

A REINVESTIGATION OF THE HARVEY-SPENSER
FRIENDSHIP AND POSSIBLE INFLUENCES
UPON THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER

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PREFACE

This thesis began as a search for information about Gabriel Harvey, the nature of his relationship to Edmund Spenser, and the nature and extent of influence which Harvey may or may not have had upon Spenser. One may easily be sidetracked, however, as Harvey is quite an interesting and complex person: one wonders why a man of such intellect and understanding of people should have such difficulty in his relations with his peers. Another distraction is the intrigue of Queen Elizabeth and her Court. One encounters, also, certain difficulties in researching this era. Because of the political dangers, the writers apparently wrote in "code:" i.e., they often used an alias for themselves and for their friends, causing the reader difficulty in ascertaining the identity of the person or persons being discussed. The message conveyed is similarly ambiguous. In summary, because of the ambiguity one often encounters, one finds himself grateful for the abundant commentary available on this subject. The result of this study is as follows:

- (1) a compilation of the documented evidences of Spenser and Harvey's friendship;
- (2) the study of their literary views as expressed in their published correspondence;

(3) the presentation of evidences of the influences of Harvey's teaching and personality on The Shepherdes Calender.

For insights on the personalities of Spenser and Harvey, one finds G. C. Moore Smith's comments on Harvey's life in Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia and A. C. Judson's comments on Spenser's life in The Life of Edmund Spenser invaluable. The author of this present study is also indebted to E. De Selincourt, G. R. Hibbard, Paul McLane and others for their insights and opinions about Spenser and Harvey. For material concerning Spenser's The Shepherdes Calender, this writer is especially indebted to the editors of the Spenser Variorum: Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, and Ray Heffner.

In addition to thanking the scholars whose published works have helped me, I would like to express my appreciation of the people who have personally helped me with this thesis. I am indebted to Dr. Charles Walton for the initial idea for this study and for his continuing encouragement and suggestions. I would like to thank Mr. Richard Roahen for reading this thesis. I would like to thank Mrs. Kate Weigand for typing this work so conscientiously. For the permission to use the library on the University of Missouri, Kansas City, campus, I would like to thank Mr. Philip Tompkins; for

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CHAPTER I

AN EXAMINATION OF HARVEY AND SPENSER'S RELATIONSHIP

That Edmund Spenser and Gabriel Harvey were friends is a fact agreed upon by most scholars. H. S. V. Jones, in A Spenser Handbook, writes "Among Cambridge progressives was Gabriel Harvey, probably the poet's closest friend at the university."¹ In his introductory remarks about Harvey in Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia, G. C. Moore Smith writes ". . . Harvey had gained the devoted love and admiration of Spenser" ² E. De Selincourt in his introduction to The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser observes that "At Cambridge, Spenser formed a deep and lasting friendship with Gabriel Harvey. . . ." ³ The widely recognized friendship, however, is still puzzling. De Selincourt adds that most scholars "wonder" at the friendship because of the differences in the personalities of the two men. ⁴ Others "minimize" it or

¹H. S. V. Jones, A Spenser Handbook, p. 22.

²G. C. Moore Smith (ed.), Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia, p. 40.

³J. C. Smith and E. De Selincourt (eds.), The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser, p. ix.

⁴Ibid., p. ix.

"attribute it to the modesty of the younger and the arrogance of the elder."⁵ De Selincourt himself believes the friendship "bears witness" to Spenser's own "sweetness of disposition and to the gentle tolerance of his mind."⁶ Since the friendship remains an enigma, one proposes to focus intently upon that friendship with the aim of illumination.

Gabriel Harvey would have been an imposing figure in 1570 to an impressionable undergraduate. He had just obtained his B. A. degree and had been elected to a fellowship at Pembroke Hall.⁷ Edmund Spenser arrived at Pembroke Hall in 1569.⁸ Although there is no evidence to show that the two young men were early friends, it is highly probable that they were acquainted. About Harvey in 1570, Moore Smith writes the following:

He possessed gifts, both physical and mental, which seemed to promise success. He was good-looking. . . . He had a real passion for knowledge. . . . With these qualities went ambition: he was conscious of his superiority and visioned for himself a great career.⁹

Furthermore, Harvey was known at that time to have been a "scholar of eminence" whose "lectures on rhetoric drew

⁵Ibid., p. ix.

⁶Ibid., p. ix.

⁷G. R. Hibbard, Thomas Nashe, A Critical Introduction, p. 187.

⁸A. C. Judson, The Life of Edmund Spenser, p. 19.

⁹Moore Smith (ed.), op. cit., p. 10.

crowded audiences. . . ."10 Enhancing the image still further, Harvey's "fame was not confined to his own University; Leicester and Sidney held him in high esteem"11 This situation places both young men in the same Hall, Spenser as a second year undergraduate and Harvey as a distinguished Fellow.

Spenser, however, was also no ordinary undergraduate. He was already a recognized scholar who had been asked to translate twenty-two short verses for Jan van der Noot's Theatre.¹² This task was accomplished anonymously, but Spenser's teachers and friends knew that he had been asked and that he had complied. This achievement alone set him apart early as a distinguished scholar.¹³ Thus, one can see that these two individuals could have been easily drawn to each other, especially since Harvey did not get along well with most of the students who were his own age.¹⁴ In support of this theory, G. C. Moore Smith writes that "Gabriel Harvey was singularly qualified to win the enthusiastic attachment of some younger man of high soul and ardent admiration. Such

¹⁰Smith and De Selincourt (eds.), op. cit., p. ix.

¹¹Ibid., p. ix.

¹²Judson, op. cit., p. 20.

¹³Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁴Moore Smith (ed.), op. cit., p. 10.

an admiring friend Pembroke gave him in Edmund Spenser. . .
 .n15

In the spring of 1573, Spenser graduated from Cambridge with a B. A. degree,¹⁶ but remained there, working on his M. A.¹⁷ At the same time, in the spring of 1573, Harvey suffered the first major setback of his academic career. Unfortunately, it foreshadowed the events that would plague him for the rest of his life. In 1573, he applied for his M. A. degree but was opposed by several men from the college. He, then, wrote to John Young, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, outlining the grievances against him as follows: 1) Harvey was not friendly with the other fellows; 2) Harvey spoke ill of others; 3) Harvey did not value his Fellowship; 4) Harvey was opinionated and spoke against Aristotle.¹⁸ Apparently John Young was not impressed with the charges, for when Young's letters to Nuce and others did not produce immediate results, Young journeyed to Cambridge, and Harvey had his degree within three days.¹⁹ It is quite obvious,

¹⁵Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁶Judson, op. cit., p. 36.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 37.

¹⁸Gabriel Harvey, Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey, pp. 4, 6, 8, 19. Future references to this work will be noted within the text as Letter-Book.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 40-41. See also, Moore Smith (ed.), op. cit., p. 52.

therefore, that Harvey had seriously offended his classmates, since the charges were not concerned with his ability but with aspects of his personality. What Spenser may have thought of this situation at that time is not recorded, but it seems likely that he would have been aware of these events.

Meanwhile, Harvey remained prominent at Cambridge in spite of his enemies. In 1575 and 1576, he occupied the position of Professor of Rhetoric at the college.²⁰ Commenting on this facet of Harvey's career, H. S. Wilson writes:

But early in his career at Cambridge, Harvey came under the spell of Ramus it is plain that it took more than a fair share of initiative to be a Ramist advocate when Harvey delivered the Ciceronianus and Rhetor. . . . He was really an innovator in educational methods at Cambridge, a pioneer of the Ramist reforms. . . .²¹

Wilson also credits Harvey as being the key figure of the Ramist influence which eventually became "the foundation of undergraduate studies, and from Cambridge traveled to the New World."²² Harvey's intelligence and his innovative teaching techniques might well have been appreciated by Edmund Spenser, who came to Cambridge straight from Richard Mulcaster's

²⁰Paul McLane, Spenser's Shepheardes Calender: A Study in Elizabethan Allegory, pp. 238-239.

²¹H. S. Wilson, "Gabriel Harvey's Orations on Rhetoric," pp. 180-182. This article will be referred to hereafter as "Rhetoric."

²²Ibid., p. 182.

Merchant Taylors' School. Mulcaster, "no mere taskmaster, but a philosopher" had an "intelligent, liberal outlook" on education.²³ Thus, Harvey, described as "the man of the Italian Renaissance," may have seemed to Spenser to be an embodiment of an extension of the progressive training to which he had been accustomed.²⁴

Another factor which might have brought about a friendship between these two men has to do with their backgrounds, since neither Spenser nor Harvey came from rich families and both may have suffered similar discomforts because of their inheritance.

If Harvey were a man of exceptionally good appearance and intellect, one wonders why so many of his contemporaries disliked him. Perhaps, one reason is that most people react strongly--negatively or positively--to strong personalities, and Harvey certainly was a strong individual. His aim in life was to gain fame and glory in his own lifetime. In a letter to Christopher Bird, he stated, "Honour is precious: worship of value: fame invaluable."²⁵ Of Harvey's ambition, Moore Smith observed, "Harvey was ready to sacrifice all the

²³Judson, op. cit., p. 17.

²⁴Moore Smith (ed.), op. cit., p. 54.

²⁵Gabriel Harvey, Foure Letters, Especially Touching Robert Greene and Other Parties by Him Abused, p. 16. Future references to this book will be noted within the text as Foure Letters.

sweets of life to his ambition."²⁶ David Perkins said of him:

He desired rather to enter public life, to participate in the discharge of public affairs. Cicero was his model; and he particularly desired to imitate Cicero's rise from the equestrian class to the highest office of the republic.²⁷

One does not become famous by doing nothing, of course. Harvey believed that the individual should act immediately and shape his destiny in the way in which he wants it. He believed that man should live for the present and act boldly: "'All is now, in bowld courtly speaking, and bowld industrious dooing. Activity, pleasent bowld activity.'" In his own copy of Wilson's Arte of Rhetoric, Harvey wrote, 'The 1, 2, 3, Action, Action, Action, . . .'"²⁸ The deeds which he admired "were achievements of action, the exploits of statesmen and explorers."²⁹ In his Foure Letters, he writes that man must act with resolution:

. . . no performance of any action without Resolution. . . . like an experte Pilot . . . directeth his marriners, according to the wise rules of orderly Navigation. A Wavering and fleeting minde, seldome, or never accomplisheth any negotiation of value. . . . (Foure Letters, p. 74-75)

²⁶Moore Smith (ed.), op. cit., p. 28.

²⁷D. Perkins, "Issues and Motivations in the Nashe-Harvey Quarrel," PQ, XXXIX (April, 1960), 230.

²⁸Ibid., p. 231.

²⁹Ibid., p. 229.

Harvey's goal was fame; his method was action; his course was moderation. Paul McLane notes of him, "To Harvey all extremes were bad; moreover, he seems to have regarded moderation not so much a philosophic or ethical principle as a ladder to success."³⁰ Harvey believed man should be completely self-disciplined, live moderately, and accept the world for what it was.³¹ He was a realist who lived in and for the present.³²

If Harvey were realistic, Spenser was idealistic. Seeing the evils of the present age, he rejected the present and yearned for the past--the golden age--a point of difference which Harvey discusses in a letter to him. (Letter-Book, p. 82-88) Spenser's complaint of the "newe worlde," Harvey answers, "Sir, yower newe complaynte . . . is as owlde as Adam and Eve" (Letter-Book, p. 82) This dialogue implies two fundamental differences in their attitudes. First, it would seem that Spenser looked at the wrongs of society and wanted to see them changed. Harvey, observing the same wrongs, felt that society in the past had not changed much and would not likely change much, now. Practically, then, he felt that the solution would be to remain happy, not complain, and adjust to things as they

³⁰McLane, op. cit., p. 250.

³¹Moore Smith (ed.), op. cit., pp. 194, 175, 105.

³²McLane, op. cit., p. 242.

were. Secondly, Spenser viewed the past as a golden age, whereas Harvey preferred to view the present as a potentially golden age.³³ In support of this idea, Harvey wrote Spenser, "You suppose the first age was the goulde age. It is nothing soe. Bodin defendith the goulde age to flourishe now" (Letter-Book, p. 86) Harvey, being a realist, was interested in making a golden age of the present, by taking action.

Moreover, in the letter cited above, Harvey discussed other differences of opinion that existed between the two men. "You suppose us students happye," he writes. He adds that, if Spenser were with them "but a sennighte," he "would sweare ere Sundaye nexte, that there were not the like wofull and miserable creaturs to be fownde within the cumpas of the worlde agayne." (Letter-Book, p. 86) This situation appears to be a classic case of each one's thinking that the other has an easier role in life. Further, in this letter, Harvey reveals the differences in the way in which he and Spenser view the opposition of the elements, the rule of the body by reason and/or appetite, and melancholy. (Letter-Book, pp. 82-88)

An important difference in the temperament of these two men, pointed out by Albright, is that Spenser was "diffident about his work and dependent on friends for

³³Ibid., p. 252.

counsel."³⁴ Harvey was, meanwhile, a "hardheaded man of affairs, bold, self-reliant, sanguine, untroubled by tormenting doubts of himself, of others, or of the world in general."³⁵

A similarity in the philosophies of the two men is that both believed that man should be moderate in all things. About this concept, F. M. Padelford writes the following:

Again and again Spenser advocates the golden mean in the various relations and activities of life. The golden mean between communism and monopoly, between wealth and poverty, between abstinence and self-indulgence, between prudishness and wantonness, between the life of activity and the life of contemplation. I believe that he was also a consistent advocate of the golden mean in matters ecclesiastical.³⁶

Thus, it becomes apparent that these two men had many similar and dissimilar characteristics.

In 1576, in the second year that Harvey was Professor of Rhetoric, Spenser received his M. A. from Cambridge. When he left Cambridge, the young scholar went to "the North of England."³⁷ Smith thinks that, perhaps, Harvey accompanied Spenser, since it is known that Harvey was "in

³⁴Evelyn M. Albright, "Spenser's Reason for Rejecting the Cantos of Mutability," SP, XXV (April, 1928), 115.

