SPENSER'S ROSALIND.

"In honour of a private personage unknowne."

Francis J. Child, in stating "two of the most curious, if not the most important, questions in the life of Spenser", mentions first "the name and history of his youthful mistress, the enigmatical Rosalind".¹⁾ The present paper for the first time endeavors to connect with Rosalind a real name and a verifiable history. Though the discussion of this topic, as Child then said, "has hitherto resulted only in an exposure of the extreme folly of those writers who have attempted it", nevertheless, the subject has sufficient importance to warrant a review of their conjectures and a partial discussion of certain inferences from the supposed ancestry and the language of Spenser, which have been made to subserve the identification of Rosalind.

Here and there throughout the eclogues of *The Shepherd's Calendar*, the shepherd boy Colin Clout, "under which name the poet secretly shadoweth himself" (Jan. Gloss), is represented as languishing in a hopeless love passion for "a countie lasse called Rosalinde" (Jan. Arg.). This lass is never present in the poem. The love story is, nevertheless, traceable. At the beginning of the year Colin Clout is "but newly (as semeth) enamoured" (Jan. Arg.). His passion already has met with such reproof and derision from Rosalind that he curses the hour of visiting the "neighbour towne" where presumably they met, and, though his motto is still the anchor of hope, he breaks his "oaten pype" because "she laughes the songs

¹⁾ F. J. Child: *Spencer's Poetical Works*, 1859, I. v.

that Colin Clout doth make". Thiss deprives us of pipings in praise of Rosalind, excepting a sestina in the August eclogue, in which Colin laments her temporary absence from home, and declares: "I hate the house ssince thence my love did part." Her continued scorn of his love is reported by Hobbinoll.¹⁾ Yet in the June eclogue Colin cries out upon her as "faithlesse Rosalinde", and upon a certain:

"Menalcas, that by trecherie

Didst underfong my lasse: to wexe so light."

The argument comments on Colin's "having (as semeth) founde place in her heart". Resignation is the note of the failing year. In November Colin resumes piping. In December he declares: "The loser Lasse, I castt to please no more", and concludes with a farewell message::

"Adieu, good Hobbinoll that was so true,
Tell Rosalinde, her Colin bids her adieu."

I.

This pastoral story has been accepted by Spenser's editors, — Todd, Craik, Child, Collier, Grosart, Church, Hales, — as autobiographic. The January Gloss states that "Rosalinde is also a feigned name, which, being wel ordered, wil bewray the very name of hys love and mistresse, whom by that name he coloureth". But before proceeding to consider various solutions of the anagram, latter-day scepticism, conscious of the pervasiveness of literary artifice, demands further evidence that Rosalind represents a real personage.²⁾

The conventions of pastoral poetry, it may be urged, demanded the introduction of a shepherd, representative of the author, hopelessly loving a disdainfull lass. "So flew Theocritus" ... Virgil, Mantuan ... "and also divers other excellent both Italian and French poets".³⁾ Spenser's frequent adaptations from his predecessors⁴⁾ show him to have been observant of

¹⁾ That is, Harvey. (Sept. Gloss on *Colin Cloute*.)

²⁾ Thos. Keightley (*Fraser's Mag.*, 60). 410—22) suggests that Rosalind was not a real person.

³⁾ Epistle to Harvey.

⁴⁾ O. Reissert: *Bemerkungen über Spensers Shepheard's Calendar und die frühere Bukolik*. *Anglia* IX, 205—22.

precedent. The nature of the work, therefore, is sufficient to account for the presence of the story. Menalcas appears in Virgil's eclogues as the seducer of his beloved Alexis. Since Spenser assiduously imitated Virgil, Rosalind might appear to have had no more real character than was then supposed to attach to Virgil's Amaryllis. Thus Joseph Scaliger comments (ed. *Virgil* 1575 Antwerp, Chr. Plant., p. 4 c): "Non temere hic Seruius Romam sub nomine Amaryllidis significari vult . . . & Galatę, quę & ipsa Mamtuam inuolutę innuit." Rosalind, therefore might be a parallel representation of Spenser's residence.

