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GEORGE CHAPMAN: The Life & Works. (Exclusive of the Translations)

The Relations between the Poems and the Tragedies.

M. Treadgold.

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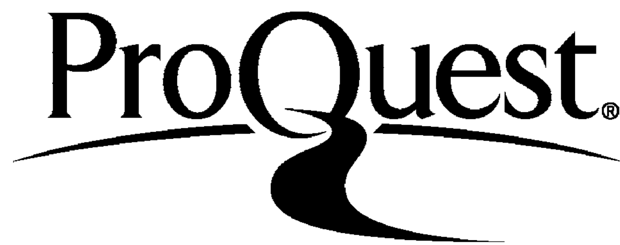

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<u>Abstract of thesis submitted by M.Treadgold, Bedford College.</u>

George Chapman: a study of the life and works.
The relations of the poems to the tragedies.

In George Chapman's work, from the early group of poems (1594-6) to the group of late tragedies (1610-13), three phases of development seem to be clearly indicated. The early poems belong to the school of Elizabethan humanist poetry, with certain individual differences in thought and mood, due largely, I believe, to the external events of his life. With the change of the national mood during the early years of the Jacobean period Chapman finds imperative the need for a re-adjustment of the humanism, developed in the early poems, to render it adequate to the pressure of contemporary scepticism, and the two tragedies, Bussy D'Ambois and Biron show the conflict in Chapman's mind between an acceptance of this sceptical thought and the optimism of the earlier period. From Biron, in which he temporarily but not wholly satisfactorily resolves this conflict, he passes in the Tears of Peace and the late tragedies to a more permanent integration between humanism and Christian thought. The thesis, thus divides itself according to these phases of development, with a preliminary biographical chapter to indicate the external influences in his life and, since the validity of the theme depends upon the chronological order of the plays, an appendix to indicate as far as possible the dates of composition.

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Except where otherwise stated the following editions of Chapman's works have been used; for the poems, Minor Poems and Translations. Chapman's Works. The Old Dramatists. vol.2. pubd.Chatto & Windus, for the plays, Complete Works of George Chapman, ed. T.M. Parrott. vol.I. Comedies.vol.2. Tragedies,1910-14.

The following abbreviations have been used: D.N.B., for Dictionary of National Biography, S.R., for Stationers' Register, Arber, for Transcripts of the Registers of the Stationers' Company by Arber, M.L.R., for Modern Language Review, M.L.N., for Modern Language Notes, M.P., for Modern Philology, R.E.S., for Review of English Studies, Bib. Soc. Trans., for Bibliographical Society Transactions and Mal. Soc. Coll., for Malone Society Collections.

"For wel I wot, that folk han her-beforn
Of making ropen, and lad a-wey the corn;"

Chaucer.

letters themselves. The evidence is there but our interpretation of it must necessarily be at present limited in its scope.

The life begins for us auspiciously, thanks to the recent investigations of Mr.R.L.Hine.[3] Chapman was born in or near Hitchin in 1559(-60). A.Wood, his earliest standard biographer, gives the date 1557[4] and the parish register offers no assistance as it does not begin as early.[5] But the later date seems confirmed by the inscription under the portrait prefixed to the Whole Works of Homer published in 1616: "Georgius Chapmannus Homeri Metaphrastes. Aeta: LVII.MDCXVI." Until the discovery of his father's will[6] by Mr.Hine we have accepted the allusion to Hitchin made by Chapman himself in the Tears of Peace[7] and William Browne's reference in Britannia's Pastorals[8] to the "learned shepherd of faire Hitchen hill" as sufficient evidence for Chapman's early connection with Hitchin. The will shows him to be the son of Thomas Chapman, who, in 1561, is noted as a freeholder in the Hundred of Hitchin,[9] and of Joan, the second daughter of George Nodes,[10] sergeant of the buckhounds since the reign of Henry VIII. The will refers to Joan Chapman as deceased and the Parish Register tells us that she died when Chapman

was six years old.[11] In 1581 when Thomas Chapman's will was drawn up he was one of a family of five consisting of an elder brother Thomas, himself, and three married sisters, whose names are given in the will as Elizabeth Piggott, Margaret Chambers and Joan Monk. Beyond references to Thomas Chapman the younger in official documents[12] nothing further is known of the family, though Hitchin tradition represents it as having lived at Western House, a Georgian-fronted house midway up Tilehouse Street.

Here the signposts become far between for there are no records of Chapman's youth, save for an autograph inscription to Ralph Sadler in the Inner Temple Library copy of the Batrachomyomachia[13] in desire to celebrate and eternise /The noble Name and House/ where his youthe was initiate". This suggests some time passed at Sadler's manor of Temple Dinley in the Hundred of Hitchin, but there is no mention of Chapman in the Sadler papers[14] which, however, scarcely touch upon Sadler's private affairs. Sadler's three sons are, nevertheless, considerably older than Chapman, so that it is unlikely that he was educated with them, and it seems probable that he received his excellent grounding in Greek and Latin at the little school, replaced in 1639 by the grammar school,

opposite Western House.[15] He appears to have maintained his connection with Hitchin well into his life for, apart from the reference in the Tears of Peace and Sadler's dedication copy he inscribed a copy of the Twelve Books of the Odyssey,[16] the translation published in 1614, to Sir Henry Fanshawe, the King's Remembrancer[17] who lived fourteen miles from Hitchin and whose son later held Hitchin Manor.

There is likewise no satisfactory evidence as to his university education. A.Wood states that in "1574 or thereabouts he being well grounded in school learning was sent to the university but whether first to this of Oxford or that of Cambridge is to me unknown; sure I am that he spent some time in Oxon, where he was observed to be most excellent in the Latin and Greek tongues, but not in logic or philosophy, and therefore I presume that was the reason why he took no degree there."[18] Warton,[19] according to his editor Hazlitt on the evidence of Wise, the librarian of Radcliffe, states that Chapman passed two years at Trinity College, Oxford, but there appears to be no foundation whatever for this statement.[20]

Concerning his movements between the time when he presumably came down from the university and the date of

his first publication we are again left in the dark. A. Wood[21] says that he was in London, residing in the metropolis and was admired by the most prominent literary men, but there is no record of any juvenilia to attract their attention, and the statement has the value only of a suggestion. Elze,[22] attributing Alphonsus of Germany to Chapman, suggests, on the evidence of the knowledge of German displayed, that Chapman spent some time in Germany. Swinburne[23] thinks it possible that he was "drawn to the seat of war" in the Netherlands either by campaigning under Vere or as a member of the company of players who crossed with Leicester to Holland in 1585. He bases his conjecture upon the close knowledge shown both in the text and the elaborate note on the siege of Nimiguen in the Shadow of Night.[24] Swinburne's first suggestion has received recent support from Professor Spurgeon[25] who shows not only the preponderance of war imagery in Chapman's work, but comments also upon the detailed and precise knowledge of isolated war images. A further plausible suggestion as to his movements in these obscured years has been offered by Mr.Hine,[26] namely, that Chapman was teaching in the school at Hitchin. This would account both for his proficiency in the classics and for the

fact that in the father's will there is no mention of his son's domicile as there probably would have been had he been in another locality.

Thomas Chapman's will was proved in 1589, and Mr.Hine suggests that with the legacy of £100, £50 down and the residue at the end of a year, and the "twoe silver spoones" Chapman came to London. Our first certain date connected with him is 1594,[27] when he published his earliest known poem the Shadow of Night which by its dedication to Matthew Roydon and the subject matter indicated by its title links him to the philosophical coterie known as the "Schoole of Atheisme"[28] and perhaps, it has been suggested, as the "School of Night".[29] The School of Night is a particularly enthralling subject for its very existence has been cast in doubt, but beyond the poem itself and his friendship with individual members of the "School of Atheisme", there is little to connect Chapman with the group. But the attraction that this small nucleus of advanced thinkers held for one bemused with dreams of perfected knowledge may be gauged from the enthusiasm of the dedication.

"But I stay this spleen when I remember, my good Matthew, how joyfully oftentimes you reported to me that most ingenuous Darby, deep-searching Northumberland, and

skill embracing heir of Hunsdon had most profitably entertained learning in themselves to the vital warmth of freezing science, and to the admirable lustre of their true nobility, whose high-deserving virtues may cause me hereafter strike that fire out of darkness."[30]

But the dedication suggests that he was an admiring onlooker rather than a participator. Of any personal relationship between him and Raleigh there appears to be no trace nor can we imagine great consanguinity between that clear, impatient spirit and Chapman's turgid, struggling mind. Thomas Hariot drew his devotion, as, indeed, he did that of most men who came into contact with this "most studious investigator of truth". The devotion may have been one-sided for, as far as we know, Hariot is silent concerning Chapman.[31] But in 1598 Chapman appended to the Achilles Shield a poem of intimate self-revelation to Hariot, and ~~th~~eighteen years later in the Preface to the ~~Iliad~~ Whole Works[32] refers to him and his other friend Robert Hues, the mathematician and Hariot's friend, with deep and grateful affection. At the depth of his friendship with Christopher Marlowe we can only guess from the commemorative passage in Hero and Leander[33] and

the extraordinary and persistent influence that Marlowe exerted over his thought.

In 1595[34] Chapman published a volume of poems containing Ovid's Banquet of Sense, A Coronet for his Mistress Philosophy, the Amorous Zodiac, and his translation of the medieval poem, the Contention of Phillis and Flora. The following year he affixed the De Guiana, Carmen Epicum to Laurence Keymis' Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana, published after Keymis' return in June from a voyage to New Guinea. Hariot and Raleigh were closely concerned in this expedition, Raleigh having fitted it out,[35] and the fact that it was Chapman who wrote the prefatory poem hotly defending Keymis against some criticism that had been made of his conduct in Guiana goes further to suggest that he was in personal touch with the Raleigh-Hariot group if not intimate. The warm tone of his defence contrasts well with the measured, concise letter that Hariot wrote to Cecil on Keymis' behalf.[36]

By this time or possibly earlier Chapman was in Henslowe's pay, writing for the Admiral's company[37] which was then playing at the Rose on Bankside,[38] and the Blind Beggar of Alexandria, the first play of his recorded by Henslowe, seems to have been one of the most popular plays in the

repertory.[39] Chapman appears to have well established himself with this company for the following year it produced a second comedy of his, the Comedy of Humours,[40] and, before he broke off the connection, he wrote five other plays for it which are either lost or not extant in their original form.[41] He appears to have been well paid by Henslowe,[42] but by 23rd October, 1598, he was in debt to Henslowe for ten guineas,[43] and in the same year, in the poem to Hariot already cited, is complaining of poverty and of the work to which necessity drove him. These seem to be the earliest indications of the hard poverty that dogged him throughout his life. Small salvation arrived for him in 1599 when he and his brother disposed for £120 of their interest in Shephall Manor which had come to them through their mother.[44]

Poor Chapman may have been but his merits certainly were not neglected. By 1598 his reputation as a writer both of comedies and tragedies was established, for Francis Meres mentions him under both categories in the Palladis Tamia of that year and his completion in 1598 of Marlowe's Hero and Leander must have enhanced his reputation for the poem became exceedingly popular.[45] Gabriel Harvey in the Marginalia,[46] 1598-1601, twice classes him among the foremost poets of his day. But his fame, as Drayton[47] and Browne's references

show, was to rest also upon his work of translating which he probably turned to at this time to augment his income. In 1598, beside the Hero and Leander, Chapman published his translations of Achilles Shield and the First Seven Books of the Iliad.[48] The last was dedicated to the Earl of Essex whose patronage, all too brief, Chapman seems to have secured in addition to that of Sir Thomas Walsingham. Actually it is to Walsingham's wife that his part of Hero and Leander is dedicated, but he writes gratefully of Sir Thomas' "continuance of ancient kindness to my still obscured state, though it cannot increase my love to him, which hath ever been entirely circular."[49] Later in 1608 he dedicates Biron to "My Honourable and Constant Friend,/Sir Tho: Walsingham,Knight;/ and to/My Much Loved From His Birth, The Right/Toward and Worthy Gentleman His Son,/ Thomas Walsingham, Esquire". It is possible that he formed his connection with the Walsinghams of Scadbury in the first place through Marlowe who is known to be associated with Sir Thomas.[50]

After the publications of 1598 for the next seven years our knowledge of Chapman confines itself largely to the record of his literary work chiefly in the evidence of the

Stationers' Register and title pages. But an interesting problem confronts the biographer in connection with the interval between 1599-1604. The last entry in Henslowe's <u>Diary</u> concerning Chapman was made on 17th July, 1599[51] and we have no reason to suppose that he maintained the connection after that date. ~~E.K.~~ Sir Edmund Chambers[52] states that in 1600 or thereabout he transferred his services to the Children of the Chapel, later the Queen's Revels,[53] who were playing at the Blackfriars toward the end of that year.[54] E.K. Chambers' evidence seems here slightly unsatisfactory, for it apparently bases itself upon the <u>Gentleman Usher</u>, Chapman's comedy entered in 1605, but the date of composition and the company that produced it are unknown.[55] E.K. Chambers points out that it was written for a children's company, and so assumes for the Chapel, and dates it 1602 with a possibility of 1604. It was followed by another comedy <u>Monsieur D'Olive</u>, the title page of which with its reference to Her Maiesties Children, definitely indicates a Revels play appears to have been written in or about 1604. <u>Bussy D'Ambois</u>, Chapman's first extant tragedy, E.K. Chambers tentatively dates 1604, admitting also the possibility of 1600. Thus we have so far no reason to suppose that Chapman, between 1599-1608 when he

severed his connection with the Revels, was connected with any other company except for the statement on the title page of Bussy D'Ambois that it was acted by Paul's boys and this anomaly is satisfactorily explained by Parrott.[56] But the more recent research of Professor Sisson has shown that Chapman had quite unmistakeable dealings with the only other children's company of 1600, the boys of Pauls. In an article entitled Keep the Widow Waking,[57] Professor Sisson refers briefly to a libel case brought against Chapman prior to May, 1603. His libellous play the Old Joiner of Aldgate, no longer extant, was finished just after Christmas 1600, and was acted throughout Hilary Term, 1601 by Pauls. This piece of evidence provides for the interval between 2nd of July, 1599 and the date when Chapman entered the service of the Chapel. That date remains to be considered and the anonymous play Sir Giles Goosecap, thought by many authorities to be Chapman's,[58] may throw some light upon it. From the title page we know that it was a Chapel play and therefore almost certainly written before 4th February, 1604, when the Chapel became the Revels. Internal evidence suggests that it was written after 1601. From a reference to Sir Giles Goosecap, the Gentleman Usher proves itself to have been written later. If we accept Chapman's authorship of Sir Giles Goosecap, then

he probably left Pauls for the Chapel between 1601-4 and the Gentleman Usher followed as a Chapel play in 1602 or 1604, as has hitherto been thought. But if he did not write the former there is then no evidence that he was in the service of the Chapel before it became the Revels or until late 1604 when the Revels probably produced All Fools before its court production or slightly earlier if Monsieur d'Olive precedes the latter. Further there is no evidence that both the Gentleman Usher and Bussy D'Ambois were not Pauls plays in the ordinary way. If Chapman remained with Pauls until 1604 this needs not invalidate a 1604 date for Bussy D'Ambois. On the other hand it may, as Stoll suggests,[59] have been written in 1600 and, that being the case, might well have preceded the Old Joiner which seems to have been written during the autumn and winter of 1600. If Bussy D'Ambois was written earlier in the year the interval between the termination of his connection with Henslowe and Pauls - an interval he could probably ill-afford to have - is shortened. If, as has been suggested,[60] Charlemagne preceded Bussy D'Ambois, then there was probably no appreciable gap between his connections with either company and his life is accounted for from 1599 to 1604. The problem may never be satisfactorily settled, but ~~Dr.~~ Professor Sisson's discovery has thrown some light upon what was an obscured patch of Chapman's life, even if it has raised fresh questions.

In the year 1605 we come on to surer ground with Chapman for when he collaborated with Marston and Jonson[61] in the comedy Eastward Ho he made the second of the several luckless blunders that chequer his career. The episode is summarised by Jonson who told Drummond[62] that he had been "dilated by Sir James Murray to the King for writing something against the Scots in a play Eastward Ho and voluntarily imprisoned himself with Chapman and Marston who had written it amongst them." While Jonson and Chapman are "hurried away to bondage and fetters"[63] Marston seems discreetly to have evaporated into the country[64] and the other two have no compunction whatever in throwing the blame on to the absentee, Chapman agitatedly writing that the "chief offences are but two clawses and both of them not our own".[65] Petitions were sent out, Chapman to the king "in all dejection of never enough iterated sorrow",[66] Jonson, more phlegmatic and superlatively dignified on "prison polluted paper", complaining that he and Chapman are in prison "unexamined and unheard".[67] The trio had chosen a particularly inauspicious moment in which to bring themselves forward for the Revels had already been in trouble recently for various unspecified misdemeanours and some of its boys had been sent to prison.[68] Yet the petitions were fruitful. Chapman's one letter speaks of an

unexpected pardon[69] and in the verses he wrote for Jonson's Sejanus, published in 1605, hints his gratitude to Suffolk for his intervention in some evidently recent trouble.[70] Whether Chapman was freed as early as Jonson is uncertain for his letter speaks of a pardon for one of them and Jonson was certainly free by 7th November 1605, for he was then employed by the Privy Council about the Gunpowder Plot.[71] The affair seems to have terminated itself with the climax of a banquet when Jonson feasted his friends.[72]

For the next three years Chapman seems to have avoided conspicuousness, but in 1608 he drew trouble not only down upon himself, but upon the company with the Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Biron, the tragedy in which he made injudicious references to the French court, and so gave offence to the French ambassador, de la Boderie. The latter, in a despatch to the Marquis de Sillery of April 8th, 1608,[73] relates how,

"Environ la micaresme ces certains comédiens à qui j'avais fait deffendre de jouer l'histoire du feu mareschal de Biron, voyant toutte la cour dehors, ne laisserent de la faire, et non seulement cela, mais y introduiserent la Royne et Madame de Verneuil, la première traitant celle-cy fort mal

de paroles, et luy donnant un soufflet. En ayant eu advis de-là à quelques jours, aussi-tost je m'en allay trouver le Comte de Salsbury et luy fis plainte de ce que non seulement ces compagnons-là contrevenaient à la deffense qui le avoit esté faicte, mais y adjoustoient des choses non seulement plus importantes, mais qui n'avoient que faire avec le mareschal de Biron, et au partir de-la estoient toutes faulses dont en verité il se montra fort courreoucé." According to de la Boderie, Salisbury immediately had the players apprehended but "le principal, le compositeur" escaped. Judging from a letter to Crane,[74] who was secretary to the duke of Lennox, the affair seems to have been serious for "le compositeur", and it was evidently some time before Chapman was able to leave his shelter, which Dobelle suggests,[75] was with Crane himself. He writes in polite but irked tones.

"Not wearie of my shelter, but uncertaine why the forme of the cloude still hovers over me when the matter is disperst I write to intreate your resolution....And though I am put by the Austerities of the offended tyme to this little pacience, yet can I not be so thanklesslye, jelouse of the knowing judgment from whence your actions proceede to retaine any thought of your favours Repentaunce; or neglect

of their extension in the safe retreat; when your daungerous charge for me was so resolute and worthie."

As regards the subsequent publication of <u>Biron</u> an exasperated letter to the scrupulous licenser for the press[76] shows the difficulty Chapman was under to get it into print in presentable form.

"Sr I have not deserved what I suffer by your austeritie; if the two or three lynes you crost were spoken; my uttermost to suppresse them was enough for my discharge:— if the thrice allowance of the Counsaile for the Presentment gave not weight to draw yours after for the presse, my Breath is a hopeles action."

There is, however, no hint of any delay in publication in the S.R.entry for 5th June 1608,[77] and Parrott[78] suggests that the initial difficulties had been overcome and that the copy entered for Thorp had passed the licenser. The upshot was that the play was published in the same year with a severely cut fourth act in part one, the end of the first and beginning of the second acts missing from the second half, and a dedication to Walsingham sadly referring to "these poor dismembered poems."

As for the unlucky Revels it was already unpopular enough with James for in the same despatch of April 8th, de

la Boderie refers to an unfortunate incident of recent occurrence,

"Un jour ou deux devant (the performance of Biron at which de la Boderie was present) ilz avoient depêché leur Roy, sa mine d'Escosse et tout ses Favorits d'une estrange sorte." He goes on to describe how after his complaint James "a fait deffense de que l'on n'eust plus à jouer de Comédies dedans Londfes, pour lever laquelle defense quatres autre compagnies qui y sont encore offrent desja mille cent francs lesqueles pourront bien le en redonner la permission." This trouble over Biron seems, as E.K.Chambers observes,[79] to have precipitated the offending company into disbanding because the lawsuit papers connected with the Revels syndicate show that by July 26th, 1608 plays were no longer being performed at the Blackfriars as about that time, Kirkham divided the value of the property belonging to the syndicate among the partners.[80]

With the company no longer active at the Blackfriars Chapman probably turned his attention more closely to his non-dramatic work. Two comedies MayDay and the Widows Tears seem to have been written about 1609 and followed by the Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois in 1610, when the Revels had established itself at the Whitefriars.[81] But a letter to

the Privy Council[82] written after Prince Henry's death suggests that, at the Prince's instigation, Chapman was during the four years preceding the latter's death concentrating on his translations of Homer. In 1609 the philosophical poem the Tears of Peace was published[83] and in 1609-10 the first twelve books of the Iliad.[84] In 1611, he published the whole of the Iliad, with sixteen sonnets to as many patrons appended.[85] Chapman's connection with the Prince seems to have dated from the beginning of James' reign when he had been apparently appointed as a sewer to Prince Henry. The appointment was probably a nominal one, carrying no material benefit other than the Prince's protection. In a petition to the king after Henry's death,[86] Chapman mentions that he has received no bounties for his service. It is, of course, possible that "suytes" and "benefits" refer to extra sums of money in addition to a fixed salary.

"Humblie sheweth above nine years the late Prince Henry in place of a sewer in ordinary; And in all that time consuming his whole meanes, never receyvinge any suyte nor benifits". The Prince, so Chapman informs the Privy Council,[87] promised him £300 upon the conclusion of his translations and on his death a pension for his lifetime. The Prince's death in November, 1612 was obviously a great blow to Chapman and the darkest years of his poverty, judging from

the tone of the petitions, follow hard upon it. There is an unsigned letter[88] which may or may not belong to this period begging assistance for the "hard extremes of a poor old man ----whose better yeares was then better spent when he took pleasure in pleasuring others." The three petitions that Chapman sent to the King, the Privy Council and Northampton are humble in their demands. The pension, though mentioned to the Council, is not stressed and the petition to Northampton[89] is "made for no money; but only for some poore Copiehold of the Prince's land for 40 ll.Rent, if any such I can find." This, he says, will enable him to "proceede in the further works commaunded by his Highness," referring evidently to his intention to translate the Odyssey. But the petitions were unprofitable. As regards the sewership, Chapman had already been "put from his place under Prince Charles"[90] and from the last sad lines of the Epicedium in which he commemorated the Prince it seems that James failed to perform Henry's promise.[91]

Probably because poverty would not allow him to continue with his translations in 1613 Chapman turned back to the stage, and it is to this year that both E.K.Chambers and T.M.Parrott tentatively assign the two last plays, Chabot,

Admiral of France, and Caesar and Pompey.[92] Previous to these in 1612 Chapman had published a volume of poems[93] dedicated to Sir Edward Phillips, Master of the Rolls, containing translations of Petrarch's Seven Penitential Psalms, his own poem Christ's Hymn upon the Cross, and some Poems and Fragments, probably written over a period of years. Early in 1613 Chapman was commissioned to write a masque for the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn to perform at the marriage celebrations of the Princess Elizabeth with the Elector Palatine.[94] The masque was duly performed on 15th February, and, among all the celebrations so elaborately described by Stowe,[95] was favourably received for it came early in the series of events, and the court was not yet satiated with festivity. John Chamberlin[96] who praises the Middle Temple production writes that he had heard no great commendation of the Lords' Masque which was by Campion and had preceded Chapman's by a day while the first performance of Beaumont's masque for the Inner Temple had an unlucky reception as the king "had no edge to it", and the galleries for the audience were overcrowded. Sir Edward Phillips, from whose house the Middle Temple and Lincoln's masquers had proceeded to Whitehall, writes pleasurably to Carleton[97] that the Middle Temple masque was praised above all others and Foscarini, the Venetian ambassador, re-

members some months after that it ended with a ballet"with such finish that it left nothing to be desired".[98] In fact, everyone seems to have been pleased save Chapman and there isaletter to an unnamed paymaster,[99] probably referring to this occasion, in which he complains that the favours that he had received from the latter during the Prince's lifetime had ceased and that the same paymaster had prevented the favours of others from reaching him. Concerning the masque he writes,

"And seeing players, dancers, and painters were rewarded out of your full bounty I think it hard that I (the wryter and in part inventour)should be put with taylors and shoomakers, and such snipperados, to be paid by a bill of particulars, what such or such a piece should be priced at; or whether the whole somme might amount to above ten pounds or no."

It is in this letter that he refers to his imprisonment,"you will yet at the last be satisfied with what I have suffered; that is: losse of reputation, want and imprisonment; the daunger whereof is still pressing me." This may be an imaginative flight into the probabilities of the future. On the other hand it may be a genuine reference to a past misfortune. In the petition to the Privy Council[100] he had referred to imminent imprisonment for debt. That he was in

debt at more than one period of his life is certain, for there is a letter to an unnamed creditor[101] in which he mentions that many have forborn him for twenty-five years for twenty-five times as much. We may doubt the veracity of the figures perhaps, but the indication is clear enough. But there is no record of his imprisonment for debt or otherwise in the Gaol Delivery Register, the Register of the Privy Council or the Middlesex County records.

There are three letters[102] to suggest that, at one stage of his life, Chapman was attempting to improve his fortunes by courting a widow. But nothing seems to have come of it, and there is no record of Chapman's marriage in the Marriage Registers of London Churches. (Harleian Soc.Pub.[1])

At one point in a poverty-stricken patch of his career things seem to have improved unexpectedly, for in the same undated letter to the creditor referred to above, he writes jubilantly, "I am busie even for life" and on the strength of payment after Christmas asks for extension of credit, adding to the importunate one with a magnificent finality,"Do not insult; tys vulgar." Any attempts to date such a letter must necessarily be tentative, but since Chapman, or whoever transcribed the originals, seems to have

retained letters, which can be almost conclusively dated, dealing with a high water mark of poverty, and since this letter, if not entirely accurate, refers to debts of many years standing it is not unreasonable to date it after 1612. From its reference to expectations after Christmas, it may conceivably have been written in the winter of 1613 with Chapman referring to the results he hoped for from the Somerset-Howard wedding which had been postponed from the autumn to the end of December,[103] for which he wrote a celebration, the Andromeda Liberata.[104]

Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, and James' Favourite had been acting as a temporary secretary to the King during the period when Chapman was badgering King and Council for his pension and in 1611 when he was Viscount Rochester he had according to Shepherd, been among the many patrons of the Iliad[106] but it is not until 1614, when the Andromeda Liberata was published, that he becomes prominent as Chapman's patron. Chapman's choice of the myth of Perseus and Andromeda for the marriage of the newly-created Earl with the young, divorced wife of Essex was unhappy. He had to rush out a Justification of Andromeda Liberata,[107] the nuptial celebration having been misinterpreted in all quarters, and Chapman, to quote A.Wood,

"carped at by many."[108] If Somerset was offended by this aberration of tact on the part of a dependent he was apparently mollified, for it is in him that Homer at last finds his patron. Chapman again turns to his translations and the 1616 edition of the Whole Works of Homer"[109] which followed the 1614 publications of the Twelve Books of the Odyssey[110] and the Whole Odyssey[111] are dedicated to Somerset. But Chapman was as unhappy now in his choice of a patron as he had been earlier with Essex, for by this time, the Earl and Countess of Spmerset had been on trial for their lives on a charge of complexity in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury and Somerset was committed to the Tower.[112] But Chapman remained as faithful to his patron as to the friends of his younger days and in 1622 dedicated to him, when released from the Tower and "untimely laid aside" in compulsory retirement, both the Pro Vere[113] and the Completed Works of Homer of 1624-5.[114]

Of Chapman's life during his later years apart from his literary work we know next to nothing. Translations appear at intervals. In 1616 he dedicated the Museeus[115] to Inigo Jones, the Georgics[116] of Hesiod in 1618 to Bacon and in 1624-5 he wrote off his labours with Homer in the Batrachomyomachia and the Homeric Hymns, Except for the Eugenia[117] of 1614 and the Pro Vere on Sir Horace Vere's defence

Mannheim in 1622, he produced no more original work. After 1624-5, the silence of the nine years preceding his death is broken by the publication in 1629 of the Justification of a Strange Action of Nero's and a translation of Juvenal's Fifth Satire,[118] though we touch once again at his private affairs in the record found in a seventeenth century commonplace book[119] of a quarrel with his friend Ben Jonson with whom he had been associated, at any rate, since the time when they were both writing for Henslowe. In 1618 Jonson announced to Drummond[120] that Chapman and Fletcher were loved of him, and the quarrel probably took place within the last sixteen years of Chapman's life.[121] In the Preface to the Justification of a Strange Action Chapman speaks of "having yet once more some worthier work than this oration" but nothing seems to have come of this hint, unless indeed he was referring to the collaboration with Shirley[122] ~~that has been suggested~~. A.Wood[123] tells us that he died on 12th May,1634 and was buried in a tomb designed by Inigo Jones[124] in the churchyard of St.Giles in the Field. Habington in his Castara, published in 1635 hopes that

> "someone may be
> So seriously devout to poesie
> As to translate his reliques and fine roome
> In the warm church to build him up a tomb."

And the earlier line "'Cause careful heyers the wealthy only have" suggests that Chapman died in the same poverty in which he had lived. Habington's wish was fulfilled, for Chapman's tomb may still be seen inside the church of St. Giles.

CHAPTER 2.

THE EARLY POEMS. 1594-6.

"To form in man the image of the gods".

Section I.

To turn from the pellucid thought, the perfectly articulated expression of Elizabethan poetry to Chapman's early work is to plunge into sudden intellectual darkness, as Chapman, in an unerring image, said, into "palpable night". We are confronted with the immediate difficulties of form: of lines that after the grace of contemporary metres seem unmusical, of erudite allusions that distract the attention by their apparent irrelevance, imagery that bears no perceptible relation to the main term, and syntactical difficulties, many of which are unsolvable. We are perplexed, too, by the intricacies of what appears to be unusually prOfound thought moving at no uniform tempo, evolving itself with the leisureliness of slow-moving water only to quicken into fresh complexity, breaking without warning its logical continuity, or elucidating itself gently into a commonplace that almost

shocks us by its triviality. And, in addition to this, we are left with the disconcerting sense that this poetry is something of an anachronism in the last decade of the sixteenth century. For all that it has in common with contemporary poetry - the bursts of gusty enthusiasm and exuberance, the elaborate terminology, the jewelled imagery - we feel that it is not entirely of its century. The hands are indeed those of Esau but they throw a dark shadow as they stretch across the radiance of the Elizabethan artistic world. This poetry breaks through that unanimity of mood that characterises the literature of this period. It has little in common with the gaiety and delight of poets like Greene, Lodge or Peele. It has little to connect it with the counterpart of their mood, the swift sorrow for the evanescence of beauty beneath Time's consuming rage - that comprehension of mutability that is always peculiar to this spirit of young exhilaration. Nor in Chapman's sombre tones can we discern, as in Raleigh, anticipation of the darkness that was to eclipse the next generation of poets. There is here nothing that reflects the sickness of the man who has perceived corruption beneath the apparent form, the "skull beneath the roots of flowers".

As regards the more superficial appearance, Chapman's

conforming to certain fashions in the writing of verse announces clearly enough his Elizabethan heritage. Eager experiment was characteristic of his generation and there were not many verse forms that he did not attempt at one time or another. In his younger days, he passed from one to another with the adaptability of a Drayton. He shared the weakness of his age for an allegorical structure and for the liberty of interpretation that allegory allowed. He explored some of the wide range of possibilities afforded by classical mythology. He tried his hand at the sonnet when it was at the height of its popularity, the verse-letter beloved of Drayton, and the eulogy of national power by elaborate compliments to those who furthered it. When he chose, which was only fitfully, he could play to distraction with the ornate, highly-wrought conceits more dexterously handled by those of a greater lyrical genius. He was again of his age both in the assimilative quality of his mind and in its independence. Of all men he fulfilled Gabriel Harvey's demand for poets who were not only superficial humanists, but "exquisite artists, and curious universal schollers" for, apart from his conscious artistry, his thought derived from fields as far apart as Homer and the New Testament, Plato and Aristotle, the Neo-Platonists and the Stoics. But he is subject to no one authority, though he selects and combines from

all. He appears to be of the Renaissance to his finger tips and yet in mood his poetry isolates itself unmistakeably from that of his contemporaries and, before examining the various elements of his thought, it seems necessary to attempt to account in some measure for this isolation.

I think that it is largely due to two causes, the first being that Chapman looked upon poetry with rather more serious eyes than most of his fellow-poets. Even to men like Greville and Raleigh, for whom it was the medium for more intimate thought, poetry was only one of the modes of expression. For most Elizabethans to be a poet was only a pretty toy and, when the Court was the centre of artistic culture, poetry was regarded by the majority of men primarily as one of the social graces, by some uneasy spirits like Harington,[1] as not altogether worthy of man's profession as a Christian. But Chapman from the outset, as his prefaces testify, cherished a fierce, unusual devotion to "sacred Poesy." A Wood reported Chapman's predilection for the "Latin and Greek tongues" but not for logic or philosophy. It seems likely that, by a deeper, more thorough exploration of the classics than that of the average man and the years spent probably away from any artistic fraternity with its own standards, he had assimilated to an extraordinary degree the Homeric reverence for the poet's calling. He believed with

his age that poetry served a moral purpose,"the most material and doctrinal illustrations of truth, both for all manly information of manners in the young, all prescriptions of justice, and even Christian piety, in the most grave and high governed."[2] But he believed implicitly and perhaps more literally in the divine inspiration of the poet. He spoke of there being in poetry "a twofold rapture---one insania, a disease of the mind, and a mere madness---the other is, divinus furor, by which the sound and divinely healthful, supra hominis naturam erigitur, et in Deum transit. One a perfection directly infused from God; the other an infection obliquely and degenerately proceeding from man."[3]

In believing this he does not necessarily differ from his age, nor in the spirit of conscious craftsmanship in which he approached his art, for there again he is sharing only the delight of humanists like Spenser and Sidney in rendering the form worthy of its content. But he takes it all much more seriously than these other humanists. His conception of poetry is more constantly before his eyes. He is never forgetful of the high function of his muse "by which humanity to her height is raised". He despises and continually trounces the light-hearted verse that "every cobbler may sing to his patch". When he approaches its limpidity and clear structure of

thought he excuses his lapse "being drawn by strange instigation to employ some of my serious time in so trifling a subject". He had, towards his art, an attitude like that of Milton also, significantly enough, nurtured on the classics. The actual content of his work is not necessarily more serious than that of men like Greville or Daniel or Spenser, but to him poetry is not merely one mode of expression, one means of rationalisation, it is the only means. It is a fiercely personal thing with him, and we often become aware of a sense of strain in his early work as though he were giving too much of himself to its labour and as though, even in this close medium and despite the tumbling spate of words, some deep-sunken and essential part of his mind eludes expression and is unhappy in its resistance.

Remembering the function that he attributes to poetry we can turn to the second cause of Chapman's isolated position in Elizabethan literature. This, I think, lies in the peculiar habits of a mind that never entirely adjusted itself to its environment. Now, one of the outstanding characteristics of Elizabethan poetry is the absoluteness, the perfection of the adjustment between the poet and his environment. There is only in rare moments that dissatisfaction, that virtual lack of contact that we find in Chapman's work. All through

Elizabethan literature there is at once a radiant delight in the sense-world and a burning desire to push back into infinity the limits of human experience. Marlowe's Tamburlaine is the most complete expression of this paradox of satisfaction and aspiration. The reasons for this phenomenon seem obvious. Not only were these later years of Elizabeth's reign ones of prosperity and political security, but the revaluation of life in humanistic terms that we call the Renaissance - a revaluation only now coming to its full flowering in England - had set a truce, however temporary, to the prolonged conflict between worldly and spiritual values. In Elizabethan literature there is always this joy in the experiences of common life. The vitality of living impenetrates the novels of Nashe and Deloney, the work of the pamphleteers, the Shirburn ballads, and the jest-books. The very idealism of the Elizabethans, from their gorgeously outrageous drama to the polite, pretty aspiration of their pastoralism is cast in the terms of this life, for the perfecting of what already is, rather than for the making of all things new. But in the work of Chapman we become aware of an almost aching dissatisfaction from the outset. Apart from the Catholic poet Southwell I can think of no one of his contemporaries who could more truly say, "her nis non hoom, her nis but wildernesse". But Chapman's discontent was accentuated

and given direction by his being forced to lead a life that was uncongenial to his naturally contemplative mind. It is this failure to adapt himself to his environment that at once determines the nature of his thought and isolates him from his generation. The early poems show that Chapman was keenly aware of this isolation to the point of an acute and often pleasurably defiant self-consciousness. His dissatisfaction finds various outlets in diatribes against the literary canons of the day and the criticism levelled at his work, in scathing outbursts against his friends and recriminations against circumstances, angry, querulous, sorrowful - the varying, ever-extreme moods take him by turns. He had a very real distaste for the work necessity imposed upon him. He believed himself to be of the race of philosophers and the need of food and shelter drove him to writing comedies for Philip Henslowe. As early as the date of the <u>Shadow of Night</u> he is proclaiming his discontent but it is not until 1598, when he is in full throttle with the Admiral's that one of the bitterest, most plangent, indictments against uncongenial circumstances known to literature comes from his pen:

> "These children that will never stand alone,
> But must be nourished with corruption,
> Which are our bodies: that are traitors born
> To their own crowns, their souls;----
> These must have other crowns for meeds than merits,
> Or starve themselves, and quench their fiery spirits.

Thus as the soul upon the flesh depends,
Virtue must wait on wealth;-----
Rich mine of knowledge, O that my strange muse,
Without this body's nourishment could use
Her zealous faculties, only t'aspire,
Instructive light from your whole sphere of fire;
But woe is me, what zeal or power so ever,
My free soul hath, my body will be never
Able t'attend; never shall I enjoy
The end of my hapless birth; never employ
That smother'd fervour that in loathed embers
Lies swept from light, and no clear hour remembers."[4]

There is here that consciousness of persistent, relentless repression of "that smothered fervour" of powerful thought. Chapman seems incapable of transcending this sense of malicious circumstance. It became a kind of fixation with him. He seemed unable to live, as Marlowe apparently did, in perfect communication with the world and yet pursue untouched the hidden ways of thought. This frustration in daily life of the mind that had, by instinct, apprenticed itself to philosophy drove him to recognise more clearly and appreciate more deeply the real independence of the inner life of the mind. It is this characteristic, emerging most noticeably in the Shadow of Night and later in the Tears of Peace, that sharply distinguishes his thought from that of other Elizabethans.

It is possible that this dissatisfaction with his environment that exercised so great an influence on the content of his early work influenced also the form which,

compared with that of other poets, seems to lack their shapeliness. It is true that Chapman's aesthetic theory, expounded in Ovid's Banquet of Sense[5], impelled him toward obscurity rather than clarity of expression, but it is not sufficient to account for the inequality of his poetry. The very processes of his thought - the tortuous progressions, the sudden brilliant crystallisations, the obsessions, and the tendency toward lack of flexibility - suggest a mind that was, in some degree, withdrawn from contact with the movements of thought around it. Chapman, who fingered his pulse more astutely than most poets at this date, seems to have recognised his own faulty processes of thinking both in the passage quoted above and when he writes again in the same poem:

> "O, had your perfect eye organs to pierce
> Into that chaos whence this stifled verse
> By violence breaks;"[6]

Concerning the nature of these processes he uses the image of elemental fire breaking from close confinement with sudden force. All this goes to suggest a mind that never received by communication with others the impetus necessary not only to clarify expression but the very act of thinking. His poetry suggests the long habit of lonely thinking, acquired possibly through dissatisfaction with life causing a kind of withdrawal of the mind and a setting of it in a new direction, possibly

through long stay in the country bringing him into touch with contemporary thought too late in life, or, again, because thought was not native to the yeoman stock of which he came and the rhythm of his mind was consequently slower than that of the men with whom he mixed. At the time of the Shadow of Night he was in touch with the brilliant coterie centered round Raleigh and Hariot and, from the reports in the depositions taken at Cerne of the supper-table conversation that worsted the unfortunate Ironside, we can guess that he was in contact with intellects of an adroitness that far outpaced his own. Whatever the reasons, the effect upon Chapman's early work is obvious enough. Not only is there a lack of control of the movement of thought and a certain self-consciousness of expression, but there is also wanting that final act of detachment of the artist from the thought-content which, by its expression as form, constitutes a work of art and not merely a piece of specialised thinking. With Chapman we are a stage nearer the workshop. He seems to write in the very act of thinking and much of his poetry serves as a clearing-house for unsorted material and ill-digested, barely relevant borrowings. It accounts for imagery that is not precise because the term it symbolises is not fully determined, and for turgidity and inarticulateness because the thought is not formulated

sufficiently to be denuded of all but the essentials. Later, of course, when he turned to drama his thought was impelled somewhat towards clarification and selection by the exigencies of the form in which he was working. For our present purpose, while this habit of mind must necessarily depreciate the artistic value of his poetry, it serves to bring us into a closer contact with the sequence of ideas that were most fundamental to Chapman. And, since we know that only thought of the most profound nature was considered fitting material for artistic form, it becomes worth while to examine more closely in his early work, those elements of thought as they coalesce slowly into the humanistic philosophy that other Elizabethan and Jacobean poets in closer contact with contemporary eddies of thought failed to formulate, that perhaps only Spenser would have recognized in its entirety, the deep implications of which Marlowe may have come to realize at the last.

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Section II.

