laboured discourses of the "Euphues."

The decrease in the case of "Euphues and his England" is perhaps referable to the haste in which that work was produced. "The Anatomy of Wit" was finished in the summer of 1578, after which Lyly says that he "went a whole yeare big, and yet when

* *Bond: Works (Life of John Lyly) 1.45.*

"everye one thought him ready to lye downe, he did then quicken"* - a statement alluding to the general expectation of "Euphues and his England" "within one summer" of Part 1, and to the entry of Part 11 in the Stationer's Register on July 24, 1579. But Part 11, if already begun by that time was not actually published till the spring of 1580, and since it is probable from allusions that the first half of 1579 was occupied with "Campaspe", then "Euphues and his England" was composed in another half year. Part 11 is nearly twice as long as Part 1, and this rate of composition would account not a little for its diminution in employment of mechanical devices.

With the plays, however, it is very different. Euphuism proper is carefully and elaborately built up as a piece of literary architecture, all its parts weighed, and in their proportion subordinated and co-ordinated to minister to the complete effect. This is utterly out of place in drama. We may conjecture that "the Beauties in Court which *could* Parley Euphueisme" did not use directly and unconsciously the high-wrought eloquence of Lyly's romances. Much rather would they speak the simplified language of the plays, at once easier and more natural. Lyly probably found that he could not luxuriate in the confined areas of dramatic dialogue, where directness and vigour of movement are essential. He therefore relinquished punctiliousness and formal elegance for brisker dialogue, shorter speeches, and less frequent illustrations+. The Euphuism of the plays is simple and unsophisticated, and, except in the prologues, epilogues, and a few protracted discourses, differs considerably from the excesses of the "Euphues". The plays certainly indicate a change in his style, though *not*

* *Euphues and his England": Dedication.*

\+ *The passage from "Endimion" quoted above seems inapposite and too poetic for drama.*

"a tendency to the abandonment of euphuism". If Lyly purposely modified the old exaggerations, he was led to do so by the stringent requirements of the drama.

G. SHAKSPERE AND EUPHUISM.

The plays and novels of Lyly exerted no doubtful influence on Shakspere, for the many detailed resemblances in plot, incident, and characterisation, place beyond all conjecture the indebtedness of the greater dramatist. Lyly offered to his gaze a prose-dialogue brisk, fanciful, or witty, and eminently suited to comedy, as well as furnishing the prototypes of such characters as the pairs of friends, the melancholy Jacques, or the meddlesome Polonius. The question, however, which concerns us is not the influence of the comedies or "Euphues". It is this - did Euphuism affect Shakspere, or did Shakspere parody Euphuism?

Shakspere, an impressionable young man, living in the heart of London literary life and associating with young gentlemen in the highest intellectual spirits would certainly hear neighbours "parley Euphuism". But the parleyed Euphuism could not possibly be identical with the elaborately balanced style of the "Euphues", which shines best in long soliloquies and declamations, and not in the crisp snip-snap of ready dialogue. This diluted Euphuism, similar to that of Lyly's plays, is occasionally adumbrated by Shakspere; but the Euphuism proper as found in the "Anatomy of Wit" is never presented but in one instance and then it is parodied. Reasons for this apparent avoidance in mention, imitation or ridicule

are not easily supplied. The influence of the style was dominant until about 1590, after which date it died a very lingering death. Numerous reprints of both parts of the novel were published until 1636, and there is evidence that the book continued a formative influence even in the early years of the seventeenth centruy. Now Shakspere ridiculed courtly affectation in many guises; but the mannerism of Protens, Parolles or Osrie is not that of Euphues and Philantus. Shakspere burlesqued different characteristics of style such as verbosity in Polonius, gasconade in Pistol; but seldom any of the characteristics of Euphuism. The style of Euphues has remained immune from satirical comment both in his pages and in those of Johnson who of all men took pleasure in showing "the very age and body of the time his form and pressure".