³⁵Ibid., p. 118.

³⁶F. M. Padelford, "Spenser and the Puritan Propaganda," MP, XI (July, 1913), 22.

³⁷Moore Smith (ed.), op. cit., p. 16.

York in August of that year"38 Judson, on the other hand, asserts that Spenser received his M. A. from Cambridge in 1576, but finds no evidence to indicate his whereabouts from 1574 until 1578; thus, he thinks it possible that Spenser was not even in residence in Cambridge during his last two years of schooling.³⁹ Finally, on December 20, 1578, there occurs evidence to show that the two men knew each other and were friends, for on that date, they were together in London, and Spenser, at that time, gave Harvey a gift of four books--"Howleglas, Scoggins, Skelton, and Lazarillo--with the proviso that, should Harvey fail to read them all through before January 1, he should forfeit to Spenser his Lucian in four volumes."⁴⁰ Not only do these four books link Spenser with Harvey, but a fifth book, possibly also given to Harvey by Spenser at the same time, links Spenser to John Young, former Master of Pembroke Hall and, at the time, Bishop of Rochester.⁴¹ Inside the book, owned in 1907 by Gollancz, occurs the following inscription written in Gabriel Harvey's handwriting: "Ex dono Edmundij, Episcopi Roffensis Secretarij, 1578."⁴² This inscription

³⁸Ibid., p. 16.

³⁹Judson, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 53.

⁴¹Padelford, op. cit., p. 15.

⁴²Percy W. Long, "Spenser and the Bishop of Rochester," PMLA, XXXI (1927), 713.

ascertains that in 1578 Spenser was "secretary to the Bishop of Rochester, whose official residence was near Bromley, Kent, ten miles from London."⁴³

In view of Spenser's previous association with John Young, it seems quite possible that he may have secured the position himself. Moore Smith, however, writes "We may imagine that Harvey besought [Young's] patronage for the young Pembroke poet" ⁴⁴ He also believes that Harvey opened up further opportunities for Spenser by introducing him to Philip Sidney and Lord Leicester. ⁴⁵ At any rate, Spenser was now in an advantageous position for an aspiring young poet. "He was now close to the great center of publication, and associated with a man who by virtue of his position had access to the court."⁴⁶

During this time, Spenser corresponded with Harvey, who was at Trinity Hall in Cambridge. ⁴⁷ The two men wrote letters and exchanged "parcels of poetry with requests for criticism" ⁴⁸ Possibly with the help and/or

⁴³Judson, op. cit., p. 47.

⁴⁴Moore Smith (ed.), op. cit., p. 23.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 23.

⁴⁶Judson, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 52.

⁴⁸Evelyn M. Albright, "On the Dating of Spenser's 'Mutability' Cantos," SP, XXVI (1929), 483. This article will be referred to hereafter as "Dating Cantos."

encouragement of Harvey, Spenser left the employ of the Bishop, and "in all probability . . . , entered the service of Leicester sometime in the spring of 1579.⁴⁹ This theory-- that Spenser was in the employ of the earl in 1579--F. M. Padelford bases on the October 16, 1579, date on a letter written by Spenser (from Leicester House) to Harvey.⁵⁰ This letter appears to be small evidence, but, if accurate, would indicate a move toward ambition in political service for Spenser. The letter referred to above verifies four interesting aspects of the friendship between Spenser and Harvey: 1) Spenser truly loved Harvey as a friend; 2) he completely trusted Harvey's counsel; 3) he represented Harvey's interests at court; 4) he sought, perhaps on Harvey's advice, to enter political service. Spenser's comments in the letter strengthens this view:

. . . committing to your faithful Credence the eternall Memorie of our everlasting friendshippe, the inviolable Memorie of our unspotted friendshippe, the sacred memorie of our vowed friendshippe: which I beseech you Continue with usuall writings, as you may, . . . and love me, as I love you. . . .⁵¹

As for Spenser's reliance on Harvey's judgment, Spenser assures him that ". . . in all things I attribute so much to your judgement, that I am evermore content to adnihilate mine

⁴⁹Padelford, op. cit., p. 16.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 15.

⁵¹Smith and De Selincourt (eds.) op. cit., p. 638.

owne determination, in respect thereof."⁵² This statement has interesting implications when one considers that The Shepheardes Calender was published on December 5, 1579, at a time during which Spenser himself acknowledges Harvey's influence "in all things."

The relationship was not one-sided, however. Of his own efforts in Harvey's behalf, Spenser writes as follows:

Your desire to heare of my late beeing with hir Majestie, must dye in it selfe. As for the twoo worthy Gentlemen, Master Sidney, and Master Dyer, they have me, I thanke them, in some use of familiarity: of whom, and to whom, what speache passeth for youre credite and estimation, I leave your selfe to conceive, having alwayes so well conceived of my unfeined affection, and zeal towardes you.⁵³

Albright refers to these same lines in support of her statement that "Spenser was . . . soliciting patronage of Dyer and Sidney at court for Harvey's experiments in verse . . ."⁵⁴ She further substantiates this aspect of the relationship by referring to a letter published in 1580, in which Harvey indicates that "he had then received through Spenser definite encouragement and approval from Sidney and Dyer for his unrhymed verses, if not . . . promise of patronage . . ."⁵⁵

⁵²Ibid., p. 635.

⁵³Ibid., p. 635.

⁵⁴Evelyn M. Albright, "Spenser's Connections with the Letters in Gabriel Harvey's Letter-Book," MP, XXIX (November, 1931), 417. This article will be referred to hereafter as "Connections with Letters."

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 429.

That Spenser desired political service is evidenced in his letter to Harvey of October 5, 1579. Of his poetry, he writes "I have no spare time . . . to think on such Toyes" because "I go . . . the next weeke, if I can be dispatched of my Lorde. I goe thither . . . to his Honours service. . . ." ⁵⁶ James Hewlett substantiates the implication stated above, observing that "the letter taken as a whole discloses a high state of hope on the part of Spenser for wordly advancement." ⁵⁷ A. C. Judson, in support of the same theory, writes "If dependence may be placed on this curious letter, Spenser, by July, 1579, was living the life of a gallant in London and confidently seeking advancement among the great." ⁵⁸

Even though Spenser had evidently set his sights on public service, he was ever diligent in his writing. Paul McLane is of the opinion "that Spenser had certainly accepted his vocation as poet before he became secretary to Bishop Young in the spring of 1578," ⁵⁹ as must have been the case since Spenser published The Shepheardes Calender in December, 1579, and had written Harvey in April of 1580,

⁵⁶Smith and De Selincourt (eds.), op. cit., p. 638.

⁵⁷James H. Hewlett, "Interpreting a Spenser-Harvey Letter," PMLA, XLII (March, 1927), 1060-65.

⁵⁸Judson, op. cit., p. 55.

⁵⁹McLane, op. cit., p. 331.

"Nowe, my Dreames, and dying Pellicane, being fully finished . . . and presentlye to bee imprinted, I wil in hand forthwith with my Faerie Queene" ⁶⁰ This admission would indicate that he was working on The Faerie Queene at the time and even that perhaps Harvey had part of it in his possession. Thus, the year 1579 appears to have been exciting and productive for the young poet.

In 1580, Spenser left for Ireland in the employ of Lord Grey. ⁶¹ There, in the rugged, remote island he was to live until just before his death in 1599. ⁶² His life was difficult, but in his writing--not in his public service--he found the fame that Harvey had wanted so badly. In his own lifetime, "a decade before his death," he enjoyed the reputation of being "England's principal poet" ⁶³ Judson, in The Life of Spenser, summarizes Spenser's amazing achievements:

As a foundation there is poise, sanity, persistence in attaining worthy ends, traits not often associated with the poetic temperament He gains learning, he founds a house, he acquires a decade before his death, the reputation of being England's principal poet, and he employs his poetic gifts, partly . . . to win patronage and renown, but not less to set forth the good and attack what he considers the bad and vicious, and to celebrate . . . the achievements of England. ⁶⁴

⁶⁰Smith and De Selincourt (eds.), p. 612.

⁶¹Judson, op. cit., p. 71.

⁶²Jones, op. cit., p. 36.

⁶³Judson, op. cit., p. 210.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 210.

Such irony! Spenser, the idealistic poet who "was devoted to his friends . . . whether they were in or out of favor with the great," who considered "love and marriage . . . important alike in his life and in his poetry," was such a magnificent success while his brilliant mentor who sacrificed everything for his ambition for fame should fail so utterly in his quest.⁶⁵

It has been said that Spenser and Harvey were very different in temperament. Albright writes, "The abysmal gulf between Harvey and Spenser is in matters requiring delicacy of perception, refinement of taste."⁶⁶ She observes, however, that " . . . on purely intellectual grounds they were fitted for mutual understanding. Harvey knew more than Spenser in many fields of learning, and in general was more widely read."⁶⁷ One cannot but wonder if it is that variance in "refinement of taste" that made the difference. Since nothing that Harvey did remained secret for long, it is not difficult to review some of the events that brought his career to an end.

During the time that Spenser was receiving such fine recognition, Harvey was also receiving recognition--most of it adverse. For instance, in July of 1578, Harvey, along with other Cambridge men, had been chosen to dispute before the

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 210.

⁶⁶Albright, "Rejecting Cantos," SP, XXV (April, 1928), 114.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 113.

Queen and her court on her visit to Audley End.⁶⁸ As he did so, he was noticed and praised by the Queen.⁶⁹ Overjoyed by this, he published his Gratulationes Valdenses celebrating his victory.⁷⁰ It was received with great criticism as it was a "blatant bid for favour and patronage. . . ."71

In 1580, he published five letters--two from Spenser to Harvey and three from Harvey to Spenser. At first, the publication of the letters was considered ridiculous because few people of the general public would have wanted to read the private correspondence of these two young men.⁷² Secondly, the letters were prefaced with an introduction by an "anonymous" welwiller accused of patronizing Spenser and lengthily extolling Harvey.⁷³ Furthermore, in one of his letters to Spenser, Harvey mentions Spenser's "olde Controller," and Sir James Crofts, Controller of the Queen's household, took offense, forcing Harvey to write Crofts assuring him that the comment was not directed at him.⁷⁴ However,

⁶⁸Hibbard, op. cit., p. 188.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 188.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 188.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 188.

⁷²Ibid., p. 188.

⁷³Long, op. cit., p. 722.

⁷⁴Albright, "Connections with Letters," MP, XXIX (May, 1932), 431.

since Harvey now had to specify to whom the comment was directed, he was obligated to write a letter of apology to Cambridge for the satire on the College and its teachers.⁷⁵ This indiscretion on Harvey's part--publishing his feelings about Dr. Perne--cost him embarrassment, time, and, again, bad publicity.⁷⁶

In 1581, Edward Forsett first presented a play, now referred to as Pedantius, which caricatured "learned affectations;" the character Pedantius was a caricature of Gabriel Harvey.⁷⁷ Wilson contends that the play was not public ridicule of Harvey but good-natured fun at which Harvey was not likely to take offense.⁷⁸ He suggests that it was a form of flattery in that a person caricatured must be well known if the caricature is to be "recognized and enjoyed." Further, he notes that Harvey had written a satire of the same type in his Ciceronianus and could not be considered a pedant such as the character, therefore, but would instead be one of those best able to understand and appreciate the play.⁷⁹ He further observes that the tone of the play is "genially bantering,"

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 431.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 431.

⁷⁷H. S. Wilson, "Cambridge Comedy Pedantius and Gabriel Harvey's Ciceronianus," ELH, XII (September, 1945), 578 and 580. This article will be referred to in future references as "Pedantius."

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 588.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 583.

the mood one of "light and farcical gaiety."⁸⁰ Even though Wilson does not believe Harvey took offense at the play, one proposes that it was, nevertheless, the kind of publicity that Harvey would not have needed at that particular time.

The question, of course, is why Harvey managed to receive so much unfavorable publicity. Moore Smith believes that he was "a parvenu, without that instinctive sense of the happy mean in bearing and conduct which saves a natural gentleman from ridicule and dislike."⁸¹ He also suggests that Harvey's "Saffron Walden breeding . . . had not taught him how to behave himself modestly and easily in society."⁸² Moreover, G. R. Hibbard holds a similar theory:

He was unpopular, partly because he seems to have had a sense of social inferiority which led him to take offence readily, and partly because he was keenly interested in new ideas and did not hesitate to show his contempt for those who were content to stick in the mud.⁸³

These suggestions, at least, give one a focal point from which to view the ironic ways in which Harvey's career was deflected.

In 1573, when Harvey applied for his M. A. degree, several of his colleagues tried to keep him from receiving

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 586.

⁸¹Moore Smith (ed.), op. cit., p. 12.

⁸²Ibid., p. 12.

⁸³Hibbard, op. cit., p. 187.

it, primarily because he had not been "friendly." (Letter-Book p. 4) He had already made some powerful enemies as was to be the case throughout his future academic career. Then, in 1580, the same year in which Spenser went to Ireland never again to return as a resident to England, Harvey failed to obtain a very important post for which he was next in line.⁸⁴ The position of Public Orator had opened up by way of Dr. Bridgewater's resignation.⁸⁵ Although Harvey was in line for it, he did not obtain the post.⁸⁶ "The loss of the Public Oratorship, which was regarded as the stepping-stone to a distinguished career in the public service, was a severe blow to Harvey's ambitions and aspirations."⁸⁷ Regarding this sequence of events, one may believe Harvey's failures to be a result of his having made enemies of the wrong people.

In 1585, Harvey also failed to become Master of Trinity Hall.⁸⁸ The position had opened, Harvey was definitely in line for it, but he simply did not obtain it. Then, in 1592, his Fellowship at Trinity Hall was awarded to someone else.⁸⁹ If, in truth, people had simply refused Harvey these

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 190.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 190.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 190.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 190.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 190.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 190.

positions because they disliked him, one can only believe them to have been vindictive people.