The Shadow of Night is, in a sense, the most valuable of all Chapman's work. It is the most difficult to understand because, as Miss Spens[7] points out, the logic of the poem is that of mood rather than that of thought and the allegory undergoes changes during the passage of the poem that correspond to the changes of mood rather than admit of logical interpretation. But for us it is at once a kind of ground-plan of Chapman's philosophy and the indication of the natural tendencies of his mind. Like most of the Elizabethans, Chapman used allegory easily enough. But, in his case, it seems here and in the Tears of Peace, to be the necessary medium for the expression, not of discursive thought or critical analysis which can, when he chooses, define itself more directly, but for the transmission of those reaches of experience as natural to a man as breathing and defiant of definition. The strange universe of the Shadow of Night, impressionistically portrayed in a wealth of suggestion, is at once the symbol of the spiritual universe of which Chapman was possibly a more natural inhabitant than most Elizabethans, and it is what Miss Spens calls his "poetic fatherland", the distinction between the two being perhaps not altogether valid. It owes its form to the fact that Chapman's imagination, frustrated under the material conditions

imposed upon it, is creating in terms the exact opposite of those used by his contemporaries. The world of Night, described in the Hymnus ad Noctem and the Hymnus ad Cynthiam, is startlingly different from the world as observed by other poets. The scenery of the Arcadia and England's Helicon with its translucent rivers and clear-cut hills, the fallow fields of Greene's plays speak of contentment with the world of fact. In Elizabethan poetry it seems to be always high noon, an age set forever in summer where perennial daisies kiss our feet and old wives dally in perpetual sunshine. But Chapman's discontent with life externalises itself in the "soft shades of sable funeral", where the soul can grow into its full stature freed from its bondage to the "shameless Day". It is a world created for the aching imagination to lose itself in infinite recessions, now close with thickets and dense forests, now far-ranging in the dispassionate silence of "deserts and inaccessible hills", a world of moonlit spaces and "hosts of stars", dominated by an everlasting night. This is a universe made for all those who are suffering beneath the tyrannies of the world. It is an avenue of escape and release for the tortured spirit. Naturally introspective Chapman generalises the diagnosis of his own mental life in describing the dual life that circumstance

forces upon menand the Hymnus ad Noctem shows the individual life absorbed into the manifold activities of the day,

> "Statesmen to council, judges to their places,
> Merchants to commerce, mariners to seas".[8]

until once more night releases the fettered energies of the mind,

> "All things before thy forces put in rout,
> Retiring where the morning fired them out."[9]

Chapman's consciousness of the repression of his natural activity reveals itself at intervals during the course of the poem. He realises the strange symbolism he is using and that he is deviating from the normal orbit of experience when he writes:

> "Ye living spirits then, if any live,
> Whom like extremes do like affections give,
> Shun, shun, this cruel light, and end your thrall,
> In these soft shades of sable funeral:
> . . . . . .
> You that ne'er had birth, nor ever proved,
> How dear a blessing 'tis to be beloved,
> Whose friends'idolaterous desire of gold,
> To scorn and ruin have your freedom sold;
> Whose virtues feel all this, and show your eyes,
> Men made of Tartar, and of villanies.
> Aspire th'extraction, and the quintessence
> Of all the joys in earth's circumference:
> . . . .
> Kneel men with me, full worm-like on the ground,
> And from th'infectious dunghill of this round,
> From men's brass wits and golden foolery,
> Weep, weep your souls, into felicity:
> Come to this house of mourning,serve the Night."[10]

On the whole, night had an evil connotation to an age as realistic as the Elizabethan. It is, of course, the time when, according to Drayton, living things

> "Which through the day disjoined by several flight,
> The quiet evening yet together brings,
> And each returns unto his Love,"[11]

and it brought the balm of sleep to the racked lover and to the mind possessed by sorrow, but to most it stands for the terror of the unknown, for the distortion of beauty by shadows. It is a time when men must not walk late. To Spenser night is

> "the foule Mother of annoyaunce sad,
> sister of heavie death and nourse of woe."[12]

while to Dekker it is the time when all sinister manifestations of evil hold witches' sabbath in the London streets. For the Jacobean Donne it is the dead hour of bloodless, drained vitality,"Times' dead low water". To some poets night has an even graver, more poignant meaning. To Raleigh it signifies the ultimate desolation of the soul, the long night of death when "Hero hath left no lampe to Guyde her love". Shakespeare recognises the evil power of the moon when she came too near the earth. But the old, primeval energy to which Chapman's every nerve responds Marlowe alone seems to realize:

"night deepe drencht in mystie Acheron
Heav'd vp her head, and halfe the world vpon
Breath'd darkenesse forth."[13]

To Chapman night has several interpretations that correspond to successive reaches of experience. It is, as Miss Spens shows, the condition under which man attains to full imaginative freedom and the hounds of his desire can pursue the panther Poetry unsnared by the thickets of the day. It is the time when the senses function most adequately and man is in a state of unusual awareness and receptivity. The outer world becomes doubly significant because only in this state is he properly adjusted to it. Consequently night is the period of the greatest creative activity, when the "working soul" is liberated and stimulated by the deep excitement that is the proper condition of such activity and is distinct from the nervous restlessness of the imperfectly adjusted existence of the day.

"No pen can anything eternal write
That is not steeped in humour of the night."[14]

But night carried, I think, an even deeper significance than this for Chapman. There are many indications in the Shadow of Night that it symbolises for him a kind of grace of spirit that some decades later might have received the more direct expression of "I saw Eternity the other night". The mood in which he writes of night unites the extremes of religious

and aesthetic experience. It is at once one of profound excitement and a transcendent calm. It stimulates him to poetry that combines the ecstasy of sacrificial dancing in its heavy metric beats and ascending tides of emotion with the contemplative quality of some of the seventeenth century religious poetry. Night was both "Sorrow's dear sovereign and the queen of rest" and "the peaceful mother both of beasts and men". She was "the day of deep students, most contentful night" letting

> "sweet seas of golden humour forth----
> Proclaiming silence, study, ease, and sleep."[15]

Night was a subjective state of the soul finding its looked for relaxation of peace and the energy and excitement, akin to the old, primitive energy of the life force. The latter aspect is most strikingly presented in the vision of Night at the end of the first hymn, sweeping with her revelry across the sky to bursts of wild music. The progress of the Hymnus ad Noctem makes it clear that night was to Chapman a condition that, in some way, partially recaptured the ancient order of things, the union of peace and energy that is the ultimate of philosophy, before what he calls "Night of Mind" descended upon men. And, like Vaughan, its darkness seems to hold for him the same significance as fullness of light for Milton:

"There is in God men say
A deep but dazzling darkness---
O for that night that I in Him
Might live invisible and dim."

This is by no means characteristic of the Elizabethan period. The Elizabethans seem to maintain a far more perfect equilibrium between the material and spiritual worlds. Tamburlaine epitomises this in the way his thought turns swiftly and easily from the pursuit of the concrete into the austerity of abstractions almost mathematical, returning again with the same facility. But Chapman dwells more completely in the spiritual world than men who found greater satisfaction than he in the material, though the experience of this is, as I suggested, half unconscious and only communicable in the form of allegory. In later years, when the scepticism of the next generation exerted its pressure upon him, he was to formulate it more closely both in his drama and his poetry. But the whole progress of the Shadow of Night is the affirmation of his spiritual inheritance, and, moving from the particular to the universal, of the spiritual inheritance of humanity.

The Shadow of Night is akin to much of the medieval poetry in its forlorn consciousness of man's lost perfection,

and, in its retrospective character, looks back to the original divine order with a kind of spiritual nostalgia rather than forward like Spenser to an endless Sabbath. This sense of loss with its corresponding imaginative vision of perfection persists throughout his life. The symbol of the original order that Chapman uses in the Hymnus ad Noctem is the curious one of Chaos. It is a generally popular image with the Elizabethans, but to all, without, as far as I know, exception, it symbolises the evil of disorder rather than order. In the seventh canto of the Faerie Queene Mutability is the child of old Chaos. Chaos is the symbol of the disintegration of the set of spiritual values of Othello's universe, while to the seventeenth century Milton it is the condition of absolute inharmony to which the cosmos may conceivably return if man fails in his atonement. But Chapman sees chaos as the very essence of the creative force of which the movement of the elements was the expression. It is for him the brooding darkness that precedes creation, the spirit of God upon the waters.

But Chapman is heavily oppressed with the loss of perfection. The confusion of his own life causes him to be aware of the confusion in the universe. He cannot rationalise it, and he cannot leave it alone. It is a kind of

obsession with him. Because he cannot understand it he tends to exaggerate it and believes that the universe is returning to a second chaos that contains the seeds not of creation but of destruction. His picture of the world's sickness recalls the destruction motif of Macbeth,

> "All are transform'd to Caledonian boars,
> That kill our bleeding vines, displough our fields,
> Rend groves in pieces; all things nature yields
> Supplanting; tumbling up in hills of dearth,
> The fruitful disposition of the earth."[16]

But his conception of chaos cannot be said, at this stage, to anticipate that of the next century. In varying degrees many of the next generation were driven toward the assumption that the law of the universe was in itself evil and the source of the world's disorder. But with Chapman the confusion has been magnified to chaos by an inability to account for or explain it away. The confusion is not a metaphysical one. He is not distressed like Spenser by the grim spectacle of Mutability or upset by the new Copernican upheavals. In common with most humanists he was an intense moralist and the confusion is to him a moral one, a loss of the true standards of humanity. The Elizabethans would have understood the Hymnus ad Noctem where the Jacobeans in their completer sense of loss would have found it inadequate. The

experience of confusion breeds in him an unusually acute apprehension of order that becomes with him an ideal because he believes that there once has been order throughout the cosmos and that an absolute order is proper to the universe. His mind ponders and works over the ground, eking out the occasional poverty and vagueness of thought with fantastic imagery and borrowed allegory[17] and so overloading his poem as he analyses in general terms the causes of the apparent confusion. The analytic powers that are unusually searching when applied to habits of mind and the accessible data of his own emotional life are apt to leave him floundering in the commonplaces of Renaissance ethics so that he takes refuge in angry, heavy-pounder satire, and valuable thought is lost in the material drafted in. For Chapman the moral confusion of the world derives from one source.

The relationship between God and man is broken, and as a consequence, the principle upon which existence is ordered is eliminated. Chapman uses the precise image of the dancers who are apparently gyrating without music so that the absolute relationship between musical thought and spatial projection appears to be lost and the latter loses thereby its significance. The responsibility for the loss of the significance of life Chapman would, in accordance with

orthodox theological teaching, throw upon man. The efficient cause of the "self-love" that has obtained in man and overthrown the disciplining powers, "the religious curb", that organised life he finds to be the "stepdame Night of Mind" or "blindness of the mind". It is this stress upon intellectual capacity, the loss of the power of rational thought to order life where Christian dogma would refer to original sin and the fall that marks Chapman's divergence from the religious ideas of his age. Theology, the darker aspect of the inheritance bequeathed to the Renaissance humanists by the medieval Church, burdened the century with its insistence upon the cardinal points of doctrine that limited the "free born powers of royal man" - original sin, the conflict between spirit and flesh, the divine law of logical and absolute justice. One inevitable reaction against the dominance of such repressive dogma finds expression in the Satanism of which Faustus is the most conspicuous example. But Chapman seems to have maintained a serene disregard for those tenets of his religion that lamed the thought of its other adherents. His faith was instinctive rather than specific, and he was less of a Christian, as the term would then be understood than many of his contemporaries, though

there is no record of his ever voicing the "atheistical" opinions of his friends. In any case, the Shadow of Night displays an orientation of mind that differentiates him from the group of men with whom he was in contact.

For Chapman is not primarily concerned with the principles of the universe. His thought does not turn naturally to speculate upon the nature of things, far less to the restless questioning that was to wreck the "amorousness of an harmonious soul" in Donne. He likes indeed to find a cause for every effect, as the plays and the Tears of Peace show, but the "thinne subtill knittinges of thinges" scarcely trouble him, and in the Hymnus ad Noctem he maintains his foothold without stepping over the thin line of demarcation into metaphysics. It seems possible that he does not even, at this stage, recognise fully the snares that lay open to the passionate intellect of a Marlowe. Marlowe's perception of the nature of the soul and the clarity of his idea of God,[18] together with the unswerving compactness of Raleigh's translations from Virgil and Proclus in the History of the World[19] testify to thought that goes unerringly to "the principles and originals of things" with that vision which, grounded upon the interplay of the destructive and creative

faculties, is the prerogative of artist and scientist. But Chapman accepts as a premise the immutable facts of being, and, without query, with that simplicity that yet marks the most profound thinkers, the goodness of the God that "sits on high and neuer sleeps". As I have indicated, he perhaps was partly by nature, partly by circumstance, more at his ease in Zion than many men and it was, with other fundamental elements of his thought, his instinctive acceptance of what Faustus' ruthless logic denied that saved him, on the one hand, from the spiritual defeat of Faustus and, on the other, from the Jacobeans' reading of life as a "tale told by an idiot".

The most outstanding characteristic of the whole body of his work, the fact that checks and arrests our minds in wonder is Chapman's achievement of the permanent integration between the Christian and humanist philosophies where the majority of his contemporaries, in many ways better balanced in their outlook, though crippled by the dogma from which he was free failed. The group of early poems and his Homer translations show that he possessed what amounts almost to a worship of the familiar figure of man. All through his work, though strained at times near to breaking point, there stands this reverence for and belief in the beauty and natural goodness of "God's great temple". The conflict

between earthly and spiritual values he despatches promptly. The material world is indeed to him bitterly inadequate and he recognises the need for himself and others of some focus point beyond those that it can offer, but he never denies the value of the earthly career nor sees the aspiring spirit of man to be at real variance with the power of God. Where Marlowe's thought ranges over the whole arc of existence, questioning even what he instinctively accepted, Chapman narrows his scope to one segment of that whole. He is preoccupied with the nature of man's experience in his earthly life, coming to recognise the extraordinary complexity of this experience but, like Spenser, tending always toward his spiritualisation in his affirmation of the "long lost records of your human bliss". The Kingdom of Heaven for Chapman is in part to be found upon earth. The difference between him and Marlowe can be seen in one instance. Where the latter, in an effort to limit the abstract and bring it within the bounds of human comprehension, asks directly "What is beauty?" Chapman who, in <u>Ovid's Banquet of Sense</u>, is covering much the same ground demands no adequate definition but examines rather the influence beauty exerts over man. The difference is no slight one.

But we cannot say that the problem of good and evil as it is evident in the cosmos escapes Chapman. It is

rather that like Shakespeare he deliberately limits the scope of his thought to the corresponding conflict immediately apprehendable in the mind, though a long passage in the Shadow of Night shows, in its allegory of the ancient and tragic warfare between day and night, that he is keenly aware of war in heaven waged as civilisation after civilisation rises and passes, and looking to the eventual defeat of day with the blazing intensity of the seer in the Voluspa:

> "O then most tender fortress of our woes
> That bleeding lie in virtue's overthrows
> Hating the whoredom of this painted light:
> Raise thy chaste daughters, ministers of right,
> The dreadful and the just Eumenides,
> And let them wreak the wrongs of our disease,
> Drowning the world in blood, and stain the skies
> With their spilt souls, made drunk with tyrannies.
>
> Fall, Hercules from heaven, in tempests hurl'd
> And cleanse this beastly stable of the world:
> Or bend thy brazen bow against the sun
> As in Tartessus, when thou hadst begun
> Thy task of oxen: heat in more extremes
> Than thou wouldst suffer, with his envious beams.
> Now make him leave the world to Night and dreams.
> Never were virtue's labours so envied
> As in this light: shoot, shoot, and stoop his pride.
> Suffer no more his lustful rays to get
> The earth with issue: let him still be set
> In Somnus' thickets: bound about the brows,
> With pitchy vapours and with ebon boughs."[20]

But this is purely dramatic, the momentary ranging of thought from the lesser to the universal concept. Its economy and concentration are due to the sudden distance focussing,

not to thought at close grips with irrefragable logic as Faustus' was. Chapman's is not a mind to break itself upon an idea. It has not that originality that is as destructive as it is creative. What it evolves or inherits it accepts and only pressure from without, the continuous process of attrition, can drive it to a reconsideration. Nor has his mind, in any case, the resilient quality of Marlowe's that can yet endure a complete metaphysical catastrophe, nor further the purely intellectual quality that can move freely among abstract ideas. And, except for these brief moments of widened vision, Chapman is concerned less with the universe than with man.

The Shadow of Night gives us, then, four important indications: Chapman's attitude toward the major problems of thought, the scope of his enquiry, and, through his symbolism, his introspective habits, and the tension at which his mind maintained itself. In Ovid's Banquet of Sense, published a year later, the scope of his interest becomes more marked, for he no longer attempts to convey his whole conception, but deliberately limits the range of his thought, and, by sub-jecting what had been the result of intense feeling to closer intellectual processes, pursues a design based on the logic of thought and not of mood, that is at times almost too clear, the structure showing white through the texture of the poem. His allegory is the encounter of Ovid with the lovely Corinna that had resulted

in the writing of the Art of Love and is to a "poet who seemingly has as little of Ovid's delicate sophistication as Chapman, a ludicrously incongruous subject. But the allegory is the most diaphanous of disguises for Chapman's thesis: the function of beauty in human experience. Now this is no new theme to Chapman for the Hymnus ad Cynthiam was almost wholly concerned with the pursuit of an ideal that assumes various disguises while still maintaining its essential nature, and is pursued with ill-success during the day when man's natural powers are not functioning in their highest degree. In the Shadow of Night, the ideal beauty had been Cynthia, the moon goddess. In Ovid's Banquet of Sense she becomes Corinna, though the interpretation of the last can never be quite exact for Chapman uses one term to cover several meanings, Corinna sometimes being the beauty immediately cognised by the senses, more often the ideal beauty described with a quaint Marlovian echo as

> "the' extraction of all fairest dames:
> The fair of beauty as whole countries come
> And show their riches in a little room."[21]

Though we cannot doubt that the essential nature of both Corinna and Cynthia are the same, the aspects of beauty that he presents in both are different and evoke different

moods in the subject of the experience. It seems possible that Chapman, who understands something of the intricacies of the human mind and its consequent fluctuations of mood, realises that the incredible complexities of an experience of this nature cannot be reduced to one level. In the earlier poem the mood is one of a meditative ecstasy that expresses itself in a certain appropriate gravity of speech.

> "Peaceful and warlike and the power of fate,
> In perfect circle of whose sacred state
> The circles of our hopes are compassed:
> All wisdom, beauty, majesty, and dread,
> Wrought in the speaking portrait of thy face."[22]

But Corinna suggests the suddenly startled, breathless emotions. She has the "integrity of fire":

> "The downward-burning flame
> Of her rich hair did threaten new access
> Of venturous Phaeton to scorch the fields;
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Then cast she off her robe and stood upright
> As lightning breaks out of a labouring cloud;
> Or as the morning heaven casts off the night,
> Or as that heaven cast off itself, and show'd
> Heaven's upper light, to which the brightest day
> Is but a black and melancholy shroud;
> Or as when Venus strived for sovereign sway
> Of charmful beauty in young Troy's desire,
> So stood Corinna, vanishing her tire."[23].

To most of the Elizabethan sonneteers who had interested themselves in even a superficial Platonism, beauty lies beyond the immediate scope of experience. To Chapman, with his partial dissatisfaction in the sense world it has a

curiously remote quality. In both these poems, and in the Coronet to his Mistress Philosophy, he conveys this idea, peculiarly valuable to him, of the remoteness and mystery of these transcendent powers of beauty and wisdom sustaining in chastity their existence, independent of the current of human life and repelling the "sun of base desires".

> "as the cloudy bosom of the tree,
> Whose branches will not let the summer see
> His solemn shadows; but do entertain
> Eternal winter."[24]

To the quickened sight of Ovid beauty exists in a condition of absolute repose, the complete cessation of all activity. His description of Corinna lying in the quintessence of stillness reveals a quality of Chapman's genius scarcely realised before Hero and Leander, so foreign is it to his usual vigour as though a Brobdingnagian should play with a spider's web.

> "She lay, and seem'd a flood of diamant
> Bounded in flesh; as still as Vesper's hair
> When not an aspen-leaf is stirr'd with air.
>
> She lay at length, like an immortal soul
> At endless rest in blest Elysium."[25]

It is when Ovid has sold his freedom for a look and revealed his presence in the garden to Corinna that Chapman comes full into the flood-light of Renaissance thought. We have noticed that the Elizabethans had set a truce to the conflict that

had perpetuated itself through the Middle Ages between the flesh and the spirit. For a brief moment the material world and the spiritual lie to one tangent. But for all the infiltration of humanist values the old mist rust of the senses persists, deeply rooted in a theology that laid at their door the blame for the fall of man. The senses are

> "the Lures of lust that never lyn
> To draw the world to be a prey to woe;
> These make frail flesh and Blood the founts of sinne,
> From whence all mortall miseries doe floe----
> so that these thinges
> The World to Hell and Hell to horror bringes."[26]

This Calvinism underlying the humanist mood of Elizabethan literature, pushed for the most part out of mind like a half-forgotten ghost, is the root of the mistrust of love and beauty that clouds Sidney's sonnets and excludes God's grace from Faustus when, sick with defeat, he turned to Helen. This accounts for the neoplatonic tone of many of the sonnet sequences, for the Hymns to Heavenly Love and Beauty, and, in another sphere, for the spate of Puritan literature denouncing the drama, then finding its first freedom, while Hooker's cautious justification of the senses as the medium for some measure of knowledge derives from the same source. But it scarcely touches the man who is as free as Chapman from the inhibitions of theology and as little subject to conventional Christianity. There are evidences of a stern moral sense in

Hero and Leander but of that Calvinism that strikes at the very foundations of man's well-being there is hardly a trace. In the close debate between Ovid and Corinna, Chapman covers pretty well the arguments that were playing in the minds of othe Elizabethans but the tone of the argument is frigid. That he felt the need of answering them is certain, for he goes out of his way in what is admittedly a digression to find a permanent value for beauty against the ephemeral joy of the moment. He handles his argument in, for him, an unusually methodical way. The Phaedrus and the Symposium supply him with the concession that the pursuit of beauty must result in good deeds, for the moralist ever alert in him cannot tolerate a good gained at another's expense. It is a frank demand for the immediate satisfaction of the senses that he puts forward and it does not appear to collide with the austerer ideal of the Shadow of Night. He has no doubts that this garden of Adonis is a finer place than a House of Holiness. He puts forward a strong plea for the Contentment "that is our heaven" and necessary to the art of living, and goes on to find the action of the senses is in itself no harm, the touchstone being the attitude of the controlling mind, forestalling Comus and echoing Marlowe's Hero and Leander with the argument that "hid beauties lose their ends

and wrong their rights", responding to the contention that

"there is contact not by application
Of lips or bodies, but of bodies' virtues"[27]

with the definite and unmistakeable "'tis thy substance must my longings ease", and finding most powerful justification for the freedom of natural desires in the statement that

"Nature doth not sensual gifts infuse
But that with sense she still intends their use."[28]

But the argument is not the most important part of the poem. Chapman is sure of his ground and there are no real conflicting doubts to trouble him. It is the repercussion of contemporary thought and it passes across his artistic work, like shadows across a hillside, without scarring it.

The justification of the senses proceeds alongside of more original thought and the most interesting parts of the poem are those where he elaborates ideas only suggested in the Shadow of Night. He has already shown the inner conflict in man befogged in a night of mind, marbled in ill by shameless day. The idea of an inner chaos in the microcosmos is an important one in Chapman's work and occurs again in Ovid's Banquet of Sense when he writes

"My life that in my flesh a chaos is
Should to a golden world be thus digested".[29]

Taken with his analysis of the function of the senses it yields one of the most fundamental parts of his philosophy.

His definition of the function of the senses runs:

> "The sense is given us to excite the mind,
> And that can never be by sense excited,
> But first the sense must her contentment find,
> We therefore must procure the sense delighted
> That so the soul may use her faculty,"[30]

implying that in man's search for an ideal the whole organism must be stirred to activity. Again he writes

> "Elysium must with virtue gotten be,
> With labours of the soul and continence,
> And these can yield no joy with such as she,
> She is a sweet Elysium for the sense."[31]

Beneath the apparent guilelessness of the poem, the seeming triviality of its allegory, and its enraptured hyperboles of expression we can detect the penetrating mind of Chapman analysing the elements of one of the deeper and more important experiences of the soul. There are, he finds, two kinds of activity, the contemplative described in the "Coronet for His Mistress Philosophy" where the ideal of contemplation is, in some measure, attained by "labours of the soul and continence", the other involves relationship to the outer world, the mediator between the soul and this being the body. Chapman approaches the old question of the relations between soul and body not with the *a priori* assumption of the medieval that the relation is a negative one and the body the prison of the soul, but that there is some positive union between them, however subtle, and he sees the flesh, not as "the dust

which good men from their feet must throw" but as the instrument of the soul, one means by which it may lift itself out of its chaos toward the face of God.

In considering the nature of man's contact with beauty he describes the whole process of sense stimulation in the full and heightened style he threatened in the Preface and when using the ornate imagery of his age a little clumsily and uneasily, as a man wears borrowed clothes. But there is a curious sensitiveness and precision in his descriptions that the heavy full-blown conceits cannot hide. The physical effects of musical notes are conveyed with exactness

"nimble feet
Tread my ears labyrinth".[32]

He knows how the stimulus is passed from the receptive organs to the commonsense, and thence to the spirits, and so to the mind. He treats not only the function of each sense in turn, and with a certain delicacy and discrimination, but also the relationship between the senses, showing how the stimulation of one brings another into activity in response to the desire for totality of experience,

"This motion of my soul, my fantasy
Created by three senses put in act,
Let justice nourish with thy sympathy,
Putting my other senses into fact."[33]

The poem bears obvious relation to the physiological treatises then fashionable and to the later Microcosmos and Purple

Island". Yet it is written from a different and, at that time, an unusual angle, being not the formal exposition of the psycho-physical but bringing this within the scope of aesthetic experience and showing as far as possible the very nature of this experience as the whole being is stimulated into activity,

> "And as a pebble cast into a spring,
> We see a sort of trembling circle rise,
> One forming other in their issuing,
> Till over all the fount they circulise;
> So this perpetual motion making kiss
> Is propagate through all my faculties,
> And makes my breast an endless fount of bliss." [34]

The emotional effect, so pronounced as to seem to evoke a physical response he has already described:

> "As the fire fades the parched stubble burns
> So fades my flesh and into spirit turns." [35]

And, beside the rapture of the immediate experience, he conveys something of the accompanying restlessness, the eternal dissatisfaction that has always been the tragedy of the partial realisation of an ideal no vertue can entirely digest,

> "So I alas! faint echo of this kiss,
> Only re-iterate a slender part
> Of that high joy it worketh in my heart." [36]

The experience that precedes creative activity and by which our lives are ordered and regulated has been described with a psychological insight that would not disgrace later schools of psychological criticism.

But Chapman makes it clear that the senses must be put through a kind of discipline before the "chaos of corporeal powers" as he calls it in the Andromeda Liberata can be digested to a golden world. This is stressed later in the Tears of Peace. He would probably have distinguished between true disciplined sensory experience and the indiscriminate wallowing of some contemporary poets. Such disciplining if one can use so rigorous a term, appears to consist not only in the understanding of the proper usage of the senses not to

> "transform into corrupt effects
> What they receive from nature's purities",[37]

but also to exist in a kind of wise passiveness, a state of awareness:

> "Gentle and noble are their tempers framed,
> That can be quicken'd with perfumes and sounds,
> And they are cripple-minded, gout-wit lamed,
> That lie like firelit blocks, dead without sounds --
> They were mere flesh were not with them delighted,
> And every such is perished like a beast,
> As all they shall that are so foggy-sprighted."[38]

And the result of this awareness when sense by sense is quickened to fulfil its function until the whole organism is absorbed in activity is the spiritualisation of the body, the stimulus acting as a plastic power.

> "the mind being clear, the body may be used,
> Which perfectly your touch can spiritualise;
> As by the great elixir is transfused
> Copper to gold, - "[39]

Chapman seems to have been one of the first to understand a little

"How exquisitely the individual mind
(And the progressive powers perhaps no less
Of the whole species) to the external world
Is fitted -and how exquisitely too, -
The external world is fitted to the mind." [40]

"The individual mind" certainly for Chapman was not unaffected by the very atmospheric conditions of the external world. In The Conspiracy of Biron he shows it sensitive as a seismograph in its lowering of vitality and change of mood that corresponded to a change in conditions.[41] The relations between man and the sense world are repeatedly noted by Chapman. In the Shadow of Night, the latter takes on a new significance by moonlight, things that the grosser light of day had obscured becoming apparent to the freed and purified senses. In Bussy D'Ambois, Bussy, at the height of his spiritual development becomes mysteriously attuned to the universe while in The Conspiracy of Biron the idea seems to have consolidated itself. Biron who exists in a state of spiritual intoxication and whose senses, to use Mr.Eliot's phrase, are at his finger-tips feels an inexplicable kinship with the whole scheme of existence. His life has, in fact, been digested to a golden world:

"What place is this, what air, what region
In which a man may hear the harmony
Of allthings moving? Hymen marries here
Their ends and uses and makes me his temple." [42]

Chapman's idea seems to be that there is some link between all forms of life that binds them in "sacred harmony" and that, through the senses directed by the mind, man exists in some peculiarly complete relationship with them, being at once the final link in the chain that binds these forms together and an individual entity, receiving a kind of vibration from other forms. It is an idea that runs throughout his early work, and, at the same time, proclaims his kinship not only with Spenser but with the Neo-Platonist, Bruno, though Bruno's pantheism is missing in Chapman's conception and Spenser's plea,[43] derived from Plato, that the worship of material objects is the prelude to the worship of the spiritual does not seem as important to him as to Spenser. Again, Chapman feels no real need for justification of the senses, and the idea of man's relationship to the sense-world seems Wordsworthian rather than Renaissance Platonist. It is a deeply humanistic reach of thought and its presence in Chapman's poetry helps us, perhaps, to understand why the philosophy he acquired from Cicero and Epictetus never entirely grafted itself on to his thought, and how he ultimately withstood both the bleak scepticism that came when men woke from the sweet and golden dream of the

Renaissance to fear that Heaven lay the farther off for "this Pedantery
Of being taught by sense and fantasy."[44]

The bitterness of disillusion swept like a cold wind over the next century. Knowledge confounds knowledge. Greville bids man look to his end and dream no more of curious mysteries. Donne pityingly inquires of the perplexed, labyrinthical soul "In this thy flesh what dost thou know?" Webster discovers too late that to look up to heaven is to blind oneself, and Davies is equally disenchanted by the profitless knowledge of this poor world:

> "And yet, alas, when all our lamps are burned,
> Our bodies wasted and our spirits spent,
> When we have all the learned volumes turned
> Which yield men's wits, both help and ornament:
> What can we know or what can we discern
> When error chokes the windows of the mind?"[45]

It is a triumph of Renaissance thought that can assert not only the value of human experience but also a spiritual relationship, vital as an electric current, between man and the sense world. Where others saw diversity Chapman saw only unity: "holy in the description or dilation of His works; holy in the connection or concatenation of them: and holy in the union of them in a perpetual and uniform law."[46]

But in Ovid's Banquet of Sense there are moments when this exact relationship between man and the sense world

or, as the idea here presents itself, between man and beauty seems perilously insecure. To give oneself over wholly to the pursuit of an ideal is, as Chapman realises, to sell oneself into slavery for what may be but a poor return and he discovers with a shock of misgiving that, in laying his soul's rest on so fair a face, he has forged his own fetters. The validity of theory that would regulate the life of the emotions is shaken by a sudden poignant invasion of knowledge.

> "So unassail'd I am quite overthrown,
> And in my triumph bound in slavery.
> O Beauty! still thy empire swims in blood".[47]

The power of beauty is, after all, two-edged. In the sudden swift rush of feeling he realises its full strength, almost to the point of seeing it as its own justification when Greece was, for its sake, summoned to arms.

> "O Beauty, how attractive is thy power!
> For as the life's heat clings about the heart,
> So all men's hungry eyes do haunt thy bower."[48]

And the whole poem is coloured by an uneasy sense of personal enslavement, freedom sold for a look. It is an uneasiness Chapman knows to be justified. "Beauty's treasure never can be told." The ideal is not easily obtainable. Ovid never has his bliss. Like the panther in the Hymnus ad Cynthiam it leads men through gardens and groves and the rough thickets

now changing its form, now deceiving its pursuers to anticipate the capture but in reality always ahead of them. And this is the peculiar comprehension of Chapman and the vitality of the poem. Where Tamburlaine, dominated by an idea, pursued it with the swift rise of a javelin, conquering by the very force of the mind, all obstacles, Chapman understands rather better the rigours and mockery of the search for an ideal that cannot be defined to an indifferent world, the half realisation of which is a torture, the full an impossibility. To both Marlowe in Tamburlaine and Chapman the important thing is the eternal fact of beauty. Arguments bandied round it must have passed over Marlowe at this point as easily as over Chapman, but where the one is dazzled by the glory and terror of the winged pursuit of that ideal the other, the older, more sombre mind sees both this, but sees as well the underlying pity and anguish of the halting search. It is a depth of insight that strengthens in his drama to a deep compassion.

The Coronet for His Mistress Philosophy was published in the same volume as Ovid's Banquet of Senses and, though form and diction are that of the sonnet sequences of the age, marks a deliberate departure from Petrarchan love strains, the

> "Muses that sing Love sensual empery---
> Blown with the empty breath of vain desire."[49]

Chapman's high-handed intolerance of those who took their muse with lighter hearts injects venom into his verses. The saint whom he serves is Philosophy, and he worships her, like Keats the forgotten Psyche, with the more ardour for her neglect in these dog-days. Through the conventional protestations and top-heavy conceits the labouring mind of Chapman conveys something, but not all of his idea. Constraint touches lightly the convolutions of the verse. Chapman's conception of Philosophy or Wisdom evolves itself, only in bitter contrast to its absence among his contemporaries, plebeians to an aristocrat of knowledge. To Greville and his circle Philosophy, as Chapman uses the word, is Scientia, the knowledge of the universe, to Bacon in its highest form "Prima Philosophia", the science that comprehends in itself all other sciences. Chapman, coming into the Platonic tradition, gives it a wider meaning and less precise because it stands for a scarcely formulated ideal that exists in and, at the moment, for the imagination. Philosophy is for him the absolute wisdom that may in some measure be apprehended in this life. It is the "beam of God", the light that is the antithesis of the mind's darkness, and that can be perceived only through patience, and continence, and the consecration of thought. For to contemplate Philosophy

where she lies in

> "that all-seeing trance, the band of sense--
> In view of all souls' skill," 50

is to see

> "what perfection is,
> In whose fix'd beauties shine the sacred scroll,
> And long-lost records of your human bliss." 51

It is clear that the thought of the Coronet is complementary to that of Ovid's Banquet of Sense. In the latter Chapman shows the function of the senses in delivering man from the chaos of the corporeal powers, and at once providing the medium for the working of the plastic force in the universe and the link between man and the outer world. In the Coronet he shows the value of intense intellectual activity, the ultimate end of which is the contemplation transcending sense - experience, in which knowledge is, apparently, no longer broken. It is hard to say, how far the two sets of ideas had co-ordinated in Chapman's mind, or whether each existed to satisfy the emotional need of the moment and the full implication of what is a pretty complete harmonisation between spiritual and material values had not yet dawned upon him. But, apart from the thought-content, the Coronet reveals an aspect of Chapman's mind known so far only from hints in the Shadow of Night and the Preface to Ovid's Banquet of Sense. Intolerant

of frivolity and empty-headedness, preserving in himself the dignity of knowledge as he attempts to adapt a passing fashion in verse form to his own purpose, and direct the easy flow of wit into less shallow channels, the Coronet shows what persists to the end of his dramatic career, the perfect contemplation of his own ideal to the exclusion of all else. Despite the embracing dimensions of that vision it carries with it a certain narrowness of outlook, a certain arrogance and intolerance that we cannot find in Shakespeare, with whom Chapman later seems to have shared something of the same outlook. It is not a selfish vision but it is essentially a private one. Fools cannot share therein and the mercy that he extends throughout his life to those broken in spirit or brought low by circumstance is likewise wanting. For all its intensity - and there is white heat behind the obscuring conventions - it lacks lovingkindness and points to the danger that the mind incurs, when absorbed in its own ideals, of loving man but disliking men, and it is an odd thing that the man who preached so consistently against "self-love"& set so high a premium upon human experience should have withdrawn his mind so far from common humanity.

In the fifty or so lines of the de Guiana with which

Chapman celebrates Keyne's voyage, this defect of outlook conceals itself and unexpectedly he achieves the lucidity and compactness of expression that has hitherto evaded him. The sudden joyous spontaneity and liberation suggest that, in the year's interval, thought has in some degree assimilated itself or that Chapman has freed himself from the more laboured processes of his mind to a more direct thinking, a more immediate transmutation by the imagination. It is in this, one of his shorter poems, that he shows most clearly his affinity with the spirit that dictated Tamburlaine before the realisation that there was no place to mount up higher darkened it. Like Marlowe, Chapman possessed that instinctive appreciation and penetrating comprehension of the most deeply-seated of our impulses, the forward movement of the spirit of which the discovery of uncharted continents and the conquest of the furthest cities of the earth are but attenuated expressions. In the de Guiana, and again twelve years later in the Conspiracy of Biron, Chapman comes almost as near as Marlowe to defining the nature of that impulse, though where Marlowe struck home in one comprehensive sweep of thought, Chapman gropes among his imagery. But the clarity of his mind here gives his verse its easy movement. That which causes Tamburlaine to pit his strength against the

armies of the Eastern world, its folly and regality, finds itself paralleled in the

"patrician spirits that refine
Your flesh to fire, and issue like a flame
On brave endeavours, knowing that in them
The tract of heaven in morn-like glory opens."[52]

The daring that accounted it a jest to charge on twenty thousand men in

"You...are so far from doubting likely drifts
That in things hardest y'are most confident",[53]

and the light contempt for the mind that rests"attemptlesse, faint and destitute" in

"death lives where power lives unused
Joying to shine in waves that bury you,
And so make way for life even through your graves;
That will not be content like horse to hold
A threadbare beaten way to home affairs."[54]

To Chapman as to Marlowe the unforgivable evil is spiritual atrophy,

"You that choose nought for right but certainty
. . . . . .
Placing your faith in incredulity
. . . . . .
O Incredulity! the wit of fools."[55]

Security and atrophy are to him synonymous terms and, to the end of his career as dramatist, he cannot separate them. He had shown in Ovid's Banquet of Sense the same contempt for those specimens who were dead to the refinements of sensory experience, dubbing them "mere flesh". It is no chance

image in the <u>de Guiana</u> that refers to the patrician spirit as scorning to let the body choke the soul. It demands, in the light of the earlier poem, an almost literal interpretation. The recognition emerging here so spontaneously of the divine element that causes man to lift his eyes for guidance to the stars in the forward thrusting of his spirit both emphasises further the thought of the preceding poems and is carried over into his later work. It may become masked or even temporarily eclipsed by the importance of other ideas, but its presence throughout Chapman's work is clearly discernible.

Whether or no the <u>de Guiana</u> shows the direct influence of Marlowe's dangerous genius is uncertain. But we may, in this connection, touch briefly upon the link between the two minds that despite all the differences of character and temperament were tuned to the same pitch. The dissimilarity that turned their thought in different directions we have already noticed. The likeness is obscured by the radical difference in the processes of mind and of poetic form. The freedom of Marlowe's thought from the restrictions of the age, its utter redemption from the commonplace, can scarcely have failed to influence a mind which, without actually warring against the traditional elements in contemporary thought, preferred to disregard them. Chapman tended to

limit his enquiry to the nature of individual experience and to problems of human conduct in his endeavour to induce order out of confusion. But, since no sphere of thought can wholly isolate itself, there is much common ground between the two men. Both understood the impulse of the soul to climb after an infinity of knowledge and the recognition forms a core of thought in both. Yet Marlowe's recognition seems the clearer and the more untrammelled by accessories of thought. Perhaps it is true to say that Chapman realises it partly as a psychological fact while, with Marlowe, the recognition is itself an experience in its nature religious. Certainly Marlowe's influence is strong, though indefinite in Chapman's early work and I believe that it mainly consists in a giving of form and precision to inarticulate emotion, a setting of thought upon its own outward path. Marlowe was never the source of Chapman's inspiration, though had the "sturdie Scythian thiefe" never stamped the boards of the Rose it is certain that there would have been no Bussy or Biron. But had Chapman slavishly patterned himself upon Marlowe his work would have been as flaccid as, for example, Robert Greene's early plays when the latter was trying to work in terms of Marlowe's mind. The affinity between the two men is a genuine one, though the difference is profound, and the later influence of the younger poet, the curious loyalty of the older, can, I

think, scarcely be over-estimated.

Between the publication of the Shadow of Night and the de Guiana only two years has elapsed. Compared with the rapid development of Marlowe Chapman's progress seems almost retarded. But where Marlowe's thought matured in swift reaches, each stage evolving itself from the one preceding, in Chapman's case the elements of his final maturity are present before he starts to formulate his thought for artistic purposes. We merely watch the slow, ever-shifting process of coagulation. The poetry of these early years reveals a mind as yet inconfident in its own processes, unable to control and direct the inchoate and often over-charged emotion that tended to replace thought, or avoid the arid flats of thought not yet apprehended emotionally. For ourselves, we come to feel a growing confidence in Chapman as he pushes his way through the morass of his own thinking. His poetry speaks of a mind, persistent to the point of obstinacy in driving itself, as far as it then could, to the utmost possibilities of thought.

The unequal nature of that thought reveals itself throughout his early work. Granted its moments of evasion and bathos, Marlowe's vision at the beginning of his career, had that clarity, frightening in the brilliance of its outline,

that only youth seems to achieve. Chapman's is dark and incoherent. Though each component part is clear enough, there is no apprehension of a whole. Violent emotions ride him and the body of early work is characterised by the energy infused into it. He feels intensely certain qualities of life without ever formulating them. His feeling for the ancient mystery of life older than the hills and for its inexplicable nature is, paradoxically, the clearest element in his poetry and colours each poem in turn. The ghostly little images that chequer the Shadow of Night of branching trees and shadows at sunset rise from the deepest pools of the poetic imagination. But the focus point of his vision and the inspiration of his work derive from his instinctive humanism. The potentiality of the human mind is the mainspring of his poetry. In the Shadow of Night he sees, with a wistfulness foreign to the young Marlowe, both the frustration and the fulfilment of the plan of the universe in man, the ideal against the real, perfection striving with imperfection. The circumstances of his life drove him to recognise the requirements, fundamental and imperative, of man's inner life, and it is from this recognition that the humanistic philosophy of his poetry and drama is generated. Ovid's Banquet of Sense and the Coronet show man emerging from the chaos of the flesh

and the unlettered darkness of the mind, body and soul in perfect adjustment, perfectly related to the material world, perfectly related to the spiritual while the de Guiana stresses the primary fact of man's nature that keeps him moving as the restless spheres. The cumbered verse, the movement of which is often too slow to overtake the excited rush of thought fails repeatedly to convey the partially realised conception, but the humanist ideal contained in it, is grounded upon a securer basis than the transitory ideal of his age.

CHAPTER 3.

BUSSY D'AMBOIS, 1604.

"A man may be in as just possession of Truth as of a City and yet be forced to surrender."

Sir Thomas Browne.

After the publication of the de Guiana eight years elapse before Chapman's first extant tragedy makes its appearance. In general, it is a period of slowly-waning glory and increasing gloom and uneasiness. The cakes and ale of the last buoyant decades are over and the sense of security and well-being induced in the full Elizabethan age becomes gradually undermined as Elizabeth's reign draws to its close. External events resume their pressure - the plague, the old problems of the relations with Spain, France, and Ireland re-assert themselves with a new importance. In 1603 Elizabeth dies, and with her something of the sense of unity and established tradition that a great figurehead can give to a nation. Criticism of her successor is inevitable and comes mercilessly, ranging from large scale disparagement of the new order that he represents to petty satire upon his habits. With this growing uneasiness goes

a spirit of criticism and scepticism of the new standards and ideas that were the outcome of the rapid intellectual advances of the last years. The old values, barely discarded at any time, assert themselves with surprising vigour and conflict with the new. The Renaissance suddenly seems to have taken away more than it has given. Literature faithfully reflects the mood of its age and the angry satire of works like the Scourge of Villanie, the changing tone of comedy from geniality to pointed criticism, the genteel melancholy of figures like Master Stephen and Jacques are the symptoms of a kind of inward rot that sets in before the century closes to replace the earlier optimism.

For Chapman, in particular, the last years of Elizabeth's reign cover a period of concentrated work and penury. He is for whole volumes in folio. Comedies in number, a pastoral, a tragedy, translations and poetry tumble from his pen. But for the work toward which he himself inclined there seems to have been no opportunity, and

> "glow-worm like, doth shine
> In nights of sorrow, this hid soul of mine;
> And how her genuine forms struggle for birth,
> Under the claws of this foul panther earth. "1.

