

Thomas Lodge

Edited by
Charles C. Whitney

Translations by Phillip John Usher,
Barnard College



The University Wits

Thomas Lodge

The University Wits
Series Editor: Robert A. Logan

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David Bevington

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Series Preface

In 1887, the literary historian and critic, George Saintsbury, coined the term “University Wits” to apply to six, university-trained Renaissance writers: John Lyly (1554–1606), Thomas Lodge (1558–1625), and George Peele (1558–1597), all graduates of Oxford, and Robert Greene (1560–1592), Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593), and Thomas Nashe (1567–1601), Cambridge graduates. Although Marlowe has acquired a reputation among scholars and critics as the most prominent of the group, this series seeks to give equal attention to all six writers, making clear how they were responsible for major improvements in the course of English drama and how their works provided Shakespeare with a context of theatrical possibilities that helped spur him to success. Although the details are sparse, there is clear evidence that these writers either knew or knew of one another, even if they never formally acknowledged themselves as a group of educated elite.

To be sure, there are similarities in the University Wits that have had a lasting impact – for example, their heightened awareness of style and form, a likely stimulus for Shakespeare’s imaginative handling of stylistics. Moreover, in writing plays, the Wits learned to abide by the established aesthetic requirements and commercial demands of popular theater even as they sought to make changes that would permanently affect both conditions.

The volume editors evince a healthy skepticism toward attempts to isolate these six figures from their early modern context, and yet, concomitantly, manifest a desire to draw most of them from the shadows where they have remained for far too long. Thus, the volumes attempt to illuminate the distinctive characteristics of each writer through selections of the most perceptive, wide-ranging scholarship and criticism written about them. The reprinted pieces in each volume are preceded by generous introductions that not only offer fresh perspectives on the biography and literary output of the writers but also give a sense of what has been achieved by scholars over time and, in some cases, what needs still to be done.

These six volumes raise questions that bring into focus with fresh insight both familiar and new issues. For example: What do we know of the friendships among the six members of the University Wits and of the influence their bonds with one another, as well as their writings, may have had on each other’s works? What impact did the University Wits have on the rapidly developing course of English drama? To what extent did the Wits’ need to earn a living, along with the evolving standards and pressures of commercialism, determine the content and style of their compositions? How aware were the Wits of their status as university graduates? What were the personal and professional ramifications of Greene and Nashe’s unabashed snobbishness; was it the result of their status as university graduates? Are we able to detect the specific consequences of the Wits’ education in the substance and manner of what they write? What might Shakespeare have found in the behavior and plays of the University Wits to influence the mix of commercialism and aesthetics in his dramas? Are we able to detect any influence from the Wits on Shakespeare’s poetry? What longstanding myths about the University Wits do these volumes denounce? What patterns do we see in the criticism and scholarship on the University Wits? This six-volume series will provide answers to these

questions and many others of interest to students, teachers, and scholars eager to contextualize the work of writers in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

A substantial portion of the leading scholarship on the University Wits has been published in scholarly journals and volumes of collected essays. The editors of the six volumes have winnowed these pieces, organizing them coherently into successive sections that, taken as a whole, present an up-to-date view of where the scholarship and criticism have brought us. Portions of book-length studies have sometimes been included. When it was impossible to include texts because of their length, editors have nevertheless directed readers to them, indicating what they are likely to find of value. In addition, the editors have provided their volumes with extensive bibliographies. Students, teachers, and scholars will find the series invaluable for both research and pedagogy. All the editors have carefully reviewed the expanse of articles and monographs written about their authors in order to make manifest the most advanced thinking about them and, thereby, to provide a resource of enduring value. Highly accessible and authoritative, these volumes represent the most important work done to date on the University Wits.

ROBERT A. LOGAN
Series Editor
University of Hartford, USA

Introduction

Life and Works

Thomas Lodge's long, eventful and well-documented life makes him one of the most knowable and individualized figures of his age, although estimates of his character have varied widely. But the remarkable diversity of his experiences and writings, his pointed commentaries on London life and his penchants for both trend-setting and trend-following have also marked him as uniquely representative of his age.

Lodge's father, Sir Thomas, was a merchant prince who scandalized London by going bankrupt the very year of his mayoralty, 1562, when young Thomas was four years old. Nevertheless, starting with childhood residence with the family of Henry Stanley, Earl of Derby, the younger Thomas got the education, the connections and the financial backing to advance his family's fortunes in trade or in law. But Lodge never finished his law degree, and instead joined the historical vanguard of struggling professional writers emerging at the time, eventually losing a sizeable but conditional inheritance from his mother. Without significant patronage, Lodge published prolifically in fiction, non-fiction, poetry and drama; pioneered in several genres to bridge elite humanist and popular cultures; developed Catholic sympathies while at Trinity College, Oxford or perhaps earlier (sympathies that influenced his writing); went on two hazardous sea voyages; and emulated his father only in his imprisonment for debt and his fondness for lawsuits. Then at the age of 38 the writer made an abrupt turn, renouncing fiction and poetry, embracing Catholicism, studying medicine in France and practising it abroad and as a recusant in London. He married, and translated works of medicine, religion, and moral philosophy. Lodge died in 1625, perhaps while ministering to the sick during the plague.

Lodge's first book (1579 or 1580) was the first English defence of poetry and drama, and responded to the attacks of Stephen Gosson. Denied a licence, it was printed without a title page and is now sometimes called *Honest Excuses*.¹ Its dedicatee Sir Philip Sidney soon followed with his famous defence, printed only posthumously. In 1584 Lodge published another pioneering work, *An Alarum against Usurers*, which gained some of its vitality of description from the debt-ridden author's own experience as an unthrifty young gentleman of limited means who may himself have been victimized by London con artists. A satirical poem entitled *Truths Complaint over England* was also included in this volume, along with Lodge's first romance, *The Delectable History of Forbonius and Prisceria*, an allegory that showed the author's admiration of Sidney's *Old Arcadia*, then in manuscript.

¹ The list of Lodge's publications here, including the spelling and punctuation of titles, comes from the bibliography in Cuvelier (1984, p. 525f). In subsequent references to these works, I generally use modernized spelling, except in the case of *Rosalynde*, where the original has usually, but not always remained, the standard.

From 1584 to 1596 Lodge's known literary output was impressive, the more so since he went on his two voyages during that period, the second an abortive circumnavigation of the globe that met catastrophe in South America. Like other professional writers of the time facing constraints of time or money and following humanist practices emphasizing imitation, he often borrowed others' work with scant acknowledgement. The modern notion of the author as autonomous source of meaning as well as copyright laws installing that notion had yet to be established. But Lodge could take things far even for his own time.

Within a few years after *An Alarum for Usurers* Lodge utilized Roman sources to produce the first commercial English classical history play, the Senecan *The Wounds of Civil War, lively set forth in the true Tragedies of Marius and Silla*, which was acted by the Admiral's Men in the 1580s and published in 1594. Lodge has been mentioned as a possible author or co-author of some 23 other plays, as diverse as *Mucedorus*, *King Leir*, and *Lochrine* (Cuvelier, 1984, p. 203). But it is only certain that he co-authored one other, the homiletic biblical play *A Looking Glasse for London and England*, with Robert Greene, possibly in the late 1580s for the Queen's Men or by early 1592 when the play was definitely performed by Lord Strange's Men at the Rose Theater. *A Looking Glasse* was published in 1594 and reprinted four times by 1617 – an indication of its popularity.

In 1589 Lodge published the first English epyllion or Ovidian erotic narrative poem, *Scillaes Metamorphosis, Enterlaced with the unfortunate love of Glaucus*, with miscellaneous poems appended. (Its second edition in 1610 was titled *A most pleasant Historie of Glaucus and Scilla*.) In the following year Lodge's masterpiece and one great commercial success, the pastoral romance *Rosalynde, or Euphues Golden Legacy Found After His Death in His Cell at Silexetra* (ten editions by 1642) appeared. In one of its dedications Lodge claims he wrote a draft of *Rosalynde* during a voyage, which may well have taken place as early as 1585 (Lodge, 1997, pp. 93, 229–30). *Rosalynde* transformed some version of the medieval Tale of Gamelyn, adding to its rival brothers an original plot centred on two enterprising young women on their own in a green world. Its style imitated and its plot picked up from the ending of the stylish *Euphues* (1578), the work of a fellow Oxford student, John Lyly. But Lodge's focus on successful courtship and marriage swerved far from *Euphues*. *Rosalynde* later became the source of William Shakespeare's *As You Like It*.

The pace accelerated. In 1591 came an early example of a historicized romance, one based on medieval legend, *The Famous, True, and Historical Life of Robert, Second Duke of Normandy, surnamed ... Robin the Devill*, as well as a dialogue denouncing religious persecution in England, *Catharos: Diogenes in his Singularitie ... his merrie baighting ... Christened by him A Nettle for Nice Noses*. In 1592 Lodge published an unswerving *Euphues* sequel, the romance *Euphues Shadow, the Battaile of the Senses*, with additional appended matter. In 1593 appeared three titles. The first was another historical romance, *The Life and Death of William Long Beard, the most famous and witty English Traitor, borne in the City of London, accompanied with manye other most pleasant and prettie histories*. The second was a collection of love poems participating in the current vogue and heavily dependent on Italian and French models, *Phillis: Honoured with Pastoral Sonnets, Elegies, and amorous delights, Whereunto is annexed, the tragicall complaynt of Elstred*. (That complaint was modelled on Samuel Daniel's recent *Complaint of Rosamond*.) The third was an anthology of poetry, *The Phoenix Nest*, for which the anonymous editor chose more of Lodge's poems than those of any other writer represented. In 1594 the two plays were published along with a lost work,

The Spider's Web. In 1595 Lodge published the first book in England that used the word 'satire' in the title and that translated and imitated Latin satirical poets: *A Fig for Momus: Containing Pleasant varietie, included in Satyres, Eclogues, and Epistles*, giving him a claim to be the first English satirist, preceding that of Joseph Hall by two years (Cuvelier, 1984, pp. 340–343; see also Whitworth, Chapter 3, this volume).

In 1596 Lodge made a break, abandoning the writing of original compositions and beginning a new life studying medicine in France and living more openly as a Catholic (Tenney, [1934]1969, pp. 147–54). This change has been interpreted in many ways, from impatience with poverty to the prodigal son's return. Lodge published four separate volumes that year. One was his last fiction, the unique tragic romance or anti-romance *A Margarite of America*. Another was *The Diuel Conjured*, which defended Catholic belief in non-demoniacal spirits. This was followed by an innovative social satire, *Wits Miserie, and the Worlds Madnesse: Discovering the Deuils Incarnat of this Age*, which developed Thomas Nashe's *Pierce Penniless* format of the Seven Deadly Sins and provided material for Ben Jonson's comedy plays. Biographer Edward Tenney called this work a 'literary paradox', a satire that 'smells of the tavern and the street as well as the lamp' ([1934]1969, p. 150). The last volume was a flaming expression of Catholic piety, its author identified only as T. L.: *Prosopopeia containing the Teares of the holy, blessed, and sanctified Marie, the Mother of God*. Yet even this publication, like all Lodge's others, bore a London imprint.