During these same years, Spenser was quite busy in Ireland. Perhaps, Spenser envied his friend a slower-paced life; perhaps, he did not. At any rate, by this time, Spenser was enjoying prestige as a great poet, and he was busy with the British colonization of Ireland.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, he sent Harvey the following sonnet which attests to the friendship he still felt for him:

To the Right Worshipfull, my singular good frend,
M. Gabriell Haruey, Doctor of the Lawes.

Haruey, the happy aboue happiest men
I read: that sitting like a Looker-on
Of this worldes Stage, doest note with critique pen
The sharpe dislikes of each condition:
And as one carelesse of suspition,
Ne fawnest for the fauour of the great:
Ne fearest foolish reprehension
Of faulty men, which daunger to thee threat.
But freely doest, of what thee list, entreat,
Like a great Lord of peerelesse liberty:
Lifting the good up to high Honours seat,
And the Euill damning euermore to dy;
For Life, and Death is in thy doomefull writing:
So thy renowne liues euer by endighting.

Dublin: this xviiij of July: 1586

Your deuoted frend, during life,
Edmund Spenser
(Foure Letters pp.101-102)

Thus, in 1586, Spenser reaffirms the friendship. Moreover, there is " . . . an indication of a meeting between the two old friends when Spenser was in England about 1590, or on his

⁹⁰Judson, op. cit., pp. 110-127.

subsequent visit"91 In addition, in the third of the Foure Letters published in 1592, Harvey writes of Spenser: "Signor Immerito (for that name will be remembred) was then, and is still, my affectionate friend. . . ." (Foure Letters, p. 30) Spenser died just seven years later with nothing more to indicate anything other than that this was a lifelong friendship.

Spenser's life, on the other hand, had been quite full, if away from London. He had married, had children, tried to help colonize Ireland, and still managed to write and publish the works that were to bring him fame. He had taken "action," been "bold" and lived life fully, but, when Ulster rebels invaded Munster, he had fled to London, only to die within a few weeks.⁹² He lived an active life until the time of his death, January 13, 1599, seemingly by the very maxims that Harvey had advocated.

Harvey, ironically, could not live his life by those maxims. To him, who proclaimed man should live by moderation in all things, fate had bequeathed excessive ambition. Spenser had seen this disparity and teased him about it, advising Harvey that "in pursuit of fame and glory, he should not spurn love, marriage, and money, but should follow the mean"93

⁹¹Moore Smith (ed.), op. cit., p. 58.

⁹²Jones, op. cit., p. 36.

⁹³McLane, op. cit., p. 250.

Harvey could not be persuaded, however. One such disastrous incidence of this inconsistency is recorded in Harvey's reaction to Robert Greene's comments about the Harvey family. Greene had "found a place for some biting personal abuse . . . in his pamphlet, A Quip for an Upstart Courtier, published in 1592."⁹⁴ Harvey countered with his publication of Foure Letters directed at Greene and Thomas Nashe, both of whom had offended him.⁹⁵ To make matters worse, Harvey published his letters after Greene had died, an ungracious act at best.⁹⁶ In publishing the letters, he contradicted the very words expressed within them: "every private excesse is daungerous: but such publike anormities, incredibly pernicious, and insuportable" (Foure Letters p.16) Harvey was undoubtedly a man whose words and actions contradicted each other. Thomas Nashe, the other recipient of the attack, saw the "sheer hypocrisy" of Harvey's "professions of charity and the savage delight with which he had pictured the misery of Greene's end."⁹⁷ Apparently, as Hibbard observes, Nashe had been stung by Harvey's remarks. Recognizing Harvey as a "man already defeated by life," Nashe took up the battle. Had Harvey "suffered quietly" as he himself had recommended, the

⁹⁴Hibbard, op. cit., p. 183.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 186.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 186.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 202.

incident would have been over and forgotten.⁹⁸ As it is, it is recorded for posterity: he only succeeded in making notorious that which he wanted to refute.

Harvey, ironically, did not achieve the goal he wanted so much. Moore Smith states that he "probably never held any public office."⁹⁹ Instead, he left Cambridge for Saffron-Walden, his boyhood home. Here, he probably "had some little property" and "eked out a living by amateur doctoring among his poorer neighbors."¹⁰⁰ A retirement of ease it might seem to some, but surely it was a bitter end for the brilliant scholar, the mentor of Edmund Spenser, the philosopher who believed the "Prynces Court" to be "the only mart of praeferment and honeur:" an ironic ending for the life of the man who thought "an obscure life was no life at all."¹⁰¹

⁹⁸Moore Smith (Ed.), op. cit., p. 95.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 74.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 75.

¹⁰¹McLane, op. cit., p. 246.

CHAPTER II

HARVEY'S LITERARY CRITICISM AS EXPRESSED IN HIS PUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE

Although the actual span of the friendship between Gabriel Harvey and Edmund Spenser may never be fully documented, it is with certainty that one may view their close proximity and interrelationship during the years 1578-80. It has been established that Harvey resided at Cambridge during this time, and that Spenser was in or near London, first employed by Bishop Young, then by the Earle of Leicester. During this time, both men were extremely ambitious and had great hopes of realizing their expectations. Both desired to use the art of rhetoric as a stepping stone to fame: Harvey as orator and Spenser as poet. Since the men were friends and had similar aspirations, it is probable that each worked to further the advancement of the other. Because Harvey had already been a fellow at Cambridge when Spenser was yet an undergraduate, it is also probable that Harvey considered himself a literary adviser to the younger man. One should examine, therefore, their published correspondence in an attempt to determine the nature and extent of the

exchange of literary criticism.

In 1580, Harvey and Spenser published five letters of their own correspondence. The first three of these letters--composed of, first, one letter from Spenser to Harvey, then, two letters from Harvey to Spenser--were written in 1580 and entitled "Three Proper, and wittie, familiar Letters." The next two letters--one from Spenser to Harvey, and one from Harvey to Spenser--were written in 1579 and entitled "Two Other very commendable Letters." Even though they were published in reverse order, they will be discussed, here, in the order in which they appear to have been written.

The subject receiving the most attention in this correspondence is that of English Hexameter, a new verse form being experimented with by Harvey in Cambridge and by several men, among them M. Philip Sidney, M. Edward Dyer, M. Drant, in London. Spenser, in London, wrote to Harvey that a literary club had been formed by these men, and that they, "by authority of their whole Senate," had ". . . prescribed certaine Lawes and rules of Quantities of English sillables, for English Verse" ¹⁰² These were not irresponsible men, nor was the task done impulsively: it would seem instead to have received sincere thought by several of the most knowledgeable and prestigious men of the day.

¹⁰²Smith and De Selincourt (eds.), op. cit., p. 635. Subsequent references to this work will be noted within the text as Poetical Works.

Spenser confirms his own interest in the new verse form: ". . . I am, of late, more in love with my Englishe Versifying, than with Ryming: whiche I should have done long since, if I would then have followed your councell." (Poetical Works, p. 635) His words indicate that although he may have listened to Harvey, he did not "blindly" follow Harvey's advice, but did his own thinking. In this case, he did not become interested in Harvey's suggested verse form until he discovered that there were influential men in London interested in the same form. At the same time, the above remarks may have been offensive to Harvey, because he had been very much interested in the new English Hexameters, yet he had not been consulted in the forming of the "rule" for them. His young friend, indeed, had been more influenced by new friends than by his old friend and possible teacher. Certainly, Spenser's next remarks on the subject convey a somewhat patronizing tone:

. . . I received youre letter, sente me the 16 Oct.
 . . . I perceive you other whiles continue your old
 exercise of Versifying in English: whyche glorie I
 had now thought should have been onely ours here at
 London, and the Court. (Poetical Works, p. 636)

In reference to the verses that Harvey had apparently sent in his letter, Spenser admitted "your verses I like passingly well . . . but once or twice you make a breache in Maister Drants Rules" (Poetical Works, p. 636) Spenser, also, tells his old friend, "You shall see when we meete in London .

. . howe fast I have followed after you, in that Course: beware, leaste in time I overtake you." (Poetical Works, p. 636) Even allowing for the kind of bantering that one might expect between two friends, one thinks that Spenser appears somewhat boastful, here. He sends Harvey, as well, some verses prefaced with comments in the same tone:

And now requite I you with the like . . . namely with a few Iambickes: I dare warrant, they be precisely perfect for the feete . . . and varie not an inch from the Rule. (Poetical Works, p. 636)

The tone of Spenser's comments on the English Hexameters is interesting in that it indicates an aggressive personality which could surely have held its own with Harvey's own strong temperament.

On the other hand, Harvey obviously did not find the tone of the letter offensive, because one detects no animosity in Harvey's reply. To Spenser's charge that Harvey had broken Drant's rule, Harvey simply replies, "My selfe neither sawe them, nor heard of them before you charge me with an unknown authoritie" (Poetical Works, p. 640) Of the new-formed club, Harvey writes, ". . . I honoure more, than you will or can suppose;" of Sidney and Dyer, he would "make greater accompte of the twoo worthy Gentlemenne, than . . . of the verye notablest Senatours, that ever Athens dydde affourde of that number." (Poetical Works, p. 639) In that same manner, he praises some of Spenser's work moderately: "Your English Trimetra I lyke better, than perhappes you will

easily beleewe" (Poetical Works, p. 639)

Spenser's immoderate claim that his Iambickes were "precisely perfect" was, at the same time, a challenge that Harvey willingly accepted. Of them, he observed the following defects:

. . . the thirde, whyche hathe a foote more than a Lowce . . . and the sixte, whiche is also in the same Predicament, unlesse happly one of the feete be sawed off wyth a payre of Syncopes: and . . . in steade of Heāvenli Virgīnāls, you should have written Hēāvnli Virgnāls: and Virgnāls againe in the ninth, and should have made a Curtoll of Immēritō in the laste Then me thinketh, you have . . . too many Spondees beside . . . in the second Verse, Make thy, whyche thy, by youre Maistershippes owne authoritie muste needes be shorte (Poetical Works, pp. 639-640)

After this detailed criticism, Harvey warns Spenser to beware of the extreme in the praise of his own work (the word "precisely" was what he really objected to, not the "small fault" to be found within the work):

But when I came to the curious scanning, and fingering of every foote and syllable: . . . A good horse, that trippeth not once in a journey: and M. Immerito doth, . . . and in a manner all other Iambici have done before him; marry he might have spared his preface, or at the least, that same restrictive, and straightlaced terme, Precisely, and all had been well enough (Poetical Works, p. 640)

In their correspondence of April, 1580, the two friends again exchanged views on the English Hexameter. Spenser writes, "I like your late English Hexameters so exceedingly well, that I also enure my Penne sometime in that kind" (Poetical Works, p. 611) Although he may like the form, Spenser sees the main fault in it: the rhythm of the English

language is different from that of the Latin and, therefore, should not be forced to conform to the Latin rules. He writes of this situation:

. . . the onely, or chiefest hardnesse, . . . is in the Accente: whyche sometime gapeth, . . . coming shorte of that it should, and sometime exceeding the measure of the Number, as in Carpenter, the middle sillable being used short in speache, when it shall be read long in Verse . . . (Poetical Works, p. 611)

In apparent frustration with trying to shape English pronunciation into Latin rhythms, Spenser asks of Harvey:

For, why a Gods name may not we, as else the Greekes, have the kingdome of oure own Language, and measure our Accentees, by the sounde, reserving the Quantitie to the Verse (Poetical Works, p. 611)

Spenser concludes his discussion on the Hexameters by asking Harvey, ". . . either send me the Rules and Precepts of Arte, which you observe in Quantities, or else followe mine, that M. Philip Sidney gave me" (Poetical Works, p. 612) In light of Harvey's criticism of Spenser's works, it is clear that both needed a uniform standard of writing if they were to agree on accuracy in the poem form.

In reply to this letter, Harvey agrees that the problem of the English Hexameter is in the accent: ". . . I am likewise of the same opinion," he assures Spenser. (Poetical Works, p. 631) In regard to changing the accent of English words, he comments as follows:

In good sooth, and by the faith I beare to the Muses, you shal never have my subscription or consent (though you should charge me wyth the authoritie of five hundred Maister Drants,) to make your Carpēter our

Carpenter, an inch longer, or bigger, than God and his Englishe people have made him. . . . Else never heard I any, that durst presume so much over the Englishe, (excepting a fewe suche stammerers, as have not the masterie of their owne Tongues) as to alter the Quantitie of any one sillable, otherwise, than our common speache, and general receyved Custome woulde beare them oute.

(Poetical Works, p. 630)

Harvey continues by listing for Spenser many examples of words for which he would not change the accent by his own standards of writing. The English language, or "vulgare," should rule itself:

It is the vulgare, and naturall Mother Prosodye, that alone worketh the feate, as the onely supreame Foundresse, and Reformer of Position, Diphthong, Orthographie, or whatsoever else (Poetical Works, p. 631)

He believes that a rule for one uniform Ortographie "conformable" and "proportionate" to "common Natural Prosodye," should be established by a "generall Counsell or acte of Parliament" (Poetical Works, p. 623) Harvey felt that such a rule, and no less, was the most probable way to bring the "Language into Arte" (Poetical Works, p. 623) Obviously, Harvey wished to purify and bring prestige to the English language and art.