No flames "of my press'd soul break forth to their own show" [2] during these years. The group of comedies, among the most promising of their time, he probably regarded as pure hackwork. The last two, the tragi-comedy the Gentleman Usher and All

are betrayed into comparatively few infelicities. The jewelled conceits and hyperboles, the sensuous imagery, rich in its beauty and variety, no longer bury the poem in ornate irrelevance as they had the Amorous Zodiac, but are harmonised with the texture so that the sinews of the metre are never allowed to slacken into the enervations of the earlier poem. In his capacity as narrative poet, Chapman achieves something of the simplicity and directness of Marlowe and the richness and delight of his fancy while maintaining that brevity that, despite elaboration, retains its concentration upon the essential points of the story. The experience of completing what another hand had begun, of sinking his own aims and subduing his own personality to the point of identification with that of another undoubtedly influenced Chapman's immediate work. The clearness of thought and the unhampered verse movement, unclogged by superfluous thought, that Chapman was slowly acquiring in the comedies written in the early days of his service for the Chapel or Pauls can scarcely have escaped the fining influence of Marlowe's latest phase of development.

When we come to Bussy d'Ambois we seem suddenly to be pitchforked back into the old obscurity and "palpable night". The comedies admittedly carry the scarrings of the

man not altogether happy in his medium, but they show a definite and growing recognition of the requirements of the different types of comedy that Chapman had so far attempted. Bussy D'Ambois suggests an almost irresponsible disregard for the requirements of tragedy. The Shadow of Night had shown a misunderstanding or disregard of the demands of poetic form. The same characteristics of the early work are present in the later. There is the same apparent formlessness that yet appears to conceal some kind of inherent form. There is the same confusion of unconnected ideas and opaque thought, and the same runs of lucidity that reveal a mind suddenly confident in its own processes. And, with the unexpectedness that characterised the Shadow of Night the poetry breaks from the lowest of levels into "gleams of wrestling fire", with the dark splendour of a volcanic erruption. The play is, in many ways, reminiscent of the work of earlier Elizabethan dramatists. In the ferocity of its melodrama, in the speech of the characters which is more proper to the tragedies of Seneca, in the ability of the characters to convey, like those of Kyd, a whole range of emotion with the minimum of personality, and in their bewildering habit of rising to the utmost heights of florid bombast and passion, while still capturing in their tears a rare shape of loveli-

ness we seem to be touching once more at the work of the earlier period. The play reads as though its author had failed to profit fully by the advance in dramatic technique of the past fifteen years. Yet a form different from that of contemporary drama is insufficient to account for the impression of shapelessness that remains as the outstanding defect of the play. Apart from the blemishes of the form, there is the impression of something lacking to the unity of the thought. We are disturbed by the feeling that something has been left unsaid; in spite of five acts of loquacity the dumbness of frustrated or uncompleted thought, in a manner inhabitual to Chapman's usual persistence. It is this, as well as the more obvious faults of structure, that accounts for our impression of shapelessness. We miss what we find in other dramatists, the unity of thought, the clear sequence that subordinates all lesser ideas to itself and which, in its final decantation, provides the very form of the drama.

The beginning of Bussy D'Ambois is then misleading, for in the first speech we find what purposes to be the thesis of the play clearly and unmistakeably stated. It is stated again in the later plays. In Biron the antithesis between goodness and greatness again forms the theme and in the Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois and Chabot Admiral of France

their apparent incompatability is resolved. It was, of course, the peculiar problem of an age passing from an antiquated social order when the king was only a feudal overlord to the order instituted by the House of Tudor when he was the sovereign ruler of a nation - the great noble opposing his monarch, the individual warring against the universal in an age that understood and furthered individualism, the part against the whole. Throughout his youth Chapman must have been familiar with these meteoric careers and collapses that marked the dynasty of the Tudors - Westmorland and Northumberland against the Queen when he was a child, twelve years later the Protestant lords against the Scottish king, Mary of Scotland against the Queen, Tyrone against the Queen, and, last and latest, the spectacular fall of his own brilliant patron, the gay and irresponsible Earl of Essex. He was to find the same phenomenon under the Stuarts, though the rise and fall of James' favourites was perhaps a little less on the grand scale, and the rise of great statesmen by winding stairs, the object of Bussy's attack, more inglorious. Bussy suggests bitterly that the greatness of the latter is only outward and in a world that is regulated by a moral law the prelude to downfall. He clinches aphoristically

his analysis of the great ones of the land with the thesis of the play.

> "We must to Virtue for her guide resort
> Or else we shall shipwreck in our safest port."[4]

It is clear from the first scene that Chapman's world in Bussy D'Ambois is that of the satirists of his time. The vices of the state rotten at the core are drawn incisively in the thumbnail sketches of the Theophrastans, with more bitterness by men of finer sensibility like Donne or Marston. The burden of their writing is the sickness of the age, the more superficial aspects perhaps of the depression of the opening years of James reign. It is against these more obvious manifestations of this sickness that Bussy D'Ambois, poor, and of neglected merit, has set his face. His position at the court is that of the satirist in a world of neglected moral values. His blunt statement to the Monsieur's offer of advancement in return for services, "I am for honest actions, not for great", coupled with his determination to rise to great place carries us back to the group of Chapman's early poems. The possible conflict between the individual and the universal was latent then in Chapman's mind when in Ovid's Banquet of Sense he stressed the idea that love of humanity only could give permanence to the experience of beauty and

in the de Guiana the absence of "self-love" in the patrician spirit that claimed the kingship of the earth. The idea of "self-love", which can be interpreted as it stands, derives from his earliest poem, the Shadow of Night. Chapman does not allow his theme to escape our notice in the first act of the play. Bussy is determined, it is clear, to fulfil the desires of an aspiring mind but, evidently, with a quiet decency unknown to his predecessors and not at the expense of society. With Marlowe, in his early days, the ethics of Tamburlaine's case never arose and Tamburlaine himself strikes all criticism from our lips, though in our saner moments we question, as Marlowe must inevitably have done, whether the end justified the means. The means of rising to great place that Bussy eschews are the less attractive vices of the time. He is allowed the part of an all-licensed fool, merciless in his exposure of the frivolity and worthlessness of the Court, the deceit, flattery, slander, rank hypocrisy practised, the immorality of the clergy, the corruption of statesmen, the lawyer turning "sacred law into a harpy" and, beyond all, the "learning-hating Policy" of Monsieur the king's brother, and the Guise that is the sum total of the age's vice, a jesting with God and a tendering of the soul to the

devil. Bussy's denunciations of vice, though never lacking in vigour, are, on the whole, unoriginal and read as thought jerked from an automaton. But his indictment of the Monsieur and the way of life that he represents rings like the curse of a fanatical preacher, a Balfour of Burleigh denouncing sin in the Covenanting strongholds.

In spite of the occasional vigorous polemics against policy, the first act and part of the second are diffusely treated and the progress flat and dull. It is only gradually that we realise that Chapman is almost wholly preoccupied, not with Bussy's career as rising courtier but with his intrigue with one of the court ladies, Tamyra, and the revenge of her husband, Montsurry. This, the element in the plot that is the indirect cause of Bussy's downfall, assumes an importance out of all proportion, becoming a secondary theme that drags upon the principal like a strong undertow and finally succeeds in wrecking the dramatic unity of the play. It supersedes the main theme, usurping its place as though the dramatist were working not according to the logic of drama but were compelled by some inner law of necessity. After the declaration of Tamyra's love in Act 2, a change in the conduct of the play becomes visible. We hear little more of

Bussy's ambition and the court background practically disappears. When the action is staged against it the effect is non-homogeneous. The focus narrows and concentrates upon the figures of Tamyra, Montsurry and Bussy, the latter no longer holding the chief place upon the stage but sharing the action equally with the two other protagonists. It is highly significant, too, that when this set of characters is on the stage the quality of the poetry and the action alter correspondingly. Compared to the sluggish movement of the early part of the play the action moves at a rapid tempo, reminiscent of certain parts of the Shadow of Night when Chapman was obviously labouring under great excitement. Under the new conditions it reaches a far greater tension. The poetic level becomes much higher, achieving often the magnificent smoulder of Chapman's best verse and markedly different from the flaccidity or rough boisterousness of the early part of the play. And, from this racing action with its holocaust of disaster and death, its crescendo of passions and sudden exhausted calms, its flickering atmosphere of luridness and darkness like the tortured imagination of a Goya we get the impression that Chapman is revealing to us a universe other than the one he has shown us hitherto.

So far his world has been that of the satirist con-

cerned with man as a unit in society. The sphere of the dramatist is in the consideration of man as an individual in a world where the good and evil in the soul may contribute to a determination of his relations to the universe as well as to society. It is this more important function of the dramatist that Chapman now takes upon himself.

In Bussy D'Ambois human life pursues its course in the very domesticity of peace. In the relations between Tamyra and Montsurry there is the suggestion of passion absorbing itself in a certain placidity of habit. Montsurry's whole interest centres upon Tamyra and she, by her own statement, has led a pious and well regulated life. But "human nature will lie buried a great time and yet revive upon the occasion or temptation". When Tamyra startles herself by her discovery of her love for Bussy long-crowned peace is blown high with sudden outrage. The unleashing of men's passions, unsuspected in this dull world, is cyclonic.

The contrast is violent and heavily stressed by Chapman. There are few outbreaks of primitive impulses of such irresistible and sudden force elsewhere in Jacobean drama. It is likened once to a wave, once to a storm, and, like a storm, is preceded by the brief prelude of uneasy expectation and foreboding. Tamyra finds resistance pitifully futile;

"I cannot cloake it; but, as when a fume,
Hot, drie and grosse; within the wombe of earth
Or in her superficies hath begot;
When extreme cold hath stroke it to her heart,
The more it is comprest, the more it rageth;
Exceeds his prison's strength that should containe it,
And then it tosseth Temples in the aire:
All barres made engines to his insolent fury:
So of a sudden, my licentious fancy
Riots within me."[5]

In this attempt to describe the sudden breakdown of the censorship we normally exercise upon our emotional values and impulses we are reminded of the image in the Hymnus ad Noctem of the waters dammed up in the chaos of the hills. After Tamyra's first appalled recognition of the self that had lain dormant beneath the habits of convention and acquired values she is shown progressing through alternating moods of reckless abandon and agonies of shame into a wilderness of hypocrisy and deception wholly foreign to her. Montsurry is treated in the same way until he arrives at his revenge upon Bussy through varying and conflicting moods of intense violence. Violence is the keynote of the last two acts, increasing as rapidly as the protagonists become absorbed into it. Chapman shows the ethical system built for man by years of tradition and the practice of generations broken at one instant. It goes down like the dyke walls before a flood. Tamyra finds that neither her religion nor her lineage can stay the natural

desires of her blood. All the admonishments of the centuries of Christianity cannot stay in Montsurry "the wild rage of blood". The foundations of social order upon which happiness and security rest are overturned. The good things of life whose value cannot be assessed in terms of material computation turn out to be so much fantastical puff-paste. What had gone to make up Montsurry's little world, love for his wife and reverence for holy church, go up like smoke. It is the tragedy of an Othello and the foothold for the cynicism of an Iago. He is the simple and unimaginative type thrust defenceless into an unexpectedly hostile universe,"a soul in hell". Disenchantment, disillusion ride him heavily.

> "Why wander I so far? here, here was she
> That was a whole world without spot to me,
> Though now a world of spots; oh, what a lightning
> Is man's delight in women! what a bubble,
> He builds his state, fame, life on, when he marries!
> Since all earth's pleasures are so short and small,
> The way t'enjoy it, is t'abjure it all." 6

The speech of Chapman's figures comes thickly and often confusedly in its turbulent rhetoric. But the issues themselves are starkly defined. We are not allowed to miss a detail in this composite picture of life. He is hampered in his purpose by superfluous material, though not more so in Bussy D'Ambois than in his later work. It is the sign of the man who is not at ease in his medium. But in these central

figures there is a definite economy of treatment and no divergence from the purpose of their existence. The confusion of rhetoric is proper to their situation, though Chapman at this stage of his career enforces rather than lessens the melodrama. The lengthy analyses are part of a technique that reveals the situation not in terms of character but through the individual consciousness recognising its own processes of living, the interaction of the physical and the mental that determines certain attitudes. Chapman is concerned not with the differences but with the likenesses between individuals, ~~even~~ the common denominator, causing a kind of inner relationship between his characters to be more apparent than is usual in the drama of this period. The outer relationship fulfilling the demands of the plot is common to all plays, the relationship between men as individuals, the portrayal of which is essential to a good play, Chapman practically ignores, but this inner coherency, the relationship between men as members of a species apart from differences of personality, he handles with unexpected competency. He has well-defined ideas of the reactions of man to certain stimuli and he exhibits these reactions with a shuttlecock effect, showing them now in Tamyra, now in Montsurry. It has at once the effect of emphasis and of suggesting a kind of

pattern of human life, a conformity to which is the law by which the protagonists are really living and which remains unrecognised by them until long-crowned peace is thus outraged. There is no attempt at subtlety of effect. Indeed, we are tempted to say that the crudity with which Chapman frequently makes his point, the uncompromising nature of some of his statements, are indications of the attitude of a mind facing with unflinching determination the collapse of some fundamental structure of thought.

With Donne, Chapman had already acknowledged that fallacy of long duration that man's body suffered definition more easily than his soul. He had dwelt with not a little wonder and delight upon the miracle of their union, seeing only a discipline to the enriching of the spirit. To accept, as Chapman was evidently being compelled to, that the spirit is governed as a servant by the desires of the body is another thing, and to a mind so free from theological dogma that where others saw enslavement it could see only freedom a thing of bitter pain. Chapman does not shirk the issue. He takes pains to point it.

"Our bodies are but thick clouds to our souls,
Through which they cannot shine when they desire:
When all the stars and even the sun himself
Must stay the vapours times that he exhales
Before he can make good his beams to us;
Oh, how can we, that are but motes to him,
Wandering at random in his ordered rays,
Disperse our passions' fumes with our weak labours."7

He accepts almost dispassionately this fact of the defeat of rational conduct. The friar who acts as a go-between for Tamyra and Bussy and to whom Chapman gives some of his most considered statements, formulates what is almost the modern doctrine of repression. Chapman recognises, as in his earlier work, the insistent needs of man that an ethical system has allowed us to overlook or deny:

> "Our affections storm
> Raised in the blood no reason can reform,
> Though she [Tamyra] seek then their satisfaction,
> (Which she must needs, or rest unsatisfied)." [8]

But in Montsurry's outcries and in the light cynicism of the Monsieur we can detect the same fierce hatred, the same quivering fury against humanity's bestial lusts as that of Marston in the "Dutch Courtesan" or Shakespeare in Troilus and Cressida. The physical nature of these desires pre-occupied Chapman like most of his contemporaries. The play is scattered with references to the body, to the dominance of the "blood" and to man's inability to repress or control his desires.[9] The Bussy D'Ambois is one of the most competent portrayals of the inadequacy of conscious censorship over the unconscious that the century presents. The familiar Jacobean attitude of mingled cynicism and savagery alternates with a calm acceptance of a self-evident truth. The ethical code of Montsurry and Tamyra is as rigid as that of Isabella and

Angelo, as rigid as that of Chapman himself in Hero and Leander. With its breakdown the universe becomes a moral chaos, and man, created by Chapman in his poems only a little lower than the angels, slowly reduces himself to the status of an animal. The whole apparel of civilisation is gradually stripped off until humanity is lost in the distortions that are exposed. Chapman's method of slow revelation of what is the explicit denial of the ideals of his early work is that of a Wycherley. He spares himself nothing. The climax of this process of degradation in the scene where Montsurry repeatedly stabs Tamyra, both of them raving and blind with a brutal passion is about as near as we ever come to Chapman's vision of hell.

It is impossible to offer any adequate account of what has distorted the sanity of Chapman's vision. Usually faithful enough in rendering a detailed version of his own thoughts and emotions about the world in which he lived, far more ready to reveal himself than many of the men who were writing at the same time, he is as reticent upon this as they in their turn were reticent upon their deeper experiences. We can only suggest, from the recognition that this later play strenuously denies the implications of the content of his early work, that in some way contact with reality has shattered the

bubble that was his world from the writing of the Shadow of Night to the Gentleman Usher. For we cannot deny that Chapman's universe during the earlier days of his artistic career was the creation of a mind that, by its own admission, shrank from rather than sought contact with life. It is not altogether easy to realise this, for we are accustomed to associate the poetic world of such a phase either with the hard logic, the crudity of untried thought, or with the enchantment of a world like that of the young Keats, uncomplicated by half-awakened thought and granted its beauty by the delight of the senses. But Chapman's early work cannot be pigeon-holed in this way. It fits into neither of these categories. For, as we have seen, it contains thought of a peculiarly valuable nature, the quality of which testifies to a richly maturing mind. Nevertheless his view of life is coloured by its own immaturity. The virtual lack of contact with the life to which necessity forced him sent him back into that world of the spirit which was at once a road of escape and a world of which he was a natural inhabitant. But his thought becomes dissociated. It becomes only one part of his life; it does not impenetrate and permeate his whole work so that whatever he writes even though the thought content is reduced to the utmost minimum is still unmistakeably his work.

The comedies are either the outcome of irresponsible and romantic fancy like the Blind Beggar of Alexandria, or else satirical "humour" plays like "Humorous Day's Mirth. But on the whole the comedies reveal the lack of the essential contact with reality that marked Jonson's work and showed its author to have rubbed shoulders with the whole world from Wapping to Whitehall. There is breadth but not depth in Chapman's "humours". His mind is withdrawn from them. It is not until the Gentleman Usher that he begins to comprehend the experiences and joys and sufferings of people. His view of life in his early work was born of a dream because he had sent his imagination voyaging only down the dark and unexplored creeks of his own mind. Life was seen in terms of his own needs. He was brooding deeply and persistently in himself and looking at life as through a glass darkly. He idealised man and withdrew from men and then gave his idealisation the elements of his own mind. He recognised the larger movements of life, the conflict between good and evil, the discrepancy between the real and the ideal but there was no realisation of these things. Thought was potent and creative but in a backwater. The mind created for itself an aesthetic of life rather than a realisation. It is not a case of denying the validity of Chapman's experience during this period or of suggesting

that he was in any way falsifying his art. The experience of those four years that covered his early output was both unusual and invaluable and its expression in words, difficult yet strangely ardent, never communicated quite how far he ranged down the alleys of thought. But it is the tragedy of poetic experience generated under such conditions and thought spun spider-like from the imagination that, when the poet comes into contact with mass-thought born of a different mood, his findings may suddenly seem tarnished and worthless. And I suggest that it was some experience of this sort of which Bussy d'Ambois is the record. In some way Chapman was swept into the maelstrom of despair and cynicism that was the aftermath of the Elizabethan age. It is scarcely surprising that this should have happened. The mood of the age was a strong one, showing clearly the literature of these earlier years of James' reign. Chapman, though maintaining his individual character as a poet, was by no means impervious to outside influence. At this time he was in contact with both Marston and Jonson, both of whom had conceded to the mood of the period. Every man out of his Humour had been written only four years before and the Malcontent of 1604 was soon to be followed by the Dutch Courtesan. The men whose artistic lives covered part of both periods and whose standards had been dictated by the earlier suffered in varying degrees

from the change in the intellectual temperature. The younger men like Webster and Tourneur reflect only the darkness of the mood of the later days, as the generation of poets after the War were born immediately into Europe's heritage of lassitude and the anarchy of faith. But the older writers put up a resistance, conscious or unconscious, to the full pressure of contemporary thought and in the case of Chapman resistance comes perilously near to breaking-point.

The universe of Tamyra and Montsurry is created in terms the very opposite of that of Chapman's earlier work. It is the opposite of the universe of so pronounced a humanist as Spenser where optimism founded itself upon the power of the human will to effect the good it purposed. Here there is no hope of an ultimate emergence from the "night of mind" for the will is short-circuited at the outset. Men purpose goodness but are impotent to bring it into their lives for reason and judgment have no control over their actions. The perfect adjustment between soul and body of the humanist separates into the old medieval dualism. The tragedy of this universe is that man is only too well aware of the darkness in which it is moving and of its own lack of reason. While permitted no blinkers of ignorance it is powerless to arrest the course of its downfall. Tamyra and Montsurry recognise their

own degradation and go open-eyed to their defeat. Tamyra sees the shadow of impending disaster from the outset, Montsurry knows that he is apt to outrages that he will ever rue. Yet neither can control their actions to avert the catastrophe they know will ensue. As the action moves to its disastrous ending they are like blind men. They can recognise neither themselves nor their fellows. Montsurry in an effort to arrest himself and to define what he cannot understand cries "'Twas from my troubled blood and not from me"[10] and Tamyra, seeing Montsurry distorted by fury into a madman, cries,"Oh who is turned into my lord and husband".[11] By the ultimate overthrow of reason they suffer the most terrible defeat that Chapman can visualise, the loss of their own individuality of which the controlling intellect that differentiated them from beasts was the "crown". The whole thing takes on the distraught complexion of a nightmare. And at the height of their tempestuous fury the protagonists are pitifully bewildered by it. Montsurry exclaims distractedly:

> "I know not how I fare; a sudden night
> Flows through my entrails and a headlong chaos
> Murmurs within me."[12]

There is no shred of comfort to be derived from creed or philosophy. The only religion Chapman can offer is that

of a Stoic endurance to some vague unspecified escape in a nebulous future. To Tamyra's horror-sated cry

"When will our human griefs be at their height?"

the friar can only reply

"'Tis the just curse of our abused creation
Which we must suffer heere and 'scape hereafter;
He hath the great mind that submits to all
He sees inevitable; he the small
That carps at earth, and her foundation-shaker,
And rather than himself will mend his maker."[13]

But we can read no conviction here, no attempt to offer any solution to this problem of human destiny. Only endurance is counselled. And endurance to what end? For in Chapman's universe there is no end to suffering. Grief never comes to its height. After the cessation of horror with Bussy's death and the classic calming that comes like the tide receding in the weary drag of a backwash there is left only the desolation that follows an earthquake.

"here [are] all things
Of their own shame and sorrow."[14]

With the exception of Bussy who has suffered least, Chapman's men and women are not granted even the consolation of death. They are faced with their greatest disaster yet, the anticlimax of life, Luduvico found some shadow of glory in the nightpiece he had limmed. Bosola acknowledged that it had been a good

quarrel. But for Chapman's people there is no glory by their losing day, not even the knowledge of Webster's figures that their proud defiance of the spaniel fate is in itself a victory. And the future holds nothing at all. The things that made life to any purpose gone. The ideals are done with, the reconciliations are spurious, only shame and sorrow and dishonour to be reckoned with. It is life in a vacuum that Chapman sees, the long monotone of sorrow. And its counterpart is to be found not to completely in Jacobean drama as in the drama of Rome, in Seneca's perception of life as an everlasting negative. Later in his life he was to plunder Seneca's plays in a more spectacular manner, the affinity of thought was to be more marked. But in Bussy D'Ambois alone, in the disappointment and utter lack of finality, in the bitter comments that cannot be taken as conclusions, and the inadequate credo of endurance by which alone sanity is retained, he approaches the culminating weariness and disillusion that lay beneath the brilliant Stoicism of a more sophisticated mind.

> "'Nullius rei finis est, sed in orbem rexa sunt omnia fugiunt ac secutuntur. Diem nox premit, dies noctem, aestas in autumnum desinit, autumno hiemps iustat, quae vere conpescitur, onmia sic transeunt ut revertantur. Nihil novi facio, nihil novi video; fit aliquando et huius rei nausia.' Multi sunt, qui non acerbum iudicint vivere, sed supervacuum. Vale." [15]

The most explicit comment that Chapman makes upon this No Man's Land of life comes from the Monsieur and the Guise who lift the whole thing on to the metaphysical plane of thought and, by so doing, widen the scope of what had originally purported to be an ethical theme. He voices the conclusion that has been in our minds the whole time as we have watched the shaping of events. It is the logical conclusion of inductive reasoning, though, as Biron shows, it is not the inevitable. Behind the apparent chaos of the world with humanity governed by its inherent bestiality is Nature, the Prima Causa:

> "   Nature hath no end
> In her great works responsive to their worths;
> That she, that makes so many eyesand souls
> To see and foresee, is stark blind herself;
> And as illiterate men say Latin prayers
> By rote of heart and daily iteration,
> Not knowing what they say, so Nature lays
> A deal of stuff together, and by use,
> Or by the mere necessity of matter,
> Ends such a work, fills it, or leaves it empty
> Not knowing what she does."[16]

It is here that Chapman gives rein to the horror that has possessed his mind. The conclusion is one that he is evidently reluctant to draw, for he gives its wording to his villains. It expresses itself with the naked clarity that characterises all Chapman's most reluctant conclusions in

this play - a universe that is the irresponsible creation of a mind no better than an idiot's; excluding all moral order, all justice, the determinant factor in the composition of "God's great temple" being the chance arrangement of the bits by a mind careless or bored by its own idiotic labours and the destiny of mankind being the same Nature destroying at random its own creation. It is a ghastly conclusion and the more we consider the full implications of such an interpretation of life the more we admire the man who can set down so uncompromisingly the explicit denial of the validity of his earlier experience. There is distress and loathing in the image of eyeless illiteracy apeing the part of creator and of the Monsieur's image of man as a hollow tree with the wind piping through the stark, sapless trunk. The breakdown of the new humanism has been emphasised throughout the play. The collapse of the whole foundations upon which that humanism is erected can leave the mind in a confusion that is well nigh impossible to combat by reason until the mind instinctively starts to readjust itself in its own way. It is a very fundamental religious catastrophe with which Chapman is faced, and had he succumbed completely to its threat he would have been faced with a nihilism bleaker than that of the Calvinistic conception of divine law operating

in an ironic paradox. For the basis of Chapman's humanism, beyond even his faith in human potentiality, is the belief in the existence of a moral law in the universe and in both the early poems and Bussy D'Ambois he urges conformity to it, not for its own sake, for I do not believe disinterested virtue appealed much to him, nor wholly for the sake of a society at peace with itself, but because through it potentiality became fact. Through conforming to the moral order the individual will realised itself. Chapman recognises the aesthetic impulse in man and the will toward knowledge, and these, especially the last, stand out clearly in his work, but he believes, though he stresses it less, that the will to goodness is the most fundamental characteristic of man. The knowledge is instinct with him, and it biasses all his work, and it is before the question of moral law that his mind now sways in anguished indecision. For Chapman's moods are always extreme. Sickened with the spectacle of the evil latent in the form he had so honoured he must go the full length and blame the mind that created it. Chaos literally threatens to come again for he is on the point of extending the conception of "night of mind" in which man only had so far lingered to God. The result is, of course, utter con-

fusion with the frustration of the will to complete the tragedy of humanism. How far Chapman came to accepting this extreme and extensive conclusion we cannot tell. He was no stripling smashing his peace upon an ideal and the older mind perhaps has its own ways of combatting or enduring these crises while youth flounders in hopeless chaos. But I believe that he never crossed the borderline between faith and anarchy completely. Perhaps faith was stronger in him than even the early poems reveal for in the figure of Bussy D'Ambois himself is conserved a whole and adequate reserve of strength.

The genesis of Bussy's descent from the Tamurlanes and Tamurchains of the last age declared itself early. He is, as the Monsieur observes,"a man of spirit beyond the reach of fear", possessing both Tamburlaine's confidence in his own capacity and the recklessness of Tamburlaine's spirit. To the men about him he stands in much the same relationship as the idealised type of the <u>de Guiana</u> or Tamburlaine himself set in a foggy-spirited society of limited vision. As a personality he wants the refinement that makes the Tamburlaine of the first part of Marlowe's play like a piece of finely tempered steel. Compared to the latter Bussy is a bull-necked vulgarisation. But the essential qualities

and the complete pattern and end of such a type are unexpectedly captured and summed in one central image,

> "His great heart will not down,'tis like the sea,
> That partly by his own internal heat,
> Partly the stars' daily and nightly motion,
> Their heat and light, and partly of the place,
> The divers frames; but chiefly by the moon,
> Bristled with surges, never will be won,
> (No, not when th'hearts of all those powers are burst)
> To make retreat into his settled home,
> Till he be crowned with his own quiet foam."[17]

The image is perfect in its justification of the essential austerity and restlessness of such a spirit, and seems to defy the criticism levelled at Bussy which was, with more success, to form the central theme of Chapman's next tragedy. Bussy's indictment is formulated most clearly in the sequel of six years later, the <u>Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois</u>, where we are told that Bussy's brother

> "hath the crown of man, and all his parts,
> Which learning is; and that so true and virtuous
> That it gives power to do as well as say
> Whatever fits a most accomplish'd man;
> <u>Which Bussy, for his valour's season lack'd;</u>
> <u>And so was rapt with outrage oftentimes</u>
> <u>Beyond decorum</u>; where this absolute Clermont
> Though (only for his natural zeal to right)
> He will be fiery when he sees it cross'd,
> And in defence of it, yet when he lists
> He can contain that fire as hid in embers."[18]

Whether Chapman's classical scholarship is as profound as has been supposed or whether, like Donne, he availed himself of an accumulated assortment of more easily gleaned learning is still a moot point. But there is no doubt whatever the

extent of his intellectual penetration of an early century, that Chapman breathed the atmosphere of Imperial Rome as easily as Jonson. His appreciation of the standards, the whole orientation of a man so essentially of his age as Cicero is natural to him. The stress laid in a book like the De Officiis upon moral rectitude and the intelligent control of conduct by the reason rather than upon spiritual grace makes, at this stage, a special appeal to Chapman. The conception of Judgment, according to the first book of the De Officiis is the basis of his criticism of Bussy. Judgment is the soul diffused through man"to make him of one piece". By this faculty of the intellect the moral chaos of the world is reduced to order for the difficult problem of the relationship between the individual and the universal is thus solved. While admitting of the development of individuality judgment serves to keep the individual within the limits of "decorum", that is, consistent with the individual's own nature and his natural place in society. "Self-love" that originated the disorder of the world can so have no place in the man who has emerged from the "night of mind" by the guidance of this intellectual faculty. Without judgment man is like other "naturals", a "manless" nature, undifferentiated, as the Monsieur points out, from the animals. This is the

point of Bussy D'Ambois' downfall and the conclusion of Chapman's intended theme. To fulfil the insistent demands of one's own nature without becoming a blindly destructive force in society is impossible without the judgment Bussy lacks, and to attempt the impossible in the blasphemy of spiritual pride is to dare disaster. Bussy's last words make this acknowledgment,

> "O frail condition of strength, valour, virtue,
> In me (like warning fire upon the top
> Of some steep beacon on a steeper hill)
> Made to express it: like a falling star
> Silently glanc'd, that like a thunderbolt
> Look'd to have stuck and shook the firmament." 19.

And yet, though Bussy violates Chapman's conception of the "manly" nature, though his plunging, unrestrained spirit blazes ruin and death along its impetuous trail, wherever it touches starting repercussions beyond the control of any human being - despite all this, we feel at the end that Bussy both defies and escapes the censure that the dramatist lays upon him. Chapman's criticism of him is inadequate.

The truth, I believe, is that the function of Bussy changed probably even as the play was being written. Bussy had in accordance with literary fashion, been intended as a mouthpiece for his author's irritation against the follies of the time. But his chief function was to focus more clearly the examination of the relations between the individual and society at which Chapman had already hinted in his earlier work.

Yet the conduct of the play has shown Chapman to be preoccupied with a theme of a wholly different nature that wrecked the structure of what was obviously meant to be a Marlovian one-man play. Moreover, Bussy fails to fulfil his prescribed function. Despite Chapman's spasmodic efforts to point his deficiencies and Bussy's acknowledgment of his tragic guilt the final impression is of a figure whose virtue not merely outweighs his defects but wholly obscures them. For the fact is Chapman is at this time incapable of criticising Bussy. His powers of analysis are momentarily paralysed and nerveless. For Bussy d'Ambois is his last defiant protest against the "wearisome condition of humanity" represented by Tamyra and Montsurry. He is Chapman's last stronghold of faith in the earlier articles of his humanist philosophy and the unmistakeable pointer of the conflict in which his mind was then engaged. Just as in the "<u>Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois</u> Chapman is to endow Clermont with almost supernatural attributes in the effort to distinguish him from the common run of men so Bussy is transmuted to a being that has nothing but humanity to identify him with his kind. Chapman idealises him as Beowulf or Roland are idealised. At the court he has the stature of a Colossus and a kind of chameleon character as though Chapman were drawing upon the criteria of heroism

through the centuries to create him perfect. He combines the chivalry of medieval knighthood with the dignity and continence of the Roman Stoic, and the moments of rude boisterousness proper to his character sit oddly upon him the further the play progresses. There is something of Achilles in his fight with Barrisor while the next moment he takes upon himself the fantastic beauty of the unicorn, or the grave wisdom of a Hercules Oetaeus or Thyestes. He possesses the power of inspiring not only awe but the uneasiness that is born of fear of some strange force. The wonder and admiration that he compels cast themselves in imagery that is streaked with fantasy. His speed of verbal attack recalls to the king the falcon's flight, his pride the eagle, to the Monsieur he has the valour of an Armenian dragon while his sword sweeps with the flashing shaft of a comet. In Chapman's own mind Bussy is of a different genus from those about him. As in the poems, he has once more found "in man the image of the gods". Though Bussy's relations with Tamyra are unmistakeable, he is never dominated by the conflicts of his passion. Nor does Chapman see anything to be condemned in the relationship between them. The hurricane force of their love is overwhelming, but it has a certain grave, mature beauty that excludes the evil insinuations of the Monsieur

and the wild fury of Montsurry. Only Tamyra's lack of restraint is lamented. For Bussy such love is as right and natural as for the gods. It is at the end, when the friar turns from Bussy to address Montsurry as "son of the earth" that we can see how sharply the distinction is drawn between him and the other two protagonists. The course of Bussy's tragedy proceeds on different lines from that of the sons of earth. While disaster drags them lower and lower into the mud of their natures, Bussy seems to undergo a process of shedding humanity's limitations. His is the true tragic development. The bluster and petulance of the early part of the play disappear, he no longer seems like a "spirit raised without a circle". As the action quickens toward the final catastrophe and the atmosphere becomes close with impending tragedy

> "like a calm
> Before a tempest,"[20]

Bussy becomes possessed of a strange suppressed excitement. He seems to be controlled by an electric energy and nerved to his purpose as though he were acting under strong compulsion. He becomes peculiarly sensitive to physical phenomena. They seem to strike a response from him,

> "Methinks the fire
> Of twenty lives doth on a sudden flash
> Through all my faculties."[21]

While Tamyra and Montsurry are sucked into a whirlpool of confusion Bussy's mind on the rising tide of disaster seems to become increasingly emptied of event or increasingly concentrated and clear-sighted. As he passes from the visionary trance in which he looks abroad to see the king of flames riding across a world sunk in enchantment to the fatalistic and prophetic mood that heralds his death it is as though he had suffered some kind of apotheosis. The core of his excitement is now a serenity that is almost meditation.

> "Fate is more strong than arms and sly than treason
> And I at all parts buckled in my fate."[22]

With his courteous rejection of Montsurry's life and quiet preparation for death the luridness and terror of darkness disappears before a returning sanity and temporary order. There is a momentary sense of daylight again as Bussy breaks into the great Senecan death speech,

> "O my fame,
> Live in despite of murther! Take thy wings
> And haste thee where the grey-ey'd Morn perfumes
> Her rosy chariot with Sabaean spices!
> Fly where the Evening from th'Iberian vales
> Takes on her swarthy shoulders Hecate,
> Crown'd with a grove of oaks: fly where men feel
> The burning axletree, and those that suffer
> Beneath the chariot of the snowy Bear:
> And tell them all that D'Ambois now is hasting
> To the eternal dwellers";[23]

It carries with it a sense of freedom and escape from horror

like the fourth chorus of Euripides' Hippolytus, a sudden vista of sunlight as the mist lifts and falls again. And as far as we are concerned, with his forgiveness of his murderers and the commitment of his spirit to his sword, the tragedy is here played out. Goodness and beauty, defeated by the witless law of the universe, go serenely to their grave. The final speech is superfluous. The tragic error, the sin of hubris, is made plain to us but as a comment it is irrelevant and it assumes no real importance to Chapman. Bussy is to him the ideal man in a world where right perfection is wrongfully disgraced. The king recognises that he is

> "A man so good, that only would uphold
> Man in his native noblesse, from whose fall
> All our dissensions rise; that in himself
> (Without the outward patches of our frailty,
> Riches and honour) knows he comprehends worth
> With the greatest." [24]

The Monsieur, despite his earlier criticism, regards him as the type for whom Nature has no end responsive to his worth, "young, learned, valiant, virtuous and full mann'd". It falls to the friar to speak his Quietus Est,

> "Farewell brave relics of a complete man,
> Look up and see thy spirit made a star,
> Join flames with Hercules and when thou settst
> Thy radiant forehead in the firmament,
> Make the vast crystal crack with thy receipt;
> Spread to a world of fire, and the aged sky
> Cheer with new sparks of old humanity." [25]

Bussy represents the "free" soul, the patrician spirit of the old imaginative way of living. Where the rest of the characters are lost in the confusion of a universe that works by no law save that of chance and in which there is no fundamental distinction between men and beasts, Bussy stands "full mann'd", free from the "blindness of the mind" of which he should have been accused had Chapman pursued his original intention. There is no logic in Bussy. He is born of the hinterland of the imagination for the immediate necessity of the moment and rationality is eschewed in him. There are occasions when Chapman's original purpose in him and his new function come dangerously near collision, the most striking being in the scene of Bussy's defence for the killing of Barrisor. The Guise's anger at the overthrowing of the law by an act of valour unseasoned by judgment, the result of which is an undisguised murder is, by Chapman's thesis, justifiable. But Bussy triumphantly places the rational man's superiority to the social laws, the basis of the philosophy Chapman is to put into the mouths of his later heroes who actually fulfil his demands for a type of humanity governed by his judgment. These are awkward moments for Chapman and he is apt in an airy way to state both views with enthusiasm and leave it at that. Bussy defies the logic of

thought. He exists, like the Duchess of Malfi, as a lonely symbol of goodness and beauty. As a dramatic character the Monsieur's criticism of him is applicable for he "has no soul diffus'd quite through" to make him of a piece. He is nothing but a heterogeneous collection of the more heroic virtues, Certainly he lacks the unity of conception that produced so concentrated a piece of work as Tamburlaine. He has no relation whatever to life and there are few characters so outrageously impossible elsewhere in Jacobean drama. He has the qualities of a rare dream. And this is, in fact, precisely what he is. We have said earlier that Chapman could not endure so complete a spiritual disaster as, for instance, Marlowe. Bussy is the proof of this. The remnants of Chapman's faith are stored in Bussy and he cannot or will not face the disordered wilderness of his mental life ~~if~~ that would ensue if he dispense with them. His faith may be irrational, may have divorced itself entirely from intellectual assent, but he is holding its rocking structure together.

> "Let still mere longing make
> Thy presence sure to me,
> While in doubt I shake:
> Be but my Faith in thee,
> For sanity's sake."

Confronted in his security by the defeatist thought of the new century as Christian in sight of his end was met by

Atheist coming "softly and alone", his beliefs assume the sanctification of a martyred dream. And this accounts for the change of Bussy's function in the play as well as for his failure to conform to the laws of reality and his exaggeration beyond the characteristics of his type.

It is this rupture of faith that accounts for the impression we receive of a lack of unity in the play and of uncompleted thought. For the play with its shifting of themes betrays the form in which it is written. The essence of drama is the conflict arising from the evolution of a central idea, and the source of Bussy D'Ambois' failure as a dramatic whole is the failure to achieve harmony between content and form. The incompletion of the thought, of Chapman's refraining from any final comment, is shown up particularly by comparison with a play of similar nature like the Atheist's Tragedy which is rounded into coherent form by the emergence finally of one conclusion.

As far as the relation of this play to the earlier work is concerned the connection is a rather tenuous one. There appears to be little development of the content of the poems nor any intimation of a further co-ordination of the ideas contained in them. But development and the corresponding maturity of mind are not necessarily presupposed by a

direct evolution of thought through successive stages. Mental development is an underground process that works even though thought is apparently at a standstill, retracing its steps, or being forced through discursive as well as through the more direct channels. _Biron_ is, in many ways, the closer follower up of the poems than _Bussy D'Ambois_. But _Bussy D'Ambois_ marks nevertheless a crucial point in Chapman's career. It is the product of a period that shows, I think, no spectacular development because it is a testing period not only of thought but of the whole foundations upon which thought habitually rests, the querying of a whole attitude of mind. It is the product of a period of sharp conflict, the rapid incursion of new thought as the mind is brought from its withdrawal into violent contact with modes of thought it has scarcely so far recognised. The result is a kind of chemicalisation of which _Bussy D'Ambois_ is the outward sign. It is too immediately relevant to Chapman's experience to be a good play for it is Chapman learning to criticise his own thought, despite his clinging to his faith, by standards other than those of his own making. Characteristically Chapman gives us the whole process of criticism and not the results, and it is not until four years later that _Biron_ enlightens us as to those results.

CHAPTER 4.

THE CONSPIRACY AND TRAGEDY OF CHARLES, DUKE OF BIRON, 1608.

"'Out of this house' - said rider to reader,
'Yours never will' - said farer to fearer,
'They're looking for you' - said hearer to horror,
As he left them there, as he left them there."

W.H.Auden.

"Comes a sparrow and swiftly flies through the house, in at the one door, out through the other. Lo, while he is yet within the winter storm will not touch him. But this endures only the twinkling of an eye, a fleeting moment for he who comes out of the winter soon goes again to the winter."

Bede.

Although the two Biron plays were written four years after Bussy d'Ambois they proclaim their relationship with the latter if only through their central figure, the Duke of Biron. Biron takes us with beauty as surely as his forerunner Tamburlaine and rather more immediately than his direct predecessor Bussy. With an eye to dramatic effect, Chapman delays his entry. After the dreary procedure of Henry's court, the resuscitation of the old succession question, the mizzlings of policy, and the anatomising of one of the less savoury courtiers after the manner of the character writers,

Biron's spectacular appearance to music seems to carry us momentarily back into the clear sunlit atmosphere of Greene and Peele. Chapman's handling of his figures has, since the days of Bussy D'Ambois, increased in certainty for with one long stroke he conveys not only the function but the essential spirit of his protagonist. With Biron's first words we realise that, like Tamburlaine, he is in love with the miracle of the world. He moves like a man in an enchanted dream, far removed from our more prosaic environment. He is intoxicated with the vitality of his own existence, blown on the spray of his delight and wonder at "the harmony of all things moving". Chapman has recaptured in him the mood of the dream-bemused Ovid of the earlier poem,

> "My life that in my flesh a chaos is [1]
> Should to a golden world be thus digested."

He has achieved that communion with all created things that had been to Chapman the necessary condition of human development. It is as though he has caught however faintly some echo of the music of the spheres as the plan and purpose of the universe is gloriously consummated in him. The whole philosophy of the poems is limpingly paraphrased in his cry

> "tis so full
> Of pleasure not to be contain'd in flesh."[2]

The lines are sometimes jerky with the effort of compression,

but there is not one word that Tamburlaine might not have spoken had Marlowe chosen or been able to define more closely his underlying conception. Line by line Chapman analyses the more diffused expression of Tamburlaine, taking up again the threads from the de Guiana where his affinity with Marlowe had been most pronounced. All of the Renaissance is held in Biron's words: its realisation is present in the swift and radiant assertion of life that is eternal potentiality, renewing itself at every instant in its challenge to stagnation and decay, its tragedy is shadowed in the suggestion of the pursuit of the summum bonum of its own fulfilment, regardless of the distinctions between right and wrong in the deification of will and desire. It is as though the fountain that had slackened almost to a standstill during the last years of Elizabeth suddenly and surprisingly started to play again. Biron in his preliminary speech seems to re-capture the first youth of the Renaissance, impassioned serenity already lightly flushed with the restlessness that was the condition of its being. He is like one of the dreaming Pagan figures of Botticelli's Prima Ver, instinct with Botticelli's young lyricism. We never again see Biron in quite this same grace of vertu. When his daemon has taken possession of him we see him inspired

to the more magnificent heights of revolt, or driven by crazy and conflicting passions to a more specious rhetoric but never again in the full security of this enchanted mood.