At least 14 of Lodge's lyrics were featured in the miscellany *Englands Helicon* (1600), a number equalled or exceeded only by Sidney and translations of Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana*. This was a tribute to Lodge's accomplishments in pastoral over the previous decade. But with only one other exception, Lodge's publications after 1596 consisted of translations in the diverse fields of history, medicine, philosophy and religion. (That exception was, from today's perspective, a quaint and occasionally horrifying collection of medical remedies for treatment of the poor, *The Poore Mans Talent* [1623]). Of course, the literary works were still being reissued – the retitled second edition of *Scillaes Metamorphosis* and further editions of *Rosalynde* and *A Looking Glasse for London and England*, for example.

The first translation, from Latin, was of a popular writer's conversion narrative, *The Flowers of Lodowicke of Granado*, in 1601. In 1602 came Lodge's huge translation of Flavius Josephus, from Latin and French, reprinted many times throughout the seventeenth century and titled *The Famous and Memorable Workes of Josephus, a Man of Much Honour and Learning Among the Jewes*. Lodge had been working on this during the 1590s. The following year came *A Treatise of the Plague*, which actually turned out to be basically a translation of a French treatise (Cuvelier, 1968). Lodge's greatest effort of translation was in philosophy, *The Workes both Morall and Natural of Lucius Annaeus Seneca* (1614) – 13 works (enlarged in 1620 to well over 900 pages). Several editions of all or parts of this rendering appeared throughout the nineteenth century. Another success was the translation of Simon Goulart's summary of Du Bartas's verse commentary on the biblical creation, *La Sepmaine*, which appeared in 1621 and had gone through three more editions by 1638: *A Learned Summary Upon the famous Poeme of William of Saluste, Lord Du Bartas. Wherein are discovered all the excellent secretts in Metaphysicall, Physicall, Morall, and Historicall knowledgeWherein nature is discovered, art disclosed, and history layd open*.

Several commendatory prefaces by Lodge were published in the works of others: Barnabe Riche, Robert Greene, Peter Bales and Elizabeth Clinton, Countess of Lincoln. Some letters,

as well as an epitaph on his mother, Lady Anne Lodge, are also extant. All in all, Lodge's is a remarkable, a singular record of Renaissance virtuosity, and herein can be found Charles Whitworth's excellent and much more detailed survey of the life and works.

Lodge's background and literary production led to his classification as a University Wit. He had a number of connections with others so grouped. For most of his career as a writer of romance, Lyly – his contemporary at Oxford along with George Peele – was his most important stylistic model. Fellow dramatist and romance writer Robert Greene collaborated with Lodge on *A Looking Glasse for London and England* and was both his friend and competitor in the writing of fiction. Greene may have touched up *Rosalynde* for the press. Lodge's *Wit's Misery* and other prose writings show the influence of Nashe, who was probably another acquaintance. Christopher Marlowe's play *Edward II* includes four lines borrowed from Lodge's *The Wounds of Civil War*², which apparently preceded Marlowe's Tamburlaine plays and, if so, supplied a public-theatre precedent for Marlowe's spectacle of kings drawing Tamburlaine's chariot (Whitworth, 1975). There are clear parallels in the language of repentance in Lodge's *A Looking Glasse for London* and Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*, with precedence uncertain. But, as suggested by Paradise ([1931]1970, p. 183), Lodge was the Wit who always signed himself as 'gentleman' and might have held himself at a bit of a distance from the others. In addition to Lodge's own plays, the dramatization of *Rosalynde* by Shakespeare provides a prominent example of the University Wits' contribution to enriching Renaissance drama by pitching humanist rhetorical and moral goals towards a relatively popular audience.

Of course, professional writers of the time were acutely aware of one another's work, whether or not they graduated from university. Henry Chettle and Lodge's friend Barnabe Riche faced the same struggle as the Wits did, living in the dawn of the professional writer without consistent support from patrons. And Lodge's schoolmate at the elite Merchant Taylor's School in London, Thomas Kyd, apparently did not graduate, but Kyd's hugely successful play *The Spanish Tragedy* also brought a learned, humanist and classical sensibility to the public theatre, just as the Wits did. Another former pupil at Merchant Taylor's, Edmund Spenser, influenced Lodge significantly. Lodge's comments suggest that he knew the poets Michael Drayton and the learned Samuel Daniel, whom he emulated. He must also have known popular players such as the dramatist Robert Wilson.³

Lodge Scholarship and this Collection

The history of scholarship on Thomas Lodge features three nodes or watersheds – short periods of time during which major contributions moved matters forward decisively. The first is defined by the 1883 publication of Edmund Gosse's edition of the complete works, including the editor's landmark, sympathetic 'Memoir of Thomas Lodge' (Lodge, 1963). Now outdated, this edition remains the only (near-)complete one. It also facilitated scholarly recognition of Lodge apart from his relation to Shakespeare and defended him against condemnations of his borrowings.

² 'Immortal powers ...', *Edward II* 5.3, *The Wounds of Civil War* 4.2.

³ For more on Lodge's fellows and his classification as a University Wit, see Paradise ([1931]1970, pp. 180–85); Cuvelier (1984, pp. 107–30) places the writer in his wider *milieu*.

The second watershed featured the appearance of four scholarly biographies in the space of five years, 1931–35. Was it the Depression that sparked interest in Lodge – scion of privilege cast adrift, debtor, struggling writer, adventurer, exile, self-made and remade man? Two of the studies were developed from dissertations and the other two were the works of well-established scholars (Paradise, [1931]1970; Sisson, Chapter 1, this volume; Walker, 1933/1934; Tenney, [1934]1969). In those years also appeared Douglas Bush's classic *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry* (1933), advancing most relevantly the understanding of the Ovidian tradition in relation to Lodge. Somewhat later, Bush's survey found a counterpart featuring even more influential remarks on Lodge in C.S. Lewis's Clark Lectures at Cambridge in 1944, later developed as *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (1954). Lodge's copious life records, as interpreted in his many biographies, have played a major role in studies of his works.

From the 1950s through to the mid-1970s a respectable, if modest, rill flowed, augmented by two more biographies (Ryan, 1958; Rae, 1967) and by Walter R. Davis's admirable 1969 study of Elizabethan fiction, *Idea and Act in Elizabethan Fiction*, discussed further below. But the 11 years from 1976 to the end of 1986 comprise a third watershed. Three influential works appeared that in different ways consolidated and redefined Lodge criticism (each excerpted in this volume). Ten years apart and engaging respectively with three and five of the Wits, along with Philip Sidney and others, Richard Helgerson's *The Elizabethan Prodigals* (1976) and Arthur Kinney's *Humanist Poetics* (1986) stand as complementary interpretations of Lodge and the others. Helgerson and Kinney probably remain the most referenced Lodge scholars today. In between them in 1984 appeared *Éliane Cuvelier's* massive Sorbonne dissertation, *Thomas Lodge: Témoin de son Temps (Witness of his Times)*, which today provides, and will provide well into the future, the one comprehensive review of both Lodge's life and the works. If there has ever been a true Lodge specialist since Gosse, it is Cuvelier. Her trove exceeds what is available for most other Elizabethan writers of Lodge's stature. It is accessible to those with modest French and, while indispensable, has sometimes been overlooked by Anglophone scholarship. The significance of this collection of selected scholarship is enhanced by first-rate, original translations from Cuvelier's work by Professor Phillip John Usher of Barnard College.

The pace of Lodge scholarship has increased somewhat since the mid-1980. The study of so-called prose romance and its cultural significance is now the most prominent area of investigation, represented in this volume by the work of Joan Pong Linton, Donald Beecher, Katharine Wilson, Steve Mentz and others. The glaring absence of a modern edition of Lodge's work has been partly supplied through Beecher's editions of *Rosalynde* and *A Margarite of America* for the Barnabe Riche Society (both excerpted).

Those editions supplement other important modern ones of the last 40 years or so: the two plays *The Wounds of Civil War* and *A Looking Glasse for London and England*, *Scillaes Metamorphosis*, the romance *The Life and Death of William Longbeard*, and some of the satirical poems. During this period, work on Lodge has naturally included a number of contemporary literary approaches – feminist, psychoanalytic, deconstructive, postcolonial, new historicist, cultural studies and queer theory; today, it also pursues topics and themes such as English Catholicism, Renaissance republicanism, gender studies and the history of reading, besides romance. All of these approaches and topics are referenced below and almost all are represented in the reprints.

The selection and organization of material for reproduction in this volume has been complicated by the prominence of scholarship that is devoted to multiple works of Lodge. That prominence is partly due to the strong role of biography in Lodge criticism: scholars often approach this multifarious body of work according to their vividly realized conceptions of the author's unifying character, interests and struggles. Such 'general characterizations', as I call them here, are naturally sometimes long, and they also make it a little more difficult to locate all the places in this book where a given work of Lodge is discussed. My introductions to each of the selected pieces will help, as will the catalogue of Lodge's work appended to this Introduction.

This collection does not cover works of textual scholarship. It sets a higher priority on original interpretation than on survey or background, although these categories are not always distinct. In a few cases, the potential to advance future study plays a role. Within those parameters, balancing the standard criteria for selection – excellence, influence and coverage – remains a matter of judgement. I have done my best, acutely aware that, on the one hand, my own prior involvement with Lodge scholarship has been limited and, on the other, that no one has ever preceded me in this task. And as far as coverage goes, there remain some noteworthy titles among Lodge's prolific output for which I have either not located suitable secondary material or failed to find the space.

Biography

Part I includes a selection from the liveliest of the 1930s biographies along with Cuvelier's brief 'Conclusion' to her *Thomas Lodge*. The contrast in assessments of Lodge could not be sharper. Also included is Whitworth's contemporary biographical essay that elegantly distills earlier and later findings. Biography has usually been central to the study of Lodge.

Chapter 1 comprises Charles J. Sisson's 'Thomas Lodge the Man', the conclusion to *Thomas Lodge and His Family*, an outsized essay published in *Thomas Lodge and Other Elizabethans*. Sisson's essay is a droll and richly imagined study based on research of law-court records. It appeared just a year after Sisson's worthy predecessor N. Burton Paradise's ground-breaking synoptic study of Lodge's life and works which, in some respects, remains the most useful reference source of them all. Paradise never assumes the worst of Lodge; Sisson offers a contrast in both style and assessment. Had he been young Thomas's wise uncle, we glean from 'Thomas Lodge the Man', Sisson might have steadied him enough for him to achieve worthy literary goals without facing penury. As it is, Sisson's research leads him to adopt a somewhat disapproving view that partly aligns him with Lodge's actual family – especially his caring mother of independent means – disappointed at Thomas's headstrong apostasy from the respectable and promising life they offered him. To give all that up to become a struggling scribbler? Unlike Lodge's actual relatives, though, Sisson is devoted to literature. He wishes to quell the idealization of Lodge perpetrated by Gosse. The selection here gives attention to Lodge's defence of literature (*Honest Excuses*), as well as to *An Alarum for Usurers* and *Rosalynde*. It offers Sisson's culminating, provocative judgement: Lodge was monstrously and often destructively wilful, but – like his overreaching father – a delicious example of the Elizabethan character.