In art, Harvey felt that examples were more effective than rules. He would not write a rule for Spenser at this time but believed the information could be gleaned from his verses by anyone who was interested. (Poetical Works, p. 623) Harvey would "gladly be acquainted with M. Drants Prosodye. . . ." (Poetical Works, p. 623)

In this letter, Harvey made two predictions which would prove true. First, he observed that the "livelie example, and Practise" of the current English Hexameters would ". . . prevaile a thousand times more in short space, than the dead Advertizement, and persuasion of M. Ascham to the same Effecte" (Poetical Works, p. 623) Again, practice, he believed, was mightier than the rule. Hendrickson observes that the chief interest of the modern reader lies in a "few hundred lines" in Sidney's Arcadia and in "Spenser's halting attempts to persuade himself that the future of poetry lay in this direction" ¹⁰³ He points out, as well, that Harvey "seems not to have published more than the hundred lines or so included in the correspondence with Spenser." ¹⁰⁴ He believes the Speculum Tuscanismi to be the best "of the three specimens" and the only "one that can lay claim to any literary significance." ¹⁰⁵

Harvey felt that the poets had to be very careful, because ". . . Beginners have the start, and advauntage of our Followers, who are to frame and conforme both their Examples and Precepts, according to that President which they have of us" (Poetical Works, p. 623-624) Indeed, he was right, once again. Edmund Spenser, the man to whom he was

¹⁰³G. L. Hendrickson, "Elizabethan Quantitative Hexameters," PQ, XXVIII (April, 1949), 238.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 238.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 255.

writing, was destined to become the "Poet's Poet," the man whom so many future poets were to use as a model.

In private, one notes that Harvey was equally adamant on the subject. In his own marginalia, he criticizes both Spenser and Sidney. For example, in his copy of Gascoigne's The Posies, he criticizes their use of accent:

The reason of manie a good verse, marred in Sir Philip Sidney, M. Spenser, M. Fraunce, & in a manner all our excellentest poets: in such words as heaven, evil, dīvel, & the like; made dysyllables, contrary to their natural pronounciation.¹⁰⁶

In the same book, he notes, "Monosyllables ar good to make upp a hobling and hudling verse. Sir Philip Sidney, & M. Spenser of mie opinion."¹⁰⁷

Obviously, the subject of the English Hexameter was quite an issue of the day. Two of the best-known writers of the era--Spenser and Sidney--were actively involved in it. Gabriel Harvey thought it important enough to defy some of the important people of his day, an action he cannot have wanted to do. For example, of the difference of opinion between Harvey and Archdeacon Drant, H. S. V. Jones summarizes:

Where Drant seems to approve a pronounciation for the sake of the meter at variance with that which strictly obtains, Harvey maintains that metrical requirements should not be allowed to do violence to the proper accent and quantity of English words.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶Moore Smith (ed.), op. cit., pp. 168-169.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 169.

¹⁰⁸Jones, op. cit., pp. 391-392.

One can only wonder why so little came of so much. Perhaps, it is, as Hendrickson believes, that the system itself was incompatible with that of the English language. The Virgilian poet and reader "by nature and by training" had a feeling for this poem form, whereas the Elizabethan "can scarcely have felt any discernible rhythm" in the English equivalent to the Virgilian poetry.¹⁰⁹ If the Elizabethan reader did not have a feeling for this rhythm, certainly the twentieth-century reader would not. One would be inclined to agree that "the student who may be interested to learn exactly how they were constructed and how they were read, or meant to be read, is . . . still without guidance."¹¹⁰ It was, nevertheless, an elaborate scheme, apparently in itself not very fruitful. What was productive was the search, the need, to bring distinction to the English language and arts:

Its goal was to banish inherited verse forms with their medieval vestiges of syllable counting, accent, and rhyme--rhyme most of all, and to return to the true and ancient instrument of poetical expression, the rhythm inherent in the words themselves.¹¹¹

Although the English Hexameter occupied a large portion of the Harvey-Spenser correspondence of 1580, two other subjects were included, worthy of note, here: 1) the need to honor virtue; 2) the need to follow a model.

¹⁰⁹Hendrickson, op. cit., p. 242.

¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 237.

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 238.

It should be clearly understood that Harvey did not send Spenser unsolicited advice. For example, in his letter of October 5, 1579, Spenser writes to Harvey, requesting his advice:

. . . I beseeche you . . . counsel me for the best: and the rather doe it faithfullye, and carefully, for that, in all thinges, I attribute so muche to your judgement, that I am evermore content to adnihilate mine owne determinations, in respecte thereof.
(Poetical Works, p. 635)

Further, he writes that he would alter his own " . . . former purpose, and . . . subscribe to [Harvey's] advisement . . . [and] abide [Harvey's] farther resolution." (Poetical Works, p. 635) Soliciting Harvey for advice, Spenser tells him to weigh the advice carefully as he would follow it rather than his own "purpose." On October 23, 1579, Harvey, accepting this challenge, writes back, " . . . gyve me once againe leave, to playe the Counsaylour a while" (Poetical Works, p. 639) He advises Spenser to " . . . abandon all other fooleries, and honour Vertue, the onely immortall and surviving Accident amongst so manye mortall, and ever-perishing Substances." (Poetical Works, p. 639) This concept would indicate that Harvey had told Spenser to write on the theme of Virtue, a universal theme of "immortall" importance. Harvey, also, advocated the adoption of this theme in Foure Letters, published in 1592:

Be a Musitian, & Poet unto thy selfe, that art both,
and a Ringleader of Both, unto other, be a Man, be a
Gentleman, be a Philosopher, be a Divine, be thy

resolute selfe; not the slave of fortune, . . . but
 the friend of Vertue, that is richest in poverty,
 freest in bondage, bravest in jeopordie, cheerfullest
 in calamitie (Foure Letters, p. 48)

Later, in the same letter, he reiterates, " . . . but who
 would not pleade Vertues cause, in whatsoever subject

Not the father & the Sonne, but Vertue, and Vice"

(Foure Letters, p. 59) This letter, published in 1592,
 follows the publishing of Spenser's The Faerie Queene by two
 years. Did Spenser have this advice in mind when he wrote
The Faerie Queene? One can be sure that Spenser had already
 written upon the theme before 1592, at any rate, because
 Harvey continues in the same letter to praise him for having
 done so:

Good sweete Oratour, be a devine Poet indeede: and
 use heavenly Eloquence indeede: and employ thy golden
 talent with amounting usance indeed: and with heroicall
 Cantoes honour right Vertue, and brave valour indeed:
 as noble Sir Philip Sidney and gentle Maister Spenser
 hath done, with immortall Fame (Foure Letters,
 p. 67)

Thus, it is evident that, to Harvey, the primary theme of
 good literature was virtue.

In his next letter, Spenser conveys to Harvey the
 praise of M. Dyer: "Truste me, you will hardly beleeve what
 greate good liking and estimation Maister Dyer had of your
 Satyricall Verses" (Poetical Works, p. 612) He con-
 tinues, informing Harvey that he likes the verses so well
 himself that he plans to "sett forth" a book "in this kinde"
 entitled Epithalamion Thamesis. (Poetical Works, p. 612)

This letter serves a rather fitting introduction to Harvey's reply to this letter, as here Spenser writes Harvey of his own emulation of Harvey's style. After informing his friend that two of his works, his Dreames and his dying Pellicanes, were finished, Spenser requests that Harvey return to him The Faerie Queene with Harvey's "long expected Judgement." (Poetical Works, p. 612) In his reply to Spenser's request for criticism, Harvey has only one message: e. g., find a good author and emulate his work; practice until you are perfect, or at least nearly as good as the model is. He begins by teasing Spenser about the financial success of The Shepheardes Calender:

But Maister Collin Cloute . . . , and albeit his olde Companion, Master Cuddy and Master Hobbinoll be as little beholding to their Mistresse Poetrie, as ever you wilt: yet he peradventure, . . . may happely live by dying Pellicanes, and purchase great landes, and Lordshippes, with the money, which his Calender and Dreames have, and will afford him.

(Poetical Works, p. 628)

In grouping the Dreames and Pellicanes with the Calender, Harvey is expressing his approval. In his phraseology, he is implying the Calender has made Spenser money and that the Dreames will make him more of the same: "I like your Dreames passingly well," he wrote. He liked them, because they contained "nothing vulgare" but in "lively Hyperbolicall Amplifications, rare, quaint, and odde in every pointe" were a "degree or two . . . above the reache . . . of a common Schollers capacitie." (Poetical Works, p. 628) In further

praise of the verse, he tells Spenser that the Dreames would be to England what Petrarch's Visions were to Italy. (Poetical Works, p. 628) Quite high praise indeed! But, in contrast to his praise for the Dreames, Harvey had no praise for The Faerie Queene. Of it, he wrote, "I am voyde of al judgement, if your Nine Comoedies . . . come not nearer Ariosto's Comoedies . . . than the Elvish Queene doth to his Orlando Furioso" (Poetical Works, p. 628) It would almost seem that Harvey based his entire opinion on whether or not Spenser had successfully emulated his model.

Harvey gave Spenser the same message in the letter three times. First, he sent him the Speculum Tuscanismi, a verse in English Hexameter. Spenser had asked Harvey for his rule; Harvey, in turn, had told him to look to his verse, and had sent him that verse. To call attention to it, Harvey created a story about a student who had written the poem. He asked Spenser, "Tell me in good sooth, doth it not too evidently appeare, that this English Poet wanted but a good patterne before his eyes" (Poetical Works, p. 626) He continues to remind Spenser that women who looked at "Pictures of Adonis, Cupide," at the "time of their Conception" gave birth to beautiful babies. (Poetical Works, p. 626) Thus, the poet who looked upon fine writing while he himself was writing would write fine poetry.

Continuing with the idea that an artist should follow a model, Harvey describes his own teaching methods used on

this young "student" who had written the Speculum Tuscanismi. He had first given "him this Theame out of Ovid, to translate, and vary after his best fashion." (Poetical Works, p. 626)

Next, he had the youth paraphrase the material. Then, the student was to compose some pentameters from it. When he had shown this ability, he was to write hexameters. Finally, Harvey had given the student Willyes and Thomalins Emblemes from The Shepeardes Calender and told him to "make them better or worse." (Poetical Works, p. 626) The lesson implied would be to choose a good model, and then practice, practice, practice. At least, Harvey, the teacher, (in his criticism of The Faerie Queene) explicitly tells Spenser to follow a model and he implies as much in his presentation of the Speculum Tuscanismi; he tells him a story illustrating the way in which a writer should learn. It would seem that Harvey, the friend, was practicing his varied teaching methods in an attempt to project his message.

In addition to the message herein presented, Harvey had also said much the same thing in an earlier letter. One recalls that Spenser had expressed a plan to travel which Harvey answers with a lecture which he was planning for a traveler:

And therefore I am studying all this fortnight, to reade him suche a Lecture in Homers Odysses, and Virgils Aeneades, that I dare undertake he shall not neede any further instruction, . . . but shall shewe himselfe . . . picture of Ulysses and Aeneas . . . having the pollitique head, and wise governement of the one: and

the amiable behaviour, and gracious courtesie of the other (Poetical Works, p. 641)

The lesson shows through plainly enough: the way to success is to emulate good writing and practice faithfully. Incidentally, Harvey also practiced what he preached. In his Letterbook, he verifies this fact:

. . . A gat me the lively counterfaytes of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, with certayne notable epigrammes and emblemes of them all, to behoulde continually when I should have any deepe philosophy matter in hande, of Demosthene, Tullye, and Hortensius, against I were to play the orator; of Homer, Aristophanes, Virgil and Horace to serve for my praesidentes, and patternes, if I must needs putt on the poets vizarde awhile
(Letter-Book, p. 81)

From his other published correspondence, Foure Letters, Letter-Book, and A New Letter of Notable Contents, one may glean an idea of the importance that Harvey placed upon the role of art in England's improvement of her self-image and of her world image, his definition of what art should be, and his concept of how fine art is developed.

First, Harvey believed that England's self esteem was at an all-time low, expressing this sentiment explicitly both in his letters and in verse:

. . . In Inglande . . . nothinge is reputid so contemptible, and so baselye and vilelye accountid as of whatsoever is taken for Inglishe, whether it be handsome fashions in apparrell, or seemely and honorable in behaviour, or choise wordes and phrases in speache or anye notable thinge else in effecte that savorith of our owne countrye (Letter-Book, p. 66)

In verse, he asks the same thing of his country:

O Tymes, O manners, O French, O Italian Inglande
 Where be ye mindes and men that woont to terrify stran-
 gers?
 Where that constant zeale to thy cuntry glory, to
 vertu? . . .
 Where owld Ingland? Where owld English fortitude and
 might? (Letter-Book, p. 97)

For anything to be of value in England, it must be foreign.
 He writes that Erasmus even wrote instructions telling an
 English gentleman or courtier how to behave best in England--
 an implied insult to England. (Letter-Book, p. 66)

Meanwhile, he observes in England, there are "corrup-
 tions in manners, and absurdities in Arte . . . ," (Foure
 Letters, p. 80) because England was not using the talent of
 her people, but was keeping quiet and agreeing with others.
 (Letter-Book, pp. 66-67) He warned his countrymen not to
 escape the current problems by looking to the past, perhaps
 for a golden age, but rather to look to the present and take
 action to make things better in England. (Letter-Book, p. 66)
 He also observes that, while England was not using her talent
 to further her own glory, other countries were doing so, and
 he suggests that England should follow these examples. (Let-
 ter-Book, p. 65) The English should do as Italy, Spain, and
 France were doing: set out with zeal and devotion to "ad-
 vance" their own language above the "very Greake & Lattin . .
 . ." (Letter-Book, p. 65) He concludes that the writings of
 these men would then bring glory to the mother country,
 raising England's esteem in her own eyes and in those of the
 rest of the world. (Letter-Book, pp. 65-66)

Furthermore, he argues that not only would things seem to be improved, they would be improved. For example, he notes that "courageious and valorous minds" have ever been in company of "notable orators and famous poets." (Letter-Book, p. 66) This development would indicate that an investment in the arts would either attract better minds or create them, in either case improving the knowledge level in the country. He believes art to be a source of power, and writes that "wonders might be atchieved by Art emprooved" (Foure Letters, p. 77) He adds that, if these artists became zealous, England would have another powerful source at her disposal for zeale once kindled "may be a marvelous conquerour"112 Finally, Harvey's main argument for the support of employing artists to help raise national esteem is best summarized in his own words, as follows:

Few they are, that are qualified to surpasse, or equall those singular Presidents: but they few would be retained with a golden fee, or interteined with silver Curtesie. Some I know in Cambridge; some in Oxford; some in London; some elsewhere, died in the purest graine of Art & Exercise: but a few in either, and not many in all: that undoubtedly can do excellently well, exceedingly well. And were they thorowghly employed according to the possibility of their Learning, & industry, who can tell, what comparison this tongue might wage with the most-floorishing Languages of Europe: or what an inestimable crop of most-noble and souveraine friute, the hand of Art, and the spirite of Emulation might reape in a rich, and honorable field? (New Letter, p. A4)

112Gabriel Harvey, A New Letter of Notable Contents, p. A3. Future references to this work will be noted within the text as New Letter.