Fastidious Brisk in"Every Man out of his Humour" (1599) has been supposed to be a shaft at Euphuism and Lyly in person, chiefly on the grounds that he uses the phrase 'an anatomy of wit" and that Fallace, the citizen's wife, quotes "Euphues" to Him. But it is generally forgotten that Brisk elsewhere commends the "Arcadia" as the model of polite speech, and is also described as a "fresh Frenchified courtier", a fact which points to a foreign source. Johnson's character is certainly not the portrait he could have made of "our Lyly" whom he mentions in the same breath as Shakspere: the imagined imitation is as far from the original as Shakspere's ridicule of the pompous and affected speech of the Spaniard in "love's Labour's Lost". That both Shakspere and Johnson could have directly satirised Euphuism cannot be doubted, but both seem to have purposely steered clear of the subject. There is some truth in Mr. Bond's assertion that "Shakespeare

must have felt himself too much indebted to the example of his predecessor to single him out as specially deserving of ridicule*", for whoever knows his Shakspere and Lyly well cannot miss the many evidences that Shakspere had read Lyly's works, and was indebted to them in style and matter almost as closely as Lyly to Pettie's "Pallace" or Pliny's "Natural History". The silence of Johnson might be explained as due to the obsolescence of the style in 1599, though this is hardly to be believed. It is strange that none of the dramatists attempted the picture of a female Euphuist; such a study would surely have delighted the heart of crabbed old Ben. Euphuism, perhaps, was too much esteemed and affected by the Queen and Court to be openly attacked, and for this reason contemporaries may have been reticent.

Shakspere never presents all the characteristics of Euphuism together. Single characteristics are frequently imitated or ridiculed, as in the uses of rhetorical questions in Brutus's oration to the mob, or Fastaff on honour; of classical allusion to the discourse of Lorenzo and Jessica; of parison and parallelism in "As You Like It" and "Othello"; of alliteration in "The Merchant of Venice"; of "strange similes"+ in 1 Henry IV, and 11 Henry VI. Indeed, it would be possible to construct a catalogue of Euphuism exclusively from "Love's Labour's Lost" embodying almost all its distinctive features**. Lyly's style, however, aims at cumulative and complex effect, using all its artifices constantly and continually.

* *Bond: Works 1.152.*

+ *"1 HenryIV," The simile of the camomile; "As You Like It",the precious jewel in the toad's head,and others which were the common property of the age. See also the cluster of similes in"All'sWell" AW.Sc.2.*

** *Similes from natural history are not found.*

"Love's Labour's Lost" has been so frequently termed Euphuistic that the criticism merits some little consideration. A well-known writer styled it "from beginning to end one mass of Euphuism"* and called Armado "a Euphuist of the first water" - statements at once extravagant and incorrect. "Carnival of pedantry+" as well as "a comedy of affectations"**, Shakespere's first play indubitably is, but we cannot feel that any character or passage is immediately pointed at Euphuism, for the prominent features of that style are nowhere generally displayed. Armado is described as

"A man in all the world's new fashion planted,
That hath a mint of phrases in his brain.....
A man of fire-new words, fashion's own knight."

But as he is further noted to be "a refined traveller of Spain," it would appear that the ridicule was directed at the affectation of foreign rather than English manners++; and the language of the Spaniard with the high-flown diction, its bombast, and hyperbole certainly bears little resemblance to the precise phraseology and method of Lyly. Only in one instance does Armado's style even approach that of the "Euphues", and there it is peculiar as a departure from his usual mode of expression. The letter to the King of Navarre is very obviously different in style from that addressed to Jacquenetta. The former is cumbered by its circumlocutory and repetitious magniloquence - "A child of our grand mother Eve, a female; or, for thy more sweet understanding, a woman;"

* *J.C.Collins: Studies in Shakspere.*

\+ *Raleigh.*

** *Knight.*

++ *cf.Romeo and Juliet II.V. Where Mercutio laments "these strange flies, these fashion-mongers, these pardonnez-moi".*

the latter has the word-play, classical allusion, oratorical question and response, with some attempt at the balance and parallelism of Lyly - "By heaven, that thou art fair, is

> most infallible; true, that thou art beauteous; truth itself, that thou art lovely. More fairer than fair, beautiful and beauteous, truer than truth itself, have commiseration on thy heroical vassal."