A biography of Lodge takes up almost a third of Cuvelier's 574-page tome. The translated selection reproduced as Chapter 2, however, is the compelling general conclusion to the entire

book. Cuvelier's Lodge is an admirable, sometimes melancholy man of purpose and resolve guided by moral, political and religious convictions, overwhelmingly conservative ones. He is not really a prodigal. He is thoughtful and restrained, not wilful. Those characteristics and his need as a recusant author to remain circumspect were not ideal in the self-promoting world of the professional writer. Lodge patiently suffers exile with the calm courage of a Christian Stoic and displays nothing of Renaissance man's infinite ambition.

The final selection in Part I is Charles W. Whitworth's admired 1996 essay 'Thomas Lodge (1558–September 1625)', nimbly bringing to bear historical and literary contexts, Whitworth surveys the remarkable diversity of Lodge's long life and multifarious achievements, notes his many innovations, imitations and influences, and calls for a major scholarly reassessment, especially for a new edition of Lodge's work. It is unlikely that this particular essay's conciseness, erudition, balance, detail and insight will be superseded, and it comes with lists of not only Lodge's publications and papers, but also bibliographies and biographies.

General Characterizations of Lodge's Achievement

Part II offers excerpts from the three studies published from 1976 to 1986 that remain essential reference points for Lodge scholarship today. In different ways these studies all find Lodge's work important in that it engages with the fundamental social and intellectual uncertainties of the late sixteenth century, as consensus receded and the individual was both empowered and bereft.

Page-for-page, Richard Helgerson's chapter, 'Lodge' from *The Elizabethan Prodigals* (Chapter 4) is the strongest interpretive statement ever written on Lodge. It anticipates the new-historical emphasis on the shaping power of cultural context on authorial identity and purpose. Here, both Lodge's work and life emulate the ambivalent pattern of prodigality and repentance typical of his generation of writers – George Gascoigne, Lyly, Greene and Sidney – in their search for 'a reassembled self' (p. 55) after suffering the abuses of a moralistic, patriarchal society. To justify his rejection of his parents' aspirations for him, Lodge needed to write repentant, didactic fiction that warned against its own irrational seductions. Only *Rosalynde* succeeds in overcoming this obsessive pattern, by affirming both love and its irrationality. Like the other prodigals, the characters in Lodge's fiction with whom he identifies are the ones who repent, and his work follows an ambivalent pattern that ends in his own form of rebellious repentance, 'in Baroque Catholicism and particularly in the cult of the Virgin' (p. 55). Helgerson considers at least a dozen of Lodge's works to develop his argument.

The other two selections in Part II, those of Éliane Cuvelier (Chapter 5) and Arthur Kinney (Chapter 6), do posit an effective authorial intention and focus on its pursuit of valid moral, intellectual and religious goals. Both make large, though contrasting, claims about the high-minded commitments Lodge generally pursued through his writings. Since the 1930s no scholars have immersed themselves in Lodge's world as deeply as these two scholars have.

Cuvelier's 1984 volume has two parts, a biography and an exploration of Lodge the writer as he registers Renaissance thought and literary culture, on the one hand, and as he represents and critiques his society, on the other. Cuvelier refreshingly moves beyond the disciplinary limits of literary and rhetorical criticism within which Lodge's work had often been immured. Even more than Kinney, she insists on taking Lodge seriously as a thinker and social critic, and discovers new significance in his engaged works on social and political abuses – works

that have been neglected or disparaged like *Truths Complaint over England* and *Catharos*. Reprinted here is a translation of her chapter ‘Les Maux Sociaux’ (‘The Discontent of Elizabethan Society’) which surveys Lodge’s social critique, primarily as it appears in his satirical, philosophical and topical works (*An Alarum for Usurers*, *Truths Complaint*, *A Fig for Momus*, *Catharos*), but also in romances like *Rosalynde* and *The Life and Death of William Longbeard*, as well as in his co-authored play *A Looking Glasse for London and England* and elsewhere. Cuvelier emphasizes the restrained outrage of Lodge’s fundamentally moral orientation towards the world and his consistent social conservatism, while bringing to bear a rich context of historical background and other contemporary critiques of social ills. In *Rosalynde* family and nobility have degenerated, and the hospitable forest setting affirms not just the conventions of pastoral romance but true virtue. *An Alarum for Usurers*⁴ and *Wits Miserie* go furthest in applying traditional values effectively and colourfully to specific abuses in contemporary society, especially to the usury that victimized Lodge himself. Cuvelier shows that Lodge’s exposés of widespread, legally sanctioned financial abuses emerge from a traditional Catholic perspective rather than from more moderate Calvinistic views. From the mid-1580s Lodge consistently affirmed that the brutality and selfishness of new-fangled trends were destroying a mostly favourable traditional system based on mutual obligation and religious faith.

At 64 pages, Arthur Kinney’s broad and fine-grained survey, ‘*O vita! misero longa, foelici brevi: Thomas Lodge’s Search for Felicity*’, from his scholarly classic *Humanist Poetics*, is by far the longest selection in the volume. Kinney emphasizes Lodge’s romance fiction but considers the entire *oeuvre* as a humanist project related to the aspirations of Cicero, Tacitus, Plutarch, and others, including the Seneca that Lodge translated late in life. Kinney’s book includes Lodge in a century-long survey of humanist fiction writers beginning with Erasmus. His story starts from faith in the power of rhetoric and fiction to spur moral improvement and human perfection. His commentaries often reveal the enriching allusive possibilities that authors presented to humanist-trained readers. But by the time of Nashe and Lodge, doubt about eloquence, along with the search for Christian faith comes to the fore, altering the nature and means of the goal of true ‘felicity’ featured in Lodge’s long-time motto quoted in Kinney’s chapter title.

Kinney’s chapter on Lodge traces part of the devolution of humanist poetics towards the end of the sixteenth century, when the extraordinary relationship between author and reader based on shared understanding of classical texts ceased to function securely. In Lodge’s earlier writings this poetics is stronger, and it allows us to appreciate the humanist exempla in Lodge’s bloody play on rulers’ cruelty, *The Wounds of Civil War*, and to understand the didactic romance *Forbonius and Prisceria* as a ‘union of forensic humanist rhetoric with the power of faith and love’ (p. 91). Lodge’s consistent humanist programme is also visible in poetry such as the Ovidian *Scillaes Metamorphosis* and Horatian *A Fig for Momus*. And whereas Helgerson admires *Rosalynde* for undoing the burden of humanist expectations (p. 44), Kinney celebrates the romance as a triumph of the humanist ‘poetics of felicity as virtue in action’ (p. 136). It puts the basic ideas of Lodge’s early defence of poetry and plays into practice and reveals the title character as ‘an agent of grace’ (p. 102) aligning ‘humanist fiction

⁴ On *An Alarum for Usurers* as an early representation of London life, see Manley (1995, pp. 315–20).

with scriptural text' (p. 101). Later, Lodge struggles to define the value and significance of his own fictional works. Their Christian element deepens (as in the 'Augustinian poetics' of *Euphues Shadow* (p. 135)) until Lodge becomes disillusioned after *A Margarite of America*, his grim 'fiction on fallen man' (p. 136).

But Kinney demonstrates Lodge's unmatched energy and resourcefulness in pursuing humanist poetics as well as in continuing to search for non-fictional ways to combine classical and Christian traditions, as demonstrated in his translations of Josephus and Seneca. In the former Lodge found historical and sacred, rather than fictional and secular, 'models for humanist imitatio' (p. 138); the latter offered him, as it did many other humanists, pagan exempla with profound Christian applications. Kinney's historical sweep and learned, imaginative readings offer scholarship of exemplary quality and a Lodge of considerable stature and resonance. The great majority of Lodge's works are addressed here.

There has been little critical mention of Lodge's editions of Josephus and Seneca beyond Cuvelier's and Kinney's. Two recent essays on the Josephus edition that are not reprinted here deserve note. Erin Kelly's 'Jewish History, Catholic Argument: Thomas Lodge's *Workes of Josephus* as a Catholic Text' (2003) shows how Lodge, like other translators of the time, could flout censorship by including tendentious marginal comments and extraneous texts. For instance, Lodge parallels the sufferings of the Maccabees and of English Catholics. Lodge's *Josephus* was the source of Elizabeth Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam*. In keeping with Kinney's humanist emphasis, in 'Elizabeth Cary's Historical Conscience: *The Tragedy of Mariam* and Thomas Lodge's *Josephus*' (2007), Alison Shell argues that Lodge's introductory remarks on the benefits of reading history parallel both Cary's reading strategies and the kind of impact she aimed for in her historical drama. Knud Sorensen's book, finally, compares Arthur Golding's earlier translation of Seneca's *De Beneficiis* with Lodge's to understand how Latinisms gained ground in English during the intervening years (Sorensen, 1960).

Romance

Part III, the largest group of essays in the book, deals with romance which, in Lodge's case, is synonymous with fiction. Lodge wrote six romances: *Forbonius and Prisceria*; *Rosalynde*; *Robert, Second Duke of Normandy, surnamed ... Robin the Devil*; *Euphues His Shadow*; *The Life and Death of William Longbeard*; and *A Margarite of America*.

General Characterizations

The first subsection of Part III offers a classic and a contemporary statement, both from books on Elizabethan fiction.

Walter R. Davis's *Idea and Act in Elizabethan Fiction* (1969) is a pioneering and still-useful source.⁵ It seconds Northrop Frye's emphasis on genre and a self-contained literary system. Yet Davis's findings often parallel and complement more historical work. One of the chapters from this book, 'Pastoral Romance: Sidney and Lodge', approaches that genre as the creation of an ideal world of wonder located within a larger quotidian one. That world employs the artificiality and disguise of pastoral as the means to insight, authenticity

⁵ Full citations of Davis's sources can be found in the Additional Bibliography.

and ethical clarification. The excerpt from this chapter reprinted here (as part of Chapter 7) applies this approach to Lodge's pastoral romances, *Forbonius and Prisceria*, *Euphues Shadow* and especially *Rosalynde*. It shows how characters develop and ideals are clarified in auspicious settings like the forest of Arden through disguises and play-acting. A second selection from Davis's book reprinted here (Chapter 7) comes from another chapter, 'Nashe and the Elizabethan Realists' and offers a perspective on Lodge's subsequent questioning of the value of romance's figurations. It briefly considers his later, quasi-historical romances based on medieval legends, *Robert, Second Duke of Normandy, surnamed ... Robin the Devil* and *William Longbeard*. The factualistic nuances link Lodge's romances to the history of the novel, but there has been a loss. The later works now offer a negative evaluation of motifs of disguise and play. Such motifs are now morally adverse, no longer enabling moral discovery and self-realization.