Like Bussy, Biron provides a sharp contrast to the society of which he is a member. The court of Henry IV seems to be composed entirely of politicians and statesmen and is a world with which we are long familiar in Jacobean drama. Men move from arras to arras as though born for no other end, emotions are below par, and life is lived by calculation and craft, mind is whetted against mind, human relationships are based on the material advantages they offer, loss and gain are reckoned in concrete terms, and moral distinctions skidded over according to the demands of the moment. Savoy with his far-reaching diplomacy and intellecutal capacity and the unpleasant La Fin are the typical products of such a society. The popular exploitation of the Machiavellian villain for dramatic purposes scarcely interests Chapman. The meditative, sinister figure equipped with "the art of murther Machiavel hath pend" he leaves to others and the villainy of the Monsieur, Savoy and Baligny is intellectual rather than practical. He shows, too, little comprehension of the mentality of the Machiavellian statesman or of the chief end of Machiavelli's principles, namely, their political efficacy.

al extension of Machiavelli's principles of statecraft is treated in a series of succinct and well marshalled arguments. He concerns himself ostensibly with the appeal that such a philosophy must inevitably make to a man in Biron's position, needing moral justification to permit him to develop according to his innate desires. Savoy's party present Biron with a working hypothesis that is intellectually sound as a bell. To Chapman the attraction of such a system is, by its very reasonableness, a wholly dangerous one. The argument with which Biron is wooed from his loyalty to the king that

> "Faith, love sincerity are but words, no things,
> Merely devised for form,"[6]

he sees to be merely an insidious appeal to reason by a sop to conscience. But he realises the subversive philosophy, later completed and universalised by Biron,[7] to be the natural province of thought for the man who is imbued with so strong a sense of his own potentiality as Biron. The confusion between the "high and the right" is for Chapman the prelude to the acceptance of such thought as refuses to acknowledge any distinction between them. The processes of mind by which Biron is won into Savoy's conspiracy against the king are psychologically justifiable. The philosophy by which Picote

gives him a new orientation is calculated, in its assuaging of conscience by the idea that its moral principles are merely unjustifiable taboos, to attract the mind that is truly morally sensitive and yet urged by its nature to overshoot moral boundaries.

For the inspired energy and reckless confidence of his first words betray Biron. The extreme inflammability of so highly wrought a mental state renders him terribly potent for good or ill that he may continue in his dream of achievement. The mind that counts it "immortality to die aspiring" and unendurable

> "to have stuff and form,
> And to lie idle, fearful, and unus'd,"[8]

demands an outlet for its energy and an end to its aspiration. It cannot for long be cabined by an ethical system that denies the value of the end at which it aims when it is itself convinced that the end is right simply because it is the natural goal of its aspiring. Biron's position is that of Faustus, "yet art thou still but Faustus and a man". If he cannot overcome this sense of limitation by the obvious and direct way, then he will turn to a less direct, be it magic or policy. He is not hampered as was Bussy by a stolid determination to rise by righteous means. After uneasy wavering,

fretted as was Faustus by the fear of stagnation and unable to find a direct vent for his energy, Biron secedes to the impulse that is urging him to put off from the dull shore of ease into the high-going seas of policy. He justifies himself immediately upon his decision by convincing himself that

> "Truth is a golden ball cast in our way,
> To make us stript by falsehood." 9

Once he has thrown aside his doubts, his conduct is that of a man completely free from the inhibitions that restrain most men. He seems, too, to lose that rather delicate poise that was his at the beginning and to degenerate into the boisterous behaviour that characterised Bussy in the earlier days of his career. Henceforward a comparison with the miles gloriosus of comedy thrusts itself upon us. What had been the declamation of the supremacy of the will and the virtue that aspires to heaven becomes the empty and rather absurd boasting of a self-opinionated braggart. The gilt becomes a little tarnished as Biron settles himself more confidently in the philosophy he has acquired.

But the security of mind that he had envied in La Fin is not his for long. For a short space he rides proudly on the wings of his outrageous boasting, decants parrot-wise his new philosophy with the sublime self-confidence of the saved, and defies the king and flouts his warning advice.

But a vague uneasiness sends him off for a reading of his stars and, like Macbeth, he learns that he cannot escape his destiny. Joy, "the parasite and whore", has mocked and cheated him for the course to which he has committed himself will terminate abruptly with his death. As the full meaning of the astrologer's prophecy dawns upon him he is brought up short like a bolting horse before a stone wall. He is confronted not merely with the intolerable idea of stagnation and frustrated energy, but with annihilation that sets a limit of everlasting duration to all the reaches of the spirit. He launches himself furiously upon a skree of rhetorical denunciation. The passion that has hitherto discharged itself fitfully into alternate transports of anger and joy suddenly concentrates itself. As his words gather an increasing impetus they shed whatever suggestion of individual personality and temperament they had carried and become the speech of a purely symbolical universal figure,

"My name ys Mankynde".

During the course of Biron's speech, thought definite and positive, forces itself gradually from the welter of half coherent emotion into a run of a clarity and economy entirely foreign to the confused mind of its speaker. It is in the substance of his long but brilliantly lucid speech that we can detect the analogy of Biron, not with the glamorous

figure of Tamburlaine who offers so easy a comparison, but with the less spectacular protagonist of Marlowe's second tragedy, Faustus.

The similarity of the mood of the latter play to that of *Bussy D'Ambois* scarcely requires comment. The experience of which both plays were the outcome was common to both men. In either case a conclusion of a like nature emerged, with Chapman, scarcely even a conclusion, a suggestion only. To both Marlowe and Chapman the principle upon which the universe rested came to be one of evil, in *Faustus* the law of man's existence being one of a pitiless justice untempered by love and mercy, in *Bussy D'Ambois* one of feckless chance. Though the nature of the principle of the universe differs with each, they are one in their bitter comprehension of the circumscribed destiny that is man's lot and both plays are seared with the knowledge. *Bussy D'Ambois*, though its diffuseness is unshrivelled by a flame of anguish into the concentration of the earlier play, touches a horror and despair that is, in its own way, no less profound. But the full intensity of such a mood may be of long or short duration, but sooner or later it must lessen. Instinctively the mind creates some sort of order, even if it is a purely negative one, the proper embodiment in a philosophy of pessimism of the world order it has discovered. Four years have passed since Chapman wrote

Bussy D'Ambois and the processes by which he rejected or postponed the conclusions toward which he was being unwillingly forced at that time are not traceable. But Biron bears witness that the intensity of the earlier mood has diminished. The mind is no longer working calmly in a kind of delirium of horror. The whole tone of Biron is far healthier. The melodrama of natural passions distorted into abnormality has eased itself. Men are no longer tortured and debased out of recognition by their lust and evil seems to have become a normal, if unpleasant activity of the human mind. The play, except in crises, is pitched in a far lower key. The feeling of strain, the tense atmosphere created by almost unendurable emotion has gone, like the savagery and wanton cruelty of the later acts of Bussy D'Ambois. The Biron plays show Chapman handling again the theme which had originally engaged him and which became obscured and finally submerged in the conflict of mind that produced Bussy D'Ambois. The Prologue states the theme clearly,

> "See in his revolt how honour's flood
> Ebbs into air when men are great, not good,"[10]

to the conclusion of the play is drawn in these terms. The purpose of the play is not ostensibly to provide an answer to the question that had formed the content of Bussy D'Ambois.

Chapman's department of inquiry is, as the poems showed, of a naturally narrower scope. In <u>Bussy D'Ambois</u> the larger problem of the validity of what he had accepted unquestioningly had forced itself upon him, and had succeeded in breaking up the structure of the play while he evaded any definite conclusion. In <u>Biron</u> the question is assuredly not an integral part of the theme, but the experience of which the former play was the expression is not of a kind to shake itself off lightly, nor Chapman's a nature to restrain the impulse to speak of what was uppermost in his mind. Poetry was too intimate a form of expression with him ever to admit of a wholly objective content. The problem again forces itself upon him, but this time with a more even balance of mind, he is ready for it. The craftsman's instinct - such as it is - is uppermost and the integrity of the play is consequently unspoiled for the theme is simply expanded to include Chapman's conclusions.

In the four years' interval the sense of complete anarchy has left Chapman. He has abandoned the defeatist conclusion that the universe is an irrevocable chaos, the work of a non-intelligent mind. But, sensitive now to the mood of his age, he has aligned himself more closely with his contemporaries. From the idea of chaos he has passed to an idea of

order but order of a negative kind. But again the instinct to reject is strong with him. He states and half accepts what men like Greville and Webster and Shakespeare were stating, inveighing with them against the tyranny of a malicious and irrational law that arbitrarily limits the human will. His imagery is their imagery,

> "O the strange difference 'twixt us and the stars,
> They work with inclinations strong and fatal,
> And nothing know; and we know all their working,
> And naught can do, and nothing can prevent." 11

He is no longer struggling with the evil in the human mind, but against destiny itself. He is stumbling like Greville and Davies over the apparently unprofitable outcome of human experience, oppressed with the unfruitfulness of learning that lifts man from the night of his ignorance toward an eternity of knowledge and leaves him dissatisfied, impotently striving not merely for knowledge in itself but for the domination that it gives the will over its own end. La Brosse's denunciation continues with the cruel paradox of Calvinism into which the Priests in Alaham break, echoing Bussy D'Ambois in its denial of the rational powers in man

> "We are commanded t'imitate their natures,
> In making all our ends eternity,
> And in that imitation we are plagued,
> And worse esteem'd than they that have no souls
> But in their nostrils, and like beasts expire,
> As they do that are ignorant of arts,
> By drowning their eternal parts in sense
> And sensual affectations: while we live
> Our good parts take away, the more they give."12

The anger against the enforced indignity and humiliation of man's position in a universe that is an outrage against his royal nature is echoed in Biron's infuried denunciation of fate,

"Pox of your halting human knowledges!
. . . .
I am of nobler substance than the stars,
And shall the baser overrule the better?
Or are they better since they are the bigger?
I have a will and faculties of choice,
To do or not to do; and reason why
I do, or not do this: the stars have none;
They know not why they shine, more than this taper,
Nor how they work nor what:"[13]

Divine injustice and frustration, the ultimate denial of our oldest and hardest wish for the knowledge that is at once creative in the power it lends us over our lives and absolute in the peace it decrees for the ardent mind, the whole burden of the old sick Renaissance cry rings in Biron's

"Oh that mine arms were wings that I might fly
And pluck out of their heart my destiny." [14]

It is as though the whole spirit of the Renaissance's failure suddenly concentrated itself in Chapman. And this time Chapman provides an answer in the substance of Biron's speech.

The inconsequent passion of the man determined to cheat death by recasting his life has nothing to do with Biron's response that is at once a compact statement of the whole problem and the solution.

"I am of nobler substance than the stars",

and the corollary comes swiftly with the bidding,

> "Be free, all worthy spirits,
> And stretch yourselves for greatness and for height,
> Untruss your slaveries; you have height enough
> Beneath this steep heaven to use all your reaches."

Though Marlowe would never have written these lines, it is here, I believe, that his influence upon Chapman comes to its full profundity in the completion of the thought that he left unfinished or, at any rate, never communicated to the world. It is the outcome on Chapman's part of an act of faith in the validity of his own instinct, and it expresses itself less as a defiance against the restrictions imposed upon men from without than those that he levies upon himself by his subjection to his own mood of apathy and despair. His refusal to be browbeaten further into the mood of his contemporaries and to accept the limitations of their thought is part of his refusal throughout his life to be influenced in the major things by the men around him. This early work is remarkable for its independence and it is this independence, generated so early in him, that instinctively re-asserts itself as his mind recovers from the sudden reversal of <u>Bussy D'Ambois</u> and casts about for its cross-bearings. The tremendous vitality of his mind saves him from the lassitude of his contemporaries, and it is natural for such a temperament to readjust itself outwardly

in a mood of sudden impatience against the thought of others while painfully re-shuffling the pieces at a far slower rate than the outward expression would lead us to suppose. Hence, what Chapman has to say on the nature of individualism in Biron must not, I think, be taken either as wholly characteristic of Chapman or as a final comment. It is an excessive statement and carries the marks of defiance, though in all essential respects he never altered it in his later years. When he continues with an analysis of the spirit that by its own act frees itself from the slaveries of its mind we can see how he is relying upon the thought content of the early poems. The basis of his thought now is the value that he attributes to the activity of experiencing,

> "Give me a spirit that on this life's rough sea
> Love t'have his sails fill'd with a lusty wind,
> Even till his sail-yards tremble, his masts crack,
> And his rapt ship runs on her side so low
> That she drinks water and her keel plows air.
> There is no danger to a man that knows
> What life and death is; there's not any law
> Exceeds his knowledge; neither is it lawful
> That he should stoop to any other law,
> He goes before them, and commands them all
> That to himself is a law rational." 16

This is so Elizabethan in spirit, and so often quoted as representative of an age that preferred the ridges of the world to its safer hollows that it comes with a shock to remember that it was written when the earlier age was virtually dead and buried, and was formulated only in response to urgent

pressure from without. Almost one might say that Chapman pushes to its logical extreme the Elizabethan attitude toward life in seeing it as subjective experience, not a series of blind, unco-ordinated impulses and unorganised events, but presupposing the more lovely virtue of reason in the controlling activity of the intellect selecting and combining, the process culminating in the spiritual evaluation and setting in final ratio the experiences of life and death. It is this refinement of the intellectual activity, this full egoism of the experiencing soul that is true individualism, for it ideally leaves man not only independent of all laws of restriction whether of a malignant Jehovah or society, but in distinguished obedience to the law that does not bind but sets free, the law created by his own reason that makes for him the whole scale of his values. By virtue of this he can engage himself to the full in his natural activity of building up the architecture of his life, pursuing knowledge and wisdom in the freedom of will, generously and fearlessly utilising what the scope of life brings to its utmost strength. Chapman makes no concession to the sceptic philosophy of Savoy's party beyond his stress upon the responsibility of the individual, coming to see what he had blinded himself to in <u>Bussy d'Ambois</u> as a possible solution, though had foreshadowed in

Bussy's plea for the rational man's superiority to human law, that, in the figure of man alone, in a creed of individualism only, faith can find sustenance without going further in search of God. It would not have satisfied the earlier humanists like Spenser whose faith was the more genial for being unsubjected to the chilling climate of the later age. Always with Spenser though his eyes are upon the kingdom of Faeryland there is that consciousness of God's presence, even in his moods of scepticism. Nor does it satisfy Chapman for long as the later work shows. But for the moment it is a rich fruition of humanistic faith as distinct from theological, and it serves its immediate need, never again to be handled with the same translunary fire. To Chapman it is only the foggy spirited who complain of constraint and are blind to the liberality of existence. In its essence, he must, at any rate temporarily, reject the Tamburlaine view of life with its perfect relationship between God and man simply through the human mind's uncertainty of the ultimate end, but he would accept what the Marlowe who wrote the Hero and Leander must have learned to accept, that in the very activity of the soul climbing after a knowledge, the apprehension of which can, by its nature, be only partial and limited, lies our peace. This is the re-adjustment of humanism to the concrete results of humanism

that had outstripped the earlier mood of optimism. It entails less a change of belief than a shift of stress. The scholastic theology, the compound of Paul and Aristotle effected by the all-embracing mind of Aquinas, directed man to the study of God alone, humanism to the study of his own life to make it the reflection of the ideal life, with God always in the background, but this new outcome emphasises afresh the quality of man's living, regardless of the perfect model. It is the completion of humanist thought, the true beginning of the modern attitude toward life with its stress on method, the 'how rather than the 'why, and it is generated only by humanism being forced to the test, compelled to make itself adequate. It is in minds as tenacious of their faith as that of Chapman's that this can be effected.

The tone of Chapman's declaration of faith conveys behind its apparent ease all the obstinacy and defiance of the fighting thinker, the various stations of whose thought have been won painfully and with unrelenting effort under the refusal to relinquish the ground of which he was already seised. The exaltation and controlled, imperious verse-movement are in no way alien to the slow, purposeful, tortuous progress of much of his early work and the almost contemporary Tears of

Peace. Both are the outcome of a tenacious mind grappling with the thought that does not come at one bidding. And it is eminently characteristic of such a mind that the new phase of thought should be born of an old faith. There is no ingrafting of extraneous material nor the suppression of any element that had gone to the making of his former work. The content of Biron is the phoenix-like re-vitalisation of what Chapman already possessed. It is, in his case, a courageous compromise, a deliberate turning awaay from an impossible problem, and the shadows of doubt fall darkly across the play. Chapman cannot, by any means, wholly give himself to his compromise and the end of the Tears of Peace records a little of the wrestlings of a "dijected and discomposed" spirit. There is a glancing bitterness in Biron's allusion to heaven,

"'tis too far off to let you or respect you".

The Duchess of Malfi's curse likewise had a long way to go to reach the stars. Vidame's painful hesitation between his own and the sceptic conception of the Good[17], and the extreme plausibility of Biron's denunciation of La Fin's "ignorant conscience"[18] suggest that Chapman, as well as Biron, found scepticism heady. The magnificent intellectual freedom it lent to man's freeborn powers by urging him not to "be afeard

of bugbeares and hobgoblins" can scarcely have failed to appeal as "a faith of reason and of wisdom"to Marlowe's friend, and it may well have lain rather closer than on the periphera of thought. It is in Biron's death-scene that Chapman's fears lie heaviest upon him. The oppressing speculations of what may come after death, the renewal of the old sense of a limited career for "curs'd man"; and the emotional key in which the scene is set suggest that Chapman is suddenly identifying himself more closely with the man who finds himself abandoned to humanity's darkest and most characteristic nightmares. The most we can say of Chapman's compromise is that it has redeemed the play from the horror of its forerunner and that it enshrines a philosophy that has almost as strong an attraction for us across the bridge of three centuries as it had for Chapman. But it is a compromise that has been dearly won and is kept perilously.

Barring these occasional moments when the scope of the play widens to consider the problem of a more universal nature, Chapman has succeeded in focussing where he had intended to in Bussy D'Ambois on the ethical question of the relation of the individual to society and the value of judgment in achieving the goal that the individualist set for himself. In response to the demands of a mind beset by doubts and denials

Bussy had been created in as full a Renaissance magnificence as Biron but he became an exaggerated, though superlatively beautiful gesture to a hostile world and lacked the analysis and subsequent criticism that was applied to Biron. The relationship between the two is obvious, both being dissatisfied with their position, and both being supercharged with an energy that dims the lustre of the other characters of the two plays. If anything Bussy is the more objectively conceived figure of the pair. He is a robuster character of greater mental stability, his aims are more severely practical, his boasts more likely of achievement. With both there is at first little personality to lay hold of. In Biron's case, as in that of Tamburlaine, the spirit shines so immediately through the form that we accept him instantly as symbol rather than as actuality, though a more consistent character is presented than in Bussy's case. But, from the outset, we realise that Biron is "an archangel-slightly damaged". We are never, after his first speech, deceived into thinking that his ill-defined aims can succeed like Tamburlaine's, in whom we have a childlike and passionate credulity from the beginning. There is never a moment in the entire course of the action when he seems on the knife-edge of success. Biron is, as Bussy should have been, the tragedy of the will

and the imagination unco-ordinated by the intellectual faculties. In the second part of the play his defect is accurately estimated,

> "The devil or your wicked angel blinds you
> Bereaving all your reason of a man,
> And leaves you but the spirit of a horse,
> In your brute nostrils only power to dare."[19]

With his first words Biron charmed us as easily as Tamburlaine and it is only gradually that we realise that in his case we are watching, not a process of consolidation and achievement, but one of dissolution. Biron is a dreamer, playing with the counters of his fancy and dreaming the philosopher's dream of self-sufficiency. He is obsessed with his nebulous fancies but incapable of formulating them or devising any plan to bring them into actuality. Consequently his vague, feverish desires cause him to live in a world of his own creation and in which he is, by a kind of wish-fulfilment, omnipotent. He is curiously withdrawn from the world of fact, impervious to everything save to that which aims at destroying the castles of his fancy. He deceives no one but himself, though all indulgently tolerate his consummate egotism, the king recognising the dangers of so unleashed a spirit, and Savoy the uses to which such weakness of character may be put. Biron's is a mind singularly suited to the requirements of a conspiracy that

needs not only a figure-head, but a cat's paw, for, despite a weak obstinacy, it is both pliable and devoid of cunning. It is a mind as guileless and transparent as a child's, without even the initiative to devise its own sop to conscience, or the frank determination of the stage Machiavellian to prove a villain. The vanity and arrogance of such a type and its vulnerability to flattery blind it the more easily to the fact that it is being used as a tool. As the action progresses it becomes clear that Chapman has tended to exaggerate the defect of the rational quality that he advocates in the conduct of life into a mental disease. Biron is the victim of meglomania. The unrestrained outburst of fury that greets Savoy's retailing of Henry's account of his heroism, the suspicion and resentment that greets the most casual criticism, and the fantastic boasting that rockets to the lightest touch point to a rapidly increasing derangement as the fuel is supplied readily by Savoy's party. During his embassy to England, whither Henry with Claudius' entirely justifiable aim of repressing unruliness has despatched him, Biron conducts himself to the admiration of Elizabeth and her secretary. But in the last act of the first play the ill-adjusted balance of his mind again reveals itself when the king refuses his request for the fortress of Bourg. The reasons he offers in support of his claim become increasingly childish. He sees

in the perfectly justifiable refusal of a whim the failure of all justice in the universe. The ensuing tirade of empty boasts and wild upbraidings is terminated by Henry who, with commendable psychological insight, takes the only way to bring the scene to an end, reining him up with a blunt "Ha,ha,ha!" Like all egotists, Biron cannot stand ridicule,

> "What's grave in earth, what awful, what abhorr'd,
> If my rage be ridiculous?"
> . . . .
> Slight my services?
> Drown thedead noises of my sword in laughter?
> My blows but as the passages of shadows,
> Over the highest and most barren hills." 20

Before Henry's imperturbable calm the whole affair suddenly expires like a spent firework, and the first play concludes with a rather gracious scene of reconciliation. But this is only temporary. In the Tragedy of Biron it appears that all the king's generosity

> "Could not allay
> The fatal thirst of his ambition;
> For some have heard him say he would not die
> Till on the wings of valour he had reached
> One degree higher, and had seen his head
> Set on the royal quarter of a crown." 21

In the second play there is no doubt that Biron strides the border between sanity and madness. His mind runs in one groove, working at a furious pace, inconsequent and wholly unreasonable. Except for the speeches in which Chapman is using him as a mouthpiece for his own ideas, every turn of thought,

every stray reference leads back to his one interest - himself. His mind cannot now be divorced from the absorbing passion of its own career. His plans have become wholly fantastic. Of the "policy" by which he intends to achieve them he has no comprehension, he can only re-iterate its commonplaces in vague images. In the Conspiracy he had seen himself as the power behind the throne; the range of his ambition has now widened and he is enthralled with the vision of himself not only as dictator but as creator, fashioning in thought the shape of things to come,

> "We must reform and have a new creation
> Of state and government, and on our chaos
> Will I sit brooding up another world." 22

Opposition of any kind strikes hysterical threats from him which, because of an inability to concentrate, he forgets as soon as they are uttered. He is in the full sun of his own confidence and despite warnings arrives at Henry's court, unable to conceive of any power that can destroy him. The uneasy warnings of his friends pass over him, to Henry's repeated demands for a confession he replies in genuine faith that he has no confession to make. When he is finally arrested and put on his trial, the orderly list of charges shocks him, for he does not believe in its truth. When he finds that he has been betrayed by men in whom, despite Henry's earlier ad-

vice, he had put his trust, he is drastically compelled to realise the gravity of his position. But he rallies to make a magnificent defence, describing later its brilliance with the glee of a schoolboy who has outwitted his masters. Yet beneath the assumed ease we can detect the strain of anxiety. When Biron learns that the puny law he has despised is strong enough to destroy him the foundations of his world are shaken. For the first time in his career he is forced to contemplate the issues of reality and to measure accurately by them his own strength. His failure becomes the more apparent when he is sentenced to death. He has proved that he was incapable of evaluating life according to the standards laids down for the rational man in the Conspiracy and, as a consequence, he is equally ill-equipped to evaluate the experience of death. The last scene is one long protracted agony of spirit when Biron succumbs to its horror. In his study of undiminished terror at an abstraction that has suddenly become immediate and concrete Chapman seems in no small degree to have recollected and comprehended the last scene of Faustus. To most of his contemporaries death was the road of escape from life, the final surrender of the game that must be lost. Webster's people meet death with a cold indifference, Shakes-

peare's die weary of the sun, sick of their very selves while to Ford, with his peculiar sense of destiny and the path that lies where no man thought, death comes as the serene answer to the riddle purposed by the gods. It is the mercy that is concealed in justice. To Bussy also death came as an escape from an intolerable world, but, at this stage of his development, Chapman regards it as I believe Marlowe did, as the culminating experience of the soul from which it shrinks in terror, clinging to life because it is oppressed with its dreams of a life beyond death. The threat of annihilation to Biron, fiercest and most powerful opposition that he has yet encountered in the course of his career, strikes equally violent response from him in a reassertion of his stored vitality,

"I'll break my blood's high billows gainst my stars",

He seems to become with startling suddenness the centre and circumference of the universe, to the dwarfing of all other figures. The bonds that secured him to life, the filaments woven by the senses delicately ordering creation for him, break loose,

"With what murmur
This world shrinks into chaos." 24

The consent and sacred harmony of life, so apparent in his first words, has been broken. He is driven back by the power

of the opposition as the outer world becomes confused and irrelevant to the last fortress of individualism in his own conscious experience of himself,

> "Horror of death, let me alone in peace
> And leave my soul to me whom it concerns;
> You have no charge of it; I feel her free;
> How she doth rouse, and like a falcon stretch 25
> Her silver wings as threatening death with death."

People with their importunate beliefs are a trouble to him, for, in the knowledge that dogmas are hollow inadequacies, ropes of sand, his experience has already outdistanced theirs. He strives to keep his foothold in life, for he has discovered that it is life that matters, not the pale attenuation that religion has made of it and that is only a partial truth, but the whole pulsating, pagan energy that absorbs man's being, and in which the disasters, terrors and broken sleeps of the world can have no share. His mind tosses confusedly like an angry sea. He passes through all the fluctuations of mood from despair to wild anger, from appeal to resignation. For a moment he seems like an Elizabethan nobleman putting off life with a courteous gesture upon Tower Hill. Then a brooding melancholy falls upon him as he ponders the "endless exile of dead men". He knows one moment of repentance, acknowledges the baseless hubris by which he falls. Then out

of the chaos of rejection and indecision the fact of his own individuality re-asserts itself and powerfully resolves the confusion,

> "fly, fly, commanding soul,
> And on thy wings, for this thy body's breath,
> Bear the eternal victory of Death!" 26

He has come by another road to where Machiavellian and Stoic meet against the hostilities of the universe. "I am myself alone." It is as though some inner process of consolidation and purifying of the faculties of the soul had been in operation beneath the confusion, and that, with his last words, the result becomes apparent in the freeing of the soul from the immediacies of environment and circumstance, even while death is acknowledged victorious.

Chapman's position is now still clearer. Though he still wavers in doubt, he takes his stand upon the declaration of faith that he had made in the first play. The salient factor for him is the activity of the experiencing soul. Even though Biron has wasted his energies the consciousness of his own being as separate and distinct from all other forms of life persists and becomes, at the last, the dominant fact. Of the individual's ultimate destiny he is, beyond a momentary pessimism, silent, for he is preoccupied to the exclusion of all else with the triumph of the soul. Of its destination he says nothing as one does not enquire the destination of a bird

but marvels only at the miracle of its flight.

In his justification of the compromise he has formed out of the wreckage of his earlier thought Chapman half-obscures the fact that Biron is paying a criminal's penalty. But the play, in its relentless condemnation of its central figure returns inevitably to the theme from which Chapman had been deflected in Bussy D'Ambois. Both Bussy and Biron stand condemned for a lack of the rational faculty by which their kind is differentiated from the beasts of the field. The theme admits of a further enquiry that Chapman makes in Biron. It is one of the most difficult of all such questions to answer. What is the value to society of the Bussy-Biron type? Are we justified in making the distinction between the divine energy that is the most striking characteristic of this type and the selfish lust for power - self-love? Chapman shows throughout the course of the two plays how to some onlookers Biron might appear as an inspired figure born to touch heaven with his lance, while to others merely a great leader grasping all the honours he can lay his hands on. As we suggested earlier, Chapman shows us an entire process of dissolution in Biron. The very qualities that should contribute toward the self-contained, the "composed" nature of Chapman's ideal leader are indeed present, but they are paradoxically the very ones that cause his downfall. Epernon shares our bewilderment,

"We have not any strength but weakens us,
No greatness but doth crush us into air." [27]

Soeaking from another point of view, Biron offers the crux,

"Sometimes the very gloss in anything
Will seem a stain." [28]

There is a whole theory of tragedy here. Biron dies by the same hard law that condemned Richard II and Macbeth while Bolingbroke and Malcolm prospered. The last acts of the Tragedy are redolent with the pity of this condemnation. Both king and judges strive to postpone the inevitable conclusion by holding the law in check for as long as possible. There is not a little conflict in the minds of Biron's judges in a scene of grave and sustained reasoning power, for his virtues shine triumphantly beside his defects,

"A mighty merit and a monstrous crime
Are here concurrent," [29]

But in his next words the Chancellor pronounces what can be the only possible decision. For it is not for what a man is that the law condemns him but for what he does or purposes,

"the mind's free act in treason
Still is judg'd as th'outward fact
. . . .
The king can have no refuge for his life
If his be quitted." [30]

If the "gloss" in the nature of the individual is to the harm of society then it must be treated as a "stain". It is not a particularly original aspect of tribal law that Chapman

is putting forward. But he is never above elaborating the commonplace. There remains only the tragic pity, spoken with the plangent note of the Senecan chorus,

> "Oh, of what contraries consists a man!
> Of what impossible mixtures! Vice and virtue
> Corruption, and eternnesse, at one time,
> And in one subject, let together loose!" 30

We are never allowed to escape this sense of waste. The same wilful beauty and innocence that to the last shadowed Richard and Macbeth persist, even through the worst ravagements of Biron's madness. We never feel that we are watching a mean, or, what he would call, a "pocky" soul. Even the display of hysterical terror at his death is not the whimpering fear of the small soul. The spirit that underlies Biron's first words is, in its essence, true.

The society of which Biron was a member was not unnaturally repressive. Actually, it seems to have provided an unusual amount of liberty for the subject, Henry having some idea of a government that must fit itself to the individual as well as the individual adapting itself to the government. Chapman, though innocent of political theory as dramatists like Greville understood it, appears to have been working toward some conception of the ideal state that was a microcosm of the universe in that it was autocratic but giving ample opportunity for individual expansion. He takes his stand upon

the foundation of every system of social relationship, the observation of what Shakespeare calls "degree". It is the architectural unity of society that appeals to his acute apprehension of order and design in all spheres of life. In the Tragedy of Biron the theme barely subordinate to Biron's personal tragedy is the final emergence of the existing form of society from the anarchy into which one man had tried to throw it. The play shows the conflicting principles of government as represented by Biron and the king.

The question of kingship preoccupies Chapman to the same extent as most men who had been born into a century of political change so far-reaching as in the sixteenth, and, as a humanist, Chapman naturally extended his conception of an ideal humanity to an ideal state. It is likely that his idealism in politics is only another response to his dissatisfaction with the Jacobean period, a form possibly of escape from reality. The Gentleman Usher[32] and Bussy d'Ambois[33] provide a few scattered references to the nature of sovereignty but the subject had not then the importance for Chapman that it assumes in Biron. Inevitably for Chapman political theory and philosophy are inseparable, the former emerging quite naturally from the latter. The state that he broods up seems to be democratic, with the office of kindship held solely by

divine right and representing both the binding power of the state and the ultimate authority, which is the apex of the whole social organisation. From his conception of the ideal man in the Conspiracy, shadowed in Bussy D'Ambois and the poems, it follows naturally that the individual best fitted to hold authority over other men is the one who most nearly corresponds to this conception. Shakespeare, whose interest in the human personality is more genuine than Chapman's, exhibits repeatedly the conflict that ensued between the ideal of kingship and the ideal of manhood, supposing that the two were incompatible because the demands of the one required the suppression of the natural development of the other. Chapman, to whom this problem would probably not have occurred, accepts the other hypothesis. The philosopher-king is in his eyes no Utopian impossibility. The kingly qualities that facilitate the absolute dispensation of justice are, in their ultimate derivation, religious. They are born of that peculiar insight, the capacity for intense and illuminated thought that is the prerogative of the ideal man,

> "judgment of the life,
> Free state, and reputation of a man,
> If it be just and worthy, dwells so dark
> That it denies access to sun and moon;
> The soul's eye sharpened with that sacred light
> Of whom the sun itself is but a beam,
> Must only give that judgment." 34

It was no light responsibility that Chapman's kings bore

upon their shoulders. Henry's dictum that

> "he should be grey-headed
> That will bear the sword of empire," [35]

is no mere idle comment. To Chapman the true wisdom of authority comes forth only by prayer and fasting.

Grimeston's <u>General Inventorie of the History of France</u>, Chapman's source provided him with a precedent for Henry IV.[36] In the <u>Conspiracy</u> his character is obscured by Biron. In the <u>Tragedy</u> it emerges by comparison with Biron, as a building appears the more solid when lit by flashes of wild lightning. The character of Henry does not develop. It merely reveals its depths at its own time. He is in every way the antithesis of Biron. Biron was a purely upstart force in the state. Beyond courage of the more obvious kind he possessed none of the requisite qualities of leadership. He possessed neither tact nor patience nor perception nor intelligence. He was incapable of bringing even his destructive plans to any end. He knew nothing of love or suffering, was blind to the peculiar merits of Henry's character and failed entirely to appreciate his work and, like Saturn in <u>Hyperion</u> he could create only by destroying. His conception of government could have been akin only to that sublimely uttered by a minor character in <u>Henry VI</u>."But then are we in order when we are most out of

order."

Henry's truly saintly qualities are, on the other hand, largely realised through his constructive work, though Chapman devotes only sufficient time to the state to hint at one of Utopia's more perfect exemplifications. It is through Henry himself that Chapman's ideals realise themselves most fully for he is one of the most gracious conceptions in Chapman's pages. In his courtesy and self-possession and recognition of the conduct proper to his office, he recalls certain of Greene's kings. Combining both the active and contemplative aspects of life, he appears to possess a unity and tranquillity of mind distinct from Biron's "wayward and tumultuous peace". He is religious without the limp piety of Henry VI, and exhibits a capacity for judgment remarkable even in authority. From the outset he recognises the defects and merits of the man who is conspiring to overthrow him, never ceasing to love him even while he serenely sets aside Biron's futile claims and resigns mercy finally to justice. In Henry's wisdom and calm authority we have a new and growing conception of the ideal human life. The Shadow of Night[37] provides its first suggestion, Strozza and Bussy with his more sober reflections further develop what becomes the central character of the later plays. It is through Henry that Chapman in some measure voices the deeply-

seated love of moral integrity and intellectual truth that had persisted in him, even though scarred and defaced by the last few years. Henry stands for the whole purposeful and intelligent ordering of life as compared to the capricious vagaries of Biron. Compared with Henry's regality the latter has the brilliant but wandering and inefficacious beauty of a star. When the star is finally dimmed Henry renews the statement of authority, the egoism of the Crown, undiminished and unshaken,

"Now am I settled in my sun of height."[36]

With the Conspiracy and Tragedy of Biron, Chapman finally puts aside the Marlovian figure that touched heaven with its lance in the spectacular manner of Bussy and Biron. We have seen how from his earliest work the conception of an archtype of humanity has developed, brilliantly individual in the de Guiana, related to the universe by body and spirit in the earlier poems. Sometimes the ideal and the type represented by Bussy and Biron are identical, sometimes the conflict between them is perceived. In Bussy D'Ambois the conflict is not so obvious as in the Biron plays. When the component parts of the former have been disentangled Chapman's attempt to evaluate the individualist is seen to be only

partially successfully. But in the two succeeding plays he completes his work by setting side by side with Biron his conception of the ideal man in the figure of the philosopher-king. The two types are clearly shown to be incompatible, the lustre of the one is necessarily dimmed when the other shines by. But Chapman by no means wholly condemns Biron. Though he is critically analysed to the nth degree, those elements of the human mind for which he stands arrest and hold Chapman's imagination as surely as they had Marlowe's. At the end Biron is as dear a figure as at the beginning, not merely because he represents the Elizabethan attitude to life to a man impatient with the standards of the later period, but because those qualities that persist in him to the end, though outraged almost beyond recognition, he knows to be true and good and fundamental to the soul.

In Biron Chapman realises as in Bussy D'Ambois, in what moral confusion the mind exists and with what Agag delicacy men must unravel the tangled threads of the ethical problems that confront them. But in Bussy D'Ambois, the responsibility for the whole chaos tended to rest upon the creator of the universe and men fell helplessly into every moral pit they happened on. Biron contains moral statements of a universal nature emphasising the extraordinary complexity

and paradoxical character of these ethical questions; the strength that is mysteriously a weakness, the gloss that is a stain, corruption and eternnesse side by side. But men are no longer submerged by these questions. In these later plays Chapman insists upon the obligation of decision. Perplexity and sometimes despair mark the comments of those called upon to solve such problems but they are forced, however painfully, to analyse the apparent paradox and give a reasoned judgment. The onus of responsibility rests entirely upon man and the fact that emerges is again the capacity for ~~the~~ thought, for reason and judgment with which the humanist endows man. This it is that makes man"of nobler substance than the stars". *Biron* shows Chapman emerging from his own night of mind in the very realisation that these things do admit of a positive judgment. The moral law of the universe is in each man. Apart from the question of destiny an ordering of the world's chaos is possible. Corruption and eternnesse are indeed obvious. But men are no longer Yahoos. In *Biron* we can see the first signs of that acquiescence in the present conflict between good and evil that distinguishes the later plays. There is no longer an outcry against the dualism of the human mind but an optimism that the impossible mixture can be ordered by a man of judgment like Henry. In short,

Chapman's faith in man is steadied once more if he wavers and compromises on the question of his ultimate end.

CHAPTER 5.

THE TEARS OF PEACE, 1609.

> "For he wolde that mankinde were most worthy and noble of any othre erthely thinges; and ye thruste adoun your dignitees benethe the lowest thinges."
>
> Boethius.

Chapman's philosophical poem, the Tears of Peace was entered in the S.R. on 4th May, 1609, about ten months after the production of Biron. The evidence of the passages common to both poem and play, suggest further that they were written within a short time of one another. From the steady and consistent development of the argument, the care taken to drive home every point, and the evident attempt at comprehensiveness of thought it is clear that Chapman meant the poem to be a complete exposition of the position he had taken up. From our point of view the poem holds the advantage that the one literary form has over the other in providing the key to much that must, by the nature of the form selected, remain implicit in the play. The Corollarium[2] indicates that it was written to bring him further into his patron, Prince Henry's view, or to ensure his remaining within that view. It is probable that a low ebb of fortune after the disbanding of the Revels originated it, for

beginning and end are weighty with anxious flattery and heavy-footed hints. But the body of the poem suggests that Chapman has at last seized the opportunity for the hooded flames of his thought to break forth to their own splendour and that, ironically enough, the very poverty that has hitherto starved their energies now feeds them. The Tears of Peace is a sustained and lovely work, and it has passed unrecognised for philosophical poems of far lower standing. It embodies the most elaborate piece of thinking that Chapman has yet achieved, though, as a work of art, it makes a less immediate appeal than his early poetry. The exuberant rapture of the de Guiana, the transports of enthusiasm and fanciful conceits that had lent freshness to a closely-wrought argument in Ovid's Banquet of Sense are softened into a uniformity of tone while, beyond the use of allegory, the later poem bears little outer resemblance to that early fantasia latticed by moonlight, the Shadow of Night, where thought was born too immediately of feeling. The Tears of Peace shows a true maturing of poetic power that a medium in which he had not been wholly at ease during his service for the Revels had tended to obscure. There is now control and a certain restraint of thought - sometimes too much - that in his younger

days would have been impossible to his untempered zeal. The <u>Tears of Peace</u> is the middle term in the progression from the turgid, highly emotional poetry of his early days to the harmony of verse in <u>Caesar and Pompey</u>.

The poem is not less difficult than its predecessors, although it has moments of an almost luminous simplicity. But the obscurity is now due not so much to the inability to communicate precisely half-articulate, passionately apprehended thought as to the sheer difficulty of the philosophical ideas he is handling, coupled with his old disregard of conventional syntax and his habit of focussing his ideas badly. The trouble seems to be the opposite of the earlier work. Where in the <u>Shadows of Night</u> the whole lumber-room of his mind was turned out on to paper her too much appears to be retained. The poem is not a muddle-headed piece of work. The actual progression of thought is clear. There is often bad proportioning, key-ideas are compressed into one line while conclusions already stated are repeated because a fresh argument has covered in part the same ground, or led him to the same conclusion. But he has the matter well in hand. He lacks the mental agility proper to this method of argument but he possesses the slow-going thoroughness necessary to get a complete lay-out of a system of ideas. It is his

thoroughness that lends the charm of quiet persistence to the poem. But the impression of a hidden wealth of meaning behind the whole remains. Perhaps it is truer to say that we can discern not so much further unelucidated material as a measure of repressed emotional excitement of which the poem is an imperfect expression. And yet, as a whole, the full ardour of the conception is not over-dimmed in words. Again and again its real power strikes across the page, and the dry bones of philosophy become full-alchemized by the imagination's fire into poetry worthy of a wider audience than his century alone could give him.

The poem eludes classification among such philosophical poems of its period as the Nosce Teipsum. It belongs properly to the earlier group of vision poetry with poems like Piers Plowman and the de Consolatione, both by reason of its allegory, personifications and use of the débat, and by a certain similarity of mood. For us the poem has a peculiar value in that it is here that Chapman speaks with authority, apart from that given him by a mood of defiance in Biron, to an age lost in confusion of thought. He states his problem simply,

> "discoursing what main want
> So ransack'd man, that it did quite supplant
> The inward peace I spake of, letting in
> At his loose veins, sad war and all his sin."[3]

With the exception of Donne, who, at this time, is too deeply sunk in the prevailing mood to be able to construct as well as dissect, Chapman is better equipped for this purpose of analysis than the majority of his contemporaries. In Biron he had worked himself free from the worst snares of conflicting thought and he was consequently able to achieve a measure of detachment in his attitude towards the problems of his contemporaries. But his principal qualification lies in the introspective ability that had received an adequate training in the early work. There, in a time when a pre-occupation with the inner life was not paramount, he had acquired the habit of keeping his fingers lightly on the reins of his mind. In the Shadow of Night and in the poem to Hariot it is not always easy to distinguish between the self-pity and emotional dissatisfactions of a highly-charged mind finding its outlet in creative work, and the genuine processes of introspection, but actually both poems and Ovid's Banquet of Sense show introspective analysis that is poetically as well as intellectually apprehended, in that it becomes a part of his poetic experience and vital to his poetic thought. And, sharpened by the experience that he had shared in common with his contemporaries, his analytic powers

are given now a more specific direction in detecting the origin and effects of the mood of this forsaken time.