This doubtless contains Euphuistic ingredients but is not Euphuism; and for its dissimilarity to the usual lumbering style of Armado it may be disregarded*. Further, it is known that Shakspere drew his character from "fantastical Monarcho", an actual mad Spaniard who haunted the London of his day. Don Adriano is no Euphuist. In his rôle Shakspere probably laughed a prevalent affectation of language which contained an occasional reminiscence of Euphuism. The Spaniard's manner perhaps represents the effects of Lyly's style on the language of society, but mingled with it is another and foreign element.

Holofernes, the school-master, is the only other character in the play that has any relation to Euphuism. He is a type of the country pedant, nothing akin to Gabriel Harvey, but presumably similar in many respects to the school-master Shakspere had known at Stratford. His language is replete with the Latin-English against which Wilson and

* *There are some drops of the blood of Sir Tophas in Armado. Both are accompanied by pages, discuss similar subjects, are bombastic and periphrastic in expression (cf. Endimion Al.Sc. But Sir Tophas's habit of interlarding conversation with classical quotation would connect him rather with Holofernes.*

Puttenhame(?) inveighed, or composed of scraps stolen from the feast of a Lilly's Latin Grammar; he "something affects the letter" in the extemporal epitaph on the death of the deer. Alliteration is the only quality of his speech common to Euphuism, and this, we have seen, was no individual characteristic of Lyly, but common to many contemporary writers. "Euphues" is comparatively free from Latinisms and the "dark words" of foreign English, nor does it contain actual Latin quotations. In the character of Holofernes*, therefore, Shakspere was striking at Soraism or Latinistic pedantry.

Shakspere in "Love's Labour's Lost" anticipated Molière: he wrote "Les Précieuses Ridicules" for England of the late sixteenth century. He laughed at the foibles and extravagances of the Court and society: at far-fetched and pompous grandiloquence, at pedantic Latinistic expression, at excessive alliteration, at the "taffeta phrases, silken terms precise" of the love-sick sonneteers. Briefly, he satirized affectations of language, but Euphuism, prevalent as it must then have been, was not included among them.

There is one passage in which Shakspere incontestably parodies the style of "Euphues". When Falstaff as king admonishes the young prince, balance, antithesis, rhetorical questions, classical allusion, alliteration, a simile from nature (textually quoted from Lyly or Pettie), are all employed

** Holofernes is no longer considered to be John Florio: he has been thought to represent Lyly whom Harvey addressed as 'the Vice-master of Poules, and the Foolemaster of the Theater,' but again modern criticism discredits Lyly's holding of this office.*

together to produce Euphuistic effect*. The fact that nowhere else has Shakspere used so many characteristic features of his predecessor and so conjointly, leads us to suppose that Euphuism proper was here definitely and determinedly ridiculed. This seems to have been the intention, for later in the same scene, there is another textual quotation from"The Anatomy of Wit". ("If then the tree to known by his fruit+ as the fruit by the tree.....there is virtue in that Falstaff**") and yet another jibe at alliteration and rhetorical questions++.

Shakspere, therefore, did parody Euphuism, but in an isolated passage only. Single characteristics of the style, which by themselves do not create the Lylyan impression, he occasionally assumes, here seriously, and there satirically. It was in this manner that Euphuism affected Shakspere. Professor Collins was guilty of a misnomer in calling one of his five Shaksperian styles "Euphuistic". As we have frequently observed, a group of words may only be termed Euphuistic according as it produces the general tone and form of the "Euphues". In no passage in the complete works, save that in 1 Henry IV, may the adjective be applied with correctness. Lyly's hero seldom displayed his meaning with greater balance and parallelism than Orlands.