Thirty-seven years later, in a changed scholarly world, Katharine Wilson's *Fictions of Authorship in Late Elizabethan Narratives: Euphues in Arcadia* (2006) brings to bear new-historical studies of authorship and publication concerning the uncertain and rapidly changing environment in which Lodge and other romance writers worked. Wilson could be said to de-idealize or materialize Davis's generic perspective radically: here, romance has become a commercial product highly sensitive to changing fashions, produced for a wide spectrum of readers. At the same time, the romance commodity problematically claims respectability by advertising aristocratic sensibilities and moral uplift. Wilson de-idealizes Helgerson's prodigal as well, pointing out that this figure can also serve as a shrewd authorial pose, part of 'continuous career development' (2006, p. 13).

For Wilson that problematic status of Elizabethan fiction leads to its ironic self-reflection, and to characters who, as surrogates for authors and readers, figuratively explore the problematics of commercial publication. It also complements a general intertextuality that echoes and recombines elements among romances. Wilson's method of analysis seems to model acts of reading performed by a savvy and voracious Elizabethan consumer of fiction. This way of reading encompasses the work's intertextual entanglements with sources and analogues. It is the more free-ranging, narratorial cousin to the allusive and intellectual humanist poetics that Kinney explores and practises: both involve the creative discovery of 'provocative connections' (Wilson, 2006, p. 146) that complicate and deepen the experience of reading. But as far as Lodge goes, it was Donald Beecher who supplied the relevant theoretical statement on reading Elizabethan romance; Beecher (1998) also anticipated some of Wilson's particular insights about *A Margarite*.

Wilson's chapter on those romances, 'From Arden to America: Lodge's Tragedies of Infatuation' (Chapter 8) offers such readings of all six, beginning with a brief introduction that positions Lodge among Sidney, Greene and Spenser. There it is noted that 'the active loving woman is at the heart of Lodge's works' (p. 177) – meaning presumably at least *Prisceria*, *Scilla*, *Alinda*, *Phoebe*, *Rosalynde* and *Margarite*, the last two being among Lodge's problematic author-figures as well. Wilson provides a fresh understanding of *Forbonius and Prisceria's* relation to the *Old Arcadia*. Tragedy is an important reference point for all the romances after *Rosalynde*, and even its desiring women find love painful (the discussion of *Rosalynde* is particularly good). Whereas some readers have found fault with the uncertain presentation of the title character in Lodge's medieval historical romance, *The Life and Death of William Longbeard* ('tragic hero, prodigal poet, incarnate devil or Robin Hood'? (p. 194)),

Wilson seems to appreciate Lodge's ability to trigger a range of possibilities. But *A Margarite of America* is the most allusive: like a rare wine showing nature's profuse flavours, it evokes some 15 separate intertexts, from the *Aeneid* to *Lochrine*. The most complex relationship concerns *The Faerie Queene*, especially the relation of Una and Margarite, as if the former had remained faithful to the Redcross who is actually Archimago. Wilson demonstrates Lodge's importance in the contemporary revival of romance studies.

Rosalynde and its Intertexts

Rosalynde is Lodge's most admired composition and has already received a good deal of attention in the essays by Helgerson, Kinney, Davis and Wilson here. In this subsection, one essay concerns the work's relation to Lyly's *Euphues* and to Greene's *Pandosto*, and three to its relation to Shakespeare's *As You Like It*.

It was between *Forbonius and Prisceria* and *Rosalynde* that Lodge embraced the elaborate, mock-homely parallelisms of Lyly's *Euphues*, an emulation that persisted to some degree in all his later fictions. In 'Lyly's Golden Legacy: *Rosalynde* and *Pandosto*' (Chapter 8), Nancy R. Lindheim compares the way in which Lodge loosened and reworked this style in *Rosalynde* with Greene's stylistic imitation in his romance *Pandosto*. She performs what could be called a deconstruction of *Rosalynde* by explaining how the wry world-view implied by Euphuism does not fit the terms of Lodge's pastoral romance: the Petrarchan inevitability of frustration does not fit the romance's happy weddings and reconciliations. (Such mismatches would matter less to free-wheeling intertextualism.) Lodge's compromise defines his distinctive character, but it remains imperfect. Unlike Davis's and Kinney's perceptions of harmony in this romance, for Lindheim the contradiction remains. And it finds a parallel in a basic disjunction other critics have noted between the patriarch Sir John's cautions to his sons (for example, to shun love) and the idealized and pro-feminine world of Arden (see Pierce, 1971; Larson, 1977).

When it comes to Shakespearean sources, there are none more crucial than *Rosalynde* to *As You Like It*. This relationship was the original issue in Lodge scholarship, well established by 1871 when Shakespearean Nikolaus Delius's 'Lodge's *Rosalynde* und Shakespeare's *As You Like It*' appeared. The romance's three plots remain substantially intact in the play. The buoyant pastoral *locus amoenus* and its main attractions, the cross-dressed-pretend-yet-real wooing and the mock-wedding, remain central in the play, which does not affirm, but rather reaffirms, that disguise and performance can lead paradoxically to insight and fulfilment. Many of Shakespeare's significant additions and changes also derive from hints appearing in *Rosalynde* (Smith, 1972, p. 75), including, it seems, even Rosalind's delightful critique of male ardour and, arguably, the themes of sexual ambiguity and same-sex attraction.⁶

In a resource volume on Lodge, however, one is happy to overlook the majority of scholarship on this relationship because it has been written by Shakespeareans and others who tend less to serve the understanding of *Rosalynde* and more to serve the romance up as an

⁶ *Rosalynde*'s riposte to Rosader supplies a hint for Rosalind's critique of Orlando's amatory poetic flights: 'Daphne, that bonny wench, was not turned into a bay tree as the poets feign, but for her chastity her fame was immortal, resembling the laurel that is ever green', quoted in Smith, (1972, p. 79). See also Paran (1981, pp. 91–97).

appetizer. Donald Beecher finds that the great bulk comprises ‘studies of Shakespeare’s craft in handling his source’, may include ‘serious misjudgments’ about that source, and that even the best contributions may contain ‘unhappy comparisons’ that privilege the Bard (Beecher, 1963, pp. 11, 15).

Charles Whitworth’s ‘Wooing and Winning in Arden: *Rosalynde* and *As You Like It*’, *Études Anglaises* (Chapter 10) pushes the reset button. Whitworth admires both works and illuminates them through meticulous comparison. He emphasizes the differences stemming from the adaptation of a fiction to the stage and puts some of Shakespeare’s changes in the context of his other comic plots. He gives more attention to the contrasts in the two main love stories than to Shakespeare’s additional characters and ‘incidental satire’ (p. 234). The dramatist’s expansion of Rosalind’s role comes partly at the expense of the fiction writer’s Alinda, whose counterpart Celia is cramped, scant of lines and difficult to perform. Shakespeare’s Rosalind’s comparative predominance over her lover is secured by the play’s expansion of the original’s Ganymede disguise scenes. And the play’s switch to informal prose in those scenes enables more flexibility in developing wit and mood.

The overall purpose of Clare R. Kinney’s virtuoso ‘Feigning Female Fainting: Spenser, Lodge, Shakespeare, and Rosalind’ (Chapter 11) is to consider the development of ‘Rosalind the artist’ (p. 238) as a question of successive embellishments by writers who build on one another. The inquiry ranges beyond questions of source and influence: ‘the intertextual transformations [among the three writers] ... make Rosalind-the-lyric-object increasingly reimaginable as a reader, a critic, and finally a maker’ (p. 237). Rosalind is a composite traversing different works; Shakespeare’s happens to be the last.⁷ Lodge, for instance, endows Spenser’s silent Rosalind from *The Shepheardes Calender* with the poetry of a desiring lyric voice in dialogue, thereby launching ‘the brave new world of heterosexual pastoral intercourse’ (p. 238), a lyric breakthrough from which Shakespeare actually retreats, although his Rosalind, of course, develops the intercourse through prose. However, a fundamental and the culminating scholarly issue of the essay, ‘the possibility of female agency’ (p. 261) is addressed as a scholarly debate only in relation to Shakespeare.

I offer here a brief digression, since subsequent to Clare Kinney’s essay, the under-examined topic of *Rosalynde*’s representation of female agency has been furthered by Catherine R. Eskin (2001) and others. Alinda is Eskin’s focus, the only female in story or play who wields authority without cross-dressing. She deploys traditionally masculine, judicial rhetoric capably (if unsuccessfully) before her father, and in Arden gains authority, builds community, organizes the mock-wedding and woos with effective subtlety.⁸

Finally, Steve Mentz, in ‘“A Note beyond Your Reach”: Prose Romance’s Rivalry with Elizabethan Drama’ returns us to the current romance initiative, which is militant about Bard-privileging.⁹ He approaches *Rosalynde* and *As You Like It* as part of a larger rivalry. Although writing for the popular Elizabethan press was hardly ennobling, it was more respectable than

⁷ For a psychologist’s Lacanian gleanings from a composite Lodge–Shakespeare ‘Rosalynde’ see Sharon-Zisser (2004, pp. 210–29).

⁸ Katharine Wilson’s discussion also concerns this issue indirectly; see also Hackett (2000) and Beecher (1962, pp. 32–43).

⁹ Mentz’s editors Lamb and Wayne observe, ‘scholars now question why texts known primarily as sources for canonical works should be consigned to such a subordinate status’ rather than considered along with them as subjects of an expanded field of romance studies (Lamb and Wayne, 2008, p. 1).

writing for the stage. Lodge, Greene and Nashe therefore present themselves as ‘university humanists who preferred elite to popular venues’ (p. 264) and present their work as an alternative to the stage. *As You Like It* cheerfully takes up the challenge and cleverly sends up prose fiction, perhaps even by parodying Lodge himself through the figure of Jacques. Mentz – at last – asks what Shakespeare’s dramatization tells us about *Rosalynde*. He focuses on elements in the romance that Shakespeare did *not* utilize, such as Sir John’s advice to his sons and aspects of the servant Adam and initially evil brother Saladyne. Together, these elements ‘present a microcosm of prose fiction’s cultural project in late Elizabethan England’ (p. 265).

Robin the Devil and Shakespeare’s King Lear

There are noteworthy discussions of all Lodge’s romances,¹⁰ but, besides *Rosalynde* and *A Margarite of America*, *The Life of Robert, Second Duke of Normandy, surnamed Robin the Devil* has attracted the most attention. Assessments range wildly. To Christopher Ricks on his breakneck tour of Renaissance English literature, this pseudo-history is one of the many annoying potholes:

... the Euphuistic orations stand around the blood and miracle of the legend with a strange composure which is almost interesting.

Robert starts well by biting off his nurse’s nipples, and, grown to manhood, has a Mother Superior parade her younger nuns naked, selects and rapes the most beautiful one and rounds off the evening by amputating her breasts. Spectacularly converted, he vows to eat only food fed to dogs, and so takes up residence with one of the Emperor’s pet greyhounds. (Ricks, 1970, p. 357)

Yet John L. Selzer (1984) makes the case that Lodge’s medieval legend orchestrates a complex set of themes and subjects with admirable coherence. For Claudette Pollack (1976), the tale – though justly maligned – is redeemed when seen as an experiment in joining romance and history, prefiguring the novel. Brenda Cantar’s ‘Monstrous Conceptions in Lodge’s Robin the Devil’ (1997) provocatively combines psychoanalysis with both feminism and new historicism, showing, for instance, the relevance of the early modern tendency to blame mothers’ sinful thoughts for ‘monstrous’ births like that of Editha’s son, Robin.