Moreover, the story itself presents difficulties. The representation of Colin as newly enamoured in January does not tally with his declaration in June that he had paid Rosalind attentions "in Sommer shade". His charges of faithlessness and treachery so markedly contrast with his failure to receive any encouragement that a note of explanation was required in the Argument. The inconsistencies, however, are created by the Arguments. They are lessened by the presence in each instance of a parenthetical "as semeth". If the Arguments were not written by the poet, Colin's outbreak need be no more than the hyperbole of disappointed passion, and he need not have been newly enamoured in January. If Spenser wrote them, the qualification "as semeth" is not a hesitating inference, but has the force of "as it is made to appear". In this case, a literary purpose is effected. Colin's love is made to begin with the beginning of the year. His loss is made to appear no longer the loss of what he had never possessed. To gain sympathy, this was necessary. But why should the poet here make the qualification "as semeth", unless the statement that he had "founde place in her heart" were inconsistent with Spenser's actual relations with a real lady?

If precedent demanded the insertion of such a story, it demanded equally that the poet should have a mistress. Conformance to this convention is actually in the mind of the writer of the January (Gloss: for in his note on "Rosalinde", he cites the poetical names so used by Ovid, Aruntius Stella, and two Italian ladies, adding: "This generally hath bene a common custom of counterfeiting the names of secret

personages".¹⁾ Equally, the social etiquette of the time, as portrayed in Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* and Lyly's *Euphues*, decreed that every fashionable young man should be in love.²⁾ A library of novels, love poems, plays, and satires, show that Elizabethans lived up to the precept. Spenser's patron, Sidney, in his poems to Stella (Penelope Devereux) addressed no abstraction. Though Spenser, nevertheless, might feign a lady, many a real one could be conveniently and perhaps profitably honored by his addresses.

Several further considerations tell positively in favor of the reality of Rosalind. In other figures of the Shepherd's Calendar, Spenser portrays real persons, as in Colin himself, in Hobbinoll Harvey, in Algrind the archbishop of Canterbury, in Tityrus Chaucer. In the later pastoral *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* he portrays similarly the courtiers, court ladies, and poets of the Elizabethan court. Then too, Harvey, in his letters to Spenser, speaks of Rosalind in a way which suggests personal acquaintance. With reference to Spenser's praise of another lady, he exclaims:³⁾ "Per tuam Venerem altera Rosalindula est: eamq. nonn alter, sed item ille (tua, ut ante, bona cum gratia) copiose ammat Hobbinolus." "By your own Venus she is another Rosalind, and her, not another, but that same Hobbinoll (with thy good leave as before) loves abundantly." On another occasion he records a compliment for Spenser from Rosalind, questioning:⁴⁾ "If anything can be added to the loftiness of his conceits, whō gentle Mistresse Rosalinde, once reported I to have all the Intelligences at commandement, and another time, Christened her, Signior Pegaso." This admiration is incongruous with her conventional, fictitious, derision and disdain.

If the writer of the April Gloss is not Spenser, he too shows some knowledge of her personality. In any case, his elaborate defence of her status and gifts has no point unless

¹⁾ The same paralleling of Rosalind with supposedly real persons appears in the April Gloss, where the virtues of Rosalind are likened to those of Myrto, Laura, Himera, and Helden.

²⁾ This topic is treated at length in my thesis on "Elizabethan Courtly Love" at Gove Hall, Cambridge, Mass.

³⁾ Grosart: *Wks. of Spenser*, I, 1266.

⁴⁾ Grosart: ed. Harvey (*Huth Lib.*), I, 81—2.

the personage be real: "For it is well knowne", he runs on, "even in spight of Colin and Hobbinoll, that she is a gentlewoman of no meane house, nnor endued with any vulgar and common giftes, both of nature: and manners: but such in deede, as neede neither Colin be ashaamed to have her made knowne by his verses, nor Hobbinoll be greeved, that so she should be commended to immortalitie for her rare and singular vertues."

Among the many later allusions to Rosalind in contemporary poets, one by Drayton is remarkable in that it places her residence in the Cotswold Hills, east of Gloucester, Mentioning a number of "shepherdesses" who dwelt there, he begins:¹⁾

"There was the widow's daughter of the glen,
Dear Rosalynd."

This is certainly Spenser's Rosalind: for Drayton's description "the widow's daughter of the glen" is repeated verbatim from Spenser's April eclogue. It is true that the Cotswold Hills, famous already for their breed of sheep, may have seemed to Drayton an appropriate localization of a merely fictitious Rosalind. Nevertheless, these allusions, taken together with the representation of severall real persons in the Calendar, and the antecedent probability that Spenser would pay addresses to some lady, make it unreasonable to reject the statement of the gloss that "I Rosalinde" represents "the verie name of his love and mistressse".