> "But let your fair eyes and gentle wishes go with me to my trial: wherein if I be foiled there is but one shamed that was never gracious; if killed, but one dead that is

** 1 HenryIV, 11,IV. 438-61.*
The passage is minutely examined by Landmann.

+ Bond: Works 1.207.

*** 1 Henry IV. 11.4. 409 Sqq.*

++ Ibid 435 Sqq.

"willing to be so. I shall do my friends no wrong, for I have none to lament me; the world no injury, for in it i have nothing; only in the world I fill up a place, which may be better supplied when I have made it empty*".

Who will say that this is Euphuistic? Its rhythm and cadence find no equal in the "Anatomy", yet it is only one element of the style, excellently used as it may be. Similarly we could cite other passages shewing traces of the early formative influence of Lyly, and similarly perhaps may be ascribed not a little of the delicacy, grace, and refinement that characterise the language of the higher comedies. In brief, though Euphuism gave no distinctive quality to Shakspere's style it contributed to the perfection of the instrument. To borrow a luminous metaphor of Sidney's, if Shakspere made the song-book, Lyly many a time put the learner's hand to the lute.

H. THE DECLINE OF EUPHUISM.

From the preceding studies of the Euphuism of Lyly's plays and imitators it should be evident that the style, after an unrivalled popularity, began slowly to dissolve and disintegrate. Its qualities seemed to lose their attractiveness, and with the appearance of the"Arcadia" in 1590 its supremacy became widely disputed. This romance gave Lyly a crushing blow; it temporarily displaced, if not permanently dethroned, Euphuism from its position as the language of Court and society. Although Euphuistic compositions were issued after 1590, the fickle followers of the style gradually fell away, deserting

* *As You Like It. I. II.*

to the side of the more aristocratic and artless affectation of Sir Philip Sidney. The change, however, was not immediate and then short-lived. If the didacticism of Lyly gave way to the idealism of Sidney, it was very soon after when this idealism was swept away by the realism of Greene* and Nash, which was one of the great powers of Elizabethan literature. This was the age in which prose for the first time became popular, the vehicle of amusement as well as of information, and it was this rise of the people, involving a social and literary reaction substituting Bohemia for Arcadia, that was the real power before which Euphuism crumbled. Bourgeois literature as seen in the works of Greene, Nash, Deloney, and Dekker gave the *coup de grace* to the courtly mannerisms of Lyly and Sidney.

The relations of history to literature are now so well established as to need no emphasis here. In the reign of Elizabeth a strong middle class was slowly emerging from the ruins of feudalism, and from about 1590 democracy began to assert itself in preparation for the sweeping changes of the next century. From the same time dates the rise of a democratic literature of reform. The Armada had roused England as with a whip; Englishmen became united in a common crisis and welded together by the sense of a common danger; patriotism for more than a century dormant, now glowed; the passions were stirred, and literature, which is never of great value unless national, warmed and flourished. But this

* *Greene was a kind of literary weathervane, writing moral treatises, ideal romances, and realistic pamphlets as circumstances and popular favour demanded.*

was a literature of, and for, the people: it did not appeal exclusively to the refined section of the community but all all; its writers were not aristocratic but plebeians. The fantastic airs and affected graces of a Lyly and a Sidney gave place to the vigorous and more natural modes of a Marlowe, a Kyd and a Shakspere. Sprung from the people, they understood the people, shared their emotions, and were able to minister to them. Such was the England of the last years of the sixteenth century. Drunk with the sight of national power, her spirits "yearning in desire to follow knowledge", her prophetic soul dreaming of things to come, of far-distant conquests, of the glories of the golden West, it was clearly in the nature of things that pretty and elegant foppery should perish, and elaborate exaggerations of language vanish.

Euphuism thus began to totter. From 1590 its formal peculiarities and general individual character commenced rapidly to decline, leaving only the several constituent features in their place. And though its influence is traceable in the seventeenth century, yet the Euphuism proper of the novels in 1600 is dead.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INFLUENCE AND POSITION OF EUPHUISM IN ENGLISH LITERATURE.