The reprinted selection here, however, is Donna Hamilton’s ‘Some Romance Sources for *King Lear*: Robert of Sicily and Robert the Devil’ (Chapter 13). Hamilton points out that the play follows the romance’s handling of the Proud King Abasement theme, and the romance also provides apt materials for aspects in the play of otherwise unknown origin. She concludes that all the many parallels suggest a need to reconsider the importance of the play’s romance contexts. R.A. Foakes’s Arden edition of *King Lear* (Shakespeare, 2001, p. 109) is one that acknowledges the importance of Hamilton’s observations.

¹⁰ Following are examples for each of the other three. Hornát (1964) traces the original source for Lodge’s story of Valasca in *The Life of William Longbeard* to Bohemian mythology. He conveys a fine sense of the irony involved in Lodge’s use of one of Western Europe’s standard romance settings (Bohemia) to add an element of historical factuality to his fiction. Beaty (1968) offers stylistic analyses of parallel passages. Schleiner (1989) puts *Euphues His Shadowe* in the courtly, masculinist genre of misguided love and male bonding, and *Rosalynde* in a more female-centred one.

A Margarite of America

The first piece on this marvellous and grim tale is Joan Pong Linton's 'Sea-Knights and Royal Virgins: American Gold and its Discontents in Lodge's *A Margarite of America* (1596)' from her book *The Romance of the New World: Gender and the Formations of English Colonialism* (1998). Linton's feminist and new-historicist chapter seconds Josephine A. Roberts (1980) in associating the setting of *A Margarite* with the New World, arguing that Lodge composed the fiction in reaction to his adverse experiences in South America on an aborted expedition of circumnavigation and plunder and that the story's partial setting in 'Cusco' refers to a New World location. Linton develops the political implication that the romance comprises a warning against the imminent dangers of England pursuing a Spanish-style project of New World colonization. In that respect, the irony she finds in the parallel between the title character and Spenser's Una is more pointed than Katharine Wilson's. *A Margarite's* dystopian world, in which love and community are destroyed by the perverse will of an evil man and the vulnerability of society to him, subverts the aura of romance, wonder and divine destiny on which accounts of America and colonization relied.

The two opening sections from Beecher's Introduction to *A Margarite of America*, 'Horror Fiction for the 1590s' and 'Romance and Revenge Tragedy' comprise the second selection on Lodge's final romance (Chapter 15).¹¹ Beecher's introductions to editions of Lodge's two major romances (that to *Rosalynde* is excerpted as Chapter 16) provide solid bases for future work. In Chapter 15 Beecher describes *A Margarite* as 'a romance-turned-revenge-tragedy' (p. 333) and considers how it responds to 'the Elizabethan aesthetic' (p. 336). The romance addresses both fascination with and political anxieties about the profligate behaviour of powerful nobility also addressed by chronicles and history plays. In addition, as fiction writers had done for some time, it also adapts many aspects of Senecan revenge tragedy, such as atrocity and the vengeance that destroys the innocent with the guilty. The question is whether the plot's horrors would excite readers to despair or whether they would grasp hope through the redemptive, though deluded, figure of Margarite. This was the choice Lodge set. Along the way Beecher includes critical engagements with several scholars, taking issue with Linton's reading. Other sections of his introduction not reprinted here discuss *A Margarite's* place-names in the context of romance tradition, the game of love questions, the (ir)relevance of the work's many insets of lyric poetry, and style.

Poetry

Lodge experimented with, and mixed, a wide range of poetic genres and modes. His earlier satirical poems – *Truths Complaint Over England* and, with its punning title, the dramatic monologue 'The Discontented Satyre', in which a discontented satyr praises the spirit of discontent – appeared among those miscellaneous supplements he habitually added to his books. But in *A Fig for Momus* (1595) imitations of Roman satire suited to the English scene take centre stage. Satire remains an important element in Lodge's narrative and didactic *The tragicall complaynt of Elstred*, as well as in his pioneering epyllion, *Scillaes Metamorphosis*. His *Phyllis* is a Petrarchan, pastoral and elegiac collection. Many lyric poems are embedded

¹¹ Full citations of Beecher's sources can be found in the Additional Bibliography.

in the romances and anthologized in Elizabethan verse miscellanies; contemporaries set many of these lyrics to music. Part III consists of just two subsections, the lyrics (in the sense just delimited), and *Scillaes Metamorphosis* (that is, *Glaucus and Scilla*). Although Lodge the poet has been widely admired, his epyllion has received far more substantial scholarly attention than any other poem, only partly because it was emulated by Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* and Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*. Cuvelier's slim chapter on the range of Lodge's poetry includes an explication of Rosalynde's lyric 'Love in my bosom like a Bee' (Cuvelier, 1984, pp. 322–24; see also Dorangeon, 1974). R.W. Maslen's essay in this volume (Chapter 19) links *Glaucus and Scilla* to several other of Lodge's works, including *Truths Complaint*.

For a general characterization of Lodge's poetry, C.S. Lewis's brief remarks are matchless and have long been the most influential. They would be included here except that they consist of passages scattered in Lewis's broad and widely available survey of sixteenth-century English literature, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (1954). In the chapter 'Verse in the "Golden" Period', Lewis discusses *Scillaes Metamorphosis*, the lyrics and *Phyllis*, dismissing several of Lodge's other poems (elsewhere in the volume he discusses *A Fig for Momus*, pointing out how its tone and its even meter prefigure eighteenth-century closed-couplet satire). Lewis's well-known characterization of Elizabethan 'golden verse' may help explain why there has been little study of the lyrics: Lewis drops into a bit of the perverse tone of Oscar Wilde's *The Critic as Artist*, but in the opposite sense, when he declares that the 'golden' verse that Lodge writes cannot be much enhanced by commentary. It is pure, amorous, anonymous, male feeling shaped by art and lightly touched by intellect. Lewis also takes up an issue often broached in relation to Lodge's poetry: the heavy, unacknowledged borrowing that scandalized some Victorian and later readers. His conclusion is Wildean: Lodge's is 'an offence, if at all, against morality, not against art' (1954, pp. 494).

Lyrics

Tracking down the sources of Lodge's lyrics was an important focus of Lodge scholarship up to the 1930s. But most of those who contributed, such as Alice Walker, would probably have agreed with Lewis, mingling delight and suspicion in their investigations. One of Walker's studies, 'Italian Sources for Lyrics of Thomas Lodge' (1927)¹² (not reprinted here), identifies models for lyrics in *A Margarite*, *Phyllis*, *William Longbeard* and Lodge's composition 'If so those flames I vent whenas I sigh', which was collected in *The Phoenix Nest* and which Walker calls 'the first regular sestina in English' (1927, p. 79).

But source hunting, however appreciative, is not the same as commentary or interpretation. Lodge's golden lyrics have been understudied in that sense, although they have not gone unadmired,¹³ as Donald Beecher points out in his 'Poetic Interludes' (Chapter 16).¹⁴ This excerpt contributes to critical interpretation and appreciation of the poetry, focusing on the scores of lyric interludes inserted in Lodge's romances, which add powerful dimensions of subjective feeling, character development and theme. The practice of this basically pastoral

¹² See also Prescott (1978).

¹³ Paradise had little to say about them, but judged them to be Lodge's greatest achievement. See John J. McAleer's catalogue of praisers, 'Thomas Lodge's Verse Interludes' (1962); and Garke (1972).

¹⁴ Full citations of Beecher's sources can be found in the Additional Bibliography.

‘prosimetric style’ (p. 355), derived from ancient Greek eclogues, was developed in Italian fiction and drama and adopted in English fiction from Gascoigne’s *Adventures of Master F.J.* (1573) onwards. It is related to opera. Lodge was at the centre of the wave of interest in pastoral in the last two decades of the century. In his romances he revelled in a tremendous variety of forms and metrical patterns, and Beecher uses *Rosalynde* to illustrate this. The 21 poems there display 18 different metrical patterns and suggest the Petrarchan lament, ‘eclogue, blazon, palinode ... complaint ... sonnet, canzone, echo ... folk refrain songs’ (p. 360), villanelle, ottava rima and various idiosyncratic types and measures. Beyond its functions in the romance, such a verse anthology also stands on its own, separate from the fictional world. And in some of Lodge’s other romances, the lyrics are only loosely anchored to the task of serving the narrative, inviting the reader to appreciate them also for themselves, including through recitation and possibly actual musical performance. On the subject of Lodge’s immoderate borrowings, Beecher points out that Renaissance readers (like scholars) enjoyed spotting sources and seeing how they had been emulated.

Studies of Lodge’s romances today might benefit from more attention to the lyric register. The common designation ‘*prose* romance’ can involve erasure as well as shorthand. And before moving on, it is worth noting Elizabeth W. Pomeroy’s (1973) comments on Lodge’s verses in *The Phoenix Nest*, a miscellany that probably registered the taste of University Wits of its own time – that is, some 14 years after Lodge left Oxford. Lodge is the collection’s most well-represented author. Its first half consists of old-fashioned elegiac poems, many about Sidney. Lodge is featured in the up-to-date second part, where Pomeroy notes his use of setting as metaphor, his variety of verse forms, and his song-like effects.

Scyllaes Metamorphoses or Glaucus and Scilla

The essays on the epyllion, reprinted in this subsection, contrast sharply in both approach and interpretation. The first by William Keach, ‘*Glaucus and Scilla*’, offers sensitivity to poetic form, context and tone. In this essay Keach emphasizes the precedents this poem set for later writers of epyllia, including Shakespeare in *Venus and Adonis*, besides its sixain verse form. These include a good deal of irony and humour, a ‘self-conscious playfulness’ (p. 374) and sense of ‘the tragic self-frustration of love’ (p. 379). Further, Keach decisively separates narrator from author, arguing that the poem satirizes poetic love conventions and attitudes through its presentation of an obtuse and pretentious narrator and its way of addressing the narrator’s Inns of Court cohort (see also Hulse, 1981).

Jim Ellis’s ‘Imagining Heterosexuality in the Epyllia’ (Chapter 18) offers a distinctive application of queer theory. Ellis argues that Lodge’s epyllion is a representative example of this subgenre’s special historical role in the installation of heterosexuality in early modern culture. He applies Judith Butler’s and Monique Wittig’s arguments that heterosexuality fundamentally concerns relations among men. Hence Lodge, in his epistle emphasizes his relationship with the predominant masculine aspect of his audience, the Inns cohorts. His poem posits an autonomous heterosexual subject eventually able to resist his own destructive passion and Scilla’s blandishments, mastering desire through the ironic distancing of Ovidian rhetoric. It seems that Lodge’s poetry is only sometimes golden-plated. It can do some heavy ideological lifting.