Finally, Spenser has elsewhere given evidence of her reality. In 1580, after the publication of *The Shepherd's Calendar*, a letter by Spenser was published,²⁾ containing a statement tantamount to an apology concerning its dedication. This letter, dated 15—16 Oct. 1579,³⁾ about seven weeks before the Calendar was entered in the Stationers' Register, contains the author's reply to an "advizement" of Gabriel Harvey that Spenser dedicate his eclogues to a certain

¹⁾ *Poems Lyrick and Pastoralll*. Ninth Eclogue.

²⁾ Globe Spenser, p. 706.

³⁾ The date 5 Oct. (as in the Globe ed.) is evidently an error for 15 Oct., since the first part of the letter was written the evening before the 16 Oct.

"excellent Lordship". Leicester, who alone enjoyed the title of "excellency", was however rejected by Spenser in favor of Philip Sidney. Yet the suggestion of Harvey was entirely natural and appropriate: for Harvey owed his fellowship at Cambridge largely to Leicester's patronage, and Spenser, who dated his letter from "Leicesterr House", was also Leicester's protégé. In *The Ruines of Timne*, in the passage lamenting Leicester, he avows this relationship, styling himself "his Colin".¹⁾ A dedication to Leicesster was to be expected. The apology which Spenser therefore addresses to Harvey is: "Meseemeth, the work too basee for his excellent lordship." Too base, partly from its naturee as a pastoral, but primarily because it was "made in honour of a private personage unknowne". This avowal, unless taken as a meaningless pretense, is conclusive evidence of the reality of Rosalind.

II.

The convention of courtly love that the name of the beloved should be kept secret waas in this case so well observed that no contemporary tradition affords a clue. Aubrey²⁾ records a later one which he baases on personal conversation with Dryden. Dryden appearss to have told Aubrey that Rosalind was a kinswoman of Sir Erasmus Dryden's lady,³⁾ Dryden's grandmother. He staates that Spenser knew and visited Sir Erasmus at Canon Ashhby, in Northamptonshire, and that behind the wainscot in thee room then called Spenser's chamber were found a number of cards scribbled over with stanzas of the Faerie Queene. This picturesque legend has in its favor the presence at Kingsbury in 1569 of an Edmund Spencer mentioned in the boook of the Hundred,⁴⁾ and the comparative proximity of the Cootswold Hills. Lee and Hales raise the objection that: "In 15579, Sir Erasmus Dryden was a very tender youth." (D. N. EB. Spenser.) But in fact he

¹⁾ *The Ruines of Time*, 225.

²⁾ Aubrey III, 542 (D. N. B., Sidney Lee and J. W. Hales).

³⁾ Frances, daughter of William, , Wilkes, of Hodnet, Warwickshire [? Shropshire] (D. N. B., Sidney Lee and J. W. Hales).

⁴⁾ Collier: *Works of Shakespeare*, 1858, I, 95; *Works of Edmund Spenser*, 1862, I, x.

obtained his B. A. at Oxford June 17, 1577.¹⁾ The real difficulty is that Spenser's time is pretty well accounted for after Sir Erasmus's graduation. His stay in the "North-partes" must have preceded it. The easy growth of such a legend, where many Spenceers (possibly Collier's Edmund Spencer) probably knew Sir Erasmus, makes Aubrey's hearsay account untrustworthy. It is difficult to see how Spenser's life in London and Cambridge admitted of the formation of an early friendship with Sir Erasmus in Northamptonshire and Oxford.

Dismissing this tradition, if indeed aware of it, the early editors of Spenser sought to localize Rosalind in Kent. They observed the line in the April eclogue:

"Colin thou kenst, the Southerne shepherdes boye:"

and its accompanying gloss: "Colin thou kenst) knowest. Seemeth hereby that Colin perrtteyneth to some Southern noble man, and perhaps in Surrey oor Kent, the rather because he so often nameth the Kentish ddownes, and before, As lythe as lasse of Kent." Spenser's actual residence in Kent is vouched for by the gloss to the June eclogue: "The Dales) The South-partes, where he [Colin] nowwe abydeth . . . Kent." Therefore, in Church's edition of *The Faerie Queene* (1758) the author of the biography postulated a Rose Lynde of Kent.²⁾ His basis appears to have been no more than a passage in Fuller's *Worthies*, recording in the reign of Henry VI a John Lynde of Kent. Rose was supposititious, and Church's solution of the anagram is not a process of making the name "well ordered". Malone, for the latter reason, preferred to suggest a supposititious Eliza (H)ordden, whom he derived from a Thomas Horden, contemporary with John Lynde.³⁾

These hopeful suggestionss disregard certain data in the

¹⁾ *Ath. Oxon.*, III, 205.