If Lyly's historical importance to English literature was generally neglected or under-rated in the nineteenth century, his position has been fairly well established by now. Hasty estimates have been corrected, and neglected claims made good, so that Lyly shines not as one, but as the most important and influential, of the "predecessors of Shakspere". It was his destiny to exert on dramatic and prose literature an influence out of all proportion to his powers, and solely by virtue of his intuitive desire for form and order. He was a natural constructor and compiler. His Euphuism was less a revolution than a reformation which advanced the development of natural literature with a leap and a bound. It is now recognised as something much more than an affectation; rather as an important and distinct arch in the bridge of English prose-style.

Euphuism was unfortunate more than in fault when its readers imitated its excesses and defects in place of its merits. Unhappily, it was the absurdities and extravagances

that were then exaggerated, even as they have been since by the pens of the critics; but in intention at least it was no product of affectation. Though it first strikes the modern reader as a medley of ornament and artifice, of quaint conceits and balanced statement, instead of as the careful and definitely compounded system of a scholar, the fact cannot depreciate its many excellences, obscured as they may be by the surface-qualities of a tedious and strained style. Had there but been an artist to employ it discriminately and with one appreciation, it would have shaped very much more markedly and completely the progress of ~~the~~ seventeenth century prose.

One must remember that the Elizabethan age did not terminate in 1603, but rather about 1650; that it was an age of experiment in the literary as well as in the natural world - in prose, in verse, in all forms of composition; that refinement may be present in experiment; but that its results may not be accurately observed till some considerable time afterwards. This was the case with Lyly; his prose had its contemporary imitators but had no immediately discernible influence or effects; his gold and dross mingled with baser and braver metals of the Elizabethan melting-pot, but the alloy of which his own style was a principle ingredient did not solidify until Restoration days. Prose is essentially a thing of gradual growth. Its consciousness and republican variety, have always maintained a secondary position to the spontaneous, concentrated and artistic expression of poetry. To this rule the age of Elizabeth proved no exception. The glory, the rapture, the creative impulse of its poetry, vanished; leaving to another generation which knew not Lyly the accomplishment and perfection of English prose-style. The

seventeenth century had to bide its time; its opportunity did not occur until the loss of national integrity had dissipated the poetry which was its impassioned utterance, and prepared the way for the development of a deliberate form of prose. To generalize, the Elizabethans wrote under no artistic impulsion; they were filled with enthuisiasm; they abandoned themselves to their subjects, writing too hotly and too eagerly to study style. To this there is one clear exception -Euphuism, Lyly's attempt to use prose fundamentally for artistic purpose. Lyly, and none other, was "the man whose extemporall vaine in anie humor will excell our greatest Art-masters *deliberate thoughts**".

These thoughts, nevertheless, were directed almost wholly to manner and form. Euphuism in no way affected the quality or purity of the language; it contributed nothing to its development. Its effects, therefore, whether temporary or permanent, will only be concerned with form, and regarding this many wild and conflicting statements have been made. Minto long ago declared that"Lyly's style had very little influence on literature either for evil or good *. Bond and Feuillerat, two of the most rational of Lyly's recent critics, aver that Euphuism exercised a "considerable influence" on subsequent writing. For ourselves there is no middle course. With alteration in the degree of an adjective, we concur with Mr. Bond who does "not think the direct influence of Lyly's Euphuism can be traced much beyond the beginning of the seventeenth century", but concludes that "his indirect influence, as setting an example of constant attention to form and aim at force and precision, was probably as great** as that of

* *Nash: Prefatory Epistle to Menaphon*.
\+ *Minto: Manual of English Prose.*
** *Bond: "greater than".*

any other writer our literature has known*". This is a high-pitched estimate but it his none of the blind partisanship of Mr. Bond's eulogies of the plays. The value of the style lies more in the attempt than in the achievement; its influence is thus necessarily indirect, though none the less perceptible and assured.