That surmise is a given in R.W. Maslen's 'Lodge's *Glaucus and Scilla* and the Conditions of Catholic Authorship in Elizabethan England' (Chapter 19), although Maslen's Lodge probably has more awareness of his work's implications than Ellis's. For Maslen, Lodge's erotic poem is not hegemonic but rather oppositional, in that it addresses the estrangement of Elizabethan authors under conditions of censorship.¹⁵ Lodge's Catholicism and the censorship of his first publication, a defence of poetry and drama, added impetus and a personal dimension to his representation of the alienated author in the image of Scilla, cruelly transformed by capricious divinities who themselves figure arbitrary political power. The poet's celebrated rendering of Scilla's torment and mute suffering indicates that he identifies with her much more than he does with Glaucus. The representation of conditions of authorship also exemplifies the freer Elizabethan practice of allegory that Lodge furthered in this poem, as Ovid's mythological narratives supply material for new myth-making and new ways of generating figurative meaning. Lodge's signal development of the satirical possibilities of allegory in *Glaucus and Scilla* puts into practice his view of poetry's function as developed in his early defence (which is a secondary focus of Maslen's essay) and as already exemplified in *An Alarum for Usurers*. The tyrannical despot is a central figure in Lodge's romances and plays, as well as in *Truths Complaint* and *The Complaint of Elstred*, and focuses these works' satirical implications. Although he ignores Cuvelier's work on Lodge's Catholicism, Maslen makes a compelling argument for the importance of that faith commitment and of a satirical *Glaucus and Scilla* (along with the early defence) as keys to Lodge's entire *oeuvre*.

Drama¹⁶

The Wounds of Civil War

Lodge's only known single-authored play, the early blank-verse effort *The Wounds of Civil War*, dates from the mid-to-late 1580s and concerns the conflict between Marius and Silla that punctuated the end of the Roman Republic and helped lead to the Empire. The two essays reprinted here on this play both emphasize Lodge's initiative in offering audiences classical exempla for application to contemporary political issues. Both focus on a single such issue, the relative value of republican and monarchical forms of government, and both argue that the play takes sides on this issue. But they disagree on which side it takes.

Vanna Gentili's, 'The Choice of Sources: Evidence and Justification for Appian' is a short section from her long, loosely organized study 'Thomas Lodge's *Wounds of Civil War*: an Assessment of Context, Sources, and Structure'. She finds that *The Wounds* brings into relief a broad set of history plays that concern civil wars and that gesture significantly toward the sovereign's absence, a set that includes works of Shakespeare. In the section reprinted as Chapter 20, Gentili argues that Lodge chose Appian's *Civil Wars* as his primary source because he endorsed its pro-imperial viewpoint: both it and Lodge's play point favourably towards an absent 'monocracy' (p. 441) that would supply the ultimate solution to civil war. This interpretation seems to emphasize the broad influence of England's dominant monarchical

¹⁵ The argument's context is Patterson (1984).

¹⁶ On Lodge's two plays see also Whitworth (1973) and the chapters on each in Cuvelier (1984).

ideology as much as, or more than, a particular writer's conscientious political judgement or desire to curry favour, and contrasts sharply with Maslen's conception of a dissenting Lodge.

Over 20 years later, Andrew Hadfield's 'Thomas Lodge and Elizabethan Republicanism' (Chapter 21) brought *The Wounds of Civil War* into the current broad discussion of early republican thought. Unfortunately, Hadfield fails to address Gentili's work. He affirms that Appian's history is Lodge's source, but ignores Appian's imperial slant. However, he demonstrates that at key moments Lodge departs from Appian and invents what appears to be pro-republican material, such as Junius Brutus's speech. Hadfield argues that Lodge's social views naturally tended to be citizen-centred, especially considering his father's career in city government. The essay defines what 'republicanism' could mean in early modern England and argues that the play supports republican values. Like Lucan's *Pharsalia* it depicts the collapse of the Roman republic as a catastrophe.

Hadfield makes the largest claims ever for the value of *Wounds* – claims that challenge future scholarship. Its parallels between Rome and England not only expanded the theatre's 'range of political possibilities' (p. 443), but, if it really did precede Marlowe's Tamburlaine plays, 'it has to be recognised as one of the most important plays in English literary history' (p. 445). Hadfield also considers possible influences of *Wounds* on Shakespeare's early plays. His thesis may actually offer less of a challenge to Cuvelier's conservative Lodge than may Gentili's since, during the period, traditional civic prerogatives were threatened by the progressive concentration of state power in the court and monarch. By the way, Chiaki Hanabusa's exemplary 2002 essay on this play's problematic text ('The Printing of Thomas Lodge's *The Wounds of Civil War*') provides yet another substantial study.

A Looking Glasse for London and England

A Looking Glasse for London and England was written by Lodge and Greene in the late 1580s or very early 1590s. Despite being a minor stage success and going through four early reprintings, it has received less scholarly attention than *The Wounds of Civil War*. Its stage spectacles exploited a trend and its homely, retro-cool feel is just beginning to be appreciated again. Classified as a 'biblical drama' (Blackburn, 1970, pp. 161–71), it encompasses both moral interlude and mystery play with its lurid scenes of court corruption, abundance of low comedy, regular sermonizing, timely repentance, raging monarch and the prophet Jonah deposited onstage by a whale. Ninevah sins, Ninevah repents, and London must do the same, now. Our earnest moralist is likely to have written the many homilies of Osea and Jonah as well as the voyage, usury, prodigal and repentance scenes (Lodge, 1970, p. 26).

Pauline Blanc's recent essay 'Barbarism in Greene and Lodge's *A Looking Glasse for London and England*' (Chapter 22), represents the first interpretive study known to me of any particular theme in the play. Blanc shows how 'othering' forms the logic of the play, as traditional gentlemanly values of Elizabethan civility are opposed to a range of barbarities, whether of culture, social rank or gender. Only when leaders become civil will the rest know their places and justice and order become possible. Blanc brings to bear a wide range of conduct books and other materials to explain how the play's prominent religious themes of sin, punishment and repentance are presented through a social critique of barbarity against a standard of gentility. Less explicitly, but perhaps as important, she notes the tension in the

traditional Elizabethan hierarchy between the goal of the common good and that of upholding gentility against baseness. The play offers at least two paradoxical and dramatic moments in this regard: it is the gross and uncivil belching of that whale that brings the possibility of redemption, and redemption finally begins to unfold, Blanc appreciatively notes, when a female pauper's incontinent farting coincides with the revelation of God's final warning. Blanc's reading elegantly uncovers the author's conservative religious and social views while suggesting how the play as a whole may qualify them.

Prose

Part VI is small partly because some works have been discussed elsewhere by Sisson, Whitworth, Helgerson, Cuvelier, Arthur Kinney and Maslen, and also because relevant scholarship has been patchy.

The first essay is Alice Walker's 'The Reading of an Elizabethan: Some Sources of the Prose Pamphlets of Thomas Lodge' (Chapter 23). Walker's biographical research on Lodge yielded two original studies in the 1930s (Walker, 1933/1934) and, as discussed above, she discovered many of the often-obscure lyric sources he used substantially and often silently. The indispensable essay selected here distills a tremendous amount of research and provides a compact education in Elizabethan practices of reading and writing. It concerns four pamphlets: *Catharos, or Diogenes in his Singularity*, along with three from 1596: *The Devil Conjured*, *Wits Miserie* and *Prosopopeia*. But Lodge was not the only University Wit who translated entire passages of 20 or so pages and presented them his own original work. Other University Wits – Lyly, Greene and Nashe – did so as well. Of the four pamphlets, *Wits Miserie* includes the most original passages and also remains the most enjoyable. But its second part includes an astonishing mosaic passage of borrowings from over a dozen writers and *florilegia*, material encompassing a tremendous range in space and time, much of it medieval. Lodge may not really have read widely in the classics after college; he may have relied on compilations and commonplace books. Walker shows that Lodge is indeed the author of T. L.'s *Prosopopeia* by discovering in it some of his favourite rip-offs.

Walker's work, by the way, soon provided the basis for William Ringler's elegant, wry piece 'The Source of Lodge's Reply to Gosson' (1939) concerning Lodge's early defence of poetry and plays. Lodge's adversary was persistent and vicious, and Lodge was lucky that no one spotted his source. Instead, Ringler notes, the young writer discovered a reliable *modus operandi*. From the vantage-point of the twenty-first century, Lodge's Elizabethan practice resembles to some degree the appropriation, sampling, collage and various other citational or derivative postmodern cultural forms that are thriving today.

The second selection here, part of Éliane Cuvelier's long final chapter of her 1984 work and titled 'English Renaissance Catholicism in the Work of Lodge' (reprinted in translation here as Chapter 24), anticipates today's broad, ongoing re-evaluation of religious currents during this period. Cuvelier forcefully argues a strong claim: that Lodge's religious convictions and accompanying conservative social values were long-standing, dominant influences on his works from his youth. They can be traced from his 1584 poem *Truths Complaint over England* although of course they only became overt 12 years later in *Prosopopeia*. Cuvelier's essay evaluates evidence of Lodge's recusant sympathies and his place in the contemporary struggle of oppressed Catholics. Many of Lodge's works are considered, such as *The Deafe Mans*

Dialogue (1592, published with the romance *Euphues Shadow*) and *Wits Miserie*. But the excerpt focuses on the moral dialogue *Catharos*, in which Diogenes attacks the government oppressors of Catholics Francis Walsingham and William Cecil, Lord Burghley. The rest of the chapter (not reprinted here) traces Lodge's attacks on atheism and Epicureanism and then focuses on *Prosopopeia*, an expressive confession of faith and commemoration of the Catholic martyr Robert Southwell.

Before Cuvelier's work appeared, Helgerson emphasized Lodge's Catholicism, though as a function of the prodigal-son dynamic. Kinney's appreciation of Lodge's religious commitment was greater, though subordinated to his focus on humanism. Recently, as noted above (and apparently independently of Cuvelier), Kelly has uncovered the Catholic orientation in Lodge's translation of Josephus, and Maslen has posited the centrality of Lodge's Catholicism to his literary endeavor. Further, Mentz (2006) has associated the theme of penance in Lodge's romances with his Catholicism. But Cuvelier's book remains key to pursuing greater understanding of Lodge and his works in relation to religion, as well as to considering Lodge's relevance to current, wide-ranging debates concerning the role of religion in a more secular, modern age.

Conclusion

This collection of Lodge scholarship validates the perceptions of Cuvelier and others that Thomas Lodge and his writings afford a unique vantage-point for understanding English literature, culture and society during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. In the span of Lodge's life tremendous accomplishments and far-reaching transformations occurred. Although his life and works are fascinating and distinctive, they are also representative, dexterously registering and witnessing many contemporary currents. Likewise, although Lodge scholarship is limited in size, its quality and range give it the potential to contribute to major new insights concerning the nature and significance of the English Renaissance and of many of its remarkable figures. I hope this volume, surveying this scholarship and offering it for the first time as a distinctive body of work, will help realize that potential.

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Catalogue of Authors

The Introduction contains brief discussions of several additional works of Lodge and Whitworth's biographical essay of virtually all of them. Below is a catalogue of Lodge's works discussed in the reprints herein.