His approach is that of Donne for, with him, he had long realised to what extent the temper of the mind depended upon its belief as to its own status in relation to the rest of the universe. With Donne, though without the latter's needle-stabbing precision, he touches the nerve -

> "Heaven moves so far off that men say it stands;
> And Earth is turn'd the true and moving Heaven;
> And so 'tis left; and so is all Truth driven
> From her false bosom; all is left alone,
> Till all be order'd with confusion."[4]

With the break-up of the scholastic system men could no longer see themselves in relation to an ordered universe. It is this sense of being "left alone", isolated, unimportant and inferior in an indifferent and confused universe that breeds the apathy of a Hamlet querying,

> "I do not know
> Why yet I live to say 'This thing's to do;
> Sith I have cause and will and strength and means
> To do't."[5]

And, though the early decades of the seventeenth century are characterised by rapidly shifting and apparently widely different moods from the rank cynicism of Marston to Webster's defiance that is itself the outgrowth of a deep insidious

lethargy, it is this atrophy in which all these moods root themselves. Donne, who, in 1608, is rotting on Lethe's wharf, writes that he is "not in darknesse but in shadow, which is not no light but a pallid, waterish and diluted one."[6] And Chapman who had joyously celebrated the will's triumphant conquest in the de Guiana has no difficulty in detecting this fundamental atrophy of purpose in man's

> "own slack bent
> T'intend no more his proper regiment."[7]

Seeing only a "general mist of error" and a reversal of all values the will to re-order and evolve a rule of living out of chaos becomes sapped and men become enfolded in the

> "ominous flatteries of a Peace
> So full of worse than war."[8]

But, like the more intelligent writers of the third decade of the twentieth century, Chapman realised that an apathy of this kind, resulting from a driving askew of the spiritual equilibrium, often manifests itself outwardly in a hysterical, galvanised energy when the mind absorbs itself into a hundred pursuits, half-cheating itself into finding some sort of significance in its chaos of standards. Determinedly Chapman uncovers the pitiable futility of its self-deception,

> "when they eat and drink with tales, jests, sounds
> As if like frantic men that feel no wounds,

They would expire in laughters? and so err
From their right way; that like a traveller,
Weariest when nearest to his journey's end,
Time best spent ever with most pain they spend." [9]

Men misspent their powers in frivolous laughter and the "frantic humour of ridiculous blood", or toiling painfully to achieve nothing with "irregular sway", like the fitful gusts of an east wind. And, to Chapman whose appreciation of the potentialities of life was so keen, who demanded that men's aims should be determined and brought to a practical conclusion, there is only waste and the dissipation of power in this spectacle, and the whole tragedy of human existence sums itself for him in this wanton spilling of the fine energies. There is penetrating irony in his classification of the peculiar products of the Renaissance. The Active, the Biron, type virtually commits suicide while lower sails "slide calmly" to their end. The Intellective type that would merchandize knowledge fails to acquire the true benefit knowledge brings, while the Passive man suffers continually the round of trivialities in which his short-sighted nature has engaged him. The lives of the three types are the perfect illustration of the Aristotelian perepetia that lies at the root of Shakespearean tragedy and their defeat is neat and devilish and, to Chapman, pitiful. Widely different types

one thing they hold in common - the superficiality of the mind and it is here that Chapman lays their respective failures. It would have been impossible for one who had touched never so lightly upon the fringes of Marlowe's circle to have been able to contemplate with equanimity the blatant ignorance and superstition that he and Raleigh combated, and, in Chapman's attack upon men's failure to reason, less in foresight than in commonsense, upon the outcome of their actions the affinity between him and the men who stood head and shoulders in these matters of the mind above their contemporaries re-affirms itself. And when, in a time when theology again was re-asserting its right to teach man his depravity, Chapman is heard censuring not wickedness but stupidity, and ringing his tocsin, not to call men to renunciation and penitence but to awaken them from their mental stultification, we can perhaps realise a little more clearly that the influence of the man who would recognise no sin save that of ignorance may have penetrated even deeper than in its obvious manifestation in Biron

His Invocatio is in Milton's tradition,

> "O ye three-times-thrice sacred Quiristers
> Of God's great Temple, the small Universe
> Of ruinous man(thus prostrate as ye lie
> Brooded and loaded with calamity,
> Contempt and shame in your true mother Peace)
> As you make sad my soul with your misease,
> So make her able fitly to disperse
> Your sadness and her own in sadder verse.
> . . . . . .
> Make these no toys then." 10

And when, in the body of the poem, the gracious figure of Peace pleads for the restoration to man of learning it is through her that Chapman takes upon himself something of the prophet's dignity foreshadowed in the Invocatio.

The constructive thought with which Chapman opposes the apathy of his contemporaries and the more specific conception of evil that the Jacobean period has given him and by which he reverts to his original humanism concerns itself intimately with the interpretation he puts upon learning and the place he assigns to it. Always under the moving waters of his mind the adoration sustained itself for a plenitude of knowledge and for the attendant peace, "the highest fruit that doth of knowledge grow," and, together with the <u>Advancement of Learning</u>, the <u>Tears of Peace</u> is as profound and impassioned a plea for the dignity and capacity of the human mind as a century rich in scholarship could produce. With the earlier humanists like Elyot and Ascham Chapman, who had his ideas as to what constituted a gentleman, believed that a gently-nurtured society is founded upon the liberal culture of the mind.

> "what doth control
> The rudeness of the blood and makes it noble,
> Or hath chief means, high birthright to re-double
> In making manners soft, and manlike mild,
> Not suffering humans to run proud or wild,
> Is soul and learning." 11

He is one in a long tradition of serious scholars, if only in his regret at the present discountenance of scholarship, and his ability to stare unblinkingly at kingly robes to see whether the mind be worthy or no of its high dignity. But learning holds an even more import-

ant significance than culture. It carries for Chapman a more subjective interpretation in that it stands for the whole intellectual activity of man. It is, in its widest sense, profound and intense thinking, and, in an age of spiritual apathy, is the instrument for what a more specifically Christian philosophy would call regeneration. There is the first springtime of the Renaissance in Peace's words bidding men know both their greatness and their dependency sublime,

> "It makes men know, that they of all things born
> Beneath the silver moon and golden morn,
> Being only forms of God, should only fix
> One form of life to those forms." 12

We no longer wonder at the strange exultation with which Chapman speaks of learning. What might have remained for him merely an ideal of civilisation, at the most a philosophy is transfigured to a religion in that it has become a way of life and an inner culture of the spirit. Learning is not to him the occupation of youth's span, a sideshow for the more intelligent worldlings, or the battleground for scholars. It is the cumulative process of a lifetime that asks the whole consecration of energy. And the outcome of so great a discipline he casts in the humanist terms of the last century. Learning is the art to live well. It is the "means to good life and true humanity". Chapman's aim is precise, nothing

vague. It is through this intense and creative activity of the spirit that the will to goodness finds its satisfaction and a more humane society found itself.

The starting point is for him his old act of faith in the goodness of man, and, in his serene disregard of a cleavage between Virtue and Scientia, in his unthinking assuredness that the intellectual power of discovery is given by God there is all the wisdom of humanism speaking to a generation of children scared and shaken by the findings of their own cleverness.

> "who is it can deny
> That the rich crown of old Humanity
> Is still your birthright, and was ne'er let down
> From heaven for rule of beast's' lives, but your own.
> You learn the depths of arts, and, curious, dare
> By them, in nature's counterfeits, compare
> Almost with God;
>
> . . .
>
> And are these virtues given
> To powerful art, and virtue's self denied?" 13

Evil to Chapman did not lie in the beguiling of Faustus' intellect from the contemplation of God. The purely metaphysical question of the origin of evil preoccupies Chapman no more than in his first essays at poetry. He fights but he accepts, not in a losing battle but in an ageless and equal conflict. He is too assured in his faith to stumble over humanity's eternal problem.

"Fain would we make Him Author of the wine
If for the dregs we could some other blame." 14

Had he elected to carry his conclusions further along the road of metaphysical controversy his own explanation might then have seemed to him metaphysically inadequate, though adequate enough psychologically. To Chapman, it is quite simply from the failure to think that evil originates. The whips and scorns of time, the crying social evils, the seven sins of Christendom themselves scarcely interest him. For him the oppressive evils come from the poverty-stricken mind, and he treats them rather as forms of mental sickness that hinder men from normal and consistent living than as the sins that damn them to hell. It is confusion of thought against which he wars, and the most malignant form of evil that he recognises is that which tyrannises the mind, weakening and dividing it against itself,

"Unquiet, wicked thoughts, unnumber'd passions,
Poorness of counsels, hourly fluctuations
In intercourse, of woes and false delights;
Impotent wills to goodness; appetites
That never will be bridled, satisfied,
Nor know nor how or with what to be supplied;
Fears and distractions mix'd with greedinesse;
Stupidities of those things ye possess;
Furies for what ye lose; wrongs done for nonce
For present, past and future things at once,
Cares vast and endless; miseries swoln with pride;
Virtues despised and vices glorified;" 15

It is a comprehensive list, compiled with insight and sympathy, and it includes both the full gamut of humanity's wrong-headed suffering in general, in all its timidity, its wretched inconsistency, and stunted commonsense, and, also the peculiar experience of the age in which Chapman was writing, with its confusion and hesitations at the cross-roads of thought.

Chapman grounds his commands for the ideal human life upon those derived from classical tradition and the Nosce Teipsum of the Tears of Peace in no way finds itself thwarted as in Sir John Davies' poem. Self-knowledge is a condition of the healthy soul, and the exploration of the souls of others as a substitute can contribute nothing to this essential of well-being. The passive men are "curious in all men's actions but their own,"

> "nor since they flatter flesh so, they are bold
> As a most noble spectacle to behold
> Their own lives; and like sacred light to bear
> Their reason inward; for the soul in fear
> Of every sort of vice she there contains,
> Flies out, and wanders about other men's,
> Feeding and fattening her infirmities." 16

To behold their own lives as a most noble spectacle - it might be Spenser speaking in the Renaissance's enthusiasm for the glory of the earthly life. The thought of the Tears of Peace is only more embracing than that of Biron. The disciplining of the soul is stressed more than in both play and early poems, but Chapman's demand for individualism

is in no way abated. His comprehension of the Soul is never deeper than now. He knew the value to itself of the human personality and he aimed at restoring the self-confidence of men. For of what use is it to bid them arouse themselves from their inertia and make new standards for their lives when they are convinced, by their religion, that as individuals they are worthless sinners in the eyes of God, and, by their science, that their position in the universe is one of supreme inferiority. Chapman would give them back the belief of the preceding age in its own capabilities. To that end he demands both here and in his plays, an absolute definiteness and consistency, not only in the way of living to avoid "irregular sway", but to the last shred of personality. His contempt for the passive type derived from its indetermined character, its living through other minds, searching others' souls before its own. Self-knowledge and determinateness of character are cause and effect. There is never any suggestion that a man's natural proclivities must be eradicated. In speaking of the three erring types, Peace asks only for a re-directing of individual tendencies so that

"all would spend
Life with that sweetness which they dream 17
Comes in with objects that are more extreme."

In the Conspiracy of Biron the individualism that was the outcome of reason guiding the natural energies is here born of the whole mental activity, both reason and a higher form

of intuitive thought and the spiritual peace, deep as a river, that may, in some degree, be attained in this life results from the development to its utmost extent of the individual qualities, until the soul is at harmony with itself and with the universe.

It is in the moral function that he attributes to learning where the theologians would cry for atonement and the saving grace of God that Chapman is so wholly of the century of the Faerie Queene. The test applied to learning is absolute,

> "is his learning tried,
> That comforting and that creating fire
> That fashions men?" 18

Except in so far as it lights the pathway of living learning, in the sense now of scholarship, holds no intrinsic value for Chapman. He has a healthy distaste for a dessicated culture divorced from life. All of the outraged scholar goes to the pungent comments on the prostituting of the mental powers for show, "to be accounted deep by shallow men". On intellectual hypocrisy he is merciless, and his handling of the mind that dwells smugly in the suburbs of thought is refreshing. He detests shoddy, second-handing thinking much as he hates the mechanical mind, the

> "mere articulate clock that doth but speak
> By others' arts." 19

The desecration of the powers of the mind is as criminal to him as the failure to utilise them. His conception of man's intellectual capacity is perhaps more ardent than that of Spenser. To Chapman it is deep and searching thought, thought that is itself a "beam of God", by which alone salvation is wrought out and man established more firmly in wisdom upon "Eternity's wide, milk-white way".

It is in the Tears of Peace, for the first time since the early poems, that Chapman integrates his humanism with his instinctive faith in the goodness of God. During the past five years his was a true case of the mind vacillating between two sets of beliefs and clinging to the one as to a mooring. Consequently in Bussy D'Ambois and Biron the conflict that had perpetuated itself over some years finds its way into the one literary form that allows fully for its expression, while the entire complicated network of thought that had had, since his early days, the value of a religion for him is given expression in the form that can communicate both an intellectual content and the experience of believing it. It is not, I think, right to say that the Tears of Peace shows a complete restoration of faith where Biron had shown only a partial one. But it seems probable that the writing of

the Tears of Peace is the prelude to the harmony of mind of the later plays, for it must be remembered that the very act of artistic creation is in itself an intense experience,and the contemplation of his own vast system of thought in all its intricacy, symmetry, and comprehensiveness may have served, though the result would not be seen till later, to give the final quietus to a perturbed spirit.

The mood of the Tears of Peace is very different from that of its almost contemporary play. The defiance that had bred its own magnificent grandeur of phrase, the lament for the unreturning morning of man's lives - Chapman's only concession to that most poignant of all threnodies, the transcience of all things lovely - and that deeper, vibrating fear of doom, these no longer mar his work. Though there are passages to testify to a mind accustomed now to habitual wrestling he concedes nothing to the mood of the age, and there is evidence that he could again contemplate a system of beliefs not merely born of expediency. We can realise this when we compare his poem on learning with the work of Greville's circle. He no longer shows, as in Biron, their disappointment at the unprofitableness of knowledge, or finds, as they found, an irreconcileable conflict between knowledge spiritual and that which derived from the natural world. Ideally to him knowledge is again a unity and the end of man is to know. He uses the verb intransitively. We have already noticed Peace's support of the advances of science. In the earlier days of his connection with Hariot the progress of science had fascinated him and he had enthusiastically approved its aims, seeing it less to the relief of man's estate than as the gradual

revelation of the light that was now obscured by the shadows of "error's night". His scientific imagery, subtly and beautifully handled throughout his work, bears witness to his scientific experience having become a vital part of the structure of his mind. He is not concerned to keep religion and science apart, like Bacon,[20] in the interests of the latter nor does he keep them in water-tight compartments like Browne.[21] In the _Tears of Peace_ he goes beyond the philosophy of individualism that, as a re-adjustment of his earlier humanism, had been compelled temporarily to satisfy his demand for an ordered system of beliefs. Here humanism merges itself with something of the old scholasticism into a greater completeness. Where in _Biron_ he had deliberately accounted only for the earthly experience now, strongly re-inforced by Neo-Platonism, he can conceive of the soul existent in a continual state of potentiality moving[22] through successive stages of consciousness, ascending higher and higher until it arrives at a final and ultimate knowledge of God[23], and rests at last in that "all-seeing"trance of contemplation. But although he speaks of the soul's progress toward this end, emphasising its long and arduous discipline, of the nature of its final union with God he has little to say. And his was not a mind to pre-occupy itself with vain speculation. Occasionally in his work he tries by ~~cumulative~~ images to[29]

convey, by stressing its attenuation in human experience, something of the intensity of that thought which is in its essence of the substance of God. But before its shafted fire the eyes are blinded and wisely Chapman turns away from what cannot be fittingly expressed. On the whole, he concentrates upon what he knows and understands and so the Tears of Peace, like the Faerie Queen, concerns itself with the anticipatory earthly career.

Here again the elements of his earlier thought are welded firmly together and, as in Ovid's Banquet of Sense, he is not prepared to deny man the fullest possibilities of his experience on earth. Though the discipline he urges upon the soul suggests at times the asceticism of Pauline Christianity or Stoicism, the body is still for him the instrument of the soul by which it may achieve communication with the outer world, the Self with the Not-Self. There are moments, as there must be in the careers of all poets, when he laments the soul's clinging vestures, "this slave bound face to face till death" and they increase later in his life. Yet it is still control and not repression that he pleads, the poet who refused to look with his age upon the earth as "a sewer for the stars" plainly and resolutely believing that flesh and spirit

cannot, and rightly cannot, yet be disparate. In an age that had revolted against the Renaissance paganism, where the end of desire was frankly possession, the warm-limbed beauty of Corinna no longer taunts him to restlessness. But what remains, the knowledge, touched out on his pulses, that body and soul must have, and in no half-measures, their satisfactions, has been intellectualised, and rendered even more forceful than in the early poem. The subtlety and richness and discrimination of the triple relationship between soul and body and sense-world is indicated in a metaphor not unworthy of Donne, who also realised to what extent we peep through lattices of eyes, and hear through labyrinths of ears,

> "So though our soul's beams dig in bodies mines
> To find them rich discourses through their senses;
> And meet with many middens of offences,
> Whose vapours choke their organs - yet should they
> Disperse them by degrees, because their sway
> In power, is absolute; and in that power shine
> As firm as heaven, heaven nothing so divine." 25

And Chapman's strongest link with Donne is the consciousness shared, the mutual and constant awareness of the extraordinary complexity and delicacy of the whole sensory apparatus. "We consist," Donne writes,"of three parts, a Soule, and Body, and Minde; which I call those thoughts and affections and passions, which neither soul nor body hath alone but have been begotten by their communication, as Musique results out of our breath

and a Cornet."[26] And Chapman who, fourteen years before, had maintained that

> "Minds taint no more with bodies' touch and tire
> Than bodies nourish with the mind's desire,"27

would have recognised Donne's unification. But Donne's restless, equivocating mind is torn between an inner conviction of the value of the union of what theology insisted must be dual, and an equally haunting doubt as to whether damnation does not lie that way, praying to find the middle path in this conflict,

> "From thinking that great courts immure
> All or no happiness or that this earth
> Is only for our prison fram'd,
> Or that thou art covetous
> To them that thou lovest, or that they are maim'd
> From reaching this world's sweet who seek thee thus,
> With all their might, Good Lord deliver us." 28

Unhampered by dogma, Chapman does what Donne can never quite do. He rationalises his instinctive faith in the value of bodily experience into an idea that becomes an integral part of his thought. Possessing Donne's "unified sensibility", the soul would be to him an impoverished and arid thing if it did not receive its rich discourses through the senses. But "best men are long in making", and the power of utilising the body to its utmost capacity is acquired only slowly. But when soul and body are knit in perfected relationship,

"Then like a man in health the whole consort
Of his tuned body sings, which otherwise
Is like one full of wayward maladies
Still out of tune." 29

And we can best realise from so discreet an image how Chapman's mood has altered from the passionate importunacy of the early poems.

There remains to be discussed the allegory of the Tears of Peace and the autobiographical passages, both for their artistic value and for the light they throw upon Chapman's mind. From the explication of his system of thought the poem is given at once a narrower particularity by the immediate relevancy of the autobiographical passages and a wider universality by his use of an allegorical form. On the whole, the Elizabethans tended to use allegory as a literary embellishment or for didactic purposes where certain medieval poets, like Dante and Langland, and Chapman himself, use it as a more important mode of expression. It comes naturally to some types of mind to concentrate an emotional mood through a device like allegory, and occasionally, as in the Tears of Peace, the complexity of the mood in which poetry is generated can be more adequately conveyed this way. From an artistic standpoint Chapman's allegory is on a very high level of achievement. It is told with the economy and intensity of a fairytale, and the procession of Peace and her train moving across the unearthly kingdom of Chapman's vision has a vitality that can scarcely be paralleled before William Collins. The queerness of Chapman's imagination that in the Shadow of Night has differentiated him from other men again

reveals itself. He undoubtedly owed a debt to the masque in the baroque figure of Poesy proclaiming her funeral oration, and also in the grouping and attitude of the personifications in the procession, and his reading of Dante may have led to his conception of the allegorical figure of Peace. But against this the weird little pictures, peculiar to Chapman's genius, that detach themselves from their context and become burned upon the retina of the imagination, owe nothing to any external source,

"For now the sun declining to the seas
Made long misshapen shadows; and true Peace
(Here walking in his beams) cast such increase
Of shadow from her that I saw it glide
Through cities, courts, and countries; and descried
How in her shadows only men there lived
While she walk'd here in the sun." 30

While the allegory widens the scope of the poem the autobiographical passages in the Inductio, and beginning and end of the argument give an aesthetic balance to the centrifugal force lent by the allegory by narrowing the scope. The intrusion of Chapman's own experience frees the poem of any suggestion of sterile theorising for its own sake, for it is clear that thought is here the outcome of experience. These passages are not the record of a happy mind, nor of one that sheds easily the marks of recent battle. Though the victory in Chapman's Lepanto seems assured the reverberations are by

no means silenced,

> "And here, ay me! as trembling I look back,
> I fall again and in my haven wrack." 31

And it is to the succeeding lines that we must look for light upon the long warrings of Chapman's "arm'd soul" during the past five or six years,

> "And then my hands I wring, my bosom then
> Beats and could break ope, fill th'enraged air,
> And knock at heaven with sighs, invoke despair
> At once to free the tired earth of my load;
> That these recoils - that reason doth explode
> Religion damns, and my arm'd soul defies -
> Wrastles with angels, telling heaven it lies,
> If it deny the truth his Spirit hath writ,
> Graven in my soul and there eternised it." 32

But with the elements of his earlier thought filtered through it and tested by it, together with his capacity for analysing his own needs, it is this experience that renders Chapman so peculiarly fitted to bring comfort to this great decay that now confronts him where other men, many better-equipped thinkers than he, still could not transcend the bitterness that filled their souls. In the Tears of Peace, Chapman emphasises the need for self-confidence and a sense of the individual's inestimable value as a "form of God". But he does not stop there. He knows that, beside a belief in himself and in his individuality, man must possess also a code of living, and, what he had stressed in his early poems, an object of reference beyond

himself. He knows that spiritual lethargy is man's most deadly enemy and urges him to rouse himself and find his fresh orientation. He bids men fill their actions with strife what to think, knowing that, until some spiritual bias is acquired, life cannot again be charged with high and enduring values. Donne, at a time when the need of his contemporaries was less imperative, had had his same moment of tremendous urgency,

> "On a huge hill
> Cragged and steep, truth stands, and he that will
> Reach her, about must, and about must goe;
> And what the hills suddennes resists, winne so;
> Yet strive so, that before age, death's twilight,
> Thy Soule rest, for none can worke in that night."[33]

Chapman does not foist any one system of thought upon his contemporaries. He will tell them how to behave, but he will not tell them what to think, beyond bidding them re-establish their commerce with God and cease from intellectual independence. And, as in Biron he had forced men to solve for themselves their ethical problems, so now he makes them responsible for their spiritual, knowing that in that sphere no man's influence upon another may stand. Likely enough he did not care what they believed, provided they believed something. He mourned the mushroom growth of many religions, seeing the instinct lost in the forms provided for it, and the soul sent erring among the shadows of opinion. But his belief in that

instinct was profound, and he knew that it lay hidden in every soul. And there comes an undertone of grave urgency into the meditative soliloquizing as he tells men to

> "Search in that troubled Ocean for a ford
> That by itself runs, and must bear accord
> In each man's self,"[34]

He is not concerned to minimize the labour of that search. He knew that he was setting their spirits upon no easy roads in an experience that must, by its very nature, be solitary, and carried on probably in the face of an indifferent, or hostile world, and with recurring periods of denials, and compromises, and degradations,

> "So best souls here, with heartiest zeals inflamed
> In their high flight for heaven, earth bruised and lamed,
> Make many faint approaches, and are fain
> With much unworthy matter to sustain
> Their holiest fire; and with sick feathers, driven,
> And broken pinions flutter toward heaven."[35].

It is by looking back to the first group of poems that the direction of Chapman's development during the intervening years is best indicated. In the early poems the mind had been absorbed in its own vision, creating in the exciting fastnesses of the imagination its own ideals, and seizing upon varying aspects of life as the symbols of its own interpreting. It had been keenly and often painfully aware of its own needs,

urging their satisfaction and battling against the outward circumstances that frustrated them. With the new century the change in his work is marked, and it is from the plays that we can realise the intensity of the conflict and the tension at which the mind maintained itself during the years when it was forced to meet challenge after challenge from without, and the smaller conflicts were swallowed up in the greater. And it was perhaps inevitable that when the smoke-screen of those years lifted in the Tears of Peace, and he could again see his old positions clearly, his own stance in relation to them should have changed, though they remained unaltered. For the gain of such experience as these years brought to Chapman is not only once more an unclouded vision but the knowledge that something must be done, and done unceasingly, to keep it unclouded. This is the implication of the Tears of Peace when he urges discipline. And the distance that Chapman has come in these thirteen years may perhaps be gauged from this: that the romantic, moonlit world of the Shadow of Night and Corinna's garden quaint with flowers have been abandoned for the unhaunted wilderness, "empty of pleasures, empty of all graces", of the Tears of Peace. The re-adjustment to one's own vision is a rarefaction of experience. And it is this experience of the wilderness that enables Chapman now to offer an infinitely more valuable

criticism of life than in his early work and, at the same time, that accounts for the austerer ideal that develops through the later plays.

CHAPTER 6.

The Late Tragedies: the Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois c.1610. Chabot, Admiral of France, c.1613, and Caesar and Pompey, c.1613.

"And I bowed my body. beholding all about,
And saw the sun and the sea. and the sand after,
Where that birds and beasts . wander with their mates,
Wild worms in the woods . and wonderful fowls
With flecked feathers . of full many a colour.
Man and his mate . both might I see,
Poverty and plenty . peace and war,
Bliss and bitter bale . both saw I at once;"

Piers Plowman.

Turning to the last group of Chapman's tragedies after Bussy D'Ambois and Biron, our first impression is that glory and loveliness have permanently passed from Chapman's pages. While the resemblance to the earlier work is marked in theme and characters the inspiration, that had evoked both the incandescent glow of Bussy D'Ambois and the impassioned rhetoric that had risen in Biron like a spout of flame, seems to have flagged, and parts, at any rate, of the Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois suggest that Chapman is trying to bring to life dead coals. The promise of the Tears of Peace with its quieter harmonies of verse only partially fulfils itself in

Chabot and not wholly until Caesar and Pompey. In the Revenge the prefatory epistle, insisting on "material instruction, elegant and sententious excitation to virtue, and deflection from her contrary, being the soul, limbs, and limits of an authentical tragedy", suggests that moral enthusiasm is garrotting poetic energy as relentlessly as in certain of Wordsworth's poems. As regards the characters of these later plays, the protagonists Clermont, Chabot and Cato seem at first poor, prosy substitutes for the Titanic figures who had had

> "no mixture of the drossie earth
> But all compact of perfect heavenly fire".

Nor is there compensatory gain in dramatic power. The early faults apparent in Bussy D'Ambois persist, with the exception of Chabot in which a dramatist far more competent than Chapman had a share. But neither the Revenge nor Caesar and Pompey show increase in the art of characterisation nor any greater respect for the requirements of dramatic form. In the Revenge, with its series of "virtuous digressions", there is less than in Caesar and Pompey. That Chapman was capable of handling his medium is clear from the comedies. But in his progress from Bussy D'Ambois to Caesar and Pompey

it becomes increasingly apparent that tragedy was for him solely the vehicle for the more serious thought that might have found a different outlet had he not been deprived of opportunity. The difference between the form of the later plays and that of the Tears of Peace is the measure that the barest restrictions of dramatic form impose. The formula according to which he tends to write is congruent with his pattern of philosophical ideas and, as in these later years, he becomes more established in these ideas, so the formula of the tragedies becomes less plastic and more apparent. We must accept the fact that, as a dramatist, Chapman does not rise from strength to strength with Marlowe and Shakespeare.

But, although in this group of plays the music of his verse is more muted and the vivid colouring of his earlier protagonists replaced by austere pencil-drawing, the comparative harmony of their mood suggest that these plays are the product of a mind no longer wrestling with recalcitrant beliefs, and that the energy and fierce uneven verse of the former phase was not entirely natural to a Chapman richly at home in his own thought. To look for that quality of mind that distinguishes Marlowe's latest phase in Chapman's work is so much wasted effort for his turbulent and excitable

temperament never achieves the serenity of the younger poet, nor, for that matter, the passionless calm of his own ideal. With the laying-aside of all doubts and the re-establishment of the mind in the old channels from which it had been deflected a new phase of deepened experience, shadowed in the _Tears of Peace_ and exemplified in the less spectacular, austerer protagonists, sets in, and Chapman was, to his last poem the _Eugenia_, too well aware of the inner struggle within his consciousness, "no quiet yielding, but affright and care", to surrender to an easy calm. Nevertheless, as far as is possible to a mind so concentrated upon its goal as Chapman's in these later years this group of tragedies exhibits the serenity of unconflicting thought and determined purpose toward which the _Tears of Peace_ had shown him to be moving. And we are only justified in treating together the three plays that make up the group and that were spread out over some three to four years by the sustaining over that period of the mood of which they were the fruit.

With the clarification that his thought had received in the _Tears of Peace_ and the easier shouldering of the burdening problems of the earlier plays, the Chapman who, since _Bussy D'Ambois_, had been diverted from his path reappears as the grave moralist and counsellor. The precise

nature of the relations between men, what they should be and not, as in Shakespeare, what they are, the question of men's conduct rather than their position in the universe preoccupy him and he retains his faculty of narrowing his scope as in the earlier poems, in the Revenge and Caesar and Pompey writing in general terms, in Chabot more directly in the sphere of politics. But in all three plays the leisurely progress, the uniform tempo and the maintenance of the unity of his themes, however many the corollaries he tackles, testify continually to the harmony of his mood. But the plays indicate, too, that Chapman is still engaged with the deeper and persistent questions of the last few years. He was not one to relinquish thought. He possessed that habit of mind by which preoccupations may lie in silence for years with only an occasional faint reminder, like the low, insistent clang of a bell-buoy, to testify to their whereabouts in the tides of his thought. His treatment of the ethics of suicide is a striking example of this trait for, from the Gentleman Usher to Caesar and Pompey, the subject seems to have lain in the archives of his mind. And, in these later years, despite the more circumscribed focus of his work, we

are always aware of the over-shadowing immanence of problems greater even than those concerned with men's behaviour, and of Chapman's mind working persistently over them. But it is not until <u>Caesar and Pompey</u> that they come wholly into their own country, though in the prefatory epistle to the <u>Revenge</u> he issues a preliminary manifesto: "I make it matter of my faith that we truly retain an intellectual feeling of good or evil after this life, proportionable to the love or neglect we bear here to all virtue and truly humane instruction."

The philosophical pattern of his ideas is the clearer for the central figure of his plays having become more definitely his ideal than Bussy and Biron had purported to be. The Intellective men in Baligny and Henry, and the Chancellor in <u>Chabot</u>, the Passive type in the Constable, and the Active in Caesar, that last re-incarnation of Biron, group themselves more definitely round the protagonist, with the clarification of the latter, and the force of the opposing elements is more marked. Chapman's concern is now not so completely the relation of the unit to the whole, though this was an ever permanent preoccupation of his mind, as an exploration and criticism of the various attitudes to life that these types represented. His acumen where human personality is concerned was always slight and, with the exception of <u>Chabot</u>, if anything, men exist

less for him as characters than before and it is clear that Chapman cannot see life other than according to this pattern that he has imposed upon it. Consequently as the units that compose the pattern tend to become rigidly defined in his later years his outlook seems to become slightly more inflexible. He was, I believe, so absorbed in his own ideal of life that his mind, after the Tears of Peace, is again rather withdrawn from immediate contact with men. This is in itself sufficient to account for the austerity of these later plays. But while his thought and in some directions, as in Chabot, his perceptions deepen the arteries of his mind are inclined to harden and while it is difficult to criticise the wide radius of his vision in Caesar and Pompey a feeling of disappointment remains at the rigidity and narrowness of his conception of humanity.

With the Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois the new austerity of Chapman's thought becomes very clear and the play relates itself closely to the Tears of Peace. There Chapman's dissatisfaction with men's lives was patent and he had advocated a discipline of thought. In the Revenge his old distaste for men's ways remains with him; Baligny proclaims rather the specific vices of the age than those of humanity in gener-

al but derives them as Bussy never did, from ignorance. Against this Clermont d'Ambois advances his Stoic discipline, toward which Chapman had obviously in the Tears of Peace inclined. And it is Chapman's adaptation to his own purposes of the peculiarly Roman philosophy of stoicism that makes the later plays of remarkable interest. We have already noticed in Bussy D'Ambois how great a similarity existed between his habits of mind and those of a man like Cicero. Clermont, Bussy's brother, fulfils all the demands of the Renaissance stoical gentleman and his resemblance as a "Senecal" man to Seneca's Thyestes is marked. The Guise, Clermont's pupil in the "doctrine of stability and freedom" that he teaches, informs the king, that Clermont is "a rare one",

> "In his most gentle and unwearied mind
> Rightly to virtue fram'd in very nature,
> In his most firm, inexorable spirit
> To be remov'd from anything he chooseth
> For worthiness, or bear the least persuasion
> To what is base, or fitteth not his object,
> In his contempt of riches and of greatness,
> In estimation of th'idolatrous vulgar,
> His scorn of all things servile and ignoble,
> Though they could gain him never such advancement,
> His liberal kind of speaking what is truth
> In spite of temporizing, the great rising
> And learning of his soul, so much the more
> Against ill Fortune, as she set herself
> Sharp against him, or would present most hard
> To shun the malice of her deadliest charge;
> His detestations of his special friends,
> When he perceiv'd their tyrannous will to do,
> Or their abjection basely to sustain
> Any injustice that they could revenge;

. . . .

> his sweet dispose
> As much abhorring to behold as do
> Any unnatural and bloody action;
> His just contempt of jesters, parasites,
> Servile observers, and polluted tongues; [1]
> In short, this Senecal man is found in him."

But the mood that had in Bussy D'Ambois brought him so near in spirit to Seneca is, to all intents and purposes, over. Webster in the Duchess of Malfi, Tourneur in the ~~Revenger's~~ Atheist's Tragedy, Shakespeare in Cymbeline - These were the men who now turned, as Chapman six years before had turned, to the poet for whom life also was the "poor benefit of a bewildering minute". Generated after the break-up of the Greek city-states, at its height in Rome with the decline of her empire the Stoic philosophy made, in its provision for the individual distracted by a spectacle of decay, no slight appeal to a generation for whom likewise all things had been called in doubt. In Seneca the earlier Tudors had found a great moral counsellor. Thomas Newton indeed doubted "whether there bee any amonge all the Catalogue of Heathen wryters, that with more gravity of Philosophicall sentences...beateth down sinne, loose life, dissolute dealinge, and unbrydled sensuality."[2] The Tudor dramatists with their awakened theatre-sense ransacked him for

plot and device. But Seneca's brooding spirit, so foreign to the Roman mind, and perhaps the heritage of Celtic ancestry, remains unnoticed by the Elizabethans, and it was left to the Jacobeans to perceive, beneath the suave Stoic doctrines and fustian of rhetoric, not only their own apathy and despair but their defiance likewise. Seneca also understood the nature of aspiration,

> "Quem admodum flamma surgit in rectum iacere
> ac deprimi non potest, non magis quam quiescere;
> ita noster animus in motu est, eo mobilior et
> actuosior, quo vehementior fuerit." [3]

He understood, too, man's defeat by Fortune and the gods who kept all mortal things in swift turning so that, as well as counselling endurance, he could advocate,

> "Dum fata sinunt
> Vivite laeti." [4]

Seneca would have comprehended both Gloucester's outcry against the mockery of the wanton gods, and that attitude that may be born of indifference or the same doctrine of defeat,

> "beauty and gay clothes, a merry heart
> And a good stomach to a feast are all,
> All the poor crimes that you can charge me with." [5]

It was only for a brief space of his career that Chapman looked back to Seneca through the eyes of other Jacobean dramatists, and the Revenge, more even than Caesar and Pompey, measures the

gulf between him and other Jacobean dramatists. Although his debt to Seneca appears heavy in the figure of Clermont, their affinity of mood is over for Chapman is no longer taking his Stoicism as a philosophy of escape and security. It is significant that much of what appears to derive from Seneca is actually from Epictetus[6]. In spirit Chapman has travelled some distance from Bussy d'Ambois, and his attempt six years later to re-create its atmosphere is not wholly successful. When in the Revenge he brings again upon the stage Tamyra and Montsurry and exhibits the vulgarity and crudity of their passions, blaming where he had formerly condoned and wholly withdrawing his earlier sympathy, we realise how far Chapman has moved. As a philosophy of escape Stoicism had, I think, never made so deep an appeal as to other dramatists. In Biron where he was still in need of some definite system of thought he had discarded it, and in the Tears of Peace drawn upon it only for a discipline. There is the suggestion in Epernon's description of Stoicism as a "doctrine of stability" of the need for something permanent in the flux of existence, but this aspect is not laboured. In the Tears of Peace he had shown his comprehension of the peculiar problems of the Jacobeans. He failed his contemporaries in one thing only, in the measure by which he did not understand how far in the twilight

of deliberation they had walked. He had no real insight into minds that had supped full with horror, though he knew what they must do to save themselves. And though in Bussy D'Ambois his fatalism was akin to that of Gloucester and the play in spirit approached the culminating weariness and disappointment of King Lear, though he had created Biron indicting the stars, the psychology of defiance that may be transmuted to a religion was beyond his comprehension.

Chapman, from the outset of his career, had been convinced that the world was subject to an intelligent ordering by man, and the Stoic philosophy with the function that it assigned to the intellectual faculties in the conduct of life appealed specially as offering a ready-made discipline. With Clermont the granite discipline of reason and judgment that every hour directs his course is unyielding. But beyond this aspect of Stoicism it makes a further and deeper appeal to Chapman.

The philosopher's ideal of a mind at unity with itself, uncontaminated by human failings or worldly attractions and undisturbed by the mutations of time and fortune is not peculiar to Chapman nor the prerogative of any one religion or philosophy. The distinction of such a mind lies in the

putting-off in some degree of the frailties of our humanity. It is an ascetic ideal, advocated by the sterner churchmen like Bernard of Clairvaux, and from the outset it haunted Chapman,

> "That mind most beautiful and high,
> And nearest comes to a Divinity
> That furthest is from spot of earth's delight,
> Pleasures that lose their substance with their sight." 7

Both Clermont and Cato rise to the highest standards of asceticism as practised by the Stoics. Reason gives both scales of values, which in Clermont's case are brought into operation unsparingly for five acts. But it is not their asceticism that distinguishes them from other protagonists of the Jacobean drama. There is a still more fundamental characteristic of this type. That which distinguishes both Christian saint and Stoic sage is not an abstinence from the things of this world but a deep and unshaken acquiescence, won at whatever cost, with the law of the Universe,

> "A man to join himself with th' Universe
> In his main sway, and make (in all things fit)
> One with that All, and go on round as it;
> Not plucking from the whole his wretched part,
> And into straits or into nought revert,
> Wishing the complete Universe might be
> Subject to such a rag of it as he:
> But to consider great Necessity
> All things as well refract as voluntary
> Reduceth to the prime celestial cause;
> Which he that yields to with a man's applause,
> And cheek by cheek goes, crossing it no breath,
> But like God's image follows to the death,
> That man is truly wise." 8

In neither the teachings of Christianity nor of Stoicism is there a place for the splendid rebel, and in so far as Satan becomes the hero of the poem so the ways of God remain as unjustified as in Jacobean drama. The Stoic philosophy preaches acquiescence with the dispensations of the supreme ruler, but, with Seneca, the Jacobeans find in it the equivalent of their own mood. Like him they are poets first and Stoics second, and their Stoicism is a religion of alternating defiance and world-wearied resignation, from Antonio's sad scrutiny of the passes of our lives where fate inevitably arrests escape to his proud

> "Though in our miseries Fortune have a part
> Yet in our noble suffering she hath none;
> Contempt of pain that we may call our own." 9

In Bussy D'Ambois the friar had counselled resignation, Biron challenged the courses of the stars, but Clermont disciplines himself to neither a mute endurance nor to rebellion,

> "Chance what can chance me, well or ill is equal,
> In my acceptance since I joy in neither,
> But go with sway of all the world together,
> In all successes Fortune and the day
> To me alike are; I am fix'd, be she
> Never so fickle; and will there repose,
> Far past the reach of any die she throws." 10

Similarly when Pompey suffers defeat at Caesar's hands, there is the same acquiescence

"I tread this low earth as I trod on Caesar.
. . . . .
we are now like
The two poles propping heaven, on which heaven moves,
And they are fix'd and quiet; being above
All motion far, we rest above the heavens." 11

To Chapman, who instinctively accepted where others queried acquiescence came naturally enough, though without the years that had produced Bussy D'Ambois and Biron I doubt whether he would have formulated so concisely what was innate in his thought, or have inclined so far toward a philosophy not altogether in harmony with some of his most characteristic ideas. He was not, as Biron had proved, naturally a rebel, and his position in the preceding years had been forced upon him. He could understand the defiance that refuses to have its horizons set by its environment, for that was proper to man's nature, but Prometheus' challenge to Zeus could never quite have won his approval. He fought against men's ignorance which was to him evil, but he comes to acquiesce in the side-by-side existence of evil and good, even if to the end of his days it oppressed him. And in Caesar and Pompey, like Ford some twelve years later, he rebukes the presumption that would judge the supreme will or check its purpose by the human equivalent.

"The gods wills secret are, nor must we measure
Their chaste-reserved depths by our dry shallows."

Nor, I think, is this a mere cutting of the Gordian knot by a resignation to the inexplicable muddle of the universe.

In these later years Stoicism comes to have an increasing attraction for Chapman and in Caesar and Pompey, when it has become more absorbed into his thought and more closely harmonised with other elements, is treated with even greater penetration. In the Revenge it seems to be too freshly in his mind and he is as biassed in his treatment of it as of the sceptic philosophy of Biron. In the long run he understands Stoicism far better than the majority of his contemporaries who missed its real properties and fastened upon those that had a temporary appeal.

The stern asceticism practised by the Stoic, the persistent repression of the emotions and desires that constitute the individuality might well have repelled a poet who set such count both upon individualism and upon the function of the senses. But I believe that such a conflict never occurred in Chapman's work. His insistence upon the place of sense experience in life may have prevented his ever going wholly over to Stoicism or using it in any way other than to draw upon various aspects of it, but he had the genius of his age for evolving an eclectic philosophy. But, beyond this,

his experience had deepened so much within the last few years that, in his plea for self-discipline, he may have come to include a form of asceticism that his conception of life would have found intolerant, realising the need for man from time to time to submit himself to a sterner form of discipline in withdrawing from the immediacies of life. The evidence that he recognised this need for himself is to be found, I believe, in the autobiographical passages in the Tears of Peace, in what is perhaps the loveliest and most haunting thing he ever wrote, Petrarch's Fifth Penitential Psalm, and in Christ's Hymn upon the Cross. Intellectually, what he drew from Stoicism appears to have satisfied him for he apparently had no great difficulty in dovetailing it in with the more specifically Christian elements of his thought in the later poems. In the Fragments and short poems published in 1612 the Stoical standards of conduct are well in the front. But I believe that Stoicism never wholly met his emotional needs and that something was for him wanting in the ideal he had himself conceived, though its lack is almost unnoticed by the time he wrote Caesar and Pompey. But there is evidence that Chapman found it hard wholly to reconcile Clermont and Biron to one another.