With the obsolescence of formal Euphuism, and its disintegration in 1590, the immediate stylistic effects approach their termination. Examinations of Lyly's plays shewed a gradual decrease in the use of mechanical+devices, and a study of seventeenth century prose reflects a similar diminution and final disappearance: rhyme, assonance, consonance, annomination and repetition, being mere artificial aids, soon vanished completely. Alliteration not seldom of the two varieties, antithesis, parallelism, and balance, long continued in use, and indeed survive to this day. Traces of Lyly's influence are therefore still discernible, for such characteristics are common enough during the first half of the century, and numerous examples might be given**. The writings of Donne, Burton, Browne, Fuller and Taylor are reminiscent in greater or less degree, though none may be termed Euphuistic.

* *Bond: Works 1. 147.*

+ *Only 'mechanical': structural devices long survive.*

** *Bradford's sermons contain some astonishing examples of alliteration with as many as eight and ten words in sequence. We are strongly tempted to quote instances of antithesis and alliteration in Swinburne, Coleridge and modern journalese.*

In Donne's sermons, as in his poetry, may be seen that love of quaintness and of the fantastic which frequently diminishes the prose of Lyly. He delights in the three various forms of word-likeness:

> "The private and retired man, must in his dust of the grave be published, and.....be mingled in his dust, with the dust of every highway, and of every dunghill, and swallowed in every puddle and pond; this is the most inglorious and contemptible vilification, the most deadly and peremptory multification, that we can consider*".

His obscurity has been exaggerated; his meaning is generally clear, despite the profusion of metaphor or the richness of fancy that often leads to extravagance and paradox.

The author of "The Anatomy of Melancholy", whose very title suggests its illustrious name-sake, made use of the same vast learning that had supplied Lyly in similes. His confusion and irregularities of grammar are compensated not infrequently by the use of a sharp antithesis of thought.

Sir Thomas Browne followed Lyly in his employment of short-epigrammatic sentences, with balance and antithesis emphasised by alliteration. The spacious music of the "Urn-Burial" affords many such illustrations.

> "Sense endureth no extremities, and sorrows destroy us or themselves. To weep into stones are fables..... To be ignorant of evils to come, and forgetful of evils past, is a merciful provision in nature, whereby we digest the mixture of our few and evil days, and, our delivered senses not relapsing into cutting remembrances, our Sorrows are not kept raw by the edge of repetitions".

* *Donne's Last Sermon (Craik).*

But the style of the same writer is infinitely more Latinised than Lyly's; and with it are richer and fuller harmonies. Browne was a conscious and sensitive artist, a wonderful architect of phrase, a lover of order and decorum, seeking the picturesque word and the musical phrase. For no few characteristics he was indebted to Euphuism, yet by his more splendid rhythm, by his great power of working up a sentence to a majestic close, and, generally, by his greater variety of literary artifice he far surpassed his fore-runner John Lyly*.

Fuller belongs to this category by reason of his constant use of antithesis, balance, parallelism, and alliteration, as well as his metaphysical fancies and unconscionable love of quips and conceits. Let us note one brief example:

> "But when either on the flat of an ordinary temper or in the fall of an extraordinary temptation, we lose the view thereof. Thus, in the sight of our soul, heaven is discovered, covered and recovered; till though late, at last, though slowly, surely, we arrive at the haven of our happiness+".