Honest Excuses (defence of poetry and drama)

Sisson, Kinney, Maslen

An Alarum for Usurers

Sisson, Helgerson, Cuvelier, Kinney, Maslen

Forbonius and Prisceria

Helgerson, Kinney, Davis, Wilson

Truth's Complaint over England

Cuvelier, Maslen

The Wounds of Civil War

Kinney, Gentili, Hadfield

Scylla's Metamorphosis (Glaucus and Scilla)

Helgerson, Kinney, Keach, Ellis, Maslen

Rosalynde

Sisson, Helgerson, Cuvelier, Kinney, Davis, Wilson, Lindheim, Whitworth,
Claire Kinney, Mentz, Hamilton, Beecher

A Looking Glass for London and England

Cuvelier, Blanc

Robert, Second Duke of Normandy, surnamed... Robin the Devil

Davis, Wilson, Hamilton

Catharos: Diogenes in his Singularity

Helgerson, Cuvelier, Walker

The Life and Death of William Long Beard

Helgerson, Cuvelier, Davis, Wilson, Maslen

Euphues Shadow

Kinney, Davis

The Tragical Complaint of Elstred

Kinney, Maslen

A Fig for Momus

Cuvelier, Kinney

A Margarite of America

Helgerson, Kinney, Wilson, Linton, Beecher

Wit's Misery, and the World's Madness

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Part I
Biography



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THOMAS LODGE THE MAN

Charles J. Sisson

LADY ANNE LODGE was buried on 30 December 1579, and in the Stationers' Register we find entered for printing an *Epitaph of the Lady Anne Lodge*, her son's first piece of literature. This has been spoken of as a proof of filial devotion. It may be so — I hope it is — but it is an odd kind of grief that can be solaced by precipitate print. For the *Epitaph* was entered on 23 December, before Lady Anne's death authorised even poetic grief. The facts seem to be consistent with an intention to be ready for the event, with a view to the market, though it may be that Lodge was not responsible for the entry. But it is a queer incident. And it shows us Lodge as an 'occasional' poet in his beginnings, as in much of his *Fig for Momus*, the indication, on the whole, of an inferior literary talent. It points to a limited, less imaginative, more imitative type of mind at grips with art, as compared with his fellows of Oxford and Cambridge.

There is not, by the way, any real reason for suggesting that Thomas was the favourite son of Lady Anne or grandson of Lady Laxton, though Sir Edmund Gosse urges it upon us that he alone was especially provided for by both, maintaining that 'he must have shewn some particular powers of intelligence to be thus selected among six children as his mother's sole legatee.' The facts are that both ladies provided for all the children, and that Thomas, as second son, second in the line of Lodges, had to be given a reasonable landed estate, 'some convenient portion,' as Lady Lodge put it. And even that was left to him on strict conditions, and so never came to him in the end.

What Gosse is naturally apt to admire in Lodge was precisely what both his father and mother particularly de-

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tested in him, knowing the normal accompaniments of the life of the young scholar or man-of-letters in London. Lodge's real interests at this time are amply indicated by his next work, written in defence of the stage in 1579 or early in 1580 against Stephen Gosson, and called *Honest Excuses*, which was suppressed after printing. It was doubtless some similar escapade that brought Lodge before the Privy Council in June 1581. In the same year Lodge wrote a prefatory poem, before October 23, when the book was entered in the Stationers' Register, to Barnabe Rich's *Don Simonides*, in which he speaks of himself as dulled by his 'long distress,' 'breaking my pleasant vein.' Gosse will have it that this must be illness, not misfortune. But the facts surely are that Lodge had got into serious trouble, ending in imprisonment, had put himself irrevocably out of court with his father and his family, and was finding literature and the stage a poor support for wit and gallantry. Gosson wrote of him in 1582 as a man under heavy clouds, of a loose and worthless way of life, almost a vagrant. Such, says Gosse, is the 'worthless testimony' of Gosson, whose acrid zeal certainly seems excessive, coming from a young man of twenty-seven, only two years older than Lodge. Gosson was only twenty-four¹ when he wrote his first diatribe against the stage, and must have been very young when he himself wrote plays in his unregenerate days. But there is no doubt he was right about Lodge.

In February 1583, Lodge signed a Deed of Release to his brother William, freeing him of all his claims on legacies, including the Nayland estate, in return for money advanced and debts paid in anticipation of his expectations. And by 4 November he had ready for the press a notable piece of work called *An Alarum against Usurers*.

1 C 24/346/5, containing a deposition by Gosson which gives his age.

Less than ten years later Lodge was extremely busy in Star Chamber and in Chancery seeking redress for the advantage that, he argued, William had taken upon him in obtaining this Deed from him in his time of need.

Of Lodge's many and varied literary efforts, none perhaps is more closely taken from experience than *An Alarum against Usurers*, in which he sets forth the normal process of the degradation and ruin of young gentlemen brought about by dissipation in London. And all points to the probability that Lodge is in a large measure drawing upon experience when he paints this picture, though he defends himself in the *Epistle to the Gentlemen of the Innes of Court* against the strictures of Stephen Gosson. In this pamphlet Lodge inveighs against that class of merchant which has taken to usurious practices, by whose means

(the more is the pittie) the prisons are replenished with young gentlemen. These be they that make the father carefull, the mother sorrowfull, the sonne desperate: . . . that can close with a young youth while they cousen him, and feede his humoures, till they free him of his farmes.

He proceeds to explain how a young man with expectations or with land, but short of money, is exploited by a broker acting for a merchant. 'If you want money, you have credit,' the broker suggests, and after an investigation of the young man's circumstances a loan is given on his bond. Not money is lent, however, but commodities to the value of the loan, which the young man has to turn into money. The broker kindly acts as his factor, and the young man finally receives in cash at best a half of the amount for which he has given his bond for repayment in full in three months, the penalty for forfeiture of the bond being at least double the nominal loan.

It will be observed that this is precisely the procedure in the play, *A Looking Glass for London and England*, written

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by Lodge and Greene. It was a well-known trick, of course.¹ But there can be no reasonable doubt that the young lawyer of Lincoln's Inn wrote the scene in which the Usurer deals in this fashion with Thrasybulus, having given him ten pounds cash and thirty pounds in lute-strings, which he sold for but five pounds, fifteen pounds in all for his bond of forty pounds. Indeed, later on in the pamphlet this very transaction is given as an example of fraud, down to the details of the amounts involved, forty pounds the amount of the loan, ten pounds cash, and thirty pounds' worth of lute-strings. The matter seems to stick in Lodge's mind.

The young man nevertheless repeats his indiscretion, and falls into more and more expensive dissipations.

Truly, gentlemen, this that I write is true: I myself know the paymaster; naie, more, I myself know certainly that by name I can reckon among you some that have ben bitten, who, left good portions by their parents, and faire lands by their auncestors, are desolate now, not having friends to releev them, or money to affray their charges. . . .

Thus, thus, alas! the father before his eies, and in his elder yeres, beholdeth as in a mirror the desolation of his owne house, and hearing of the profusenesse of his ungratious sonne calleth him home, rebuketh him of his error, and requesteth an account of his money misspended.

There is not a word of this which is not strictly true when applied to Lodge's own life. We may find further autobiographical hints in Lodge's references to the young gentleman who is obliged to seek his fortune abroad, with unhappy results, bearing in mind his own adventures with Clarke and Cavendish, or to the man of money ousting the gentry, and ultimately feasting 'in the halls of our riotous

1 Sir Thomas dealt with the Earl of Westmorland in this fashion in 1546, lending £560 in wares, 'the which being sold by the broker and converted into moneye was by the broker and the servants of . . . Sir Thomas Lodge delivered at the late Erls house in the Charterhouse churchyard' (C 24/72). We are not told what the Earl received in cash. We are, however, given a specimen of his conversation: 'Yea, marye, quod the Erle, by Goddes faire foote!'

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young spendthrifts.' For Lodge came of a doubly knighted family, though merchants on both sides.

There follows the discourse of the father, lamenting the evil ways of his once hopeful son. Sir Thomas Lodge, it may be observed, was probably a sick man when the book was written. He made his will on 14 December 1583, little over a month after the book was entered in the Stationers' Register. He died on 28 February 1584, and I think these dates exclude the possibility of a sudden death from plague. The book bears all the signs of rapid writing, and we may wonder what lay behind the producing of it. Filial piety was no light sentiment and tradition among the Elizabethans, and there is something more than dramatic rhetoric in the speech here set down:

O, my sonne, if thou knewest thy father's care, and wouldest answer it with thy well dooing, I might have hope of the continuance of my progeny, and thou be a joy to my aged yeres . . . my name shall cease in thee, and other covetous underminers shall injoye the fruites of my long labours.

Sir Thomas had several sons, it is true, and this was a dramatic touch hardly justified in 1584. Yet, strangely enough, it was Thomas who outlived all his brethren and did, in the end, stand alone to represent the progeny of the old City knight, who goes on here to refer to the young man's mother:

How tenderly, good boye, in thy mother's lyfe wast thou cherished! How deerely beloved! How well instructed! . . . Report, nay, true report, hath made me privie to many of thy escapes, which as a father though I cover, yet as a good father tenderly will I rebuke.

Sir Thomas, as we have seen, was in fact less reticent about his son's faults, in private at any rate.

The father continues, reproaching his son with wasting an allowance of forty pounds a year, and in two years running a hundred pounds into debt, and with haunting ex-

pensive courtesans. I have no evidence upon this last charge. But there is the clearest evidence that within three or four years of his mother's death Lodge had exhausted the legacies left to him under her will, and had completed the process just a year before the printing of this book, in 1583. It is probable that the three enemies enumerated by the father here were all known to Lodge, as two of them certainly were: 'first prodigalitie, the enimie to continencie; next lasciviousness, the enimie of sobrietie; and thirdly, ill company, the decayers of thy honestie.' Finally, having met his debts this time, the father warns him that if he falls again from virtue, 'I promise thee this, that as now I deale with thee as a father, so then will I accompt of thee as a reprobate.' So the son returns to the Inns of Court, repentantly, but at once returns to his old ways, to his usurer and his mistress Minxe, and in the end is completely ruined, whereupon 'his father refuseth him, dispossessing the ryghte heyre of what hee maye, and poore hee is left desolate and afflicted in prison.' Lodge was in prison, in fact, in 1581, and his account runs close to the facts. His father, as we have seen, had no small share in preventing Lodge from coming into possession of the lands left him by his mother on condition of good behaviour.

This may perhaps suffice to show that there was much more than mere literary art in the outcry of the young man that now follows:

Alas! unhappie wretch that I am, that having a good father that did cherish me, a tried mother that tenderly nourished me, many friends to accompanie me, faire revenewes to inrich me, have heaped sorrowe on my owne head by my father's displeasure, refused of my friends for my misdemeanour, and dispossessed of my land by my prodigalitie.

We come closer than ever to the actual details of Lodge's affairs, as they appear in the series of law-suits in which he was involved with his brother William, in certain sug-

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gestions which he makes for the remedying of usury and the removal of temptation from young gentlemen to have recourse to usurers. For, considering the case of such heirs as are 'wardes unto her Majestie, or else by the tender provision of their parents they are left to the discretion of their kinsfolke,' he argues that if they are kept short of money they are likely to borrow. Either condition of wardship may stint the heir, 'for nowe a dayes kinsfolkes are as covetous as others, and as crafty as the best.' Let such guardians be bound to supply the young man with the largest possible income, and they will then be satisfied with his conduct!