The Biron type was always dear to Chapman, and he would scarcely have been of his age if he had not understood the spirit that lured itself to its utmost reach. But the whole course of his career shows him an enemy to anything savouring of disorder and excess. He was tenacious of his own ideal of the perfect order and could see such irrational passion as Biron's only as a grave menace. It is through the Stoic philosophy of figures like Clermont and Cato that Chapman can reconcile his sympathy for the individual with his certainty that the individual must maintain his unity with the whole. Again it is the Stoic writers who provide a mind that could not always clearly and tersely formulate its ideas with concise expression. Clermont's teaching, though more restrained in tone, is in no way contradictory to Biron's earlier plea for individualism,

> "he that knowing how divine a frame
> The whole world is; and of it all can name
> (Without self-flattery) no part so divine
> As he himself, and therefore will confine
> Freely his whole powers in his proper part,
> Goes on most godlike." 13

In Biron he had stressed the freedom allowed to the individual. He now emphasises the just boundaries that distinguish between freedom and licence,

"He that strives t'invert
The Universal's course with his poor way,
Not only dust-like shivers with the sway,
But, crossing God in his great work, all earth
Bears not so cursed and so damned a birth." 14

Epictetus is unhampered, as a Christian writer might be, by the conception of a personal God and, in his breadth of vision, can conceive of the universe as actuated by the constant pressure of a great machine. It is this sense of the power of the whole that Chapman possesses acutely and he perceives, what other eyes failed often to recognise, that pact in the heart of the apparent discord between whole and part by which man's chief glory lies in being so praiseworthy a fragment of this great totality. To attempt to break away from the whole is virtually self-destruction. Chapman applies this idea further in considering questions of conduct, demanding a due sense in the individual of his own place and capacity, a consistency in action with that capacity, and the "decorum" so wanting in Bussy. Clermont urges the Guise

"Make not your forward spirit in virtue's right
A property for vice, by thrusting on
Further than all your powers can fetch you off."[15]

and the Stoic figures of the later plays represent for Chapman not only the outer expression of his own acquiescence with the plan of the universe and his ideal of self-discipline, but

the solution of the problem of the relations of the individual to the universe.

But I believe that, as a poet, Chapman, as his sympathetic treatment of Caesar shows, was, to the last, half in love with the tempestuous figures that trod the stars in their magnificent self-assertion. It is partly the inevitable nostalgia of a man ill at ease with a younger, lily-livered generation. He makes an effort to invest the colourless Clermont with the glamour of Biron, but it sits unhappily upon him, and, though Clermont turns unexpectedly wild lightning in the lackey's hands when taken prisoner, his sword is always slower from its scabbard than those of his forerunners, and its arc of movement less swift and sure. We recognise reluctantly that "the eagles are gone: crows and daws, crows and daws". Only once does Clermont assume the full dignity of the tragic hero, and here Chapman gets his effect by his extreme simplicity. When he is left alone with the dead body of the Guise his wooden puppetry is forgotten as he cries in sudden access of humanity,

"Guise, O my lord, how shall I cast from me
The bands and coverts hind'ring me from thee?"16

and, in the moment of complete spiritual solitude that is the experience of all the world's most tragic figures, breaks from

simplicity into the long and perfectly evolved image that conveys at once the mood of the scene,

> "Now, then, as a ship,
> Touching at strange and far-removed shores,
> Her men ashore go, for their several ends,
> Fresh water, victuals, precious stones, and pearl,
> All yet intentive (when the master calls,
> The ship to put off ready) to leave all
> Their greediest labours, lest they there be left
> To thieves and beasts, or be the country's slaves;
> So, now my master calls, my ship, my venture,
> All in one bottom put, all quite put off,
> Gone under sail, and I left negligent,
> To all the horrors of the vicious time,
> . . . . . .
> I come, my lord! Clermont, thy creature comes." 17

The irreconciliation between the Biron and the Clermont types in Chapman's mind is evident but I think that undue importance should not be given to it. The conflict exists like a tide-crack in the unity of his thought, never powerful enough to shatter it into separate floes or break the harmony of his mood.

Nevertheless, just as Clermont is a rebuke to Biron's excessive independence so a trenchant criticism of the principles for which he stands is made by the ghost of Bussy d'Ambois, The theme, though interrupted in its course by moral discussions, brings Chapman's play into the category of the popular revenge plays. Clermont, as Bussy's brother, is charged with the revenge of his death. The ethics of revenge present a peculiar difficulty to Clermont for, as a Stoic, such

an act is beneath his consideration while, as an Elizabethan nobleman, he is morally obliged to kill Montsurry. The point is nicely weighed. That Chapman deplored the release of the coarser and more brutal passions is certain for, on the one side, he sets Tamyra and Charlotte, Bussy's sister, the latter clamouring for vengeance and denouncing Clermont's "dull and drossy" spirit for its hesitation, Tamyra, thirsting to see her husband's blood freckling face and hands,

> "so wild, so mad,
> She cannot live, and this unwreak'd sustain."[18]

On the other side is the Stoical Clermont, hesitating not from psychological reasons like Hamlet, but from moral, and painstakingly analysing the motives that actuate vengeance,

> "Nor can we call it virtue that proceeds
> From vicious fury. I repent that ever
> (By any instigation in th'appearance
> My brother's spirit made, as I imagin'd)
> That e'er I yielded to revenge his murther.
> All worthy men should ever bring their blood
> To bear all ill, not to be wreak'd with good:
> Do ill for no ill; never private cause
> Should take on it the part of public laws."[19]

The last two lines echo the point at stake in Bussy's murder of Barrisor. And, on the whole, Bussy had justified himself as being fitted to undertake the responsibility of being an instrument of justice. But in the Revenge we can again recognise

the slight conflict in Chapman's mind between his sympathy with Charlotte's view and his dislike of a blood-boltered display of passions. He again makes his own reconciliation by lifting the problem on to a high plane of moral judgment and Bussy's ghost succinctly reproves Clermont's hesitation.[20] Behind Chapman's old contempt for the mind that rests attemptless, justifying its inertia by an ideal of restraint, lies a more thoughtful, less instinctive criticism of the Stoic's brilliant selfishness that allowed him to cut himself adrift from the whole as effectively as the self-assertive Biron. He perceived how Stoicism, far from depreciating individualism, furthered a particular form of it.

It is in these later plays that Chapman develops more fully his conception of man's moral function in the universe, emphasising his idea that true individualism contributes something to the whole and realises itself more fully through its contribution. In Chabot and Caesar and Pompey, the idea assumes even greater importance in the place he assigns to justice among the virtues. In the poems he had been unable to tolerate an unprofitable "self-love", and in the Tears of Peace had asked that learning should benefit and not dissociate itself from human life. To him it was through the individual

that good achieved its triumph over evil and justice had her perfect work. The ideal man was to him a just man, supplying, like Bussy, the deficiency in human laws, himself above them since laws were made to check the unjust. The value of such a conception - and it is extremely closely and carefully evolved - is the harmony that it allows Chapman to make between the Stoic philosopher and the Elizabethan tragic hero. Such a justification of revenge, though, of course, by no means peculiar to Chapman, gives free play to Clermont's sword and he is disgraced neither as philosopher nor Elizabethan courtier. And the play ends with his committing suicide after the high Roman fashion rather than live exposed to the vicious time. Chapman does not, I think, repeat this criticism of the philosophy from which he was borrowing, but it is sufficient to show that he did not adopt it bodily with a whole heart.

In his next tragedy, Chabot, Admiral of France, the scope of the play seems at first sight to be narrower for the long-winded generalised discussions are not so much in evidence and the play is pinned more firmly to earth. The concentration on the plot is closer, and the characters less abstract and more nearly human than ever before or after in Chapman's tragedies. For once he achieves the supremacy of the universal through and

not by dispensing with the particular. It is, of course, impossible to discern precisely what was the share of Shirley's refining hand for, although we can make a guess what he added or altered, we can but suspect what he took away. But whoever was responsible for licking Chabot into shape the result is about the best theatre-play of those attributed to Chapman, and a rather shapely and beautiful piece of work.[21]

If we can rely upon Chapman's information he had within the four years preceding Chabot come into contact with at least one royal household and it seems probable that his increased interest in politics that have an unmistakeable Stuart flavour was partly due to his being in a political hot-bed. In both the Revenge and Chabot the questions that had arisen in Biron as to the nature of kingship and the relations between king and subject are again in the foreground. If Chapman's approach is still that of the moral idealist rather than of the statesman the ideal of kingship is with him a very vital conception, and if, compared to Shakespeare, the ramifications of his ideas are not extensive he brings to their expression an enthusiasm and a solemn reverence that beggars most of his Jacobean contemporaries. To Chapman the prince was so wholly the vice-gerent of God, above the laws and from whom derived the laws, that his conception of the

Crown seems akin to that of James in the indefinable, almost transcendent significance with which both invest it. With both men it is a conception in which personality is not eliminated but transcended. This idea emerges more clearly, I think, in James' letters[22] than in his political works, and more clearly in Chabot than in Biron where Chapman had depicted the ideal king. Biron, who believed as rigidly as Barclay in the divine descent of kings and vested in the monarch unlimited sovereignty, and Clermont, who stopped short of disputing with even the most outrageous acts of kings, are typical of this attitude that could conceive an extreme and unmitigated monarchy. Theoretically, to Chapman "kings may do what they list", though actually in Biron he implies a more democratic form of government upon an elastic system of mutual obligations between king and subject. In the Revenge he handles, as a subsidiary theme, the moral obligations incumbent upon the prince, disapproving, as James who was nothing if not pious, would have doubtless done, Baligny's Machiavellian thesis that "Treachery for kings is truest loyalty", In Chabot the moral check that Chapman imposes upon the absolute power of the sovereign comes into the forefront of the play, for the play turns upon the extent of the king's authority over his subject, Chapman's thesis of the relations of the individual to the

whole masking itself in this guise.

Like Clermont and Cato the Admiral, Philip Chabot, stands for a principle of justice and integrity in his administration, and is opposed by the Chancellor and Montmorency, the Constable. Chabot himself is one of Chapman's happiest pieces of characterization. Where Clermont and Cato are mouth-pieces for Stoic teaching doctrines in Chabot are fine scruples and the outcome of a well-defined and rich personality. Reserved but with the capacity for knowing when a situation demands direct and uncompromising speech, stern but without lapsing ever into harshness or intolerance, his outstanding characteristic is his acute sense of justice. Chapman's conception of justice in government had been developed most completely in Henry IV in <u>Biron</u> and the description of Chabot's observation of justice belongs more properly to his ideal of kingship,

> "He truly weighs and feels, sir, what a charge
> The subjects livings are (being even their lives
> Laid on the hand of power), which abus'd,
> Though seen blood flow not from the justice seat,
> 'Tis in true sense as grievous and horrid." 23

Again Chapman emphasises the need for intense thought in the man who must supply what corrupted law leaves unperformed in kings by contrast with the Constable, who true to the Passive class to which he belongs,

"takes the mind of others
(By name judicial), for what his own
Judgment and knowledge should conclude." [24]

while Chabot relies upon his own original thought. He is a contrast to the king himself. In some ways Chapman's portrait of Francis bears a curious resemblance to James Stuart. Both possess definite views on kingship that are in theory tenable but which in practice become arbitrary and carry with them an undue sense of personal dignity that leads to a confusion between the office of kingship and the king as a person. Both possess, too, that streak of cruelty that allows them to play catlike with their dependents while disguising it to themselves as a zeal for moral reform.[25] The scene in which Chabot opposes the king's demands and refuses to allow Francis jurisdiction over his conscience is, in the close-knit process of the argument that reveals itself in terms of character through a growing tension, perhaps the most masterly scene that Chapman ever wrote. The wrong-headed conception of kingship marked in Francis' case by impetuosity and thoughtlessness rather than by viciousness is brought into sharp contrast with Chabot's clear and consistent conception both of justice and the relations between king and subject. The technique Chapman employs is the same as in <u>Bussy d'Ambois</u> and <u>Biron</u> where he forces a

crisis in the form of a rest-cure and allows his characters to reveal themselves as representing startlingly divergent points of view by a close comparison within a limited space. While Francis cajoles and argues and, from curiosity, leads Chabot to state his ideas and finally flies into a rage in wounded vanity, Chabot, with unfailing courtesy, dignity, a moving humility, and a quiet reasonableness withdraws more and more into himself. The same contrast is marked as in Biron between the mind resting in clear and logical thought-processes and the mind blind to another's merits and incapable of penetrating thought. The fact emerging from the combat that amazes Francis is that one so high as Chabot can be just. But to Chapman goodness and greatness are no more truly incompatible than in Bussy D'Ambois, and he makes his point against the king's comment,

> "How long shall kings 26
> Raise men that are not wise till they be high?"

with Chabot himself who is high because he is wise.

With the character of Chabot Chapman's understanding of the human personality seems unexpectedly to have deepened. He possessed always the capacity for understanding certain states of mind while failing entirely to take into account individual traits of character and temperament. Chabot

he treats with what amounts almost to tenderness, and there is a very real beauty in the figure that so quietly and unyieldingly maintains its innocence against the false charges levelled by its rivals. The course of the tragedy with its peculiarly unspectacular close is summed by Francis,

> "if the strength
> Of his own innocence can break the storm, 27
> Truth wo'not lose her servant, her wings cover him."

In Francis' sense, Truth suffers no loss, and the play takes an unexpected turn when Chabot refuses the king's pardon for the faults he had never committed. Chapman never confers upon his figures such divinity of suffering as Ford, but when it becomes gradually apparent that too wild a descant has been played upon, Chabot's virtues and that, despite the firm integrity of the will that maintains itself to the last, the physical energies are undermined and finished, he seems, with an unusual depth of insight, to have realised the nature of the "silent griefs that cut the heart-strings". The decline of Chabot from a prime of strength to a slow and worn old age, his steadfast refusal to recognise the injustice of the Crown, and his terrible gratitude to the king who had wronged him are the outer signs of that inner and half inarticulate awareness of the heartbreak and the wanton cruelty of things that

keeps Chapman's work humane,

> "Thus in the summer a tall flourishing tree,
> Transplanted by strong hand, with all her leaves
> And blooming pride upon her, makes a show
> Of Spring, tempting the eye with wanton blossom;
> But not the sun, with all her amorous smiles,
> The dews of morning, or the tears of night,
> Can root her fibres in the earth again;
> Or make her bosom kind to growth and bearing;
> But the tree withers; and those very beams
> That once were natural warmth to her soft verdure,
> Dry up her sap, and shoot a fever through
> The bark and rind, till she becomes a burthen
> To that which gave her life." 28

With its well-developed plot and careful characterisation Chabot is an odd incongruity coming between two plays that betray their relationship so obviously as the Revenge and Caesar and Pompey. In the latter characterisation and logical structure again go overboard as Chapman enters upon the full strength of his thought. Cato stands in the same tradition as Clermont as the type in which justice is most perfectly manifested, though he is more economically drawn and of a far finer mould than Clermont. In Caesar and Pompey Chapman relates his conception to other spheres of his thought and takes up again questions that during the last three years had been held in abeyance. He seems to have felt the need in these later years of organising and formulating more clearly the system of his ideas, with the result that single works

like the Tears of Peace and Caesar and Pompey stand out like milestones in the sequence of his work as fulfilling this need more satisfactorily than others. Caesar and Pompey, more even than the Revenge, stands in a peculiarly intimate relationship to his mind for in the Revenge much of what had been fresh in his mind and baldly and dogmatically stated and all that had been left unsaid, save for that pregnant afterthought in the preface, is here absorbed, inter-related and completed, and transfigured, in a new exaltation of mood, to poetry that holds the resonant harmonies of cello music. The ringing lines with which Biron steadied a rocking universe, the measured, more compassionate cadences of the Tears of Peace have given place to verse, stripped wholly of superfluity and touched to something more powerful and more austere than when faith was crucified, not triumphant. The exigencies of the plot trouble Chapman little. The glamorous figure of Caesar who had Fortune for his page, Pompey who defeated, renounces ambition for the unworldly Stoicism of Cato preoccupy Chapman only sufficiently for the pattern of his philosophical ideas clearly to show itself. But it is Cato upon whom his eyes rest and to whom, though the part that Cato plays is comparatively small, he gives finally his conclusions upon the problems he had shelved. With Cato he abandons himself to pure speculative thought, developing his theme with the perfect control that is a matter

of conviction rather than of technique. The poetry of the long and important passages that detach themselves from the play divests itself of all but the imagery of thought and the rhythm of the verse now responds absolutely to the rhythm of his mind. There is still for the reader the difficulty of understanding Chapman for such a mind can never make easy reading, but, with inspiration harnessed, the thought develops more properly into the unity of a compact paragraph so that, while the content itself may defy immediate apprehension, the difficulty is lessened by the processes of reasoning being more easily followed in so concise a form.

Caesar and Pompey, like similar figures in the preceding plays, provide a contrast to Cato whose iron virtues stand out the more strongly against their "self-love". Pompey saves his soul by turning Stoic, Caesar is, like Biron, a moral outlaw and, though endearing as Biron,

"conquer'd in his conquest, 29
In the ambition he till now denied,"

while Cato

"has ever been in every justice
Better than Caesar." 30

It is through Cato that we can understand how deep a hold the sterner ideal of his later years had over Chapman's imagination.

And, whether or not he could ever reconcile this ideal to Biron's wild, ardent spirit, it is Cato who is finally allowed to raise his eyes to the stars and look undazzled upon eternity. The transition from Henry, who had stood as a contrast to Biron and as a wholly delightful character, to Clermont with his analyses and documenting of life, and from Clermont to Chabot, and Chabot to Cato is interesting, and worth close study as an indication of the trend of Chapman's mind during these years. Chapman, who was as well aware of the real meaning of self-discipline as any man living, gave to Cato the final experience of spiritual detachment and the ability to see the world in the light of spiritual values. And it is in Cato perhaps that we can gauge the high-water mark of Chapman's deepening experience during these years. Increasingly he comes to accord different laws of living to men who have brought themselves under such discipline as Cato and the moral outlaws like Caesar and Biron. The just man is to himself "the perfectst law" and in Caesar and Pompey, Chapman completes the thesis prefixed to the play that "only a Just Man is a Free Man" by throwing upon Cato the responsibility for the disposing of his own life. In the Gentleman Usher, Chapman with obvious hesitation had ranged himself along with those who advocated fortitude in the teeth of suffering at whatever cost of mental and

physical wear and tear. The case is not entirely parallel, for Chapman considers it morally incumbent upon Cato to commit suicide rather than give apparent assent to the injustice of Caesar's conquest by remaining alive. But I believe that his argument in defence of suicide both covers and rationalises his inner conviction in the responsibility of man for his own life. Throughout his career Chapman laid heavy responsibilities calling for matured judgment upon man and control over the issues of life or death is a logical extension of his idea of the responsibility that men are fitted to carry.

It is when Cato goes on to support his argument with a statement of his belief in the immortality of the soul that we can see how tenaciously the old problems have rooted themselves in Chapman's mind, and how consistent has been his development from the years of restless compromise to the later period when faith is wholly justified of itself. Though Cato soars into the scholastic doctrine of the correspondence between form and matter to lend credence to his declaration of the survival of both body and soul intellectual support is really superfluous to his faith for the bedrock of the entire superstructure of thought is his serene confidence in the rational nature of the plan of the universe. It is upon this

foundation, underpinned firmly in the Tears of Peace, that the intellect can build up its beautifully modulated and sustained argument that is Chapman's most direct refutation of the contention of Bussy D'Ambois that nature had decreed no end responsive to the worth of her great creation,

> "As Nature works in all things to an end,
> So in th'appropriate honour of that end
> All things precedent have their natural frame;
> And therefore is there a proportion
> Betwixt the ends of those things and their primes."[31]

The assertions of these furthest reaches of humanist thought declare themselves with an assurance that is as far as heaven from earth from the impassioned defiance and enforced compromise of Biron, with its yearning cry for knowledge and the certainty of its destiny. In the claim that Chapman makes for personal immortality he has moved planets away from the Stoic and the Neo Platonic philosophies to which he was so deeply indebted, coming nearer to Christianity in his belief in the resurrection of the body. But his approach is that of the humanist urging, world without end, the retention of the powers that man had exercised on earth. Nor, to Chapman does man's individuality lose its egoistic character in an ultimate abnegation. His mood is not that of the medieval or seventeenth century mystics

praying to live "invisible and dim", absorbed into some entity greater than themselves. He is the Elizabethan humanist to his finger-tips in his assertion that "bestial death" is only a sleep that cannot rob man of the vast accumulation of experience gained during his earthly pilgrimage. There is the very essence of reasonableness in Cato's quiet assertion,

> "For we shall know each other and past death
> Retain those forms of knowledge learn'd in life;
> Since if what here we learn we there shall lose
> Our immortality were not life, but time." 32

And when he comes to speak of the soul's aspiring, bringing within one sweep of thought the whole range of experience from Tamburlaine to Faustus, there is in his words that crystalline simplicity of logic that defies the schools and sets theologians by the ears,

> "And that our souls in reason are immortal
> Their natural and proper objects prove;
> Which immortality and knowledge are,
> For to that object ever is referr'd
> The nature of the soul, in which the acts
> Of her high faculties are still employ'd,
> And that true object must her powers obtain
> To which they are in nature's aim directed,
> Since t'were absurd to have her set an object
> Which possibly she never can aspire." 33

It is this clear-eyed perception of the utter reasonableness of the whole scheme of the universe that influences Cato's entire outlook. Good and evil may find no apparent reconciliation and good be still attendant upon captain ill and the world

sunk in its own chaos but the play proclaims again Chapman's acquiescence and belief in the ultimate justice of all things, though the gods' wills be closed against our mortality. Such confidence in a rational order of existence informs the play throughout, and it is in this spirit of security that Cato encourages men tofree themselves from their pitiful fears.

> "He that fears the gods
> For guard of any goodness, all things fears,
> Earth, seas and air, heaven, darkness, broad daylight,
> Rumour and silence and his very shade." 34

To the end of his days, Chapman was a moralist, and he emphasises that it is by the practice of the virtues that men secure themselves from fear of death and circumstance, seeing that neither principalities nor powers, can break the close commerce between God and that man whose goodness is a beam of God. Life to Chapman was an eternity of experience with that slender thread of communication between creator and created through its inmost core kept at its fine tension. And when the soul has experienced all that life can offer it, acquainted itself both with its evil and its good to the enriching of its knowledge, then

> "wing thee, dear soul, and receive her, heaven.
> The earth, the air, the seas I know, and all
> The joys and horrors of their peace and wars,
> And now will see the gods' state and the stars."

It is this statement of the continuity of experience,

in lines, that after many years contain something of Marlowe's poetic genius, that is the final outcome of the cycle of years from the *Shadow of Night* onward. His later work, the *Eugenia* and the *Andromeda Liberata,* may emphasise particular aspects of his thought but there is, I think, never again any vital change in his outlook.

CHAPTER 7.

CONCLUSION.

> "a mind
> That feeds upon infinity, that broods
> Over the dark abyss."
>
> Wordsworth.

As far as the continuous processes of mental growth can ever arbitrarily be segregated from one another the span of Chapman's development from the Shadow of Night to the late tragedies shows three distinct phases. It was, on the whole, a slow development and, in its earlier years, an unspectacular, consisting less of evolution or direct change of thought than of the gradual accumulation and accretion of ideas as Chapman strove to clarify what he felt instinctively about life rather than what he thought. Despite the exploration, in every poem carried in a different direction, of the facets of human experience, from the spiritual to the intellectual and physical, this earliest phase was further characterised by a purposeful withdrawal of the mind from the outer life, partly under the influence of distasteful circumstances, partly because it was natural to such a mind to find its contacts with the material world not wholly satisfying. During the course of his develop-

ment the character of that withdrawal was to change, but from the outset of his career in the summer of Elizabethan humanism, when he was absorbed in forming down the rides of his imagination the image of the gods in man, and preoccupied in varying moods of deep excitement, exuberance, and tranquillity with an intensely personal vision, the sequence of poems and tragedies is consistent in being the work of a mind that has isolated itself from the more normal contacts with life.

In another period Chapman's subsequent development would, I believe, have taken a different course. Marlowe's would have been what it was in any age for the darkness that followed upon Tamburlaine comes naturally to those who are dazzled by excess of light. But with Chapman the cause of those middle years of mental chaos and indecision came from outside himself and diverted him, by coercing him into contact with alien modes of thought, from his true channel of development. The value to him of these years lay in the obligation they forced upon him of explicating and clarifying his thought to make it adequate to fresh requirements, even at the cost of driving him to the hyperboles of Biron. It is this process of formulation that strengthens the reader's impression of an Elizabethan retaining his foothold in a period that he could not wholly understand and the sensibility of which was foreign to his.

In the later years, when he had again severed that contact with contemporary life that he had made in the Tears of Peace, the awareness of the inner struggle of perpetual and intense violence in man for self-completeness, the ethical aspect of which he had presented in his early tragedies, and clearly recognised by Chapman's introspective mind as taking place within himself, in part prevented him from achieving wholly the harmony of mood that the thought-content of his last play might lead us to expect. Cato's deepened perceptions and acquiescence in the plan of the universe mark the upper limit of Chapman's experience during these later years of further penetration into the spiritual world. But, on the lower levels of experience, the "joys and horrors of their peace and wars" can oppress a mind fighting with itself still with that sense of seething confusion, though never again of futility, first realised in the Shadow of Night. The inner strife of this period, when the discipline to which the later poems show Chapman subjecting himself brought "no quiet yielding but affright and care" and Cato's vision failed to sustain itself, owes nothing, like the preceding phase, to the thought of the age. Chapman's road is now that of every serious thinker at some or other period of his life, though whether he would have taken it at this

point had it not been for the intervening years of Bussy D'Ambois and Biron is debateable. As regards the mental strain that his later poems show, when he had reached harmony of thought but not of mood, by his own thesis and by the very nature of such development, "best men are long in making". But there is, nevertheless, no record in the poems, the prefaces, or the letters that fail so signally to accord with his high standards, of any Easter to Chapman's Lent.

Although the substance of his thought was singularly well-balanced, his mental life was far less so, and, beside the self-imposed struggle of the later years, we may account for this by the unsatisfactory nature of his relations with the outer world. In all essential respects his mind had isolated itself, but he had not the scholar or great thinker's genuine detachment to enable him to be wholly satisfied by the life of the mind. Although he had sent his kingdom beyond the world's edge he still wanted more than the world was prepared to give him, and he had a fundamental incapacity for understanding the nature of the world's gift in his personal life. He was a man of a difficult temperament, intolerant of those who did not accept his standards, egocentric and hypersensitive, yet, by his blunders and blind misunderstandings, strangely

insensitive, and possessing, what Hazlitt would have sympathised with, an infinite capacity for being irritated by small things. He was a giant in a world that was too small for him, and he could never adjust himself to it. His contacts with it were of the most superficial. His imagery is drawn less from external things than from books or the imagination. The sensuous beauty that had attracted his Elizabethan contemporaries made little genuine appeal. When he uses their imagery in his early work the effect is either forced or else he completely individualises it. His nature images, those of a dalesman, have that impersonal character as though long sunk in his mind from habitual contact rather than the momentary observations of an emotional mood. His images of contemporary life are usually given an individuality of their own as though he was never wholly in contact with his environment, but had vivid momentary contacts when familiar things appeared from a new angle. His handling of his images, the elaboration of detail, the slow cumulative effects, the vivid pictorial quality suggest a mind pondering deeply within itself over its imaginative creations.

From the unsatisfactory nature of his personal relations to the outer world, despite the lavish Renaissance

magnificence of his verse and his insistence upon wealth of experience we never feel that he was spendthrift of experience with his age. The detachment with which he regards our experiences in his later years is not that of the man who has gained his detachment through the experiences themselves. There is something in Chapman, because he regarded the world with distorted vision, that never lived fully and generously, and, despite his embracing theories, we are tempted to say that his view of life in his later years was mature but never ripe like Shakespeare's. We have no impression of experience having lain long in the wood, as with Donne who was prodigal of all life in his hot youth, or that joy's grape had ever been burst against a palate so fine as Raleigh's to appreciate sufficiently the transience of all that life offers.

It was inevitable that he should be blind to human nature in its diversities. To the comedies, go the impressions of contemporary life, quick sketches of humanity drawn in varying moods from geniality to sharp anger, with an eye for incident and situation rather than for character, and reflecting only fitfully ~~his~~ the more serious thought that he can never entirely harmonise with the mood of comedy. In tragedy Bussy D'Ambois and Chabot reveal, in the former, where Chapman mishandles the magnificent material of an Ibsen, an awakened

interest that soon fades in the intricacy of human relations, and, in the latter, a new sense of character, but as comments upon human nature or analyses of experience they are on a lower level than the work of his contemporaries, and his tragedies must be judged by rather different standards since he was creating in stuff other than theirs. Chapman's preoccupation with one theme carried his thought, like that of Marlowe, below the level upon which human experience separates into its various spheres. It absorbed him to the extent that he forsook completely the objective attitude and reduced the whole of life to its terms. His important images tend to be so many symbols of the various aspects of one idea, the different departments of life such as politics and exploring are seen as so many allegorical representations. If he is given a concrete figure it turns into a symbol, as Marlowe's Leander becomes Chapman's Ideal Beauty. We can recognise the processes by which to such a mind all the distinctions between men come to be meaningless, or worthy of interest only insofar as they diverge from the ideal. Men are to him increasingly the representatives of ideas, His world is not that of human beings. Though he has infinite sympathy with his figures, even when they deny the godhead within them, though when they are crippled and broken he will indict not them but the destiny

that makes them what they are, ultimately they mean little to him. His drama has to reveal, not motives and relationships but the interplay of those movements that make the character of life what it is, and without which these figures would move in a wholly different fashion.

Some light is thrown upon the world of Chapman's tragedies by certain of his images, and it is often through the images of hills and rivers and seas, trees, clouds, the fleeting passage of mists and shadows that the mood of plays and poems is more accurately transmitted than by means of more direct expression. It is as though Chapman's philosophy of individualism were the rationalisation by the intellect of some unformulated view of life half-realised in a remote and usually inaccessible state of consciousness. In the primordial world revealed by these images men fight in shadowy confusion, not against the forces of the universe, but within themselves toward a resolution of their inner conflict into the unrealised calm of the sea in Bussy D'Ambois. The plots of the sequence of tragedies are peculiarly relevant to this view of life got "tween asleep and wake". From it comes Chapman's conscious philosophy, where man strives not, like Faustus, against his creator, but, like Apollo in Hyperion, toward his apotheosis

into that ideal that is neither quite Clermont nor Biron, but is a compound of both which, to the last, eluded Chapman as being too delicate and evanescent a conception for realisation, since "Perfection could not flow from earthly excellence."

It is this view of life, persisting through all vicissitudes of mental development, that, while it imposes the form upon his tragedies and distracts him from the normal preoccupations of the dramatist, renders his thought of such great value. For its most remarkable feature is the distinction made and retained between God and man. To Chapman man had no call to transcend his humanity to achieve self-completeness. The relationship between God and man, His potential image, he knew to be intact but only fully established as man reached his full term of completeness. To that end he urges restraint upon him, not with the Peter Mortensgård view of life that shackles aspiration and creates a spiritual sterility, but to prevent him from wrecking himself like Marlowe upon a false premise and defacing his powers by dreaming of becoming immortal like the gods. Of the giant struggle to self-completeness, shadowed in the Passion of Bussy and Biron, no man in any century is better qualified to speak, and few understand better man's urgent needs to aid him in the struggle.

There is little of Christian doctrine in his conception for his thought derived from those regions where the distinctions between religions cease. Because he knew the necessity of a true orientation for the daring and the hunger of man's spirit, and partly since he himself made naturally the intellectual approach, he placed quality of thought higher in the scale of values than the Christian virtues. He did not believe whole-heartedly in the ennobling power of suffering, though few set so high a premium upon the suffering that comes from within as the necessary accompaniment of the soul's progress. To the enriching of his impoverishment he urged knowledge and experience, and insisted upon the need for beauty and passion and even fighting, not to disenchant him from the contemplation of God, but to regenerate his powers and keep his spirit at its high tension. But he knew also the necessity for putting these things aside insofar as they hindered and turning, from time to time, away from earth's enchantments. It is upon this struggle, violent and perpetual, with the continual challenge of the animal to the spiritual and the temptation to lose one's orientation and drift unthinkingly, that Chapman's gaze is always resting, whether he is writing the poetry of deep thought or the easier moral reflections.

And it is the clear distinction he made between the human and the divine and the value he gave to the earthly career that achieved for him the integration between religion and humanism that gives him a unique place in the literature of a period when the earthly and the spiritual values refused to be easily reconciled. From this aspect of his thought Chapman provides a striking contrast to the men who went wholly over to the one side, like Donne and Marston whose careers ended in the church, and to those who separated the two sets of values like the halves of an apple, as Herrick, later in the century, symbolically kept the Bacchanalia of the Hesperides locked and barred from the sobriety of the Noble Numbers.

Chapman never learned to present his ideas clearly, though there are moments, long poems even, of power and a lovely clarity. The substance of his thought is not confused, for he possessed the intense but turbulent thinker's habit of reducing it to its bare essentials and building up from a skeleton foundation. The simplicity of his tragic plots shows, I think, how only the essentials stand out clearly to him. But the finished product reveals the slow-working mind coping with rushes of unformulated thought to the detriment of the whole. It is for this reason that Chapman's voice will be

heard only by those whose light-bearing intellects are prepared to make an effort responsive to the terrific labour of his. Like the work of the sculptor in the Tears of Peace there remains "redundant matter in the stone" and the form is never wholly hewn from the alabaster and shaped to its last reluctant beauty without an age-long struggle.

In his own time Chapman stands alone. His work reflects all of the Renaissance and he was dependent on his age for the foundation of his thought even while he isolated himself in mood from it, and, with the turn of the century, and with his evident lack of interest in the preoccupations of the Jacobeans, his Elizabethan heritage becomes more apparent. But there is no one in either century who compares easily with Chapman. He was of Marlowe's circle, though not of its intellectual stature, and in some ways like Greville, but the latter was more of a Jacobean in temper though not in thought, than he. Change in the intellectual climate kept him an Elizabethan, and the younger men like Webster and Tourneur and their contemporaries seem to have had little in common with him. The only man I can find with which to compare him is Wordsworth, and had Chapman been born some two hundred years later the likeness, that is definitely unusual in this period, might have been profound. Chapman's empiricism, his awareness

of the kinship between man and nature anticipate only eighteenth century philosophers like Shaftesbury. The likeness lies in the quality of their minds. Both were men who had been

"in many a solitary place
Against the wind and open sky,"

and they were both fundamentally countrymen in their outlook. Upon both the burthen of the mystery lay heavy as frost and absorbed them in a deep brooding so that the mind silently hung over infinity and thought felt round the roots of life. Both men saw life less in terms of people than as the interplay of vast forces, growth and movement - it is this, incidentally, that enables Chapman to interpret history so excellently - and both conceived of man on a scale beyond the imagination's scope,to interpret fully. The power of Wordsworth's mind took him beyond where Chapman's vigour, or unused power, could carry him, but Chapman does not, I think, lag unduly far behind. And his giant figure of man shows an added beauty and poignancy lent by its isolation in an age when men were no longer carved with their eyes fixed on the stars.

APPENDIX.

THE DATES OF THE PLAYS.

1. <u>The Blind Beggar of Alexandria.</u> 1595 - 1596.

The play was entered in the <u>Stationers' Register</u> on August 15th,1598. "A booke entituled The blynde begger of Alexandrya, vppon Condicon thatt yt belonge to noe other man." William Jones. (Arber.3.124.) The play by the evidence of the title-page was published in the same year.

The date of Chapman's earliest known comedy is fixed as nearly as possible by Henslowe's mention of it as "ne" in the <u>Diary</u> on February 12th, 1596.(i. 14ʳ.)

2. <u>An Humorous Day 's Mirth.</u> 1597.

There is no S.R.entry but the play by the evidence of the title-page was published in 1599.

Henslowe notes (i.26ᵛ) on May 11th, 1597 the receipt of money from the first performance of a play that he calls "The Comodey of Umers", and which he marks "ne". On March 10th,1598 Henslowe, making an inventory of the Admiral's property,(<u>Papers</u>,115,119) apparently refers to Chapman's play "An Humourous Day's Mirth" in mentioning "Verones sonnes hosse" and on March 13th "Labesya's clocke with gowlde buttenes". Sir Edmund Chambers, Dr.Greg, and Professor Parrott agree in identifying Chapman's play with the "Comodey of Umers".

3. <u>The Gentleman Usher.</u> 1602?

The play was entered in the S.R.on November 26th, 1605 "A book called Vincentio and Margaret". Valentine Syms. (Arber f3.305) It was published in 1606 under its present title.

It is impossible to fix the date of this play with any certainty as there is no record of its performance, nor does the title-page mention the company that performed it. E.K.Chambers (Elizabethan Stage. vol.3.p.251) thinks the use of songs and a masque indicates that it was probably performed by the Children of the Chapel, for whom Chapman was shortly afterwards writing. But there seems also to be the possibility that the play was written for Paul's Boys. (see page 13.). It was written after Sir Giles Goosecap to which it alludes (2.1.81), but the date of the former cannot be fixed, though it is supposed to have been written after the visit in 1601 of Biron to London. T.M.Parrott (Comedies. p.753) suggests 1602, with which E.K.Chambers agrees, admitting also the possibility of 1604.

4. All Fools. 1604?

There is no S.R. entry and the play according to the title-page was published in 1605.

There is a possibility that this play may be identified with an earlier play written by Chapman for the Admiral's. On January 22nd., 1598 Henslowe notes in the Diary (1.63) "Lent unto thomas dowton----to Leand unto Mr.Chapman in earneste of a Boocke called the world Rones a whelles the some of iii[li] ." On February 13th, £1 is advanced by Henslowe for the same play, £2 on June 1st, and full payment on July 2nd. The latter entry runs (1.63) "Lent unto thomas dowton the 2 of July 1599 to pay Mr.Chapman in full payment for his Boocke called the world Rones a whelles and now all foolles but the foolle some of xxxs." To Dr.Greg (Diary 2.175) this is identical with the "All Fools" played at the Blackfriars (title-page evidence), and at Court on January 1st, 1605 ("The Boyes of the Chapell. On Newers Nights A Playe cauled All Fouelles. by Georg Chapman." Cunningham. Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court, in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James.p.204) Dr.Greg suggests that the total of £8.10 received by Chapman is an excessively large sum for one play and that the payment of July 2nd included the remainder due for the World Runs on Wheels and

an advance sum of All Fools but the Fool. The latter Chapman probably took with him when he left the Admiral's and finished later for the Chapel or Revels. To E.K. Chambers (Elizabethan Stage, 3.p.252) and T.M. Parrott (Comedies p.701) the entry of July 2nd indicates a single play with a changed title, and Parrott identifies it with the Blackfriars play, suggesting that the gulling of Rinaldo which makes the Blackfriars title appropriate was a late insertion rendering the Admiral's title invalid. Chambers thinks that the change of companies and the fact that there is no fool in All Fools casts doubt upon the identification. He offers the alternative conjecture that the Admiral's reverted to the original title for their play leaving the amended one available for Chapman in 1604.

5. Monsieur D'Olive. 1604.

There is no S.R.entry but the play was published in 1606, according to the title-page.

The title-page indicates a Revels rather than a Chapel play. Stoll (M.L.N. April 1905.xx p.207) and Parrott (Comedies p.773) agree on 1604 on the ground of allusions to the Jacobean knights (1.1.263; 4.2.77), to the calling-in of monopolies which took place in the Parliament of May 7th, 1603, (1.1.284), to the preparation of embassies (4.2.114) and perhaps to James' dislike of tobacco (2.2.164) Chambers notes a reminiscence of Hamlet (3.2.393) in (2.2.91).

6. Bussy D'Ambois. 1604.

The play was entered in the S.R.June 3rd, 1607. "The tragedie of Bussy D'Amboise. Made by George Chapman." William Aspley. (Arber 3.350). It was published in 1607, according to the title-page. The title-page indicates that it was acted by Pauls who disappear in 1606, their last traceable performance being on July 30th of that year (Nichols. The Progresses and Processions, and Magnificent Festivities

of King James the First. vol.4.p.1073) Very little information is available concerning the activities of this company. W.S.Simpson (Gleanings from Old St. Pauls. published 1889) does not mention Bussy D'Ambois in the list of plays performed, nor has the recent research of E.K.Chambers (Elizabethan Stage, vol 2) and H.Hillebrand ( ) thrown any fresh light, though the former, while accepting 1604 as date of composition (Elizabethan Stage 3.253), admits the possibility of Pauls having the play in their possession in 1600 or before. Considerable dispute has arisen over the date of writing, opinion varying between 1600, supported by E.E.Stoll (On the Dates of Some of Chapman's Plays, M.L.N. 1905.vol xx.p206), and 1604, supported by Parrott (The Date of Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois. M.L.R. Jan. 1908 vol.3.p.126). Stoll offers the earlier date on the evidence of Bussy's obviously topical references to Leap-year, which he observes may equally well point to 1600 as to 1604, and to Elizabeth (1.2.12) who is, he says, referred to as still living. Parrott, on the same evidence, finds 1604 as plausible as 1600. He maintains that the reference to a "knight of the new edition" (1.2.124) indicates a Jacobean rather than an Elizabethan date. He finds the reference to Leap-year points equally well to 1604 and contends that to refer to Elizabeth as dead in a scene supposed to take place considerable earlier would have been too glaring an anachronism. He suggests that if the play was written about 1604 it may well have come into Paul's possession through Kirkham, who left the Chapel in 1605 and was a master of Paul's in 1606 (Cunningham. Extracts xxxvIII). Parrott suggests also that the later date puts the play nearer the group dealing intimately with French history, indicating, perhaps a period of concentrated interest rather than an interest diffused through many years. On the whole, the evidence offered by both Stoll and Parrott points to a 1604 date. But it must be remembered that if Chapman was in the service of Pauls before that of the Chapel he may have written Bussy D'Ambois about the same time that he wrote The Old Joiner of Aldgate (see p 13). The evidence is inconclusive and 1604 seems as plausible as 1600, though I am inclined

to place it pretty soon after Charlemagne (see p 250-)

7. Eastward Ho! 1605.

The play was written in collaboration with Jonson and Marston. It was entered in the S.R. on September 4th, 1604. "A Comedie called Eastward Ho:" William Aspley and Thomse Thorp. (Amber.3.300). It was published in the same year on the evidence of the title-page. E.K.Chambers (Elizabethan Stage.3.p250) notes that it may have been staged any time between the date of the imprisonment (see p.14) and the staging of Dekker's and Webster's Westward Hoe late in 1604, to which the prologue refers:

"Nor out of our contention to do better
Than that which is oppos'd to ours in title,
For that was good; and better cannot be:
And for the title if it seem affected,
We might as well have call'd it,'God you good even',
Only that Eastward Westwards still exceeds - "

As the date of the imprisonment was evidently not before May 4th, 1605(see p. 293) the early half of that year seems probable for the date of composition.

8. May Day. c. 1609.

There is no entry in the S.R. and the play according to the title-page was published in 1611.

If the possibility of Chapman having written for Pauls up to 1603-4 be admitted then the stage direction at the beginning of Act I, "Chorus iuvenum cantantes et saltantes" does not necessarily fix the play as a Chapel or Revels production, as E.K.Chambers suggests. (Elizabethan Stage 3.p256). Parrott. (Comedies p731) suggests 1602 on the grounds of allusions to plays produced between 1599-1601. He notes (4.1.18) a mock quotation from Marston's Antonio and Mellida (5.2.20), which was registered in 1601 (Amber 3.193), and other allusions less important because the identity rests on imitation rather than direct quotation. A later date, he maintains,would not give these reminiscences the value of topical references. E.K.Chambers suggests the play was written after the year of the publication

of Dekker's Gull's Hornbook, chapter 5 of which is imitated in 1.1.378 et seq. He finds Parrott's suggestion of a revision of May day after that date inconclusive. The later date seems to be fairly certain on account of the evidence of The Gull's Hornbook.