If in Fuller we find certain traces of modernism and signs of the coming regularity, in Taylor we see the evolution of order from disorder. No longer does the writer try to and arrest the attention: there is a pervading calm, a sense of ease and security hitherto unknown. None the less Taylor is indebted in some measure to the Euphuists. Lyly set before himself a certain standard of grace and formal dignity, and this became in the generation of Donne a seriousness which sought to express itself not by quaintness and oddity but by strained

** Lyly certainly influenced the style of Browne and through him the style of Johnson which did much to settle the mould of modern English.*

+ Fuller: Good Thoughts in Bad Times - a work containing innumerable instances of balanced antithesis and alliteration.

and emphatic assertion. The feeling was transmitted to Taylor, where amid all the abundance of rhetoric and imagery it was deepened into earnestness, stateliness, and conscious serenity. His sentence-structure, however, is complex and periodic, connecting him distantly with the style of Hooker rather than that of Lyly, to which it has affinities only in the use of parison and occasional antithesis. He is the first clear announcement of Dryden. Yet, unrivalled as much of his eloquence is, we cannot help thinking that the labours of Lyly gave not a little to its compass, and flexibility, and elegance.

To trace the effects of Euphuism beyond the times of Taylor is an undertaking weary and unprofitable. The strata of modern prose are so uneven and varied in composition, so traversed and re-traversed by substrata of a different formation, that even the most expert is apt to be confused and to mistake the occasional glitter of a vein for the bed-rock of Lylyan influence. But the Euphuists, of all which Lyly was the most dynamic, taught England a valuable lesson in the use of balance and antithesis*. With them first arose an understanding of these devices, and their successors by constant employment have expressed their indebtedness and appreciation. Balance was Lyly's weakness and strength; it was an artifice which Pettie and he first naturalised and instituted as a principle. Of its worth and importance the works of a long roll of writers, including the names of Bacon, Burton, Browne, Fuller, Taylor, Cowley, Temple, Swift, Addison, Johnson, Junius, Burke, Gibbons, and Macaulay, attest.

* *The use of such qualities by the Euphuists was not original. They are found here and there in homilies and religious writings of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.*

Balance is a trick of style so essential and inherent to good prose, and so intimately connected with the finer qualities of rhythm that the influence of its formulator is at once obviously immeasurable. A quantitative analysis of such would be impossible; its suggestiveness, indirect though it may have been, was surely no mean and inestimable service.

"Euphues" has little invention; it is an exercise in mental gymnastics. The training and practice could not but affect the medium, and Euphuism increased the flexibility of the language, rendering it more supple, more elegant, and more refined. It may differ immensely from the easy flow and cultured conversational manner of the "Spectator", nevertheless "Addison and Steele," says Professor Courthope, "learned from Lyly how to present genuine thoughts in an artistic form". This was the latter's discovery. In an age of disorder he saw the advantages of order, of preciseness, correctness, and lucidity in the arrangement of word and phrase. Lyly was the first clearly to emphasise, and establish in prose the principle of what Pater has called "architectural design*". To the same end his predecessors had continuously striven, but he had "stept one steppe further", and to him primarily must be given the credit of exhibiting to the nation the possibilities of prose and of having directed its attention for a time to the significance of a conscious and deliberate style. The most precious part of England's inheritance from Euphuism was not that which lies on the surface - the glittering word-play, the meretricious ornamentation, introduced as tricks to heighten and colour style; it was something deeper, more subtle, and

* *cf. Pater: Appreciations (Style).*

more difficult to trace - a conception of the necessity to prose of decency and method, a recognition of the absolute values of lucidity, precision and rhythm, of a consistent and regularly coherent form. French prose with its wonderful union of elegance, vigour, and precision is unique in the literature of the world. It is no hyperbole that discovers many affinities and similar qualities in Lyly, even if it does not discover ~~the value of~~ simplicity. "His"Euphues" was the effort of "art for art's sake", and perished accordingly: but it was inspired by a ~~loftier~~ valuable and ~~more~~ yet ideal ~~aim~~ principle — the ~~aim~~ principle of deliberation, of intention, of a quest for the beauty of ordered movement; of an unswerving, an unrestrainable pursuit of the interminable glories of Art.

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APPENDIX 1.

I S O C R A T E S AND L Y L Y.