What is art, that it is so important? To Harvey, it is "brief, well-articulated, appropriate, clear, simple, and yet adorned with exquisite definitions, accurate divisions, and striking examples drawn from the most eloquent speakers and the finest orations. . . ."113 Furthermore, he considers that art is one of the first causes of advancement.114 Moreover, he points out that good art is eloquent, and "Eloquence" is achieved by " . . . native endowment, the rules of art, and practice."115 However, one must be born with native endowment. Then, one must exercise or practice. "To excell," he writes, " . . . marry studious arte to diligent Exercises" (Foure Letters, p. 77) Again, he writes, " . . . Practice is the bright sun, that shineth in the day" (Foure Letters, p. 77) On yet another occasion, he observes, "Pregnant and incessant Exercise hatcheth miracles." (New Letter, p. B) According to Harvey, then, an artist must first learn his trade and, afterwards, practice, practice, practice.

In practice, the artist must follow models. It has already been established that Harvey believed that a good artist should always find a model of good writing and emulate it. In Foure Letters, he suggests that the best models are

113Wilson, "Rhetoric," ELH, XII (September, 1945), 177.

114Moore Smith (ed.), op. cit., p. 190.

115Wilson, "Rhetoric," ELH, XII (September, 1945), 177.

in the manner of Orpheus, Homer, Pindarus & the excellentest wittes of Greece" (Foure Letters, p. 67) He also suggests that nature is another model that an artist should follow. An orator is perfect "that figureth and representeth every thing in Art, as it is in Nature" (New Letter, p. D) He writes that "nature herselfe is changeable . . . [and] arte, after a sorte her ape, conformith herselfe to the like mutabilitye. . . ." (Letter-Book, p. 87) In one of his own books, Harvey writes that "art," was "little worth, unless it be transformed into nature."¹¹⁶ Artists should emulate fine writing and nature; art should be like nature. Again, Harvey's belief in first, the importance of practice, and second, the importance of following a good model, can best be summarized in his own words:

Either Arte is obscure, or the quickest capacity dull: and needeth Methode, as it were the bright Moone, to illuminate the darksome night: but Practise is the bright Sun, that shineth in the day, and the soveraigne Planet, that governeth the world" (Foure Letters, p. 77)

Moreover, Harvey suggests that a poet treat his subject in an appropriate manner; he should " . . . dispatcheth light points roundly; handeleth weightier matters more substantially; in the gravest subject proceedeth with due reverence"

(New Letter, p. D) In another letter, he reiterates this idea:

. . . it maketh no matter how a man wrythith untoe his friends so he wryte frendlye; other praeceptes of arte and stile and decorum . . . are to be

¹¹⁶Moore Smith (ed.), op. cit., p. 169.

reserved for another place where argumente
of gravity and matter of importance is wantinge, ye
more conceited Toyes and devices all the better.

(Letter-Book, p. 76)

In the same manner, he thinks that an artist should
write on a great theme, a matter of significance, not
"trifling discourses uppon pelting matters" (Foure
Letters, p. 64) Art should be "justifiable trueth"
(Foure Letters, p. 42) To the same idea, he adds:

The world is full enough of fooleries: . . . Howe
unlike Tullies sweete Offices: or Isocrates pithy
instructive: or Plutarches holesome Morrals

(Foure Letters, p. 41)

Herein, he establishes that the theme of good writing should
be of importance, one worth reading. It would, perhaps, be
a theme that would educate its reader.

On the other hand, one finds few comments on the verse
form that Harvey would have his artist use. He does mention,
however, that he dislikes the sonnet form. (New Letter, p.
B2) In contrast, he praises the ryme royal as a gallant and
stately verse.¹¹⁷ He also advocates the use of the hexameter:

. . . I wis, the English is nothing too good to imitat
the Greeke, or Latine, or other eloquent Languages,
that honour the Hexameter, as the soveraigne of verses,
and the high Controwler of Rimes. (Foure Letters, p. 32)

In summary, therefore, he concludes that art, one of the first
causes of personal advancement, can be one of the major
causes of the advancement of a country. An artist must have
artistic ability. He must inform himself. Knowing his

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 117.

rules, he must then practice. He will do well to find an example of good writing which to use as a model. His art should conform to nature; it should be probable. The subject should be handled on a suitable level--such as frivolous or serious. The artist should write on a suitable theme, perhaps virtue.

Surely, to Gabriel Harvey, art was a serious matter. Perhaps, he sought his own glory through public service, but he was a believer in art and artists. Significantly, his "star" pupil, Spenser, had been in contact with two educated and distinguished teachers of his day--Richard Mulcaster and Harvey. Just as Harvey held art in great esteem, he was also quick to praise those artists whom he admired. One of these was Chaucer. Of him, Harvey wrote, ". . . but above all other, Chawcer in mie conceit, is excellent in everie veine, & humour; & none so like him for gallant varietie, both in matter, & forme"118 Chaucer would make a fine model to emulate. "Owre best English, auncient & moderne," he wrote, were such as "Chaucer, Lidgate, . . . Arcadia, & The Faerie Queene. . . ."119 In further praise of his friends, Sidney and Spenser, he observes as follows:

Is not the prose of Sir Philip Sidney in his sweet Arcadia, the embrodery of finest Art, and daintiest Witt? Or is not the Verse of M. Spenser in his brave Faerie Queene, the Virginall of the divinest

118 Ibid., p. 226.

119 Ibid., p. 232.

Muses, and gentlest Graces? Both delicate Writers;
 alwayes gallant, often brave, continually delectable,
 sometimes admirable. (New Letter, p. A4)

Not only does Harvey praise the work of Spenser, but he also
 praises him for ". . . enriching, & polishing . . . the
 native Tongue" (Foure Letters, p. 68)

It is understandable that Spenser and Harvey corres-
 ponded with each other on the subject of poetry, for each
 genuinely admired the abilities of the other. To Harvey,
 Spenser was an artist whom he "often Homer term'd/and
 Monsieur Bodine vow'd as much" (Foure Letters, p. 100)
 This comment must have been welcome praise to Spenser, who
 referred to his friend Harvey as "the greatest Cato of our
 time"120

120 Jones, op. cit., p. 393.

CHAPTER III

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF HARVEY'S ROLE OF TEACHER-PHILOSOPHER IN THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER

It is generally acknowledged that the work of Edmund Spenser has been influenced in some degree by his association with Gabriel Harvey. Although critics vary as to the nature and extent of that influence, a general consensus appears to be that Harvey's early encouragement of Spenser was invaluable. Judson credits Harvey with encouraging Spenser, increasing his self-confidence and his ambition.¹²¹ The editors of the Spenser Variorum emphasize Harvey's "early encouragement of Spenser."¹²² One might conclude from the opinions of these Spenserian scholars that Harvey's encouragement was certainly a contributing factor in Spenser's

¹²¹Judson, op. cit., p. 39.

¹²²Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, and Ray Heffner (eds.), The Works of Edmund Spenser, p. 422. In future, references to this book will be of two types: (1) comments edited by the above named men which will be footnoted and referred to as Variorum, I. (2) references to Spenser's The Shepheardes Calender which will be noted within the text as SC.

poetic success.

Spenser's The Shepheardes Calender, published in 1579, is a work generally recognized as having been influenced by Harvey. G. C. Moore Smith, in a comment on the Calender, writes that it is "an eternal monument to the friendship of Edmund Spenser for Gabriel Harvey, of Colin Clout for Hobbinol" ¹²³ Since the Calender, according to F. M. Padelford, was "conceived, written, and finished, and the gloss to the same prepared by his friend E. K., while the poet was secretary to Bishop Young," one can readily believe that this influence may exist. ¹²⁴ As has been earlier established, Harvey and Spenser enjoyed a close companionship during that period of their lives. The purpose, herein, therefore, will be to focus upon Spenser's The Shepheardes Calender to determine the nature and extent of the influence of Gabriel Harvey upon that work.

E. K. in his Dedicatory Epistle, calls attention to the close relationship of Gabriel Harvey to The Shepheardes Calender when he commends the liking and protection of it and the patronage of Spenser to Harvey. Further, as he proceeds to praise Spenser's work, he implicitly relates the influence of Harvey upon the poem. First, he praises Spenser for advancing Chaucer, the English poet, to that esteem previously

¹²³McLane, op. cit., p. 235.

¹²⁴Padelford, op. cit., pp. 98-99.

reserved for Virgil. (SC, p. 7) He praises him for restoring the English language. (SC, p. 8) He praises him for observing "Decorum everye where, in personages, in seasons, in matter, in speach, and generally in al seemely simplicitie of handeling his matter, and framing his words" (SC, p. 7) These concepts, as E. K. and Spenser would know, were all advocated by Gabriel Harvey. He also explicitly revealed an influence of Harvey by referring to him as the "worthy Oratour" who

sayde but that walking in the sonne . . . yet needes he mought be sunburnt; and having the sound of those auncient Poetes still ringing in his eares, he mought needes in singing hit out some of theyr tunes.
(SC, pp. 7-8)

Here, E. K. reveals that Spenser, as Harvey suggested, followed a model set by poets before him.

Harvey also believed that English poets should write in English. He believed that they should "enhance the excellence of the English tongue and . . . excell the greatest writers in Europe."¹²⁵ He believed that he and Spenser lived in a period which would later be regarded as a golden age, and that they had a responsibility to provide excellence for future poets to look toward. Spenser followed Harvey's suggestion--whether it was because Harvey suggested it, or because he, too, believed it should be that way cannot be known--and boldly wrote The Shepheardes Calender in English.

¹²⁵Moore Smith (ed.), op. cit., p. 29.

Scholars of Spenser's day "refused to admit that English was capable of beauty or subtlety"126 One such scholar, Ascham, wrote "that to have written this boke either in latin or Greke . . . had bene more easier and fit for mi trade in study."127

Boldness of the same type is evident in E. K.'s epistle,¹²⁸ in which he acknowledges the excellence of "this our new poet" and places him beside "Chaucer, the loadstar of our language."¹²⁹ He boldly places "absolute reliance . . . on the powers of the English language, handled by one who has discerned its genius, and is not afraid to use its wealth."¹³⁰ Here, E. K., either by permission of or at the request of Spenser, grants to Chaucer, the English poet, the eminent position of loadstar, hitherto reserved for Virgil. This move is an apparent declaration of intention to place the English language and its poets above all others. E. K. also elevates the untried Spenser to a position beside Chaucer. E. K. apparently has no doubts about either the poet or the language, which, he laments, "hath long time ben counted most

¹²⁶Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, and Ray Heffner (eds.), Variorum, I, 238.

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 238.

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 236.

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 236.

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 236.

bare and barrein . . ." of both prose and verse. (SC, pp. 8-9) The language was, in his opinion, "truely of it self . . . both ful enough for prose and stately enough for verse . . ." (SC, p. 8-9) Again, it appears that he fully expected Spenser to substantiate this statement.

The very technique of having E. K. write the epistle is one that Harvey might have used himself. For example, in his publication of "Three Proper, And Wittie, Familiar Letters" and "Two Other Very Commendable Letters," Harvey prefaces the letters with a commentary by a "welwiller."¹³¹ Whoever E. K. was--Edward Kirke, Spenser, someone else--the technique used is very like that used by Harvey.

In using the English language as a medium for his poetry, Spenser had to be a student of words. Apparently he had been one for most of his life, as Watkins points out:

This problem of words--not just vocabulary, but syntax, words in meaningful patterns--occupied Spenser even when he was in the Merchant Taylors' School¹³²

In The Shepheardes Calender, Spenser displays a great knowledge of words--and of when, where, and how to use them. His Calender, a "genuine attempt at a diction not more elaborate, but purer, simpler, more English than the literary language

¹³¹Smith and De Selincourt (eds.), op. cit., p. 10.

¹³²William R. Mueller (ed.), Spenser's Critics: Changing Currents in Literary Taste, p. 239.

current in his day," exemplifies this fact.¹³³

His knowledge of words was, indeed, so keen that he could, as E. K. had stated, use decorum in his word choice. His rustic characters were surrounded with rustic words. He sometimes used obsolete words for "cloathing rural characters in the dress of doric simplicity,"¹³⁴ as would seem to be the case in the February eclogue in which "the dialect is here more antique and rustic" than in other areas.¹³⁵ This device would appear to be the mark of a perfectionist, as February is concerned with the respect that one should have for age, a theme which one could apply to words as well as to people, as personified by Thenot. This situation exemplifies another of Harvey's teachings, namely to treat the subject appropriately to the level of its weight. Sometimes, he uses old words simply to add to the beauty of the picture he was painting, to add depth and fullness. (SC, p. 8) On the other hand, he sometimes uses the older words as a contrast to the newer ones, just as "oftentimes a dischorde in Musick maketh a comely concordance" (SC, p. 8) Spenser seems to have chosen his words carefully and to have used them to achieve the effect that he wanted.

¹³³Smith and De Selincourt (eds.), op. cit., pp. xviii-xix.

¹³⁴Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, and Ray Heffner (eds.), Variorum, I, 238.

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 253.

Further, he was a student of dialect. When writing of northern England, he employed the language actually used in that area.¹³⁶ McLane even suggests that Spenser used Scottish dialectal words in the fable of the Fox and the Kid in both the fable and the glosse.¹³⁷ One can only admire the Englishman who could write in his own tongue with such depth and color; truly, he proved his language rich enough for verse.