²⁾ He remarks: "As Rose is a common Christian name, so in Kent, among the gentry under Henry VI., we find in Canterbury the name of John Lynde: thus Rose Lynde — Rosaalind." (Quoted in G. L. Craik: *Spenser and his Poetry*, 1845, I 46): "But tthis", as Kitchin says, "may pass".

³⁾ Malone (one would like to think facetiously) adds: "Thomas Horden, as well as Mr. Linde, was a gentleman of Kent in the time of Henry VI." *Life of Shakespeare* (quoted in Craik I, 46).

Calendar which represent Spenser's advent in Kent as subsequent to the faithlessness of Rosalind. The June eclogue, in which Colin announces her desertion, contains Hobbinoll's appeal to him to leave the hills and resort to the dales. The Gloss could not be plainer: "Those hylles) that is the North countrye, where he dwelt." Immediately after comes a note explaining the dales as Kent. The gloss, therefore, locates Spenser in the "North countrye" during his courtship of Rosalind.

Craik¹⁾ cited this indication in proof that "it must have been in the North of England that Spenser saw and fell in love with Rosalind". Yet E. K.'s interpretation of the hills and dales may be no more than an afterthought, not to be used as a basis for inferences. Carried out in the poem, it produces an absurdity. When Colin is visiting Hobbinoll (June eclogue), since they speak of "those hills" and describe the dales as "here" and as "these places", they must be conversing in Kent. But "the soile, wherein Hobbinoll made his abode" (June Gloss) was not Kent. It was Cambridge, where he held a fellowship. In the poem this localization of Colin on the "wastfull hyls", and Hobbinoll in the dales, need not mean more than a pastoral contrast of hillman and plainsman, similar to the Ramis, Montanus, and Silvestris (shoresman, mountainer, woodsman) of Lyly's *Love's Metamorphoses*.²⁾

The suggestion of hills and dales is, moreover, perceptible in Spenser's source. He is here freely using Virgil's first eclogue,³⁾ a translation of which always appears at the beginning of early editions of Marot.⁴⁾ Tityrus (Virgil) was supposed to speak here of his transfer of residence from Mantua to Rome:

"Que quand j'estois à Galathée joint
Aucun espoir de libberté n'avoie."

¹⁾ *Spenser and his Poetry*, 1845, I, 47-8.

²⁾ A more subtle interpretation of the hills and dales may be based on their meaning in the July eclogue. This would make the hills represent the *ambition* of the lover for Rosalind. Colin later blames himself for such ambition at the close of *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*.

³⁾ O. Reissert. *Anglia* IX, 205-22.

⁴⁾ P. Jannet: ed. Marot, IV, 196.

The conversation takes place (l. 27) "en ceste plaine", but the sacrificial lamb left behind remains:

"Non dessus l'herbe ou aucune verdure,
Mais tout tremblans dessus la pierre dure." (ll. 34—5)

This appears to suggest Spenser's description:

"Those hilles, where harbrough nis to see,
Nor holybush, nor brere."

And Meliboeus (ll. 75—6) suggests the hills even more forcibly:

"Non ego vos posthac viridi proiectus in antro
Dumosa pendere procul de rupe videbo."

Virgil's removal from the north of Italy to Rome gives rise to the comment on Spenser's removal from the "North countrye" to Kent. Consequently, it is dangerous to infer from E. K.'s gloss that Spenser's acquaintance with Rosalind took place in the North of England. Moreover, any localization which places great distance between Hobbinoll and Rosalind is not germane to the data of the poem. The farewell message to Rosalind through Hobbinoll suggests vicinity.

An attractive solution was offered by the Rev. N. J. Halpin (1850),¹⁾ who sought to show that Rosalind was a Rose Daniel, sister of Spenser's friend the poet Daniel, and wife of John Florio, the translator of Montaigne. His basis was sufficient to merit attention; but the personage was again supposititious. In Florio's dictionary (1611), Daniel addresses the author as: "My deare friend and brother M. John Florio." Florio's will speaks of his "beloved wife, Rose". Hence Halpin assumes that this Rose Florio was née Rose Daniel. Unhappily, Daniel is not known to have had more than two sisters, and neither was named Rose. The entry of Florio's second marriage proves that his wife was née Rose Spicer. Finally, Daniel's use of the word "brother" is explained by Sidney Lee as arising from the position of the men as brother officers in the Queen's household.²⁾ Daniel indeed addressed him as "one of the Gentlemen of hir Maiesties Royall Priuy-chamber".