Of all the classical orators and rhetoricians, Isocrates, we have endeavoured to show, had a particular vogue in sixteenth century England. The preference was entirely one of style, and the influence is clearly observable. The Greek taught England the figures of his master Gorgias by means of translations and the numerous books of rhetoric. He seems to have enjoyed no mean reputation as a stylist in the days of Augustus, and certain references in the "De Oratore" suggest an intimite parallel between his efforts and those of John Lyly.

It is as a teacher, however, rather than as a writer that he is important in literature. Gorgias had devoted the greatest attention to language, and was the first to introduce an artificial and highly rhythmical prose style*. Isocrates took up the same theory but worked it out with far greater self-restraint and a truer artistic instinct. "It was to him that all subsequent Greek prose-writers, not even excepting Plato, owed the development of the period .....and Professor Jebb is undoubtedly right in saying that 'the best representative of Isocrates in his influence on the development of oratory is Cicero' himself"**. "He first discovered that a certain rhythm and modulation should be discovered in prose..... Before him the artificial structure and harmony of language

* *cf Wilkins A.S. Ciceronis De Oratore. Introd. par 4.*

** *Wilkins, A.S. Ibid.*

was unknown*". Would not such a writer influence Lyly, well versed in the classics as the latter was, and reading at a university where Isocrates was one of the prescribed text-books? And would not his efforts in the direction of rhythm, harmony, and elegance bear fruit in the works of such a reader? To both questions we can only answer in the affirmative. The author of "Euphues" probably knew his Cicero equally well, but, supremely great orator as Cicero is, he followed Isocrates, in whose works figures and fantasies are more frequently employed. Discrimination is difficult: for ourselves we think Lyly to have been influenced in greater degree by the Greek.

What we would emphasise, however, is not this hypothetical indebtedness: it is the definite character of Lyly's rhythm, the elaborate nature of his grouping and paragraph-structure, the general poetic quality of his style. Cicero's remarks on the rhythmical qualities of prose are minutely appicable to Euphuism: "The ancients thought that we ought almost to employ verses in prose;.....they wished that there should be short phrases in speeches, to allow us to recover, and not lose our breath; and that they should be distinguished not by the punctuation of transcribers, but by the rhythm of the language and thought. This practice Isocrates is said to have been the first to introduce, that he might, as his scholar, Naucrates writes, 'confine the rude manner of speaking among those of antiquity within certain numbers, to give pleasure and captivate the ear'.....These two things, therefore, I mean the modulation of the voice, and the harmonious structure of words, should be transferred,

* *Cicero: Brutus VIII.*

they thought, as far as the strictness of prose will admit, from poetry to oratory*." This was exactly the work of Lyly. The saying of Naucrates might be applied word for word to him: he had attempted, and succeeded in, the art of rhythmical punctuation by his dexterous use of parison and antithesis, and further advanced on his predecessors and contemporaries by constant attention to the paragraph. Lyly's prose is poetical; it approximates to poetry an elegance, structure, ornamentation, and refinement.

APPENDIX II.

THE "POETICAL" EUPHUISTS.

While recognising that Euphuism is closely related to poetry, we have no sympathy with the criticism that applies the term "Euphuistic" to verse-compositions. Lyly's style belongs to prose, and can only be used in the service of prose; verses that exemplify certain common features always fail to give that repetitious, cumulative, and complex impression which is inherent in the true Euphuism. Such a use- and it has the support of Dr. Courthope - is to mistake the import of the style and employ the word in a secondary sense where it has the force a more affectation, a poverty of thought wrapt in the coronation robes of language. The adjective is further employed in reference to the "Metaphysical" school of poets, but Donne, Cowley, Lovelace, Cleveland, Crashaw, we need hardly say, were not Euphuists. Their catachreses, their

* *Cicero: De oratore III.44.*

ingenuities, their far-fetched metaphors and similes, their subtleties of fancy and idea rather than of phraseology, do not belong to Euphuism, but more, perhaps, to Marinism* or Gongorism. One might argue similarly for a Euphuism of Pope and poetic diction, or of Johnson or Carlyle, or indeed, of the press - modern journalese.

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*.Marini was much read and translated at the time.

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