Nor did he stop with words. He also experimented with stanza forms. Some had four lines, some six, some eight; his verses, by the same token, were sometimes of equal length, sometimes of different length.¹³⁸ He used ballad stanzas in March and July; in the dialogues of April and November, he wrote in elegiac quatrains.¹³⁹ In the April eclogue, a careful reader might notice the forerunners of what was later called the Spenserian sonnet and the Spenserian stanza:

Of these the sixain, which was employed in the chansons of both Marot and Ronsard, is of particular interest on account of the concluding couplet, which was to be the mark of both the Spenserian sonnet and the Spenserian stanza. . . . When, as in the case of Hobbinol's speeches in "April," the linked quatrains make a unit, we have actually the eight-line stanza of Chaucer's Monk's Tale, which is commonly regarded as the basis of the Spenserian stanza. Furthermore, the linking of three quatrains in "April" . . . gives all of the Spenserian

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 315.

¹³⁷McLane, op. cit., p. 90.

¹³⁸Jones, op. cit., p. 68.

¹³⁹Ibid., p. 68.

sonnet except the final couplet.¹⁴⁰

Spenser is noted for other innovative techniques. Even an imaginative metaphor was new. Of the February eclogue and Spenser's metaphor of "this faded Oake/ . . . Whose naked Armes stretch unto the fyre," Grosart writes, "What a new thing in English poetry was an imaginative-fanciful metaphor like this."¹⁴¹

Another of Spenser's innovative ventures was his pastoralization of the Aesopian fable in February, executed in the manner of Chaucer's fables, but definitely Aesopian in that its principles were inanimate objects, not people. An even more difficult task he set upon was to pastoralize, in March, "the delicate mythology of the idyllists Bion and Moschus."¹⁴² Of this adaptation, Renwick is convinced that Spenser "had his Mantuan, Marot, Virgil, Petrarch by him as he wrote, and took over from them phrases, images and whole passages directly translated."¹⁴³ Spenser apparently followed not one model, but several, and created from them something altogether his own. This particular aspect of Harvey's influence will be dealt with more fully later.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p. 68.

¹⁴¹Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, and Ray Heffner (eds.), Variorum, I, 264.

¹⁴²Ibid., p. 267.

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 268.

Of April, Hereford writes, "We are now brought face to face with the shepherd as poet."¹⁴⁴ His reference, here, is to Colin's skill in verse, "the ardour of Spenser's high chivalry" which "glows through its subtly woven rhymes."¹⁴⁵ Of the April Ode, Palgrave writes that it is "the poet's first recorded experiment in a lyrical form. . . ."¹⁴⁶ June is supposed, by Warton, to be " . . . one of the most poetical and elegant of the Pastorals."¹⁴⁷ Palgrave says of June, "this piece shows a signal advance in art"¹⁴⁸ Even from these few examples, it is clear that Spenser obviously wrote in such a way as to "enhance the English language." He wrote well enough to win praise in his own day, something few poets accomplish. Thomas Nashe would place "the divine Master Spenser, the miracle of art, line for line for my life in the honor of England gainst Spaine, France, Italie, and all the world."¹⁴⁹ Webb called him "the rightest English poet that ever I read."¹⁵⁰ If the test of a poet's fame is that of time, Spenser certainly accomplished that ambition. "The

¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 275.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., p. 275.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 274.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., p. 308.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., p. 309.

¹⁴⁹Jones, op. cit., p. 39.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., p. 39.

Calender, today, is regarded as ushering in the great era of Elizabethan poetry."¹⁵¹ Time has proved Harvey right in his theory that he and Spenser were living in a period that could later be regarded as a "golden age." He was right to suppose that future poets would look back to the poetry of this time for instruction. He was also right to believe his friend, Spenser, capable of giving that instruction through the example of his poetry.

Another maxim set forth by Harvey was that a poet should follow the model of a proved poet. That Spenser did, but he did not follow one model: he followed several. As E. K. announced in his Dedicatory Epistle, "Colin, under whose the Authour selfe is shadowed," was

. . . following the example of the best and most auncient Poetes, which devised this kind of wryting, being both so base for the matter, and homely for the manner, at the first to trye theyr habilities: . . . So flew Theocritus So flew Virgile So flew Mantuane So Petrarque. So Boccace; So Marot, Sanazarus, and also divers other (SC, p. 10)

First, it should be noted that Spenser chose the pastoral form. The pastoral "symbolized the good life of content and contemplative self-sufficiency free from ambition, greed and the vicissitudes of fortune."¹⁵² To some, the pastoral life actually seemed the life of the Golden Age.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹Judson, op. cit., p. 64.

¹⁵²McLane, op. cit., p. 246.

¹⁵³Mary Parmenter, "Spenser's Twelve Aeglogues Proportionable to the Twelve Monethes," ELH, III (1936), 202.

One could, in the serene and peaceful scenes, recreate through the calender the seasons of man's life, teaching him about that life.¹⁵⁴ E. K. wrote that, although the author had largely chosen to conceal his purpose for writing, he had acknowledged his intention "to warne . . . the young shepheards . . . his equalls and companions of his unfortunate folly. . . ." (SC, p. 10) Also, the pastoral was a recognized framework for the issues of the day--religious, scientific, and poetic--an author could easily "teach" about these issues within this genre.¹⁵⁵ For Spenser's purpose of writing, implied and explicit, the pastoral was an excellent frame.

As the pastoral is the form Spenser chose as a model, Chaucer is the one poet he chose for model. Just as Chaucer in his Troilus sent his poem forth with the instruction to "Go, litle bok, go litel myn tragedye," so Spenser sent his forth, as "Goe little booke: thy selfe present, . . ."¹⁵⁶ Spenser placed "in the niche of the old eclogue-master Virgil his own master Chaucer, . . ."¹⁵⁷ Even so, though Chaucer is the honored master-poet, Spenser followed also

¹⁵⁴Ibid., p. 217.

¹⁵⁵Parmenter, op. cit., p. 196.

¹⁵⁶Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, and Ray Heffner (eds.), Variorum, I, 235.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., p. 260.

various patterns of the poets mentioned by E. K.: Theocritus, Virgile, Mantuane, Petrarque, Boccace, Marot, Sanazarus, and others. (SC, p. 10) Although, as has been stated earlier, Spenser created many new and exciting variations in poetic forms, he did so within the established pattern set forth by these various poets.

Following the eclogues in their chronological order, one notes that the influences of these masters is, indeed, in the Calender. January is a love-plait modeled after Virgil.¹⁵⁸ The "helpless lover" of January descends from the "Cyclops of Theocritus and the Corydon and Gallus of Virgil."¹⁵⁹ The mood and the "notion of the sympathy of nature with human feeling" are more like that of a Petrarchan poem.¹⁶⁰ February, May, July, and September "begin with a debate and conclude with an illustrative fable."¹⁶¹ The debate is a traditional part of the pastoral. June bears "a strong reminiscence . . . of Virgil's first eclogue."¹⁶² July is "based on Mantuan's eighth eclogue."¹⁶³ August "echoes . .

¹⁵⁸Ibid., p. 245.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., p. 246.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., p. 246.

¹⁶¹Ibid., p. 255.

¹⁶²Ibid., p. 311.

¹⁶³Ibid., p. 325.

. Virgil's third and seventh eclogues.¹⁶⁴ August includes the traditional singing match of the pastoral. In October, Spenser follows Mantuan.¹⁶⁵ November is different in that it is "the first in English to follow the Greek pastoral model. . ."¹⁶⁶ On the other hand, for Spenser, following a model does not mean duplication. He takes from each what he wants, adds his own creativity and finishes with a poem better than the original, one that will "excell the greatest writers of Europe."

In an overall view of The Shepheardes Calender, several influences of Gabriel Harvey become apparent. These are, in summary, the restoration and glorification of the English language, the observance of decorum in style, and the modeling of the poem after that of established poets. There are many other influences, however, that can be discerned by means of an intensive reading of the poem. Furthermore, I believe that the best approach is to view the poem by the divisions which E. K. indicates: the plaintive, the moral, the recreative. Thus, the purpose herein is to examine each of these groups of eclogues for the influences that Harvey may have contributed to The Shepheardes Calender.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., p. 339.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., p. 372.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., p. 397.

In the plaintive eclogues--January, June, November, and December--Spenser outlines "the beginning, middle, and end of the Calender; they also follow . . . the youth to the old age of Colin with particular reference to his love for Rosalind and his friendship for Hobbinol." (SC, p. 43)

Hobbinol is generally regarded by scholars as Harvey, just as Colin Clout is generally regarded as Spenser. (SC, p. 18)

In the first eclogue, January, Colin complains of his love for Rosalind, a love that is unrequited. He speaks of Hobbinol's attempts to gain his friendship, and of his own rejection of Hobbinol because of his preoccupation with Rosalind.

Quite in keeping with the tradition of the pastoral, January appears to be a simple love plaint, but, here, the simplicity ends. It is accepted that Hobbinol is Colin's "very speciall and most familiar freend . . ." (SC, p. 18) E. K. explains in the glosse that this is a friendship of the soul, like that of Socrates and Alcybiades. (SC, p. 18) In the Dedicatory Epistle, E. K. identifies Colin as Spenser. (SC, p. 18) Here, two of the principals are identified, and the friendship established. Why then should the third principal be a "country lasse" whom nobody knows? Would such a person distract Spenser from his very special friend? He has seen Rosalind only once, and is quite enamored. Paul McLane may have the answer when he argues that Rosalind is Queen Elizabeth, whom Spenser has seen once, and who has not

been as receptive to his poetry as he might have liked.¹⁶⁷ Therefore, he would lay down his oaten pipe and warn other young poets of similar treatment to be expected. If this is the answer, then Edmund Spenser has indeed made a bold move, as Harvey would have recommended.¹⁶⁸ Also, he has protected himself from prosecution by clouding the identity of his Rosalind, a wise move and a moderation of his boldness of action. Because the identification of Rosalind is important in this discussion, McLane's argument will be outlined briefly. In January Colin says of Rosalind:

A thousand sithes I curse that carefull hower,
 Wherein I longd the neighbour towne to see:
 And eke ten thousand sithes I blesse the stoure,
 Wherein I sawe so fayre a sight, as shee.
 Yet all for naught: such sight hath bred my bane.
 Ah, God, that love should breede both joy and payne.
(SC, 49-54)

McLane suggests that Spenser had seen Queen Elizabeth only once.¹⁶⁹ The Queen did reside in the next town. During the last half of 1579, "Spenser's chief abode was Westminster and London" while the Queen was in residence in "the royal palace of the neighboring town of Greenwich."¹⁷⁰ In answer to E. K.'s suggestion that Rosalinde " . . . being wel ordered, wil bewray the very name of his love . . ." McLane offers the

¹⁶⁷McLane, op. cit., p. 33.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., p. 46.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., p. 31.

following suggestion. (SC, p. 18)

. . . take Elisa, R (abbreviation for Regina) and the first syllable of England. If we take R first, spell Elisa backwards, and change the g of Eng to d . . . we get Rasilende, a name close in sound and spelling to Rosalind.¹⁷¹

In further support of this theory, he refers to Keightley's suggestion that Rosa linda is "pure Italian or Spanish for beautiful rose. As Wilson has indicated, Elizabeth was the rose of England, the Tudor rose, the flower . . . for a Queen who incarnated all beauty and virtue."¹⁷² For further substantiation, he refers to Rosalind's identification in the April eclogue as "the widow's daughter of the glen." This information, E. K. tells the reader, is to "coloure and concele the persone . . ." (SC, p. 42) McLane counters with the information that in "early Tudor plays . . . the widow represents England."¹⁷³ This would make Rosalind the daughter of England, or the Queen. He adds that in the woodcut, Colin looks "wistfully towards what appears to be a royal palace."¹⁷⁴ Add to this E. K.'s assurance that Rosalind was a "gentlewoman of no meane house, nor endowed with any vulgare and common gifts both of nature and manners . . ." and one finds a pretty convincing argument. (SC, p. 42) If McLane is

¹⁷¹Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁷²Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁷³Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., p. 33.

correct, one sees several influences of Harvey in this eclogue.

First is the aforementioned maxim of Harvey's, e. g., that one should act boldly. If this has been Spenser's plan, he certainly has done so. Then, one must consider the incarnation of beauty and virtue inherent in the character of Queen Elizabeth. Here, Spenser is expressing his love of his Queen and his country. He is praising virtue. According to Harvey, virtue is a theme worthy of a good writer. The love of one's country he would also consider worthy of poetic expression. It is much more appropriate that Spenser would lay aside his poetry for the Queen's lack of acknowledgement, than that he would for that of a "country lasse." Further, this theory explains the January emblem: Anchora Speme. E. K. explains the meaning to be that, although Colin is luckless in love, he still has hope. (SC, p. 18) This idea is realistic in that the youthful Spenser did still have hope of patronage, perhaps even with this very poem. Also, it seems appropriate that the Calender should begin with the center of attention focused upon the young poet, his friend, and their Queen. With this identification of Rosalind, the January eclogue, thus, is an appropriate beginning for the poem and for the entire plaintive series: it also fits with advice that Spenser might well have obtained from the friend portrayed as Hobbinol.

In the June eclogue, Harvey's influence is probably confined to the personality of Hobbinol, the relationship between Hobbinol and Colin, and the advice given to Colin by Hobbinol. Colin addresses his friend, Hobbinoll, with these words, "O happy Hobbinoll, I blesse thy state/ That Paradise hast found, whych Adam lost." (SC, 9-10) Hobbinoll is enjoying "the simple ayre," the "grassye ground with daintye Daysies dight," and ". . . Byrds of every kynde" interrupted only by Colin's tale of woe.¹⁷⁵ Here, Spenser portrays Hobbinoll as a happy person, enjoying a quiet life. This is, indeed, Harvey's philosophy, that man should be temperate and "perpetually cheerful."¹⁷⁶ Perhaps, Spenser envies his friend his ability to be happy because of his temperate nature. More literally, Judson suggests that Spenser is "envious of Harvey's quiet security of the university" ¹⁷⁷ Probably both theories are, in part, correct. E. K. writes that Colin "compareth the soile, wherein Hobbinoll made his abode, to that earthly Paradise, in scripture called Eden" (SC, p. 63) It is likely that the young poet had been to Cambridge and was expressing some envy of his older, established friend; or perhaps, Spenser is simply following the pastoral precedent established by Virgil.