Now it was precisely the condition of Thomas Lodge that the lands left to him by his mother were left under trustees, and that having been paid less than their value, as he maintains, he brought suit against William Lodge, his elder brother and one of the executors of his mother's will, some nine years after the publication of this pamphlet in which he sets forth the unhappy career of just such an heir as himself. One cannot help feeling that some of the outrageously righteous indignation with which Lodge ends the pamphlet, calling upon the wicked usurer to repent, must have been composed to the address of his brother, who had lent him money, taken his bond of release in respect of his legacies, and usurped the estate left to him by his mother. At any rate, we may observe the strongly fraternal note struck in the concluding paragraph, wherein he 'for brotherly amitie counsailed' the usurers, and does 'brotherly admonish' them! Lodge's reliance upon his own actual experiences throughout increases the possibility that the pamphlets of Greene, for example, may be taken as genuinely autobiographical.

It is characteristic, again, of Lodge, that he finds Gosson's strictures, to which he refers in this book, incompre-

hensible. Nothing but prejudice, ignorance and unfairness can account for Gosson, or anyone, opposing Thomas Lodge. Lodge went his own way, secure in his own rectitude and the excellence of his motives, and convinced that he knew best. Sir Thomas died shortly after this book was published, and there is no mention of Thomas in his will, despite the excellent morality of the *Alarum against Usurers*, which may have been partly meant to soften the old man's heart towards his ill-used second son. But Thomas was deliberately excluded from the entail of the Lodge properties, as his succession to the Nayland estate had been deliberately withheld. It is probable that Thomas did now in fact go to sea to the Canaries. By 1588 or at latest by September 1589, he was back in London with a book ready for printing and no mean debt for wine to Peter Suckling, and probably another of £7 to a Strand tailor, Richard Topping. In 1596 Topping was still trying to get it out of Henslowe, who bailed Lodge in 1597.¹

In 1590 his novel *Rosalynde* was printed, written before October 6, the source of Shakespeare's *As You Like It*. Has any one considered the choice of this theme by Lodge, and the working out of it? Yet it is most significant and apt to his career. It was written, he says, during his voyage with Clarke to the Canaries, and 'it is the woorke of a Souldier and a Scholler.' It has a double moral, pithily put in the postscript: 'Here Gentlemen may you see . . . that such as neglect their father's precepts, incur much prejudice . . . that yonger brethren though inferior in yeares, yet may be superior in honors.' The relations between Saladyne, the elder brother, and Rosader, the younger, are almost ludicrously parallel to those of William and Thomas. Saladyne is another picture of the 'covetous caterpillar,' the Usurer in *A Looking Glass*. He is in *Rosalynde* the 'weeping hyaena' who defrauds Rosader

¹ *Henslowe Papers*, Arts. 21, 22, 23.

of his dues, makes havoc of his legacies and lands, and spoils his manor houses.

I need not labour the point. It is certain that the writing of *Rosalynde* must have been a great comfort to Lodge, and we may be sure that the underlying autobiographical facts in his life were not ignored by some of its readers. Rosader is therefore, in a measure, an artistic and idealised portrait of Lodge, and so Lodge served indirectly as a model for Shakespeare's Orlando. I cannot believe that Shakespeare and his circle of theatre-folk were not aware of the affairs of Lodge. And I am certain that Lodge went to see it, took parties with him and led the applause and groans at the right moments, which I think may readily be found.¹ I feel sure that Professor Dover Wilson, who suggests 1593 as the date of Shakespeare's first writing of the play, would rejoice to think that this fits in admirably with the year in which Thomas and William Lodge were fighting it out, Oliver and Orlando in Star Chamber and Chancery!

At the end of the postscript Lodge anticipated Ben Jonson's defiant retort upon criticism,² in the words 'If you like it, so:' — words which surely gave Shakespeare his title, and which also are characteristic of Lodge. He is incurably self-sufficient, assertive of his own point of view, and impervious to any opposing point of view. This characteristic runs through all his writings, and through all his law-suits.

Does he write a *Treatise of the Plague* in 1603? Then he warns readers against all the doings and sayings of all other doctors and their quackery, 'foolish Idiotes and ignorant Emperiques' who are not, like himself, Physicians and Philosophers. Yet he can write, 'Truly my resolution is to provoke no man, and those that know me inwardly of late time can witness . . . I thanke God I haue indured wrongs,

¹ *E. g.*, I, i, 158 ff.; I, i, 138 ff., respectively.

² *Cynthia's Revels*, Epilogue.

tho I haue had power to revenge them.' His object in writing this book is mainly to help the poor who suffer from plague and cannot afford doctors. And he calmly requests the Lord Mayor and City to buy his book up and distribute it broadcast. For the first time, apparently, when there is something to be gained, he expresses here a belated sense of 'the duetie and loue which I owe to this Citie wherein I was bred and brought vp.'

Turn to his law-suits, to the ineffable self-righteousness of his complaints against William, which have a more personal and dramatic note than even the average Star Chamber Bill. Here he is the friendly young innocent, hardly used, but anxious to do the right thing between brothers. See him again in a later character, the mature philosopher in a noble mood, being troubled by a vulgar-minded grazier, a peasant — George Raye, to whom he leased the Rolleston lands at a most satisfactory rent, on which Raye lost heavily when the Trent and the Greet overflowed his fields. Lodge's Answer found Raye an easy mark. What has Raye to say? It is a source of grief to him that Lodge has made the best of his lands. He alleges that he paid too much, that is, he alleges his own negligence and really praises Lodge: 'that kinde of exception tendith rather to commende a mans providence then to impeach him of evill dealing.' Besides, Raye is in the trade, he is a grazier, unlike Doctor Thomas Lodge, who has

never practised anie such course of life but the Cleane contrarie and dwelte for the most parte of his life in the cittie of London, his practise of life hath been but studie and contemplation for the most parte.

And Lodge ends with a peroration in good set terms:

and this defendant doth admire that the plaintiff should saie that this defendant hath beene a great gainer by him and not acknowledge the goodnes of his owne bargaine and shewe his turbulent spirit to stirr up sute concerning that whereby he hath benefited himself and is beholding to this defendant.

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I must say that, at this stage of Lodge's litigious career, this picture of himself as the studious and contemplative man, withdrawn from meaner concerns in his pursuit of higher matters, excites a tickling of the midriff. It is his nearest approach to truly imaginative fiction. No doubt Lodge, at the age of sixty, looked the part admirably, and probably with a certain nobility and dignity. But it is strange how often our contemplative scholar, who had so recently, in 1614, translated Seneca's *Stoic Morals*, was thus beset with turbulent spirits.

It is also clear here that, when Lodge had an advantage, he drove it home, without any compunction. The turbulent spirit of George Raye resided in the withered body of an aged man over eighty years of age,¹ who could not even write his name. But Lodge, having overreached him, showed him no pity. The same bent of character led him into the obstinate rejection of compromise, and a refusal to admit defeat, which are strikingly shown in his last suit against Wilmore concerning the West Ham lands, that astute, unscrupulous, forlorn hope. When the case had been thoroughly heard, the Court, in Michaelmas, 1621, saw no cause to admit Lodge's plea. Nevertheless the Master of the Rolls suggested to Wilmore that he should pay £30 to Lodge as a solatium. Wilmore agreed. Lodge refused, and demanded a second hearing. Again the Court, in February 1622, found as before, yet again moved Wilmore to compromise, this time suggesting £20, to put an end to the matter. Wilmore, much protesting, once more agreed, but Lodge, 'being present in Court departed without giving any consent to accept the same,' evidently in high dudgeon. And so the Court, upon this, clearly and absolutely dismissed the case, and Lodge got nothing.

Was ever man so blind to the direction of the finger of

¹ I C 24/221/37. George Raye, of Highgate, yeoman, aged 55 on 10 June, 1591.

fate? It was not in Lodge, one would imagine, to conceive that he might be in the wrong, or that he might be unable to have his own way. And when things went inconceivably awry, he satisfied himself with a gesture of contempt and rebellion.

When Lodge was a young man of twenty-one, and mounted his paper steed to tilt against Stephen Gosson, he could see nothing but error and animus in an incomprehensibly irreconcilable opponent. He had not changed forty years later, when he thought to carry away the Court of Chancery with an *alla stoccata*. I have no doubt he backed his own judgement against that of his counsel Mr. Stanwell in this matter. Indeed, this seems to be the dominant note of his whole life, the life of an incurably assertive individualist vindicating self-will and private opinion against all the forces of environment.

Born into a citizen family of wealth and standing, but with firm convictions upon its right and power to guide and dispose of its children, Lodge resisted the imposing influences leading him towards a steady, assured life of dignity and ease in the legal profession. Three generations of Laxtons, Lanes, Loddingtons, Lodges, Machells and Woodfords surrounded him in his youth, with two Lord Mayors and several Aldermen of London among them, all Grocers of name and fame, desirous of perpetuating the honour of the clan, and hoping great things from the sons of Sir Thomas and Lady Anne. From all this, Lodge turned away to join a group of young wits and scholars about town, regardless of warnings and threats, and unmoved by entreaties, to exploit his genius and to follow the impulses of the moment. So doing, he forfeited his patrimony in the end. He paid a heavy price for the privilege of writing a few charming lyrics, a poor play or two, some second-rate satires, a few novels, and a pamphlet in defence

THOMAS LODGE THE MAN

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of the stage. Spendthrift or improvident to the end, there is never any sign even in his riper years of that settled course of life that was the only demand his clan made of him. At twenty-one he was in the lists against Gosson; at twenty-three he fell foul of the Privy Council; and in middle age, still pursuing his bent, he turned Catholic, in the teeth of a time of most violent persecution of a faith that seemed to involve disloyalty to the State. He went his own way throughout, whether it were to the tavern in Fleet Street, to the Terceras or to Brazil, to France in pursuit of a degree in medicine, or when he turned upon his heel, spurning the Court of Chancery. It is significant that when he died in 1625, leaving behind him a wife of whom we know little, he died intestate, having provided for the moment and no further. We may well be moved by a sense of irony when we consider how this man, having refused to follow the profession of the law, a truant from Lincoln's Inn, thereafter spent a notable proportion of his energies in an endless series of suits at law, involved in its processes in his very childhood, turning to it at intervals throughout a long life, till we finally see him resolute as ever in Chancery at the age of sixty-four. But we need not feel any incongruity in this pursuit of the law in practice. For the law to Lodge was but one more field in that wide and varied country which he explored with endless zest and persistence, seeking lists wherein to challenge circumstance and to vindicate and assert his own wit, his own powers, and his own desires. There was never a truer Elizabethan. Let Lodge state the moral himself, in his comments upon the misfortunes of his young rake, in *An Alarum against Usurers*:

Nature's gifts are to be used by direction: he had learning, but hee applied it ill: he hadde knowledge, but he blinded it with selfe-opinion.