¹⁾ Atlantic Monthly, Nov. 1858. This was accepted by F. J. Child and J. R. Lowell. It has been refuted by Grosart: *Wks. of Spenser*, III, ciii.

²⁾ Dict of Nat. Biog., John Florio.

Drayton's location of Rosalind in the Cotswold Hills was taken by its discoverer, the Rev. F. (G. Fleay¹) as a basis for conjecture. He entertains no doubt that Drayton was giving the actual address of the lady. One ipage suffices him to solve the entire problem. Drayton says:

"Here might you many a sheperdesse have seene,
Of which no place as Cotswold such doth yeeld,
Some of it native, some for love, I ween,
Thither were come from many a fertile field.
There was the widow's daughter of the Glen,
Deare Rosalynd that scarsely brook'd compare."

Others are "Phillida the fayre", Lettice, Parnell, "Cusse of the Fould", "the Virgine of the well", and so on. Fleay maintains that the natives are named before the newcomers, because "Some of it *native*" precedes the alternate clause. But the list shows no mark of such diivision. The preëminence of Rosalind's poetic fame will account for her precedence. Moreover, Drayton's style shows no marked tendency toward Popean balance. Fleay, however, proceeds to scan the Cotswold Hills for a glen. He overlooks the fact that "*glenne*" is not used by Spenser in a literal sense. The April Gloss positively states the contrary: "Of the *glenne*, that is, of a country Hamlet or borough."²) Nevertheless, Fleay determines for reasons which he withholds, that "the glen must be the vale of Evesham". Locating Rosalind there, he concludes: "Camden mentions only one family in this valle, that of the Dinleies of Charleton . . . Now Rosalinde anagrammatized is Rosa Dinle." "So flew" Fleay. Grosart's rejoinder³) is brief, but sufficient "Camden mentions no Dinleie of Charleton or anywhere else contemporary with Spenser in 1579, and no Rosa Dinle appears

¹) *Guide to Chaucer and Spenser*, 1877, p. 81.

²) It has been repeatedly stated that E. K. misunderstands the meaning of the word, as Grosart, I, 119, and J. B. Fletcher in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Feb., 1907. But E. K. is explaining the pastoral significance attached to the word. The use of glen for hamlet is no more remarkable than that of shepherd for courtier, lass for gentlewoman, primrose for 'chiefe and worthiest', or Pan for Christ. E. K. is still the best commentator on the Calendar.

³) *Wks. of Spenser*, III, ciii.

in any of the Charleton Dineleys' pedigrees." The lady once more proved to be hypothetical.

III.

The current solution, though quite as faulty, has the merit of presenting a number of interesting problems. The Rev. Alexander B. Grosart, who is its advocate,¹⁾ rests it upon the premises (1) that Spenser's family was derived from the vicinity of Hurstwood in North East Lancashire, and that he had near relatives living there at the period in question; (2) that Spenser's vocabulary is peculiarly that of Lancashire; (3) that *The Shepherd's Calendar* has a peculiarly Lancastrian character as regards its scenery, animals, plants, superstitions, sports, etc. On this ground of probability that Lancashire was the part of the "North country" in which Spenser dwelt, Grosart concludes that Rosalind too dwelt there. The Dineleys were the chief family of that district, and there were other families of Dineleys close by, — from which Grosart is led to observe that "if the lady's name was Rose Dineley, it would be expressed . . . by literal transposition, Rosalinde".

Like Rose Lynde, Rose Daniel, and Rose Dinley, this Rose Dineley, remains, unhappily, hypothetical. "I indulge the Pleasures of Hope", Grosart finally declares, "of some day coming upon a Rose Dineley." As he feelingly remarks: "Had the Downham Parish Registers similarly existed . . . it is morally certain a Rose and other Dyneleys would have been entered." Many a Rose is born to blush unseen. But why Rose? Call Rosalind by any other name, as Nora, Nellie, Dora, Alice, or even Sally, and the anagram may be solved no less readily, as Nora Disel, Nellie Dorsy, Alice Thorn. Yet after three hundred years no real person has been adduced as Spenser's Rosalind!²⁾ And why Lancashire? Nothing indicates that he met Rosalind anywhere in the north except an unwarranted inference from the June Gloss, which creates the absurdity of localizing Harvey in Kent, and destroying his essential proximity to Rosalind.