¹⁷⁵Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, and Ray Heffner (eds.), Variorum, I, 311.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., p. 310.

¹⁷⁷Judson, op. cit., p. 47.

Spenser, "thrown on the world, is in the position of Meliboeus, and to him Gabriel Harvey, still in the happy security of the University seems as fortunate as Tityrus."¹⁷⁸ Thus, Spenser's remarks follow the situation of Virgil's first eclogue.¹⁷⁹

In Hobbinoll, Spenser has captured Harvey's own philosophy of life, that man should live in contentment.¹⁸⁰ In contrast, Spenser is in an apparent mood of despondency.¹⁸¹ It has been suggested that this reference might reflect the period of Spenser's life just before he became secretary to the bishop of Rochester.¹⁸² He is unhappy that no one cares for his poetry, a mood that could be a part of pastoral convention, but even so it is realistic, as Spenser often became depressed by the "frivolity, corruption, and uncertainties of Court life"¹⁸³ Actually, these theories are compatible if one considers the young poet, thinking of Queen Elizabeth and his inability to gain patronage in the

¹⁷⁸Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, and Ray Heffner (eds.), Variorum, I, 311.

¹⁷⁹Ibid., p. 311.

¹⁸⁰McLane, op. cit., p. 243.

¹⁸¹Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, and Ray Heffner (eds.), Variorum, I, 309.

¹⁸²Ibid., p. 310.

¹⁸³McLane, op. cit., p. 246.

court, talking to his friend about an uncertain future.

In offering Colin advice, Hobbinoll leaves the role of luckless suitor for that of guide and friend.¹⁸⁴ He now advises Colin to "Forsake the soyle," "Leave me those hilles," and "to the dales resort, where shepheards ritch, / And fruitfull flocks bene every where to see." (SC, 21-22) Again, looking to Virgil, one wonders if the "contrast between the dales of Kent, "hillye" though it be, and "the higher countrie" of the north are to be taken literally, or only as a pastoral convention" ¹⁸⁵ E. K. reveals this advice was given in life and was "no poetical fiction." (SC, p. 63) Scholars have long discussed the issue, and the most probable suggestion is that, here, Harvey advised Spenser to join the Bishop of Rochester in Kent. Perhaps, Harvey suggested that Spenser leave the service of Young for that of Leicester, a move which Spenser eventually made in 1579. This theory would account for Spenser's having been in Kent in January and also of having had the privilege of seeing the Queen by that time. Spenser's answer, however, seems to support the idea that Harvey was suggesting the move to Kent, to be secretary for Young:

And I, whylst youth and course of carelesse yeeres
Did let me walke withouten lincks of love,

¹⁸⁴Jones, op. cit., p. 44.

¹⁸⁵Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, and Ray Heffner (eds.), Variorum, I, 312.

In such delights did joy amongst my peeres:
 But ryper age such pleasures doth reprove,
 My fancye eke from former follies move
 To stayed steps: for time in passing weares
 (As garments doen, which wexen old above)
 And draweth newe delightes with hoary heares.
(SC, 34-40)

Spenser here acknowledges the end of the carefree days of youth and his close companionship with his peers. The time element is not that important, either, as this discussion between Spenser and Harvey could have taken place near the time of publication of the Calender, or many months before.

Harvey's next role in the eclogue is that of friendly critic "who appreciates Colin's excellence as a poet and acknowledges this excellence in gracious terms."¹⁸⁶

Hobbinol tells Colin that his poetry gives him "more delight" than even the birds, and that the birds might "hold theyr peace, for shame of thy swete layes." (SC, 49-56)

Colin assures Hobbinol that he is not ambitious, but merely sings his song for his own pleasure. The month of June marks the midpoint in man's life, that point at which ambition wanes.¹⁸⁷ Subsequently, Colin first laments the lost powers of his youth, then pays tribute to Chaucer,¹⁸⁸ "the soveraigne head / Of shepheards all, that bene with love ytake" (SC, 83-84) This disavowal, both a pastoral

¹⁸⁶McLane, op. cit., p. 241.

¹⁸⁷Parmenter, op. cit., p. 205.

¹⁸⁸Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, and Ray Heffner (eds.), Variorum, I, 309.

convention and a frequent mood of Spenser's, is not to be trusted.¹⁸⁹ Hobbinoll then closes the eclogue with "I lament thy case," and attributes to Rosalind "the roote of all this ruthfull woe." (SC, 113)

In the glosse, E. K. explains the emblem, Aegloga sexta, to mean that Colin no longer has any hope of Rosalind's love. (SC, p. 65) So, in closing this eclogue, Colin is very unhappy at the sad way in which Rosalind has not received him or his poetry.

In November, Thenot voices encouragement to Colin, much as Harvey might have done, asking, "Colin my deare, when shall it please thee sing, / As thou were wont songs of some iouisauunce?" (SC, 1-2) Colin tells Thenot this is not a month of merriment: it is November and a time to be solemn. He asks Thenot to sing, instead; but Thenot refuses, saying,

Nay, better learne of hem, that learned bee,
 And han be watered at the Muses well:
 The kindlye dewe drops from the higher tree,
 And wets the little plants that lowly dwell.
 (SC, 29-32)

His encouragement prompts Colin to sing a song of praise in honor of Dido, who is dead. Although the character is not Hobbinoll, Thenot is voicing Harvey's words of encouragement. Here, again, Spenser observes total decorum, matching the mood, matter, and manner of handling of a serious subject.

¹⁸⁹McLane, op. cit., p. 246.

In December, Colin reviews his life referring to topics discussed throughout The Shepheardes Calender; herein primarily those applying to the plaintive series will be discussed. He speaks of his early learning of Tityrus, Chaucer, and acknowledges his agreement with Harvey that poetry was an art one must work to perfect:

And for I was in thilke same looser yeares,
 (Whether the Muse so wrought me from my birth,
 Or I tomuch beleved my shepherd peres)
 Somedele ybent to song and musicks mirth,
 A good olde shepheard, Wrenock was his name,
 Made me by arte more cunning in the same.
(SC, 37-42)

Thus, for Spenser as well as Harvey, art was to be worked at and improved upon.¹⁹⁰ Spenser cites Harvey's appraisal of his work:

And if that Hobbinol right judgement bare,
 To Pan his owne self pype I neede not yield.
 For if the flocking Nymphes did follow Pan,
 The wiser Muses after Colin ranne.¹⁹¹

In reviewing his life, Spenser concludes that "Winter is come," and he bids goodbye to the friend who has loyally stood beside him, been his guide and friendly critic, encouraged him when all looked bleak. "Adieu good Hobbinol, that was so true, / Tell Rosalind, her Colin bids her adieu." (SC, 155-156) Again, the Calender ends with its thought centered on Spenser, Harvey, and "Rosalind." Throughout the

¹⁹⁰Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, and Ray Heffner (eds.), Variorum, I, 421.

¹⁹¹McLane, op. cit., p. 240.

plaintive series, the serenity of Hobbinol's personality stands in contrast to the stormy upheavals the poet has undergone; the steadfastness of Hobbinol provided a safe harbor for Colin.

The moral eclogues deal with religious and/or political issues that will not be discussed in this paper. On a more universal plane, the eclogues deal with the attitude man may have which can help him be a happy person. It appears that the theme of the moral series is that man must be content within himself, not dependent upon good fortune for happiness, and that he should follow the road of moderation.

In February, the reader is instructed to reverence age. Cuddie, a youth, and Thenot, an aged man, discuss the subject of old age. Cuddie begins by complaining about the cold, just as one youthful Spenser had once complained about the coldness of the world, and Thenot's answer to Cuddie echoes that of Harvey to the complaints of Spenser:

Lewdly complainest thou laesie ladde,
 Of Winters wracke, for making thee sadde.
 Must not the world wend in his comun course
 From good to badd, and from badd to worse,
 From worse unto that is worst of all,
 And then returne to his former fall?

(SC, 9-14)

In the same vein, Harvey had answered Spenser's complaint on the state of the world:

Sir, yower newer complaynte of ye newe worlde is nye as owlde as Adam and Eve, and full as stale as ye stalest

fasshion that hath bene in fasshion since Noes
fludd. (Letter-Book, p. 82)

In both cases, the advice was not for one to complain of the world, but to accept it and learn from it. For, as Thenot tells Cuddie, "Who will not suffer the stormy time, / Where will he live tyll the lusty prime? (SC, 15-16) Thenot continues to tell Cuddie that he himself had "Yet never complained of cold nor heate." (SC, 19) Harvey had written the same thought in a letter to John Young: "I am and have bene always veri loth to complain . . ." (Letter-Book, p. 1)

Cuddie, not impressed, tells Thenot it is easier not to complain when you are old. To this comment, Thenot replies that it is just as bad to over-react to good things, as youth is most prone to do. He illustrates this idea with a tale, attributed to Chaucer, about an Oak and a Brere. The brere, being young and seeing the joy of summer, his own lovely blossoms, and the ugliness of the old oak near him, manages to have the old oak chopped down. Then, when winter comes and the strong oak is not there, the young brere dies. The big oak had been his protection from the storms of winter. The lesson, here, is to exercise moderation, both in reacting to the bad and the good. To act rashly can be a fatal mistake. (SC, pp. 22-26)

In Maye, Spenser has two shepherds discussing all shepherds, dividing them into two classes: e. g., the good shepherd who takes care of his sheep and the worldly shepherd

who takes care of his own pleasures. Palinode envies the worldly shepherd, and Piers pities him. Even though the views of these men are totally different, each expresses sentiments similar to those which Harvey might have been expected to feel. Early in the discussion, Palinode asks Piers why the others are having such fun while they "here sytten as drownd in a dreame." (SC, 16) Piers replies, "we tway bene men of elder witt." (SC, 18) Following February's lesson in this series, this comment would indicate that Piers and Palinode know better than to indulge in excesses. But Palinode insists, "Ah, Piers, bene not thy teeth on edge, to thinke, / How great sport they gaynen with little swinck?" (SC, 35-36) Piers replies that he not only does not envy them; he pities them. As the discussion continues, Piers tells Palinode, in effect, this too will pass. "The time was once, and may againe retorne, / (For ought may happen, that hath bene beforne) / When shepeheardes had none inheritaunce" (SC, 103-105) His message seems to be, as Harvey's would have been, that one should not get upset because things seldom stay the same. This philosophy echoes Thenot's words of February:

Must not the world wend in his commun course,
 From good to badd, and from badd to worse,
 From worse unto that is worst of all,
 And then returne to his former fall?

(SC, 11-14)

Thus, although Piers finds the behavior of these people repulsive enough not to want anything to do with them, he is not greatly concerned because he realizes that the world is cyclic; this excess will eventually neutralize itself.

Palinode, on the other hand, does not find these shepherds repulsive. On the contrary, he would like to join them. But he cautions Piers in words of moderation:

Let none mislike of that may not be mended:
 So conteck soone by concord mought be ended.
 (SC, 162-163)

Harvey would say that if one cannot change something, he should learn to live in harmony with it; Palinode says the same thing. It is interesting that two such differing characters should both be spokesmen for Spenser's friend, further verified by the two men's emblems, for the two together "make one whole Hexametre." (SC, p. 58) The first, spoken by Palinode, indicates "that who doth most mistrust is most false:" the second, spoken by Piers, asks "what fayth then is there in the faythlesse." (SC, p. 58) So, in the "merry" month of May, Spenser moralizes on the excesses of merriment.

The "vertue" that "dwelleth in the midst, being environed with two contrary vices "is the theme of the July eclogue." (SC, p. 75) On one side lies pride or ambition; on the other side, humility or lack of ambition. Here, Spenser "reveals his sympathies . . . by his praise of Grindal, the moderate Anglican"192 Jones explains that moderation was the

¹⁹²Jones, op. cit., p. 49.

"moving spirit" of Bishop Grindal's policy and also the "informing principle of Gabriel Harvey's philosophy of life, as expressed in his Pierces Supererogation and commemorated in Spenser's complimentary sonnet."¹⁹³ So in the July eclogue, one sees the thematic presentation of Harvey's principle of moderation.

The September eclogue continues in its "criticism of restless ambition" and "offers the most persuasive statement of the philosophy of moderation which in the earlier eclogues had been variously set against the vice of pride" ¹⁹⁴ Diggon, who had given in to his ambition, even to the extent of taking his sheep to a foreign country to gain even more money, had come home defeated and repentant. In his misery, Diggon calls out to Hobbinol:

Hobbin, ah Hobbin, I curse the stounde,
 That ever I cast to have lorne this groune.
 Wel-away the while I was so fonde,
 To leave the good, that I had in honde,
 In hope of better, that was uncouth:
 So lost the Dogge the flesh in his mouth.
(SC, 56-61)

Diggon, in his ambitious search, had lost even that which he had. To his cry, Hobbinol replied:

Ah, fon, now by thy losse art taught,
 That seeldome change the better brought.
 Content who lives with tryed state,
 Neede feare no change of frowning fate:

¹⁹³Ibid., p. 50.

¹⁹⁴Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, and Ray Heffner (eds.), Variorum, I, 352.