9. The Widow's Tears. 1603-1609.

The play was entered in the S.R. on April 17th, 1612. "Twoo play bookes, th'one called The Revenge of Bussy d'Amboys, beinge a tragedy, thother called, The wydowes teares, beinge a Comedy, bothe written by George Chapman." Browne.(Arber 3.481). It was published in the same year according to the title-page. It is impossible to fix the date of this play with any certainty. The title-page reference to the Blackfriars shows that it was perforned by the Chapel or Revels between 1603-9, E.K.Chambers (Elizabethan Stage 3.p.256) thinks probably before the disastrous performance of Biron in 1608. He notes, further, that the references in 4.1. 28 and 1. 1.125 are Jacobean rather than Elizabethan. Parrott suggests 1605 on the grounds that tone and technique indicate a late comedy. He thinks that the satire of justice in Act 5. may have been induced by Chapman's resentment at his imprisonment in 1605.

10. Charles, Duke of Biron. 1608.

The play was entered in the S.R. on June 5th, 1608 (see p.297) and was published in the same year. The date, April 5th, 1608, of La Boderie's letter to the Marquis de Sillery referring to the performance of the play gives us an upper limit for the date of composition. Dr.Boas (Athenaeum. January 10th 1903) points out that Chapman's source for his material was Grimeston's General Inventorie of the Historie of France, published in 1607. This provides us with a lower limit. Dr.Greg (Henslowe's Diary 2. 231) thinks the play may have some connection with the play called"Burone" or "Berowne" belonging to Worcester's men in 1602.

11. Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois. c. 1610.

For S.R.entry see Widow's Tears. p.247. The play was published in 1613, according to the title-page. Dr.Boas in his edition (Belle-lettres. 1905) shows that Chapman, as in the case of Biron, used the 1607 edition of Grimeston. The title-page states that it was "often presented at the private Play-house in the White-Fryers." Chambers (Elizabethan Stage 3.258) queries whether it was produced by the Revels during their occupancy of Blackfriars 1603-1609 or 1609-1612 when they were at Whitefriars. He thinks that the play was written for the Revels to accompany Bussy and inclines with Parrott (Tragedies 571) to the later date on the evidence of the title-page and also because the trouble over Biron in 1608 would probably defer further productions of Chapman's plays.

12. Chabot, Admiral of France. 1613?

The play was entered in the S.R on October 24th, 1638. "A Booke called Philip Chalbott Admirall of France and the Ball. By James Shirley. vj[d]. Crooke and William Cooke (Arber 4.441). It was published in 1639 according to the title-page, which bears also Chapman's name. A lower limit for the date of this play is fixed by the publication in 1611 of Chapman's source, Pasquier's Les Recherches de la France", the story of Chabot being told for the first time in the 1607 edition and again in the edition of 1621 where the 1611 version is repeated almost word for word. The play contains details inserted by Pasquier in the 1611 edition that were not in the 1607. Thus, the play cannot have been written before 1611, but it may have been written any time before or after 1621. As Parrott (Tragedies.632) observes, the approximate date we assign to it depends in some measure upon our view of Shirley's connection with it. The choice lies between the theory that Shirley collaborated with Chapman, in which case the date is probably after the licensing of Shirley's first play in 1625, and Parrott's theory that Shirley revised an old play of Chapman's. Parrott assigns to Chapman Acts 1.1; 2.3; 5.2. To Shirley he gives what he considers to be practically new scenes replacing the

originals,2.1;3.1. The remainder of the play, he maintains, shows a groundwork of Chapman but substantially altered, cut down, and added to by Shirley. My own findings, by the tests of diction, metre, imagery, characterisation and thought, are absolutely identical with the detailed results Parrott gives in his notes (Ibid.639). He tentatively suggests late 1612 or early 1613, when Chapman was in financial straits after Prince Henry's death, for the date of composition. He believes Chapman handed the play to the Revels and that it passed from them to the Princess Elizabeth's men when the companies amalgamated in 1614 (Henslowe Papers.86) and remained in their possession until they had become Her Majesties Servants in 1625.

13. Caesar and Pompey. c.1613?

The play was entered in the S.R. on May 18th, 1631. "A playe called Caesar and Pompey by George Chapman." Harper (Arber 4.253) It was published in the same year. We have Chapman's evidence in the Epistle to the Earl of Middlesex, prefixed to the play, that it was written "long since". Parrott (Tragedies, p655), basing his opinion upon the admittedly intangible evidence of style and rhythm, that it was composed about the time of, probably a little later than, the Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois, that is, in 1612-1613. Chambers (Elizabethan Stage vol.3.p.259) tentatively accepts this suggestion.

DOUBTFUL PLAYS ASCRIBED TO CHAPMAN.

I. Tragedies.

1. Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany.

The title-page ascription in 1654 to Chapman leads Langbaine (Account of the English Dramatic Poets, pp.59 and 401) to assign the play to him. Winstanley (Lives of the Most Famous English Poets. p.97) gives it to Peele, and is followed by Robertson (Did Chapman write Titus Andronicus.p.126), Dugdale Sykes (Side-lights on Elizabethan Drama.p.79), and more tentatively by Parrott (Tragedies.p.683). Elze in his edition of 1867, and Ward (English Dramatists 2.p.428) suggest that Chapman may have had a German collaborator. Fleay (Biographical Chronicle vol.2.p.156) accepts Peele, and identifies the play with one of Strange's, Harry of Cornwall. Schelling (Elizabethan Drama.vol.1. pp.136,228,437), and Herford (Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century.p.172-) reject Chapman's authorship, and E.K.Chambers (Elizabethan Stage vol.4.p2) classes it simply under Anonymous Work.

2. Revenge for Honour.

S.R.entry on November 29th, 1653 assigns the play to Henry Glapthorne, the title-page in 1654 to Chapman. Swinburne (George Chapman.p.123) D.L.Thomas (M.P., April,1908) Ward (History of Dramatic Literature.vol.2.p.431), Koeppel (Quellen und Forschungen. p.79), Schelling (Elizabethan Drama. vol.1.p.448), Parrott (Tragedies,p.712), and E.K.Chambers. Elizabethan Stage.vol.3.p.260) pronounce against Chapman's authorship, which is supported only by E.Stoll.(M.L.N. 1905 xx.p.208)

3. Charlemagne.

This anonymous and undated play is preserved in m.s. in the British Museum (Egerton 1994) and was printed in Collection of Old English Plays.Bullen.1884.vol.III

under the title of The Distracted Emperor, and again in 1920 by F.L.Schoell as Charlemagne. It was first attributed to Chapman by Bullen (Old English Plays, vol.III.p.160), and the question of authorship is tackled more fully by M.Schoell who unhesitatingly ascribed the play to Chapman on the grounds of characterisation, imagery and choice and treatment of subject. From a cursory examination of Charlemagne, I have no hesitation in ascribing the play to Chapman, if only from the evidence of the imagery.

II. Comedies.

1. The Ball.

This has been assigned to Chapman in collaboration with Shirley because both names appear on the 1634 title-page. Gifford (Works of James Shirley.vol.3.p.3) assigns a large proportion of the play to Chapman. Fleay (Anglia.8.p.406) also can trace Chapman's hand, but his authorship is on the whole rejected by Swinburne (Essay on George Chapman.p.68), Schelling (Elizabethan Drama 2.p.292), Parrott (Tragedies.p.869 and E.K.Chambers. (Elizabethan Stage.vol.3.p.260)

2. Sir Giles Goosecap.

No author of this play is named either in the S.R. entry of Jan 10th 1605-6, or in the Qs. of 1606 and 1636, and the evidence offered in favour of Chapman's authorship is stylistic. Bullen (introduction to reprint in Old English Plays vol.3) notes the likeness to Chapman's style, and ascribes it to the influence of the latter. Fleay (Biographical Chronicle vol.2.p.412) asserts Chapman's authorship, is followed by Kittredge (Journal of English Germanic Philology.vol.2.p.10). Parrott (M.P.July 1906), and Schelling (Elizabethan Drama vol.1.p.463) accept Chapman's authorship, and E.K.Chambers (Elizabethan Stage.vol.4.p.15), while classifying the play under Anonymous Works, finds Parrott's arguments very plausible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Note.

(1. In listing the whereabouts of the single early editions the following abbreviations from the Short Title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640 by A. W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, 1926, have been used:

C. University Library, Cambridge.
C2. Chapell Collection.
C3. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
CH. Chapin Library, Williamstown, Va.
CL. Clawson, J.L.
HN. Huntingdon.
L. British Museum, London.
L6. Dyce Collection, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.
O. Bodleian, Oxford.
O6. Worcester College, Oxford.
WH. White J.A. New York.
WS. Wise. T.J.

2. Unless otherwise stated the press-mark quoted is that of the British Museum copy.)

a) Early Editions. (exclusive of Translations)

I Single

Plays

THE BLINDE / begger of Alexan- / dria, most pleasantly discour- / sing his variable humours / in disguised shapes full of/conceite and pleasure. / As it hath been sundry times / publickly acted in London. / by the right honorable the Earle / of Nottingham, Lord High Ad- / mirall his seruantes. / By George Chapman: Gentleman. / Imprinted at London for William / Iones, dwelling at the signe of the / Gun, neere Holburne Conduict. / 1598.

Q. Collation: A - F^4 (F^4 unsigned)

Contents: (A1r) T.P., A2r - F4r Text.

P.M.: C.34. C.11. Libraries: L. L^6. O. HN. CL. WH.

A / pleasant Comedy / entituled: / An Humerous dayes / Myrth. / As it hath beene sundrie times publikely acted by / the right honourable the Earle of Not- / tingham Lord high Admirall / his seruants. / By G.C. / (device) / AT LONDON / Printed by Valentine Syms: / 1599.

Q. Collation: A - G^4, H^2.

Contents: (A1r) T.P., A2r - H2r Text and colophon.

P.M.: C.34. C.14. Libraries: L. O. WS. HN. CL. WH.

THE / GENTLEMAN / USHER, / By / GEORGE CHAPMAN./ (rule of type ornaments) /(ornament) / (rule of type orna- ments) / AT LONDON / Printed by V.S. for Thomas Thorppe. / 1606.

Q. Collation: A - 1^4, K^2.

Contents: (A1r) T.P., A2r - K2r Text.

P.M.: C.34. C.13. Libraries: L. O. WS. HN. CH. CL. WH.

AL / FOOLES / A / Comedy, Presented at the Black / Fryers, And lately before / his Maiestie. / Written by George Chapman. / (ornament) / AT LONDON, / Printed for Thomas Thorpe. / 1605.

Q. Collation: A - I[4], K[1]. (A1 missing)

Contents: ~~(A1 missing),~~ (A2r) T.P., (A2v) Actors, A3r-v Prologue, A4r - K1r Text, K1v Epilogue.

P.M.: C.34 C.10. Libraries: L. O. WS. HN. CL. WH.

MONSIEVR / D'OLIVE. / A / Comedie, as it WAS / sundrie times acted by her / Maiesties children at the Blacke- / Friers. / By George Chapman. / (ornament) / LONDON / Printed by T. C. for William Holmes, and are to be sold at / his Shop in Saint Dun-stons Church-yard in / Fleete - streete, 1606.

Q. Collation: A - H[4] (H3 unsigned)

Contents: (A1r) T.P., A2r - H3v Text, H4r Actors.

P.M.: C.34 C.15. Libraries: L. L[6]. O. O[6]. WS. HN. CL. WH.

(ornament) / Bussy D'Ambois: / A / TRAGEDIE: / As / it hath been often presented / at Paules. / (device) / LONDON, / Printed for William Aspley. / 1607.

Q. Collation: A - I^4 Pagination: 1 - 70

Contents: (A1r) T.P., A2r - I4v, p 1 - p 70 Text.

P.M.: C.34. C.12. Libraries: L. O. HN.

The Short Title Catalogue mentions a second issue of the 1607 edition in 1608, but I cannot trace the British Museum copy to which it refers.

(another edition.)

Bussy D'Ambois: / A / TRAGEDIE: / As it hath been often Acted with / great Applause. / Being much corrected and amended / by the Author before his death./ (Rule) /(ornament) / (rule) / LONDON: / Printed by A.N. for Robert Lunne. / 1641.

Q. Collation: A - K^4 Pagination: 1 - 74

Contents: (A1r) T.P., A2r Prologue, A3r - K3v, p 1 - p 73 Text, K4r, p 74. Epilogue.

P.M.: C.34 g.5. (Libraries unlisted.)

(another edition)

Bussy D'Ambois: / A / TRAGEDIE: / As it hath been often Acted with / great applause./ Being much corrected and amended by / the Author, / GEORGE CHAPMAN. Gent. / Before his death. / (Rule) / (ornament) / (rule) / LONDON, / Printed, for Joshua Kirton, at his Shop in St. / Pauls Church-yard, at the sign of the / Kings-Arms, 1657.

Q. Collation: A - K^4 Pagination: 1 - 74

Contents: (A1r) T.P., A2r-v Prologue. A3r - K3v, p 1 - 74 Text. K4r Epilogue

P.M.: 644, d. 44 (Libraries unlisted)

(another edition.)

BUSSY D'AMBOIS, / OR THE / Husbands Revenge./ A TRAGEDY. / As it is Acted at the / THEATRE ROYAL. / (rule) / Newly Revised by Mr. D'URFEY./ (rule) / Audire est operæ pretium, procedere recte/ Qui mæchis non vultis, ut omni parte laborent, / Utque illis multo corrupta dolore voluptas, / Atque hæc rara, cadat dura inter saepe pericla. / Hor. Sat. 2. lib. 1. / (rule)/ LONDON, / Printed for R. Bently in Covent Garden, Jo. Hindmarsh over / against the Royal Exchange, and Abel Roper at the Mitre / near Temple Bar. 1691.

Q. (large sheet) Collation: A - G^4, H^2 (H^2 unsigned)

Pagination: 1 - 50.

Contents: (A1r) T.P., A2r - A3r Dedication, A3v Actors, A4r-v Prologue, B1r - H1v, p 1 -50 Text, H2r Epilogue, H2v Catalogue of Plays.

P.M.: 644. g. 32 (Libraries unlisted)

(No perfect copy of the first issue of the first edition of Eastward Ho is extant. Signatures E3. & E4 of the first issue are inserted between signatures E2 & E3 of the copy of the second issue in the Dyce Collection. No. 2031)

(second issue of first edition.)

EASTWARD / HOE./ As / It was playd in the /Black-friers./ By / The Children of her Maiesties Reuels./ Made by / GEO: CHAPMAN. BEN: IONSON. IOH: MARSTON / (ornament) / AT LONDON / Printed for William Aspley. / 1605.

Q. Collation: A - I[4]

Contents: (A1r) T.P., (A1v) Prologue, A2 - I2v Text. I2v Epilogue.

P.M.: C.56. d. 32. Libraries. L. L[6].

(In the Bodleian copy, Mal. 765, the stubs of the cancelled leaves show between signatures E4 & F1)

(another edition)

EASTWARD / HOE. / As / It was playd in the /Black-friers./ By / The Children of her Maiesties Reuels. / Made by / GEO: CHAPMAN. BEN: IONSON. IOH: MARSTON / (ornament) / AT LONDON / Printed for William Aspley. / 1605.

Q. Collation: A - H[4]

Contents: (A1r) T.P., (A1v) Prologue, A2r - H4v Text, H4v Epilogue.

P.M.: 644. d. 53. Libraries: L.

(another edition of same year)

EASTWARD / HOE. / As / It was playd in the / Black-friers./ By / The Children of her Maiesties Reuels. / Made by / GEO: CHAPMAN. BEN: IONSON. IOH: MARSTON / (ornament)/ AT LONDON / Printed for William Aspley. / 1605.

(Format, collation, contents and catchwords are the same as in the second edition. T.P. has a "swash" B in By, l.5. of the prologue "opposd" for the second edition's "opposde", and the layout within the text is different.)

P.M.: C.12 g.4. Libraries: L. L6. O. C2. HN. WH.

MAY-DAY. / A VVitty Comedie, / diuers times acted at the Blacke Fryers. / (rule) / Written by GEORGE CHAPMAN. / (rule) / (device) / (rule) / LONDON. / Printed for IOHN BROWNE; dwelling in Fleetstreete / in Saint Dunstones Church-yard. / 1611,

Q. Collation: A - K^4 Pagination: 3 - 46 (29 for 47) 48 - 80.

Contents: (A1r) T.P., A2r - K4v, p 3 - 80 Text.

P.M.: C.12 g.5. Libraries: L.O. WS. HN. WH. CL. CH.

THE / Widdowes Teares / A / Comedie. / As it was often presented in the blacke / and white Friers. / (rule) / Written by / GEOR. CHAP: / (rule) / (ornament) / (rule) / LONDON, / Printed for Iohn Browne, and are to be sold at his shop / in Fleet-street in Saint Dunstanes Church-yard. / 1612.

Q. Collation: (A^2), B-K^4, L^2.

Contents: (A1r) T.P., (A2r) Dedication, (A2v) Actors, B1r -L2v Text.

P.M.: C. 12. g. 5. Libraries: L. L^6. O. WS. HN. CH. CL. WH.

THE / CONSPIRACIE, / And / TRAGEDIE / OF / CHARLES Duke of Byron, / Marshall of France. / Acted lately in two playes, at the / Black-Friers. / written by GEORGE CHAPMAN. / (double rule) / Printed by G.Eld for Thomas Thorppe, and are to be sold at / the Tygers head in Paules Church-yard. / 1608.

Q. Collation: A^2, B - Q^4, R^3.

Contents: (A1r) T.P., (A2r) Dedication (A2v) Prologue, B1r-I1v Text, I2r T.P., THE / TRAGEDIE / OF CHARLES / Duke of BYRON. / By GEORGE CHAPMAN./ I3r - R3v Text.

P.M.: C. 30. e. 2. Libraries: L. L^6. O. WS. HN. CH. CL. WH.

(another edition)

(ornament) / THE / CONSPIRACIE, / And / Tragoedy of / CHARLES / DVKE OF BYRON, / Marshall of France. / Acted lately in two Playes, at the / Blacke-Friers, and other publique Stages. / (rule) / Written by George Chapman. / (rule) / LONDON: / Printed by N.O. for Thomas Thorpe. 1625.

Q. Collation: (A^4), $B\text{-}Q^4$, R^3 (1? unsigned)

Contents: (A1r) T.P., (A2v) blank with pasted-on slip. (A3v) Prologue, A 4r - H4v Text, (I1r) T.P. THE / TRAGEDIE / OF / CHARLES / DVKE OF BYRON, / Marshall of France. / Acted lately in two Playes at the/Blacke-Friers, and other publique / Stages. / (rule) / Written by George Chapman. / (rule) / LONDON: / Printed by N.O. for Thomas Thorp. 1625., I2r - R3v Text.

P.M.: 645. b. 9. Libraries: L. L6. O.C. WS. HN. CL.

THE / REVENGE / OF / Bussy D'Ambois. / A / TRAGEDIE. / As it hath been often presented at the / private Play-house in the White-Fryers. / (rule) / Written / By GEORGE CHAPMAN, GENTLEMAN. / (rule) / (ornament) / LONDON: / Printed by T.S. and are to be solde by IOHN HELME, / at his Shop in S. Dunstones Church-yard,/ in Fleetstreet. 1613.

Q. Collation: A - K^4 (A1 missing)

Contents: (A2r) T.P., A3r - A4r Dedication, A4v Actors,
B1r - K4v Text.

P.M.: C.34. c.16. Libraries: L.O. HN. CL. WH.

THE / TRAGEDIE / OF / CHABOT / ADMIRALL OF / FRANCE: / As it was presented by her / Majesties Servants, at the private / House in Drury Lane. / (rule) / Written by (George Chapman and James Shirly. / (rule) / LONDON, / Printed by Tho. Cotes, for Andrew Crooke, / and William Cooke. / 1639.

Q. Collation: A - G^4, I^3 (B3 for A3)

Contents: (A1r) T.P., (A1v) Actors, A2r - I3v Text.

P.M.: 644. d. 54. Libraries: L. L^6. O. C^2. WS. HN. CH. CL. WH.

THE / WARRES / OF / POMPEY and CAESAR. / Out of whose events is euicted this / Proposition. / Only a iust man is a freeman. / (rule)/By G.C. / (rule) / (ornament) / (rule) / LONDON: / Printed by THOMAS HARPER, and are to be / sold by Godfrey Emondson, and Thomas Alchorne. / M. DC. XXXI.

Q. Collation: A - I^{4}, K^{2}.

Contents: (A1) blank, (A2r) T.P., A3r - A4r Dedication,
A4v Argument, B1r - K2r Text.

P.M.: C.34.g.4. Libraries. L^{6}. O. HN. CH. WH.

(another issue)

CAESAR / AND / POMPEY: / A Roman Tragedy, de- / claring their Warres. / Out of whose euents is euicted this / Proposition. / Only a iust man is a freeman. / (rule)/BY GEORGE CHAPMAN. / (rule) / LONDON: / Printed by THOMAS HARPER, and are to be / sold by Godfrey Emondson, and Thomas Alchorne. / M. D.C. XXXI.

Q. Collation: A - I^{4}, K^{2} (A1 missing)

Contents: (A2r) T.P., A3r - A4v Dedication, A4v Argument,
B1r - K2r Text.

P.M.: C.12 g 5 (2) Libraries: L. O. WS. HN. CL.

(another edition)

CAESAR / AND / POMPEY: / A Roman Tragedy, de- / claring their Warres. / Out of whose events is evicted this / Proposition. / Only a just man is a freeman. / As it was Acted at the Black-Fryers./(rule) / Written by GEORGE CHAPMAN. / (rule)/LONDON, / Printed in the Yeare, 1653./ By the True Copie.

Q. Collation: A - 1^4, K^2 (A1 missing)

Contents: (A2r) T.P., A3r Dedication, A4v Argument,
B1r-K2r Text.

P.M.: E.714 (17) (Libraries unlisted.)

THE / MEMORABLE MASKE / of the two Honorable Houses or Inns of / Court: the Middle Temple, and / Lyncolns Inne. / As it was performed before the King, at / White-Hall on Shroue Munday at night; / being the 15. of February. 1613./ At the Princely celebration of the most Royall/Nuptialls of the Palsgraue, and his thrice gratious / Princesse Elizabeth. &c. / With a description of their whole show; in the manner / of their march on horse-backe to the Court from / the Maister of the Rolls his house: with all / their right noble consorts, and most / showfull attendants. / Inuented, and fashioned, with the ground, and / speciall structure of the whole worke, / By our Kingdomes most Artfull and Ingenious / Architect INNIGO IONES. / (sup) plied, Aplied, Digested, and written, / By GEO: CHAPMAN. / (rule)/AT LONDON, / Printed by G. Eld, for George Norton and are to be/sould at his shoppe neere Temple-bar.

Q. Collation: ¶^{2}, A^4, a^4, B-E^4, F^2, (A5 unsigned.)

Contents: (¶1r) T.P. ¶2r-v Dedication, A1r - a2v Description,
a3r-v Preface, a4r Argument & Errata, B1r-E3r Text, E4r-F1v Hymn.

P.M.: C. 34. C.56. Libraries: L. O. C. WS. HN. WH.

(another edition)

THE / MEMORABLE / MASQVE OF THE TWO / HONOVRABLE HOVSES OR / Innes of Court; the Middle Temple, and / Lyncolnes Inne./ AS IT WAS PERFORMED BE-/ fore the King, at White-hall on Shroue- Mun- / day at night; being the 15. of Febr. 1613./ AT THE PRINCELY CELEBRATION OF / the most royall Nuptials of the Palsgraue, and his thrice / gratious Princesse Elizabeth, &c. / With a description of their whole show, / in the manner of their march on horse backe to / the Court, from the Master of the Rolls his house: / with all their right noble consorts, and / most showfull attendants. / Inuented, and fashioned, with the ground, and spe- / ciall structure of the whole worke: / By our Kingdomes most Artfull and Ingenious / Architect INNIGO IONES. / Supplied, Applied, Digested, and written, / By GEO. CHAPMAN. / (rule) / AT LONDON, / Printed by F.K. for George Norton, and are to be sold / at his shop neere Temple-barre.

Q. Collation: A-E^4, G^3 (A1 missing, B for D, F^{4} missing)

Contents: (A2r) T.P., A3r-v Dedication, A4r-C1v Description. C2r-v Preface. C3r Argument. C4r-G2r Text. G2r-G3v Hymn.

P.M.: C.34. b.41 Libraries: L. O. HN. CL. WH.

[Note: Dr McKerrow's description of the 2nd edition of the masque (Introduction to Bibliography. 1927. p.192) does not mention that sigs. F1-4 are missing.]

THE POEMS.

(ornament) /Σκιὰ νυκτός THE SHADOW / OF NIGHT: CONTAINING / TWO POETICALL HYMNES, / Deuised by G.C. Gent. / Versus mei habebunt aliquantum Noctis. / Antilo. / (device) AT LONDON, / Printed by R.F. for William Ponsonby. / 1594.

Q. Collation: A-E4 (signed in roman figures)

Contents: (A1r) T.P., A2r-v Dedication, A3r-C1r Hymnus in Noctem, C1v-C2r Gloss, C2v-E2v Hymnus in Cynthiam, E3r-E4v Gloss, E4v ornament.

P.M.: C.39 d.62. Libraries: L. O. HN. CL. WH.

Ouid's Banquet of / SENCE. / A Coronet for his Mistresse Phi- / losophie, and his amorous / Zodiacke./ VVith a Translation of a Latine coppie, written / by a Fryer, Anno Dom. 1400. / Quis leget haec? Nemo Hercule Nemo. / vel duo vel nemo; Persius. / (ornament) / AT LONDON, / Printed by I.R. for Richard Smith. / Anno. Dom. 1595.

Q. Collation: A - H4, I3 (B4 unsigned)

Contents: (A1r) T.P., A2r-A4r Dedicatory sonnets, B1r-E4r Ovid's Banquet of Sense. E4v-F2v Coronet for his Mistresse Philosophy. F3r-G1v Amorous Zodiac. G2r-I2r Contention between Phillis & Flora. I2v-I3v Certamen Inter Philliden and Floram. I3v ornament.

P.M.: C.56 C.6. Libraries: L. O. WN. HN. WH. C. C3. HN.

(another edition)

(border of type ornaments) / (rule) / OVID'S / BANQVET / OF / SENCE. / WITH / A Coronet for his Mistresse / PHILOSOPHY; / and / His Amorous ZODIACK. / Quis leget haec? Nemo Hercule Nemo, / vel duo vel nemo: Persius. / (rule) / (ornament) / (rule) / LONDON. / Printed by B.A. and T.F. and are to be / sold by R. Horseman, at his shop in the Strand / neere unto Yorke House, 1639.

Oct. Collation: A - D^8 Pagination: 1 - 53 (34 for 54) 55- 58.

Contents: (A1) blank, (A2r) T.P., A3r-v Argument, A4r-C8v Ovid's Banquet of Sense, D1r-D3v Coronet for his Mistress Philosophy. D4r-D7v Amorous Zodiac, D8 blank. ~~p. 1 -~~ p58.

P.M.: 1068. g. 27. (Libraries unlisted)

HERO AND / LEANDER: / Begun by Christopher Marloe; and / finished by GEORGE CHAPMAN. / Ut Nectar, Ingenium. / (device) / At London / Printed by Felix Kingston, / for Paule Linley, and / are to be solde in Paules Church-yard, at the / signe of the Blacke-beare. / 1598.

Q. Collation: A-D^4, H^4, E-G^4, I-N^4 (F3 unsigned)

Contents: (A1r) T.P., A2r-v Dedication, A3r-E3r Text.

E3v-E4v Dedication, F1r-N4v Text.

P.M.: C.40. e. 68. Libraries: L. HN. WH.

(another edition)

HERO AND / LEANDER: / Begunne by Christopher Marloe, / and finished by George Chapman. / Ut Nectar, Ingenium. / (device) / At London / Imprinted for John Flasket, and are to be / sold in Paules Church-yard, at the signe / of the blacke Beare. / 1606.

Q. Collation: A - M^4.

Contents: (A1r) T.P., A2r-v Dedication, A3r-M4v Text.

P.M.: C.71 b.32 Libraries: L. O.

(I have been unable to see the 1609 edition, the only copy listed being in the J.A. Whyte collection.)

(another edition)

HERO AND LEANDER: / Begunne by CHRISTOPHER MARLOE, / and finished by / GEORGE CHAPMAN, / (rule) / (ornament) / (rule)/ LONDON. / ¶ Printed by W. Stansby for Ed. Blunt / and W. Barret, and are to be sold in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of the Blacke Beare. / 1613.

Q. Borders cropped.

P.M.: C 57. i. 45 Libraries: L. HN.

(I have been unable to see the Huntingdon copy of the 1617 edition.)

(another edition)

(ornament) HERO AND / LEANDER: / Begun by CHRISTOPHER MARLOE, / and finished by GEORGE CHAPMAN. / Ut Nectar, Ingenium. / (ornament)/LONDON, / Printed by A.M. for Richard Hawkins: and are to / bee sold at his Shop in Chancerie-Lane, / neere Serieants Inne./ 1629.

Q. Collation: A - M^4

Contents: (A1r) T.P., A2r-v Dedication; A3r-M4v Text.

P.M.: C.57. i.44. Libraries: L. O. HN.

(another edition)

HERO / AND / LEANDER: / (rule) / Begun by / Christopher Marloe, / and finished by / George Chapman. / (rule) / Ut Nectar, Ingenium / (rule) / (ornament) / (rule) / LONDON: / Printed by N.Okes for William Leake, and are to be / sold at his shop in Chancery-lane neere the / Roules. 1637.

Q. Collation: A - K^4

Contents: (A1r) T.P., A2r-v Dedication, A3r-K4v Text.

P.M.: C.57. i.43. Libraries: L. C2. HN. CH. CL.

EVTHYMIAE / RAPTVS;/ OR / The Tears of Peace: / With Interlocutions./ By GEO. CHAPMAN. / (ornament) / AT LONDON, / Printed by H.L. for Rich. Bonian, and / H. Waller: and are to be solde at the / spread-eagle, neere the great /North-door of S. Pauls / Church. 1609.) (within wide ornamental border.)

Q. Collation: A - E4, F2.

Contents: (A1r) T.P., (A2r) Dedication, A3r-B3r Inductio, B3r-F2r Poem. F2r-v Corallarium.

P.M.: C.30 e.3. Libraries: L. WS. HN. C2. WH.

PETRARCHS / SEVEN PENI- / TENTIALL PSALMS, / PARAPHRASTICALLY / TRANSLATED: / with other / Philosophicall Poems, and a Hymne / to Christ vpon the Crosse. / Written by GEORGE CHAPMAN. / Arri. Epict. / Progressus sum in medium, & pacem / Omnibus hominibus proclamo. / At mihi quod viuo detraxerit inuide turba, / Post obitum duplici foenore reddet honos. / (ornament) / LONDON, / Imprinted for MATTHEW SELMAN, / dwelling in Fleete-streete neare / Chancerie lane. / 1612.

8vo. Collation: A^4, B-F^8, G^7. Pagination: 1-94.

Contents: (A1) blank, (A2r) T.P., A3r, p 1, - A4v Dedication, B1r-G7v, p 94 Text.

P.M.: 8 G. 67 Th. (Bodleian). (Libraries unlisted)

ANDROMEDA / LIBERATA. / OR / THE NVPTIALS OF / PERSEUS and ANDROMEDA. / By GEORGE CHAPMAN. / <u>Nihil a veritate nec virtute remotius quam vulgari (o)pinio.</u> Pet. / <u>(ornament)</u> / LONDON, / Printed for LAVRENCE L'ISLE and are to be sold / <u>at his shop in St, Paules Church-yard, at the signe of</u> / the Tigers-head. 1614.

Q. <u>Collation</u>: π¹, A², ¶², ¶¶⁴, B-E⁴, F¹ (¶1, <u>is signed ¶3</u>)

<u>Contents</u>: π1r T.P., A1r-v To the Reader, A2r-v Argument, ¶3r-¶¶4r Dedication. B1r-E4v Text, F1r-v Apodosis.

<u>P.M.</u>: C.34 f.18. <u>Libraries</u>: L.O. Bamb. HN. WH.

A FREE AND / OFFENCELES / Iustification, / OF / A LATELY PVBLISHT / and most maliciously misinter- / <u>preted Poeme</u>: / ENTITVLED / Andromeda liberata / <u>Veritatem qui amat, emat</u>. / (<u>device</u>) / LONDON, / Printed for LAVRENCE L'isle and are to be sold / at his shop in <u>Pauls</u> church-yard at the signe / of the <u>Tigers-head</u>. 1614.

Q. <u>Collation:</u> *⁴, **⁴

<u>Contents</u>: (*1) T.P., *2r-**1v A Free and Offenceles Iustification. **2r-**4v Poem.

<u>P.M.:</u> 4°A 36 Art. (<u>Bodleian.</u>) (<u>Libraries unlisted.</u>)

(<u>I have been unable to see the Woburn Abbey copy of the Eugenia.</u>)

PRO VERE, /AVTVMNI / LACHRYMÆ / INSCRIBED TO THE IMMORTAL / Memorie of the most Pious and Incom- / parable Souldier, Sir HORATIO VERE, / Knight: *Besieged, and distrest in* / MAINHEM. / Pers: Sat: IV. / - - *da verba & decipe neruos* / By GEO: CHAPMAN. / *(rule)* / *(ornament)* / *(rule)* / LONDON, / Printed by *B. Alsop* for *Th. Walkley*, and are / to be sold at his Shop at the Signe of the *Eagle* / and *Child* in *Britaines Burse:* / 1622.

Q. *Collation*: A - B^4, C^1 .

Contents: (A1r) T.P., A2r-A3v Dedication, A4r-C1r Text.

P.M.: Huth 84. *Libraries*: L. HN. WH.

(b) Late Editions.

I. Single.

PLAYS.

Blind Beggar of Alexandria. Malone Soc. Reprint. 1928.

All Fools. Select Collection of Old Plays, ed. Dodsley,1780 vol.4. new edition 1825.

Ibid. Ancient British Drama. ed. W.Scott,1810.vol.2.

Ibid (with the Gentleman Usher) Belles-Lettres Series. ed. T.M.Parrott. Boston. 1907.

Gentleman Usher.(with All Fools) Belles-Lettres Series.ed. T.M.Parrott. Boston.1907.

Bussy D'Ambois. Old English Plays. ed. C.W.Dilke, 1814, vol.3

Ibid.(with Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois) Belles-Lettres Series. ed.F,S.Boas.Boston. 1905.

Ibid. Chief Elizabethan Dramatists excluding Shakespeare. ed. C.E.D.Neilson,1911.

Ibid. Elizabethan Tragedies. George Rylands.1933.

Monsieur D'Olive. Old English Plays. ed.C.W.Dilke,1814.vol.4.

Eastward Ho. Select Collection of Old Plays. ed. Dodsley.1744. vol.4. new editions 1780 and 1825.

Ibid. Memoirs of the Life of Ben Jonson. W.R.Chetwood.1756.

Ibid. Ancient British Drama. ed. W.Scott.1810.vol.2.

Ibid. Representative English Comedies. ed. C.M.Gayley, 1903.

Ibid. Belles-Lettres Series, ed. F.E.Schelling. Boston. 1904.

Ibid. Tudor Facsimile Texts. ed. J.Farmer.1907.

Ibid. ed. J.W.Cunliffe. 1913.

Ibid. ed. J.H.Harris. New Haven, London. 1926.

Ibid. Typical Elizabethan Plays. ed. F.E.Schelling. 1926.

Widow's Tears. Select Collection of Old Plays. ed.Dodsley. 1744.vol.4.new edition 1780 (vol.6) and 1829.

Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois (with Bussy D'Ambois) Belles-Lettres Series. ed. F.S.Boas.Boston. 1905.

Chabot, Admiral of France. ed.E.Lehmann.Univ.Pennsylvania. Publ.Philadelphia.1906.

Alphonsus,Emperor of Germany, ed.K.Elze,Leipsig.1867.

Ibid. Facsimile edition by H.F.Schwartz,pub^d. G.P.Putnam, 1913.

The Ball. Old English Drama,1825.vol.1.

The Distracted Emperor (Charlemagne) (Collection of Old English Plays. ed. A.H.Bullen,1884, vol.3.

Charlemagne. ed. F.L.Schoell. 1920.

POEMS.

Hero and Leander. Select Early English Poets, with Preface by S.W.Singer,1821.vol.8.

Ibid. ed. E.Matthews and J.Lane,1894.

Ibid. Renaissance Library with Preface by E.Hulton,1894.

Ibid. Haslewood reprint, 2, F.Etchells & H.Macdonald,1924.

Ibid. ed.L.C.Martin 1931.

Ibid. Golden Hours Press, 1933.

Epicedium. Lee Priory Private Press. 1818.

II. Collected.

PLAYS.

The Comedies and Tragedies of George Chapman. Pearson Reprints. 1873. 3 vols.

Works of Chapman. The Plays. The Old Dramatists. ed.R.H.Shepherd,1874. Vol.1.

Plays of George Chapman. ed. T.M.Parrott. 1910-14.vol.1.Comedies vol.2.Tragedies.

POEMS.

Minor Poems and Translations. Works of Chapman. The Old Dramatits, with introduction by A.C.Swinburne.1904.

III. Selections.

Best Plays of George Chapman. Mermaid edition.ed. W.L.Phelps.1895.

George Chapman: Prefatory Essay & Selections. Havelock Ellis. Nonsuch Press, 1934.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(including biography, and aesthetic, textual, and bibliographical criticism).

1. Sixteenth Century.

Palladis Tamia. Francis Meres, 1598.

Henslowe's Diary.

Transcripts of the Register of the Company of Stationers,1554-1640.

Marginalia. Gabriel Harvey.1599-1603.

2. Seventeenth Century.

Preface to the "White Devil". John Webster,1612.

Letter to Reynolds. Michael Drayton. pubd.1627.

Conversations with Drummond. Ben Jonson.1618.

Castara. Habington. 1635.

Theatrum Poetarum. Edward Phillips. 1675.

Preface to the "Spanish Friar." John Dryden, 1681. ed.

Lives of the Most Famous English Poets. William Winstanley, 1687.

Account of the English Dramatick Poets. Gerard Langbaine. 1691.

Athenae Oxonienses, A. Wood. 1691-2.

3. Eighteenth Century.

Preface to the translation of the Iliad. Alexander Pope. 1715.

Biographica Dramatica. To 1764 by D.E. Baker.

4. Nineteenth Century.

Specimens of English Dramatick Poets who Lived about the Time of Shakespeare. Charles Lamb, 1808.

Biographical Dictionary. Chalmers. 1813.

Poetical Decameron. J.P. Collier, 1820.

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(See also introductions to late single editions cited above.)

Addenda.

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1. Bussy D'Ambois. _Elizabethan Plays._ Hazelton Spencer. 1934.
2. Eastward Ho. Ibid.

FOOTNOTES.

Chapter I

1. See Appendix p. 242 et seq.
2. In a series of four articles entitled Newly Discovered Documents of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Periods in the Athenaeum, January - June, 1901, Part I, Bertram Dobell has printed part of a collection of Chapman's letters from a MS. containing also letters by Jonson, Essex, Egerton and others. The letters appear to be almost contemporary copies of the originals and Dobell believes them to have been collected by Chapman. The letters attributed to Chapman are all undated and Dobell does not make it clear in all cases whether they are signed. The MS which Dobell describes as a "small quarto," passed into the collection of J.A. Whyte and from thence it is believed into Harvard, but the Librarian of Harvard informs me that he is unable to trace it and does not believe Harvard to have acquired it. So far as I know, no handwriting tests have been applied to discover whether Dobell's suggestion that the collection was made by Chapman is true.

The Chapman letters group themselves as follows:

a) Three signed letters relating to the Eastward Ho episode. (see p.14) Athenaeum, 30th March, 1901. p. 403. The MS. contains also seven letters by

Jonson in this connection, printed in part by Dobell and printed and discussed fully in Works of Ben Jonson, Herford and Simpson. 1925. vol.l. p. 190 et seq.

b) Two letters, apparently connected with the Biron episode (see p.15) Athenaeum, 6th April, 1901. p.433

c) Three petitions, one to the King, apparently unsigned, one to Northampton carrying Chapman's name in the text, and one to the Privy Council of which Dobell does not mention the signature. Ibid. p.433.

d) A letter concerning a masque. Ibid. 15th April, 1901. p. 466. E.K. Chambers (Elizabethan Stage. vol. 3. p. 262) believes this to be concerned with the masque of 1613 written for the Princess Elizabeth's wedding. Dobell does not mention the signature.

e) A signed letter to a creditor. Athenaeum. 23rd March, 1901. Pt. 1. p. 370.

f) A petition to Ellesmere, described by Dobell but not printed. Ibid. p. 370.

g) An unsigned letter asking for help and three unsigned letters to a widow, which Dobell hesitatingly ascribes to Chapman. Ibid. p. 369.

3. Hitchin Worthies. R.L. Hine. 1932. p. 48. contains a biographical chapter adding some little material to E.K. Chambers' short biography in the Elizabethan Stage. ~~1923~~. vol. 3. p. 249. The only other biography of recent years is that of Havelock Ellis in George Chapman: Prefatory Essay and Selections. Nonesuch Press. 1934. but this adds nothing to the earlier biographies.

4. Athenae Oxonienses. Antony A. Wood. 1641-2. ed. P. Bliss. 1814-20. vol. 2. 575.

5. The register of the parish church of St. Mary's, Hitchin, which is itself a seventeenth-century copy of the original, begins in June, 1562.

6. The will (P.C.C. wills. 52 Leicester, Somerset House) is dated 2nd January, 1581 and was proved in London on 5th June, 1589.

7. Works of Chapman. ed. R. Shepherd. 1904. p. 112.

   "I am," said he, "that spirit Elysian,
   That in my native air, and on the hill
   Next Hitchin's left hand, did my bosom fill
   With such a flood of soul...."

8. Brittania's Pastorals. William Browne. 1613. Bk. 2. Song 2. ed. Gordon Goodwin. Muses Library, 1891. vol. 1. p. 239 ll. 279-86. A Bullen. D.N.B. vol. 10. p. 47. and Mr. Hine accept this as evidence for Chapman's connection with Hitchin, but, if Brittania's Pastorals was not published

till 1613 and the Tears of Peace four years earlier, it seems possible that Browne derived his information from the above-quoted passage of the Tears of Peace and not from an independent source.

9. Landsd. MS.5 Plut. LXXIII. D. fol. 48. (Noted in Cussan's History of Hertfordshire. 1874-8, vol. 2. P[t] 1. p. 35)

10. Chanc. Proc. Eliz. K.k.4. 47. (Noted in Victoria County History of Hertfordshire. 1908. vol. 2. p. 444.)

11. The register states that on 26th September, 1566 "was buryed Joane Chapman wife of Thomas Chapman."

12. On 3rd March, 1609, a grant was made to Thomas Gaddesden and Thomas Chapman, named by the copyholders of Hitchin, of all the timber, woods, and trees on their copyholds. (Cal. of St. P. Dom. Jac. 1. vol. XLIV. p. 495)
In 1619 Thomas Chapman petitions Prince Charles for the restoration of the baileywick of Hitchin Manor. Harl. MS. no. 781. fol. 35. (This last is noted by Cussan, History of Hertfordshire, vol. 2. pt 1. p.35)

13. See note by Thorn-Drury. R.E.S. June, 1925. p. 570.

14. State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler. ed. A. Clifford 1809. 3 vols.

15. Hitchin Worthies. R.W. Hine. p.50.

16. This copy, which belonged to Douce, is now in the Bodleian. The autograph inscription runs "For ye righte worthie

Knighte / My exceeding Noble ffrende, / Sr. Henry ffanshawe / A poor Homericall New years / gifte."