But who will seeke for unknowne gayne,
 Oft lives by losse, and leaves with payne.
 (SC, 68-73)

Here is evidence of Harvey's philosophy of life: man content with his life need not fear natural changes, but he who acts in excess will probably come to grief. Diggon goes on to tell Hobbinol of the many dangers in the world, but Hobbinol replies,

Nowe Diggon, I see thou speakest to plaine:
 Better it were, a little to feyne,
 And cleanly cover, that cannot be cured.
 Such il, as is forced, mought nedes be endured.
 (SC, 136-139)

Again, Hobbinol states Harvey's philosophy: evil that cannot be changed must be endured and the quieter one is about it, the better. Diggon, little daunted, continues to tell him of the deceit in the world. They are crafty, and "all their craft is in their countenance." (SC, 168) He tells Hobbinol of what has happened to Rofynn; Hobbinol replies that he knows Rofynn tends his sheep. Diggon insists that Rofynn was fooled by trickery. Even the good shepherds have no chance in such a bad world. Diggon says shepherds will have to be on guard all of the time--day and night. But, again, Hobbinol protests,

We bene of fleshe, men as other bee,
 Why should we be bound to such miseree?
 That ever thing lacketh chaugeable rest,
 Mought nedes decay, when it is at best.
 (SC, 238-241)

Again, moderation is the key. To every extreme that Diggon has voiced, Hobbinol has proposed moderation. He invites Diggon to his cottage: "So as I can, I wil thee comfort."

(SC, 255) Jones contends that in Hobbinol's role in this September eclogue is the key to the moral series:

The philosophy of the tried estate, which stands as we have seen at the central point of the plaintive sequence, here serves for the climax of the moral eclogues; and it is Harvey who in each case philosophized the theme. We may conclude, then, that in the opinions of Harvey we find a principle of unity for the Shepherdes Calender as a whole.¹⁹⁵

October is a special eclogue. Others make comments on poetry, but October, through the person of Cuddie and Piers, sets "out the perfecte paterne of a Poete." (SC, p. 95) The principals, Cuddie and Piers, are quite possibly symbolic of Spenser and Harvey. Piers requests Cuddie to begin singing his song, but Cuddie complains:

Piers, I have pyped erst so long with payne,
That all mine Oten reedes bene rent and wore:
And my poore Muse hath spent her spared store,
Yet little good hath got, and much lesse gayne.
(SC, 7-10)

Piers tells him that praise and glory are worth much more than money, a concept that Harvey believed and lived by, and one can readily imagine his giving Spenser much the same advice. In telling Cuddie about fame, E. K. reveals that Piers is referring to the "great solemne feastes called Panegyrica" which were held every five years. (SC, p. 100) One man, chosen above all the rest, had the privilege and the glory to sing to all the people. Apparently, Piers is asking Cuddie if he would not enjoy such glory and fame.

¹⁹⁵Jones, op. cit., p. 52.

The man, chosen by his friends, would sing on the subject "eyther of vertue or victory or of immortality or such like." (SC, p. 100) Again, Piers sounds like Harvey. To sing on the great themes, especially on vertue, had been his message to Spenser, to sing so well that he would bring glory to himself and his country. Moreover, glory in one's own lifetime is certainly worth having, according to Harvey. Further, E. K. relates that, in Piers' speech, Spenser refers to the story of Orpheus, "of whom is sayd, that by his excellent skill in Musick and Poetry, he recovered his wife Eurydice from hell." (SC, p. 100) Here, again, Piers speaks like Harvey. Poetry can work miracles!

Cuddie, however, remains unconvinced. Can one live on praise, or does one need money for food? If Cuddie and Piers are representative of Spenser and Harvey, it would appear that, in this matter, at least, it is Spenser who is the realist and Harvey, the idealist. Piers counters this argument with the advice that Cuddie should choose the appropriate subject matter and flatter those who might offer patronage:

Abandon then the base and viler clowne,
Lyft up thy selfe out of the lowly dust:
And sing of bloody Mars, of wars, of giusts.
Turn thee to those, that weld the awful crowne,
And helmes unbruzed wexen dayly browne.

(SC, 37-42)

Specifically, he tells him to "Advaunce the worthy whome shee loveth best," meaning Leicester probably, if he wants Elissa,

Queen Elizabeth, to notice him. (SC, 47) Cuddie replies that he has heard of a poet's rising by the recognition of his poetry. He remembers Virgil, who was "brought into favour of the Emperor Augustus." (SC, p. 101) Poetry, then, must have the power to immortalize, since Virgil's poetry brought him fame by the "worthines and valor . . . through . . . famous Posies . . . commended to al posterities." (SC, p. 101) Cuddie also mentions several of Virgil's works, including his Aeglogues which would "teach his flocks to feede" (SC, p. 101) But, even though such fame has been won before, Cuddie still wonders if it could happen to him, because poetry is at present held in such low esteem in England: (SC, p. 102)

But after vertue gan for age to stroupe,
 And mighty manhode brought a bedde of ease:
 The vaunting Poets found nought worth a pease,
 To put in preace emong the learned troupe.
 Tho gan the streames of flowing wittes to cease.
 And sonnebright honour pend in shamefull coupe.
(SC, 67-72)

Piers, understanding Cuddies' plight, then wonders aloud, "O pierless Poesye, where is then thy place?" (SC, 79) He believes poetry, fit for the palace, is a high form of art.

Cuddie relates further fears to Piers. First, there is the general apathy toward poetry. Then, there is his doubt in his own ability. He compares his poetry to a "Swanne" which, according to E. K., means that Cuddie fears the sweetness of his verse to be false, that perhaps his talent is really not there. Perhaps his poetry, like the song of the swan, will sound sweetest just before the end. (SC, p. 102) Piers rises

to the occasion and encourages Cuddie to lift up his sights to immortal beauty and divine love: that will carry Cuddie's poetry high.

At this point, Cuddie seems to be "ravished with a Poetical furie." (SC, p. 102) Acknowledging the power of this "lordly love," Cuddie replies

All otherwise the state of Poet stands,
For lordly love is such a Tyranne fell:
That where he rules, all power he doth expell.
(SC, 97-99)

But Cuddie still prepares Piers for disappointment. If "my corage cooles ere it be warme, / For thy, content us in thys humble shade:" (SC, 115-116) Cuddie will lift his sights to noble beauty and sing his song. This eclogue, October, is a testimony that "Poetry is a divine instinct and unnatural rage passing the reache of comen reason." (SC, p. 103)

The October eclogue reads very like one might imagine a conversation taking place between Spenser and Harvey. Further influence of Harvey has been mentioned in the remarks on the December eclogue. Here, Spenser reveals that he, like Harvey, believes a poet must study and exercise his art. Although the emphasis is on the innate ability of the poet in the October eclogue, the two references mentioned above prove that Spenser and Harvey were very much alike in their views on poetry. In summary, one notes the following influences of Harvey in Spenser's attitude toward poetry in the October eclogue: 1) the end result of glory is worth the effort

involved; 2) the poet should sing of virtue and keep attuned to beauty and love of the lofty sort; 3) poetry can work miracles.

The recreative series--March, April, and August--must also be reviewed briefly. In March, the discussion concerns love, a topic of diversion. E. K.'s interpretation of the emblem reveals that the " . . . delights of love, wherein wanton youth walloweth, be but follye mixt with bitterness, and sorrow sawced with repentaunce." (SC, p. 35) His arguments against romantic love closely match those of Harvey. First, E. K. says that "Love it selfe tormenteth the mind, and vexeth the body in many ways" (SC, p. 35) Harvey believed love ridiculous, because it "made man miserable."¹⁹⁶ E. K. writes that love causes man to seek " . . . for that we can not have, and fynding that we would not have" (SC, p. 35) Again, Harvey believes love keeps man from being a moderate person.¹⁹⁷ E. K. writes that love causes man to reject everything, " . . . even the selfe things which best before us lyked . . . will . . . seeme lothsome and breede us annoyaunce" (SC, p. 35) Harvey felt that love "interfered with the really important thing in life: the attainment of fame through public service."¹⁹⁸ Harvey was a practical man, and romantic love

¹⁹⁶McLane, op. cit., p. 255.

¹⁹⁷Ibid., p. 255.

¹⁹⁸Ibid., p. 255.

is neither practical nor logical. Therefore, it is easy to understand why he should reject such a concept. But perhaps, here, Spenser was having fun with Harvey. Indeed, in his argument to March, he suggests that

. . . . in the person of Thomalin is meant some secret freend, who scorned Love and his knights so long, till at length him selfe was entangled, and unawares wounded with the dart of some beautiful regard, which is Cupides arrowe." (SC, p. 29)

The dialogue is one of banter as Thomalin says,

Willye, I wene thou bee asott:
For lustie Love still sleepeth not,
But is abroad at his game.
(SC, 25-27)

Willye picks up the inference quickly and asks Thomalin:

How kenst thou, that he is awoke?
Or hast thy selfe his slomber broke?
Or made previe to the same?
(SC, 28-30)

Thomalin replies negatively, explaining, however, that he went hunting on a holiday and spied Cupid in the bushes, and, while he could not catch him, he hit Thomalin "running in the heele" (SC, 97) If E. K. is to be believed, "by wounding in the hele, is meant lustful love." (SC, p. 34)

Willye replies simply, "Thomalin, I pittie thy plight." (SC, 103) It is considered likely that Spenser and Harvey differed in their attitudes toward romantic love; nevertheless, the March eclogue appears a vehicle for the presentation of Harvey's views on romantic love.

The bantering tone and the discussion of romantic love in March serve as a good foil to the praise in honor of Queen

Elizabeth contained in April; the high is made higher by the lowness of the low. Harvey's influence, here, is in the portrayal of his personality in Hobbinol, and the appropriateness of his singing Colin's lay.

As the eclogue begins, Thenot asks Hobbinol why he is crying. For the very moderate Hobbinol to cry, something serious must be wrong, and it is. He cries "for the ladde, whome long I lovd so deare, / Now loves a lasse, that all his love doth scorne" (SC, 10-11) Because of this lost love, Hobbinol says,

Shepheards delights he dooth them all forswear,
Hys pleasaunt Pipe, whych made us meriment,
He wyfully hath broke, and doth forbear
His wonted songs, wherein he all outwent.
(SC, 13-16)

His friend, Colin, grieving for his love, has quit singing his songs. This fact brings Hobbinol great grief.

Thenot does not understand. Voicing one of Harvey's own philosophies, he asks "And hathe he skill to make so excellent, / Yet hath so little skill to bridle love?" (SC, 19-20) To Harvey, self discipline is an important maxim of life, and Thenot's question is well asked. Writing poetry requires great self-discipline: how can one be so disciplined in one area of his life and not the other?

Hobbinol does not actually answer Thenot's question, but, instead, establishes the fact that his friend is, indeed, the Colin Clout who loves Rosalind, the "Widdowes daughter of the glenne:" (SC, 26) Thenot, not overly impressed, asks

But if hys ditties bene so trimly dight,
 I pray thee Hobbinoll, recorde some one:
 The whiles our flockes doe graze about in sight,
 And we close shrowded in thys shade alone.
 (SC, 29-32)

Hobbinol, then, relates the poem written in honor of Queen Elizabeth, which is so lovely that Thenot, too, feels pittie for the poet who neglects his calling for unrequited love. Hobbinol, however, says that, as much as he regrets the loss of Colin's poetry, more than pity him, he holds him "for a greater fon, that loves the thing, he cannot purchase." (SC, 158-159) Through Hobbinol, Spenser states Harvey's theory that man should be practical and forget "the thing that cannot be realized."¹⁹⁹

Hobbinol's role in the April eclogue is truly that of friend. He loves his friend and despairs at seeing him waste his life. Another function of Hobbinol's role is to verbalize the judgment that Harvey would pass on such action. He loves his friend, recognizes the value of his poetry, but cannot condone such foolish action. Further, his grief subsides in favor of acceptance of his friend: what he cannot change, he will accept and continue to maintain his own temperance.

Another function of Hobbinol's role in the April eclogue is to present the eulogy of Queen Elizabeth. McLane suggests that Hobbinol is the ideal person to perform this deed, as "this would fit in best with Harvey's program of

¹⁹⁹Ibid., p. 255.

action: assiduously seeking the favor of those in power through adulatory verse--as he himself had done."²⁰⁰ McLane, as does this present writer, believes that Hobbinol also reflects Harvey in his final words to Thenot, basing this belief upon two aspects of Harvey's personality:

1. Harvey was a great condemner of both romantic and platonic love
2. Harvey was the supreme realist of his period²⁰¹

Thus, one sees March as an outlet for Harvey's views on romantic love and as a foil for April, a more "important" eclogue, which Harvey's influence saturates. He is present under the pseudonym of Hobbinol, his philosophies are voiced by both Thenot and Hobbinol, and Hobbinol enables Spenser gracefully to flatter the great in hopes of patronage.

In August, the last eclogue to be considered, the only apparent reference to Harvey may be that contained within the emblems, as explained by E. K., who interprets them to mean that "he, is happy . . . that can win the best, or moderate himself being best, and leave of with the best." (SC, p. 83) Here, again, is the maxim of moderation, already discussed in detail as pertaining to other eclogues.

In summary, one would have to conclude that The Shepherdes Calender is permeated with the influence of Harvey. Spenser has written his poem in English as advised by his

²⁰⁰Ibid., pp. 241-242.

²⁰¹Ibid., p. 242.

friend, and thereby brought glory to himself, to the English language, and to England. He has, indeed, followed the models of those who have gone before him, adding great innovative touches of his own. He has everywhere observed decorum of style and highness of theme.

In the Calender, Hobbinol and his philosophies are personally represented by Hobbinol, and his philosophies are voiced by other characters in addition. The great friendship of Harvey and Spenser is portrayed in that of Hobbinol and Colin; Harvey's role of friend, critic, and guide is portrayed in the relationship of Hobbinol and Colin. In Spenser's comments on poetry, Harvey's ideas echo throughout. Indeed, one might agree with Smith that The Shepheardes Calender is "an eternal monument to the friendship of Edmund Spenser for Gabriel Harvey, of Colin Clout for Hobbinol" ²⁰² Yet, one would also be inclined to add that this poem is a monument to the high regard which these two men placed on the art and destiny of poetry.

²⁰²Ibid., p. 235.

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