17. _Cal. of St. P. Dom._ Jac. 1. vol. VIII. p. 130.

18. _Athenae Oxonienses_. vol. 2. 575.

19. _History of English Poetry_. Thomas Warton. 1774-81. ed. R. Hazlitt. 1871. vol. 4. p. 321.

20. I am informed by the President of Trinity College, Oxford that Chapman's name does not occur in the records of Admissions, either in those for Fellows and Scholars before Notaries, or for Commoners paying Caution Money. The last record dates only from 1578. Chapman is not mentioned in the books of the University as having matriculated at Trinity, and there are no Matriculation books for Trinity until after the Restoration.

21. _Athenae Oxonienses_. vol. 2. 576.

22. _Alponsus of Germany_. ed. K. Elze. 1867. Leipsig. p. 33.

23. _Essay on George Chapman. Poems_. A.C. Swinburne. 1875. p. 41.

24. _Poems_. p. 14.

> "As when th' Italian Duke, a troop of horse
> Sent out in haste against some English force,
> From stately-sited sconce-torn Nimiguen,
> Under whose walls" etc.

and p. 17. Gloss 19.

25. _Shakespeare's Imagery_. Caroline Spurgeon. 1935. vol.1. p. 38.

26. _Hitchin Worthies_. p. 51.

27. There is no S.R. entry but title page gives date of publication.

28. Very little is known concerning the activities of this small group of advanced thinkers known as the "Schoole of Atheisme; Kyd's letter to Sir John Puckering. (Harl. MS. 6849. fol. 218. Printed by F. C. Danchin in Revue Germanique November-December, 1913. Paris.), Baines statement (Harl. MS. 6848. fol. 185-6 and Revue Germanique) and the depositions taken at the Crown's inquiry in May, 1593 at Cerne Abbas into the alleged atheism of Raleigh and his friends (Harl. MS. 6849 fol. 185-90 and Revue Germanique) provide some information as to the composition of the group. Marlowe was definitely implicated by both Kyd and Baines. Warner, Hariot, and Roydon by Kyd. But Chapman's name is not mentioned either as one of the group or as among those whom Marlowe is supposed to have corrupted. From the dedication to the Shadow of Night Raleigh's friend, Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, Lord Hunsdon, and the fifth Earl of Derby seem to be connected with Roydon, and certainly with Roydon's circle through Raleigh, though they are not mentioned in the Cerne proceedings. Hariot was, of course, to be connected more closely with Northumberland when he took up his residence at Sion House. See also Marlowe and his Circle. F.S. Boas. 1929.

29. Arthur Acheson in Shakespeare and the Rival Poet, 1903. suggested the existence of a coterie of astronomers who called themselves, or were called, the "School of Night." Professor Dover Wilson in the introduction to the Cambridge edition of Love's Labours Lost, 1923, p.XXVIII et seq. states his belief upon a mass of difficult and then unsorted evidence that the School of Night and the School of Atheism, of which Hariot, at any rate, was a well-known astronomer, were identical. Love's Labours Lost, which contains a number of references to night and astronomy was, both he and Acheson maintain, intended as a satire upon the group. Acheson who dates Love's Labours Lost as late as 1595 believes the attack to have been directed chiefly against the Shadow of Night. Professor Dover Wilson, dating the play in 1593, suggests that Shakespeare saw the MS. of Chapman's poem.

30. Dedication to the Shadow of Night. Poems. p. 3.

31. We should, of course, scarcely expect Chapman to be mentioned in the Brief and True Report... of Virginia or the Praxis, but Hariot's will (transcribed by H. Stevens in Thomas Hariot and his Associates, 1900, p. 193) which was drawn up in 1621, thirteen years before Chapman died, and which includes many of Hariot's friends, makes no mention of him.

32. Homer's Iliad and Odyssey. 1616. Works of Chapman, ed. R. Shepherd. p.4.

33. Hero & Leander. Poems. p. 73. ~~Ed. L.C. Martin, 1931~~.

"Now (as swift as Time
Doth follow Motion) find th'eternal clime
Of his free soul, whose living subject stood
Up to the chin in the Pierian flood,
And drunk to me half this Musean story,
Inscribing it to deathless memory:
Tell it how much his late desires I tender
(If yet it know not), and to light surrender
My soul's dark offspring.

34. There is no S.R. entry but the title-page gives date of publication.

35. Rowland White to Sir Robert Sidney. 13th December, 1595. Letters and Memorials of State. Ed. Collins. Vol. II. 1698.

36. Cal. of Hatfield MS. Vol. 6. p. 256. The letter is dated 11th July, 1596.

37. Henslowe (Diary, I. 14v) refers to the Blind Beggar of Alexandria as "ne" on 12th February, 1596.

38. Henslowe is not known to have owned any theatres except the Rose, and it is evident that the reference (Ibid. 1.4) to "my playhousse" refers to the latter. Beginning on the 14th May, 1594, plays are recorded by Henslowe at the Rose but the Admiral's does not appear to have settled there until 15th June, 1594. (Ibid. 1. 9.)

39. After its first production the play was performed twenty two times, the last being on 1st April, 1597. (Ibid. 1.)

40. See p. 242.

41. Henslowe records sums of money paid to Chapman for the following plays: 1. The Isle of a Woman, afterwards called

the Fount of New Fashions, between 16th May and 15th June, 1598 (Diary. 1. 45^v, 46). Between 1st and 12th October, the entries are recorded under the new title. (Ibid. 1. 50^v, 51^v).

2. The World Runs on Wheels, later called All Fools but the Fool. Payments are recorded between 22nd January, and 2nd July, 1599. (Ibid. 1. 53, 53^v, 63) The last entry indicates the changed title. See also p. 243.

3. Four Kings, entered without mention of the author (Ibid. 1. 54), is identified by E.K. Chambers, (Elizabethan Stage, vol. 2. p. 169) with Chapman's unnamed playbook entered in the Diary (1.51^v)

4. "A Tragedy of Bengemin's Plotte." Payments for this unnamed play are recorded on 23rd October, 1598 and 8th January, 1599. (Ibid. 1. 51^v, 52^v). £1 had already been paid to Ben Jonson toward an unnamed play (Ibid. 1. 37^v, 43^v.), and an entry for 3rd December, 1597 runs, "upon a bookke w[ch] he showed the plotte unto the company w[ch] he promised to dd unto the company at crysmas." Dr. Greg (Ibid. 2. p. 188) notes that there is no evidence of the play being delivered, and suggests that it was abandonned on account of Jonson's imprisonment in the summer of 1597, the company retaining the plot and Chapman working upon it.

5. "A pastoral tragedy", for which Chapman was paid £2 on the 17th July, 1599 (Diary. 1. 63)

42. For the Isle of a Woman Chapman received £8. 10. 0. in sums of £2, £1, 10s., £1, and £3, and for the World Runs on Wheels the same in sums of £3, £1, £1, £2, and £1. 10s. Henslowe's average payment to other dramatists seems to be about £6.

43. Ibid. 1. 90^{v}. The entry loan seems to be a private one and nothing to do with the company's transactions. The entry, which is autographed, is in court handwriting and reproduced in English Literary Autographs. W.W. Greg. 1925-32, vol.1. p. 12.

44. Shephall Manor had been granted to George Rodes in 1542, (Pat. 35 Hen. VIII. pt. 13. m.2). In 1564 Rodes granted it to his nephew Charles (Pat. 6. Eliz. pt. 1. m. 28). Thomas Chapman, the younger and Jane Kimpton, Rodes' eldest daughter, evidently attempting to bring the property back into the direct line, claimed it without success against Charles (Chanc. Proc. Eliz. K.k. 4. 47). But Thomas and George Chapman retained an interest in the property which in 1599 they conveyed to George Rodes, Charles' heir. (C.P. 25/2/141 Herts. 41. Eliz. East. See also Victoria County History of Hertfordshire. vol. 2. p. 444)

45. For editions of Hero and Leander see p.266 et seq.

46. Marginalia. Gabriel Harvey, 1598-1601. ed. G.C.Moore-Smith. 1913. pp. 231, 234.

47. Epistle to Reynolds. Michael Drayton. ed. W. Hebel. 1932. Vol. 3. p. 229. This poem was first published in 1627 but the date of composition is uncertain.

48. There are no S.R. entries but the title-pages carry the date.

49. Hero and Leander. Poems. p. 71.

50. Blount's dedicatory epistle to Sir Thomas Walsingham in the 1598 edition of the unfinished Hero and Leander (Poems. p. 59) provides a connection between Marlowe and Walsingham, and it was at Scadbury on 18th May, 1593 that the Privy Council ordered Marlowe to be found and arrested (see Marlowe and his Circle. F.3. Boas. p. 43)

51. Diary. 1. 63.

52. Elizabethan Stage. Vol. 3. p. 249.

53. The Children of the Chapel came directly under royal protection by a patent of 4th February, 1604. (Mal. Soc. Coll. 1. 67 reprinted from Patent Roll. Jac 1. pt. 8.) Their official title was the "Children of the Revels to the Queene."

54. Much of our knowledge of this company derives from Fleay's reprint (History of the London Stage. 1890. p. 210. et seq.) of lawsuit papers discovered by J. Greenstreet of partners in the Chapel syndicate; Evans v Kirkham in Chancery, May-June 1612; Clifton v Robinson and others in the Star-chamber, 1601; Kirkham v Painton and others in

Chancery, July - November, 1612. Evans v Kirkham. (Ibid. p. 211) refers to the leasing of the Blackfriars by Richard Burbadge to Henry Evans at a rent of £40 on 2nd September, 1600.

55. For date of this and other plays see Appendix p. 242 et seq.

56. See p. 245.

57. Transactions of the Bibliographical Society. The Library, series 4. 1927-8. p. 39.

58. See p. 251.

59. On the Dates of some of Chapman's Plays. E.E. Stoll. M.L.N. April 1905. XX. p. 207.

60. Introduction to F.L. Schoell's edition of Charlemagne. p. 15

61. See title-page, p. 257.

62. Conversations with Drummond. Works of Ben Jonson. vol 1. p.140

63. Athenaeum. 30th March, 1901, p. 403. Our information on the Eastward Ho episode derives from Chapman and Jonson's petitions written in prison. Chapman's consist of petitions to James, to the Lord Chamberlain Suffolk and to an unnamed lord. Jonson's letter (Hatfield MS. vol. CXIV. 58) endorsed 1605 and addressed to the Earl of Salisbury, gives an approximate lower limit to the date of imprisonment as Cecil was not created Earl until 4th May, 1605. (Cal. of St. P. Dom. Jac 1. vol. XIV. p. 214)

64. E.K. Chambers (Elizabethan stage, vol. 3. p. 255) suggests that Jonson is wrong about Marston in his Conversations and

that the title page of Q^2 of Marston's Fawn (1606) indicates that he was not in prison with his collaborators "..... And now corrected of many faults, which by reason of the Author's absence were let slip in the first edition." The petitions certainly give no indication of Marston's presence.

65. Athenaeum. 30th March, 1901. p. 403.

66. Ibid. p. 403.

67. Ibid. p. 404.

68. References are made to these misdemeanours of 1604 in Evan's deposition (Evans v. Kirkham. History of London Stage. Fleay, p. 222) But there has been considerable discussion whether the imprisonment was the result of the performance or the publication of the play. The supposition that the play was printed before being produced is ruled out by the title page. (see p.257). E.K. Chambers (Elizabethan Stage, vol. 3. p. 255) believes the disaster to have been caused by the publication, as this would account not only for the suppression in the second issue of Q1. of the offensive passages but also for the fact that the play was not as a whole banned, being revived by the Lady Elizabeth's in 1613. (A performance of Eastward Ho is referred to by Daborne in Henslowe Papers, ed. W.W. Greg. (p. 70. art. 76). Dr. Greg dates this letter soon after

5th August, 1613. The next year payment is made in the Office Books of the Treasurer of the Chamber, (ed. P. Cunningham. Extracts from Accounts of the Revels at Court, 1842. p. XLIV,) to "Joseph Taylor and.... servauntes to the Lady Eliz. her grace upon the Councells Warraunt dated at Whitehall 21st June, 1614 for presenting before his Ma^ty^ a Comedy called Eastward Howe on the XXV^m.^ of January last past.") Dr. Greg (M.L.R. Jan. 1928. p. 76) agrees with E.K. Chambers, while admitting that the phrase "our unhappy book was presented without your lordshippe's allowance." (Athenaeum, 6th April, 1901. p. 433) can be taken as referring either to the play as performed or as printed, and "our play so much importunde" (Ibid. p. 433) as referring to a voracious reading-public or to a theatrical company waiting for the copy. R. Brettle (Bib. Soc. Trans. Library series 4. 1928-9. vol. 9. p. 87) maintains that the imprisonment resulted from the performance probably during the Court's absence at Oxford between 16th July and 31st August, 1605, the play being thus produced when the Lord Chamberlain could not give his "allowance." Dr. Greg (Ibid. p. 103) suggests in answer that if serious trouble had resulted from an unlicensed performance it is unlikely that the play would ever have been printed, the offence being a grave one. He deduces, as in his article in M.L.R. cited above that the play was licensed

for the stage as for the press, the former licensing being effected by the Master of the Revels in the Lord Chamberlain's absence, and that the trouble arose after the publication, though he admits that no certain conclusion is possible.

69. Athenaeum. 6th April, 1901. p. 433.

70. This verse is reprinted in Chapman's Poems. p. 106.

> "Most noble Suffolk, who by nature noble
> And judgment virtuous, cannot fall by Fortune,
> Who when our herd came not to drink but trouble
> The Muses' Waters, did a wall importune -
> Midst of assaults - about their sacred river."

71. Athenaeum. 18th April, 1865. p. 553. Bruce reprints abstract from a lost Register of the Privy Council for the 7th November, 1605. "A warraunt unto Benjamin Johnson to let a certaine priest knowe that offered to do good service to the State that he should securely come and goe, to and from the Lords, which they promised in the said warrant under their honors."

72. Works of Ben Jonson. vol. p. 140.

73. The letter is printed by J.J. Jusserand in M.L.R. VI. p. 203 from Bibl. Nat. MS. Fri. 15984, and E.K. Chambers in M.L.R. IV. 158 reprints the same from Ambassades de M. de la Boderie. 1750. The above extract is from Jusserand.

74. Athenaeum. 6th April, 1901. p. 433.

75. Ibid. p. 433.

76. Ibid. p. 433.

77. "Entered for his Copie under th(e h)andes of Sir George Buck, and the Wardens A booke called The Conspiracy and Tragedie of Charles Duke of Byronn written by Georg(e) Chapman." (Arber. 3. 168.)

78. Text of Chapman's Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Biron. M.L.R. 1908. vol. 4. p. 41.

79. Court Performances under James I. M.L.R. January, 1909. p. 158. et seq.

80. Evans v Kirkham (Chron. of Lond. Stage. Fleay. p. 222) "the said def^t willing to quit the place .... at or about the XXVIth of Julye, 1608, caused the Apparells, properties and goods belonging to the Copartners Sharers and Masters of the Queenes Maties Children of her Revells (for so ^yt was called) to be indifferently praised and upon such praisement the same was devided."

81. A Patent was issued on 4th January, 1610 (Mal. Soc. Coll. 1. p. 271. from Patent Roll 7 Jac 1. p. 13) authorising the Revells to re-assume the title of which they had been deprived and to play "within the white-ffryers."

82. Athenaeum. 6th April, 1901. p. 433.

83. Entered in S.R. 4th May, 1609 (Arber. 3. 182)

84. The entry of 14th November, 1608 (Arber. 3. 175) is for seven books only. The title-page gives no date but there is no reason to suppose publication delayed. The D.N.B.'s argument

that a lower limit is fixed by an appended sonnet to Salisbury who is styled Lord Treasurer scarcely holds, as the title was conferred, not in 1609, as the D.N.B. states, but on 4th May, 1608. (Cal. of St. P. Dom. Jac. 1. vol. XXXII. p. 427).

To this edition Chapman appended fourteen sonnets to his patrons, including one to Southampton. Acheson in Shakespeare and the Rival Poet, 1903, attempts to prove that Chapman was Shakespeare's rejected rival for Southampton's patronage between 1594-1600, his evidence being the reciprocatory satire that he finds in both Shakespeare and Chapman's work of that period. But there is no tangible evidence of any relations between Southampton and Chapman before 1609-10, and then the dedicatory sonnet is only one of many. Acheson's strongest piece of evidence, of course, lies in Shakespeare's 86th sonnet.

85. Entered in the S.R. on 8th April, 1611. (Arber. 3. 207). and the title-page gives the date of publication.

86. Athenaeum. 6th April, 1901. p. 433.
Chapman expressly states in this letter that his household appointment was that of a sewer-in-ordinary. I have, unfortunately, been unable to obtain a rotograph of this letter, but I think it possible that Dobell may have made an error in transcription and printed "sewer in ordinary" for "sewer in extraordinary." In Cornwallis' list of Prince Henry's household servants (Harl. MS. Vol. 252.

fol. 86-93), drawn up in 1610, only Sir Edmond Verney and Humphrey Courtyer, with salaries of £20. 0. each, are mentioned, though - Leggatt is also included under this heading but with no salary. Chapman's name is not mentioned elsewhere in this list. In the Lord Chamberlain's Records of Prince Henry's household in 1612, after the Prince's death, a Mr. George Chapman is twenty-eighth under the heading Gentleman Extraordinary. The Lord Chamberlain's Records are fuller than Cornwallis' but they tally in other respects. There seems to be no obvious reason why Chapman should have held an Ordinary appointment which appears to have been conferred upon men of more prominent position than he, and I think we may accept the ruling of the Lord Chamberlain's Records in this case, though the discrepancy is hard to account for. A. Wood notes that Chapman was probably a sworn servant to either James or Anne but does not mention the Prince.

87. Athenaeum. 6th April, 1901. p. 433.

88. Ibid. 23rd March, 1901. p. 369. It should be remembered that Dobell ascribes this to Chapman with hesitation.

89. Ibid. 6th April, 1901. p. 433.

90. Ibid. p. 433.

91 Poems. p. 175.

> "Not my thrice-sacred will,
> Signd with my death, moves any to fulfill
> Thy just bequests to me. There dead, then I
> Live dead, for giving thee eternity.

Ad Famam.

To all times future this time's mark extend,
Homer no patron found, nor Chapman friend."

Entered 11th December, 1612 (Arber. 3. 231) and published, according to the title-page, in 1613.

92. See p. 248-9.

93. Entered 13th January, 1612 (Arber. 3. 215)

94. Records of the masque are to be found in <u>Records of the Middle Temple</u>, Hopwood, p. 40 and 42. and <u>Records of Lincolns Inn</u>, Walker, vol. 2. p. 150-6, 163, 170, 198, 255, 271.

95. <u>Annales</u>. Stowe, 1615. p. 916,917.

96. <u>Court and Times of James I.</u> T. Birch. 1848. Vol 1. p. 224, 226, 229.

97. <u>Cal. of St. P. Dom</u>. Jac. 1 vol. LXXII. p. 46.

98. <u>Cal. of St. P. (Ven.)</u> vol. XII. p. 499. 532.

99. <u>Athenaeum</u>. 13th April, 1901. p. 466.

100. Ibid. 6th April, 1901. p. 433.

101. Ibid. 23rd March, 1901. p. 370.

102. Ibid. p. 370. These letters cannot be ascribed with any certainty to Chapman.

103. <u>Cal. of St. P. Dom</u>. Jac. 1. vol LXXV. p. 205.

104. Entered 16th March, 1614. (Arber. 3. 249)

105. Chamberlin's letters to Carleton of 11th and 17th June, and 2nd July, 1612. <u>Court and Times of James I.</u> p. 171, 173, 179.

106. I am unable to find the sonnet printed in the Poems, p. 204 as " Printed at the end of Chapman's Translation of the Iliad." It is in neither the 1609-10 nor the 1611 editions of the Iliad. Upper and lower limits for its date are fixed by Carr having been created Viscount Rochester, on 25th March, 1611 (Cal. of St. P. Dom. Jac 1. vol. LXII. p. 18), and Earl of Somerset on 4th November, 1613. (Ibid. vol. LXXV. p. 205). I cannot find it in Chapman's Penitential Psalms, which is his only other work published between these dates, and I can only suggest that there was a second edition or issue of the 1611 edition of the Iliad of which neither the British Museum nor the Bodleian possess copies, and which is not mentioned by the authorities I have been able to consult. Chapman may quite well have added this sonnet later for he altered the number of sonnets of the 1609-10 edition for the 1611, leaving out those to Arabella Stuart, Wotton, and Arundel, and adding five more.

107. There is no S.R. entry.

108. Athenae Oxonienses. 2. 577.

109. There is no S.R. entry.

110. There is no S.R. entry. Copies of this edition are rare.

111. Entered 2nd November, 1614 (Arber. 3. 255). The twelve books published earlier in the year are incorporated.

112. For account of Somerset's complicity and subsequent trial see <u>Cal. of St. P. Dom.</u> Jac 1. vols. LXXXI - CIII

113. Entered 8th November, 1622 (Arber 4. 47)

114. I can find no satisfactory evidence for a 1624-5 date as there is no S.R. entry and no date on title-page, but the majority of his biographers accept this date. Warton states that the <u>Batrachomyomachia</u> and the <u>Hymns</u> were published soon after the <u>Odyssey</u> in 1614, but the dedication to Somerset (<u>Poems</u> p. 250) refers throughout to the latter's retirement into private life. Somerset had been sent into compulsory retreat by 2nd September, 1624. (<u>Cal. of St. P. Dom.</u> Jac 1. vol. CLXXII. p. 333) so a 1624-25 date seems plausible. But he was released on 17th January, 1622 (<u>Cal. of St. P. Dom.</u> Jac 1. vol CXXVII. p. 336) so the dedication may refer to his activities immediately after his release. This may indicate an earlier date of publication than 1624. I can find no terminus ad quem.

115. There is no S.R. entry but the title-page gives 1616.

116. Entered 14th May, 1618. (Arber. 3. 290)

117. There is no S.R. entry and, as I have been unable to see copy, I accept this date from the <u>D.N.B.</u>

118. There is no S.R. entry but the title-page gives 1629.

119. Ashmole MS. 38, no. 22. (Bodleian)

120. <u>Works of Ben Jonson</u>. vol. 1. p. 137.

121. In <u>T.L.S.</u>, 3rd March, 1932, Professor Simpson suggests

that, on some occasion, Chapman read the marginal comments, casting reflections upon his scholarship, that were discovered in Jonson's copy of the Whole Works of Homer 1616. (FitzWilliam Mus. Camb.) and was offended by them.

122. See p. 248.

123. Athenae Oxonienses. 2. 578. The Burial Register for 1634 of St. Giles in the Field is lost.

124. The inscription has been changed since A Wood's time, cf. Athenae Oxonienses 2. 578.and the present inscription: "Georgius Chapman / Poëta / MDCXXIV / Ignatius Jones / Architecturus Regius / ob Honoram / Bonarum Litterarum / Familiari / suo hoc Mon: / D.S.P.F.C.

Chapter 2.

1. "To us that are Christians in respect of the high end of all, which is the health of our soules, not only Poetrie but all other studies of Philosophie are in a manner vaine and superflous." Harington. Brief Apologie for Poetry. 1591. Elizabethan Critical Essays. G. Gregory-Smith, 1904. vol. 2. p. 197.

2. Odyssey. Epistle dedicatory to Somerset. Poems. p. 237.

3. Ibid. p. 238.

4. Poems. p. 53.

5. Chapman's adherence to the humanist artistic ideal of "decorum", the perfect relation between form and matter, that had inspired the Petrarchans and the Pléiade earlier in the century and that was given classic expression in England by Sidney, persisted as a conscious aim through his career. In the Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois (1. 2. 38-42) he writes:

> "Yet, as worthiest poets
> Shun common and plebeian forms of speech,
> Every illiberal and affected phrase,
> To clothe their matter; and together tie
> Matter and form with art and decency,"

and the prefaces and dedicatory epistles contain more valuable contributions to contemporary aesthetic theory than have, I believe, been recognised. But Chapman, in addition, anticipates the re-action of Donne and his school against Elizabethan poetry, and the Preface to Ovid's Banquet of Sense (p. 21) is in the nature of a manifesto. His demands, in brief, were for a greater energy of expression, a weightier intellectual content, and imagery that was not merely decorative but vital to the communication of thought. "Obscurity in affectation of words and indigested conceits is pedantical and childish; but where it shroudeth itself in the heart of his subject, uttered in fitness of figure and expressive epithets, with that darkness will I still labour to be shadowed."

(The italics are mine.) The "obscurity" I take to be that which characterises "metaphysical" imagery where the affinity between the main term and the minor emerges as essential in the product, but is not, as a logical comparison, necessarily apprehendable. Chapman, whose main term is not always clear in his early work, is apt to render the product genuinely obscure.

6. To ... M. Harriots. Ibid. p. 53.

7. *Chapman's Ethical Thought*. Janet Spens. *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association,* 1925. vol. XI. p. 145.

8. *Shadow of Night*. *Poems*. p. 6.

9. Ibid. p. 6.

10. Ibid. p. 7.

11. *Idea*. no. 37. *Poems of Michael Drayton*. vol. 2. p. 329.

12. *Faerie Queene*. *Poetical Works of Spenser*. ed. E. de Selincourt. 1929. IV. 3. 55. p. 165.

13. *Poems*. p. 62.

14. *Shadow of Night*. Ibid. p. 8.

15. Ibid. p. 6.

16. Ibid. p. 5.

17. Chapman's debt to Giraldi's *De Deis Gentium varia et multiplex Historia* and Natali Conti's *Mythologiae sive Explicationum Fabularum* is treated by F.L. Schoell in *Etudes sur l'humanisme continentale en Angleterre à la Fin*

de la Renaissance. 1926. p. 21 et seq.

18. cf. *Tamburlaine.* ed. U.M. Ellis-Fermor. 1930. Pt. 1. 2. 7. 18-29; Pt. 2. 2. 2. 49-52; 4. 1. 112-16.

19. *Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh.* ed. A.M.C. Latham. 1929. *Translation from the Aeneid.* vi. 724-7. p. 50; *Fragm. vi from Proclus.* p. 54.

20. *Shadow of Night.* *Poems.* p. 7.

21. *Ovid's Banquet of Sense.* Ibid.

22. *Shadow of Night.* Ibid. p. 10.

23. *Ovid's Banquet of Sense.* Ibid. p. 23.

24. *Shadow of Night.* Ibid. p. 15.

25. *Ovid's Banquet of Sense.* Ibid. p. 29.

26. *Microcos mos.* 1603. *Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford.* ed. Grosart. 1878. p. 43.

27. *Ovid's Banquet of Sense.* Poems. p. 34.

28. Ibid. p. 34.

29. Ibid. p. 25.

30. Ibid. p. 30.

31. Ibid. p. 30.

32. Ibid. p. 25.

33. Ibid. p. 33.

34. Ibid. p. 35.

35. Ibid. p. 25.

36. Ibid. p. 35.

37. Ibid. p. 36.

38. Ibid. p. 27.

39. Ibid. p. 36.

40. Preface to the Excursion. 1814. Poetical Works of Wordsworth. ed. Hutchinson. 1926. p. 755.

41. Conspiracy of Biron. Tragedies. 3. 1. 5-17.

42. Ibid. 1. 2. 22-5.

43. cf. Hymne of Heavenlie Beautie. Poetical Works. p. 596. ll. 22-5.

> "Beginning then below, with th' easie vew
> Of this base world, subject to fleshly eye,
> From thence to mount aloft by order dew,
> To contemplation of th' immortal sky...."

and ll. 127-9.

> "The meanes, therefore, which unto us is lent
> Him to behold, is on his works to looke,
> Which he hath made in beauty excellent."

Spenser's source is the Symposium (Dialogues. ed. Jowitt. 1892. vol. 1. p. 580) where Diotima describes the ascent of the lover of beauty by gradations from the love of external things to the vision of absolute beauty. Bruno in the De Gli Heroici Furori emphasises Plato's idea of the gradation of beauty, and may conceivably have influenced Spenser in this respect. But it seems more probable that both found a mutual source in Ficino's commentary. Chapman may have derived his idea from the common source with which M. Schoell in Etudes sur l'humanisme (p 1 et seq.) shows him to be familiar, and have given it an

empirical rather than an idealistic bias. In the passage quoted above (p. 66.) from the Conspiracy of Biron, where he refers to the "harmony of all things moving," we may perhaps discern an inclination toward a pantheism by which the universe becomes a living cosmos for the fulfilling of the divine plan. But in the Tears of Peace he has drawn more upon the Neo-Platonism of Plotinus and there is no further trace of this idea.

44. Second Anniversary. Poems of John Donne. ed. Grierson. 1933. p. 235. ll. 291-2.

45. Nosce Teipsum. Complete Poems of Sir John Davies. ed. Grosart. 1876. vol. 1. p. 18.

46. Advancement of Learning. Works of Francis Bacon. ed. Ellis & Spedding. 1857. vol. 3. p. 357.

47. Ovid's Banquet of Sense. Poems. p. 31.

48. Ibid. p. 31.

49. Coronet for His Mistress Philosophy. Ibid. p. 38.

50. Ibid. p. 39.

51. Ibid. p. 39.

52. De Guiana Carmen Epicum. Ibid. p. 51.

53. Ibid. p. 51.

54. Ibid. p. 51.

55. Ibid. p. 51.

CHAPTER 3.

1. *To M.Hariot*. *Poems*. p.53.
2. *The Gentleman Usher*. *Comedies*. 4.2.
3. *All Fools*. Ibid. 1.1.97-123.
4. *Bussy D'Ambois*. *Tragedies*. 1.1.32-3.
5. Ibid. 2.2. This speech, together with the fifty lines preceding with which the scene opens, are omitted in the Q of 1641. Parrott, in his article "*On the Date of Bussy D'Ambois*. (*M.L.R*. Jan. 1908), suggests that the play was revised c.1610 for a production by Field at the Whitefriars and that, at Field's instigation, these lines were cut as being undramatic.
6. *Bussy D'Ambois*. 5.1. 183-9.
7. Ibid. 3.1. 78-86.
8. Ibid. 2.2. 140-3.
9. Ibid. 2.2.121-2, 140-3, 188-90; 3.1.61-86; 3.2.15-18, 450-5,; 4.1.4-7, 30, 102-6, 138-9, 161-5; 4.2.176-7; 5.1.81-2, 165-6; 5.3.34-5, 100-6; 5.4.55-6, 78-83, 135-40, 155. Q of 1607 has.... "To serve and worship the blind rage of blood"; 178, 189-90;
10. Ibid. 4.1.61.
11. Ibid. 5.1.156.

12. Ibid. 4.1.162-4.

13. Ibid. 5.4.15. In Q of 1641 these lines are omitted and replaced by three lines describing the action, evidently to enlighten the audience on what is obviously an important and complicated episode.

14. Ibid. 5.4.142-3.

15. Epistulae Morales. Seneca. ed. R.M.Gummere. Loeb Press. 1917. Epistle XXIV.p.180.

16. Bussy D'Ambois. 5.2.1-12.

17. Ibid. 1.4.157-65.

Tragedies.

18. Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois. / 2.1.84-94.

19. Bussy D'Ambois. 5.4.141-6.

20. Ibid. 4.1.109-10.

21. Ibid. 5.3.3-5.

22. Ibid. 5.4.39-40.

23. Ibid. 5.4.98-108.

24. Ibid. 3.2.89-95.

25. Ibid. 5.4.147-53.

CHAPTER 4.

1. Ovid's Banquet of Sense. Poems. p.25.
2. Conspiracy of Biron. 1.2.28-9.
3. Bussy D'Ambois. 4.2.188-9; Conspiracy of Biron. 1.1.16-17.
4. There is no indication in Chapman's work that he had a first-hand acquaintance with Il Principe or the Discorsi, though in this he does not differ necessarily from other contemporary dramatists whose knowledge was largely derived from the progeny of the original Machiavelli popularisations, Kyd's Lorenzo and Marlowe's Barabas, with an occasional re-inforcement of ideas from Gentillet's Discours---contre Nicolas Machiavel, and Simon's Translation of 1602. But I can find no direct influence of Gentillet upon Chapman.
5. It seems possible that in Chapman's Machiavellianism and its justification by scepticism the influence of Marlowe and his circle may be detected. Marlowe presumably came into contact with Machiavelli's ideas at Cambridge, and later in London as a friend of Raleigh's. The "Schoole of Atheisme", a member of which was the man whose later work included The Sceptic, cannot have failed to recognise the meeting-place of their scepticism and Machiavellian politics and to have discussed it with less

prejudiced minds that those who were opposed to both scepticism and Machiavelli on religious grounds. Marlowe's influence upon Chapman reached its zenith in other directions in Biron, eighteen years after his death. Chapman's scepticism is more thorough and discussed from a more philosophical standpoint than that of most of his contemporaries. The scientifically objective character of his arguments, their clarity and extreme condensation compared to his usual methods of exposition suggest that he had heard them discussed at some time by men of great intellectual competency and detachment. Moreover, he was evidently, according to the dedication to the 1614 Homer, still in touch with one of the most magnificent intellects in the group, Hariot, who was then living at Syon House, just outside London. Perhaps a more detailed comparison of Marlowe's thought with Chapman's might reveal a definite influence in this sphere. Otherwise this conjecture lacks any tangible support other than possibility.

The Renaissance scepticism, which receives naturally a fresh popularity with the turn of the century, is not a new development of thought but derives from the Epicurean and Sceptic philosophies that denied the existence of the ethical sense. In opposition to the Epicurean philosophy the Stoics formulated the theory of the Ius Naturale, insisting that virtue was

not merely a matter of opinion but was founded upon those principles that constituted the immutable Natural Law, which was resident in the nature of every individual in the form of his reason. This aspect of stoic teaching is brought into further prominence by Cicero, Seneca, and Aquinas, and grew in importance through the Middle Ages until it was regarded by the Renaissance as the root of all theology, ethics, and law, and was used as the orthodox refutation of such excessive individualism as Machiavelli advocated. "The relation of natural law to political ethics was, therefore, an important meeting point of Machiavellianism and other forms of "libertine" thought with tradition and conservatism reinforced by the general revival of Stoicism. As a consequence, two camps were formed, those who adhered to traditional thought and affirmed the existence of a Law of Nature, and those who were sceptical and leaned toward various forms of individualism."
(Naturalism of Donne in Relation to some Renaissance Traditions.
Louis Bredvold, Journal of English and Germanic Philology. 1923. vol.22. p.571) The Sceptic school was further influenced by Montaigne, the English Translation of whose essays was published in 1600. But I can find

no trace of any influence of Montaigne upon Chapman such as Dr. Bredvold finds in Donne's case. Such naturalism as Chapman shows in Ovid's Banquet of Sense, which anticipates that in which Bredvold sees Montaigne's influence, can scarcely have derived from the latter, the definitive edition of whose essays was not published until 1595 in Paris, and in England in the same year.

6. Conspiracy of Biron. 1.2.117-18.
7. Ibid. 3.1. 48-62.
8. Ibid. 1.2. 35-6.
9. Ibid. 2.1. 156-7.
10. Ibid. Prologus. 23-4.
11. Ibid. 3.3. 5-8.
12. Ibid. 3.3. 10-15.
13. Ibid. 3.3. 103, 109-16.
14. Ibid. 3.3. 127-8.
15. Ibid. 3.3. 130-4.
16. Ibid. 3.3. 135-45.
17. Tragedy of Biron. 5.3. 205-6.
18. Conspiracy. 3.1. 25-46.
19. Tragedy. 4.1. 107-10.
20. Conspiracy. 5.2. 2-3, 21-4.
21. Tragedy. 1.1. 21-5.
22. Ibid. 1.2. 29-31.
23. Ibid. 5.4. 20.

24. Ibid. 5.4. 22-3.

25. Ibid. 5.4. 26-31.

26. Ibid. 5.4. 259-61.

27. Ibid. 5.2. 192-3.

28. Ibid. 5.2. 178-9.

29. Ibid. 5.2. 277-8.

30. Ibid. 5.2. 288, 299-300.

31. Ibid. 5.3. 189-92.

32. Gentleman Usher. 5.4. 56-66.

33. Bussy D'Ambois. 1.1. 34-40; 2.1198-204. 2.2. 67-8.

34. Tragedy. 4.2. 73-9.

35. Ibid. 4.2. 72-3.

36. Chapman has very little to add to the portrait of Henry of Navarre that Grimestone draws at some length. He had, of course, no access to the 1624 edition where Grimestone heightens his portrait, both by transcribing the famous edicts of 1609 that throw so great a light upon Henry's character, and by gradually drawing into a summary his earlier comments as the prolonged reign draws to an end, but Chapman emphasises the three aspects Grimeston presents in the 1607 edition of Henry as a military genius, a statesman, and a reformer, and shows him, as does Grimestone, as a man of perhaps unusual insight and discrimination. That aspect of Henry's character that shows him as a lover, "un verst-galant", emphasised in a recent biography,

Henry of Navarre, Marcel Vioux.1936., is suppressed

by both Grimestone and Chapman.

37. Poems. p.16. "That mind most is beautiful and high,
And nearest comes to a Divinity,
That furthest is from spot of earth's delight,
Pleasures that lose their substance with
their sight",

see also the character of Orpheus. p.5.

38. Tragedy. 5.1. 138.

CHAPTER 5.

1. cf. Tragedy of Biron. 5.3. 193-8. with Tears of Peace

Poems p.120.

"And then they have no strength but weakens them,
No greatness but doth crush them into stream,
No liberty but turns into their snare,
Their learnings then do light them but to err,
Their ornaments are burthens, their delights
Are mercenary servile parasites,
Betraying laughing; fiends that raised in
At parting shake their roof about their ears".

cf. also Tragedy of Biron 5.4. 32-8. with Tears of Peace.

p.124.

"To which end will I cast this serpent's scale-
This load of life in life, this fleshy stone-
This bond and bundle of corruption-
This breathing sepulchre - this sponge of grief -
This smiling enemy - this household thief -
This glass of air, broken with less than breath -
This slave bound face to face till death;

2. Corollarium ad Principem. p.127.

"Thus shook I this abortive from my brain
. . .
It may do service worthy this delay
To your more worthy pleasure: and I may
Re-gather the spersed fragments of my spirits
And march with Homer through his deathless merits
To your undying graces. Nor did he
Vanish with this slight vision, but brought me
Home to my cabin, and did all the way
Assure me of your Grace's constant stay
To his soul's being".

3. Ibid. p.111.

4. Ibid. p.114.

5. Hamlet. Complete Works of Shakespeare. ed. W.J. Craig.

1926. p.969. 4.4. 44-6.

6. Letters of John Donne. ed Gosse. 1899. vol.1. p.219.

7. Tears of Peace. p.121.

8. Ibid. p.112.

9. Ibid. p.120.

10. Ibid. p.114.

11. Ibid. p.116.

12. Ibid. p.120.

13. Ibid. p.119.

14. Nosce Teipsum. ed. Grosart. p.83.

15. Tears of Peace. p.120.

16. Ibid. p.119.

17. Ibid. p.122.

18. Ibid. p.121.

19. Ibid. p.118.

20. Mr. Basil Willey develops this idea in his chapter on Bacon in The Seventeenth Century Background. 1934

21. Ibid. Chapter 3.

22. Tears of Peace. p.116.

> "So when the soul is to the body given -
> Being substance of God's image sent from heaven -
> It is not his true image till it take
> Into the substance those fit forms that make
> His perfect image;"

23. Ibid. p.122.

> "Then as in rules of true philosophy
> There must be ever due analogy
> Betwixt the power that knows and that is known,
> So surely join'd that they are ever one;
> The understanding part transcending still

To that it understands; that to his skill;
All offering to the soul - the soul to God" etc.

cf. also Hymn to Christ upon the Cross. p.145.

"We may make all our manly powers advance
Up to thy Image;"

24. Ibid. p.146.

"And, as the Sun's light, in streams ne'er so fair,
Is but a shadow to his light in air,
His splendour that in air we so admire
Is but a shadow to his beams in fire:
In fire his brightness, but a shadow is
To radiance fired, in that pure breast of his;
So as the subject on which thy grace shines,
Is thick, or clear; to earth or heaven inclines;
So that truth's light shows."

and A Sleight Man, p.151.

"they are the divine beams truth casts round
About his beauties, that do quite confound
Sensual beholders."

25. Tears of Peace. p.124.

26. Letters to Severall Persons of Honour. ed. C.E. Merill,
Jr. New York, 1910. no.XXV.

27. Ovid's Banquet of Sense. p.35.

28. Litanie. Poems of John Donne. p.312. ll.129-35.

29. Tears of Peace. p.120.

30. Ibid. p.113.

31. Ibid. p.123.

32. Ibid. p.123.

33. Satire lll. Poems of John Donne. p.139. ll.79-84.

34. Tears of Peace. p.122.

35. Ibid. p. 123.

CHAPTER 6

1. Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois. 4.4. 14-32, 37-42.
2. Dedication to Newton's Tenne Tragedies. 1581. Newton's Seneca. Tudor Translations. 1927. vol.1. p.5.
3. Epistulae Morales. Loeb Press. Epistle XXX1X. vol.1 P.260.
4. Hercules Furens. Seneca's Tragedies. ed.F.J. Miller. Loeb Press. 1927. vol.1. p.16. 11.177-8.
5. The White Devil. Works of Webster. F.L. Lucas. 1927. 3.1. 207-9.
6. For Chapman's indebtedness to Epictetus see Dr. F.S. Boas' introduction to his edition of Bussy D'Ambois. 1905. p.XXXV, and F.L. Schoell's Etudes sur l'humanisme. p. 98 et seq.
7. Shadow of Night. Poems. p.16.
8. Revenge. 4.1. 139-52.
9. Duchess of Malfi. Works of Webster. 5.4. 54-6.
10. Revenge. 4.1. 139-52.
11. Caesar & Pompey. Tragedies. 5.1. 168, 194-7.
12. Ibid. 5.2. 70-1.
13. Revenge. 3.4. 66-71.
14. Ibid. 3.4. 71-5.
15. Ibid 5.1. 70-3.
16. Ibid. 5.5. 168-9.

17. Ibid. 5.5. 175-86, 193.

18. Ibid. 4.2. 34-5.

19. Ibid. 3.2. 108-116.

20. Ibid. 5.1. 78-99.

21. Athenaeum 6th April, 1901. p.433.

22. See especially James' letter to Somerset printed in James 1. by Charles Williams. 1934. pp.218-24.

23. Chabot. Tragedies. 1.1. 59-63.

24. Ibid. 1.1. 90-3.

25. Ibid. 2.3. I can find no traces of Shirley's hand in this scene.

26. Ibid. 1.1. 152-3.

27. Ibid. 4.1. 44-7. This speech, from the use of "wo'not" for "would not", and the position of the pause in the last line, I believe to be Shirley's.

28. Ibid. 5.3. 52-64.

29. Caesar & Pompey. 4.5. 32-3.

30. Ibid. 4.5. 27-8.

31. Ibid. 4.5. 97-101.

32. Ibid. 5.2. 137-40.

33. Ibid. 5.2. 141-51.

34. Ibid. 1.1. 67-70.

35. Ibid. 5.2. 158-61.

CHAPTER 7.

1. Bussy D'Ambois. 1.2. 156-65.
2. Iliad. Works of Chapman. p.46.