¹⁾ *Wks. of Spenser* (1882—44), I, 43—6; III, lxxii—cxiv.

²⁾ It is remarkable that no one has suggested Sidney's sister, whose pastoral name *Clorinda* forms a passable solution of *Rosalind*.

Nevertheless, the premises advanced by Grosart create so suasive an impression that it seems necessary to show on what untrustworthy grounds they are based. In discussing the origin of Spenser's family, Grosart misleads his readers at the start. He says:¹⁾ "*In limine*, a just-published letter from Gabriel Harvey to Spenser (as Immerito) expressly designates "Pendle Hill" as lying in his shire ("your shire")." Since Pendle Hill lies in Lancashire, and Harvey was likely to know the facts, few readers would care to read critically Grosart's prolonged discussion. But when the reader comes to examine Harvey's Letterbook,²⁾ he finds Harvey wishing that his writings were buried "deeper in the centre of the erthe, than the height and altitude of the middle of the verye English Alpes amountes unto in your shier". Harvey does not anywhere mention "Pendle Hill". For that Grosart is indebted to the editor, who reproduces the passage in his introduction, and adds: "Here we seem to have an allusion to Pendle Hill in co. Lancashire where Spenser's friends are supposed to have lived." But for *your shier*, the editor here reads *the aier*. Obscure chirography may have made his diverse readings easy: but there can be no doubt as to which is correct. The antithesis, "*deeper ... centre ... erthe ... height ... middle ... aier*", would be destroyed by the reading *shier*.³⁾

Grosart admits (I, xxxiii) that the names of Spenser's parents can only be conjectured. But though Spencers are plentiful everywhere, he finds grounds for argument in the rarity of spellings with *s*. He claims (I, xi) to have seen to an aggregate of over eleven hundred instances: "The surname Spenser in Inquisitions and Visitations, Wills and Paris Registers, University and School Records, all over Middlesex and Kent, Surrey and Essex, Warwick and Yorkshire and Lancashire." His result is a restatement of the forty-year old

¹⁾ *Wks. of Spenser*, I, xii, without cross reference.

²⁾ Ed. J. E. Long Scott, Camden Soc. 1884, Introd. p. xi, text p. 63.

³⁾ A similar perversion is made by Grosart in the June eclogue, where on the sole authority of the fifth quarto he reads: "Forsake *thy* soyle", and explains *thy* as a personal pronoun.

observation of F. C. Spenser.¹⁾ "Spenser — spelled with an s, not a c — is practically limited — earliest and latest — to a small district in the north-east angle of Lancashire." Grosart says "practically," not wholly, limited. Even so he has examined only seven counties of England. A score remain unexplored. Familiarity with another "small district" and ignorance of the minutiae of Lancashire might cause another investigator to limit the spelling with s to quite another county. The spelling with h s does appear elsewhere: for Grosart mentions three other Loondon Spensers connected with the Merchant Taylor's School (I, xxxii), and two more at Oxford and Cambridge (I, xxxv). Their Lancastrian origin is not proved. Again, the local spelling near Hurstwood in Lancashire is by no means uniform. The name of the estate there, mentioned by F. E. Spenser (p. 139) is written *Spencer*. In a list of eleven names, cited incidentally by Grosart (I, xxxix) as representatives of the neighboring Filley Close, 7 July, 1569, four names are written *Spencere*. The pedantry of spellers at that time is not lightly to be assumed. Spenser's spelling of Rosalind (Rosalind, Rosalinde, Rosalynde, Rosalend) does not indicate fastidiousness in this respect. Grosart notes (I, xiii) that: "The Poet himself and his children are almost

¹⁾ The history of the pretensions of Lancashire goes back to a letter in the *Genilemen's Mag.*, Aug.: 1842, pp. 38—43: "*The Family of Edmund Spenser the Poet, and its locality.*" F. C. Spenser here anticipates the chief arguments of Grosart, who mentions him with all honor, but without specific acknowledgment. Craik accepted and popularized his views in *Spenser and his Poems* (18455), I, 11. He is followed by F. J. Child: *Spenser's Poetical Works*, 18559, I, vi. J. Payne Collier: *Wks. of Spenser*, (1862), rejected them unless on other grounds Spenser's visit to the north could be established. John W. Hales (*Folia Litteraria*, p. 157) has shown the untrustworthiness of F. E. Spenser P. 19, n. 1 (con.), who maintained originally that the property called The Spencers at Filley Close was the seat of the poet's family; but, "took up his quarters in a house not near Filley Close, but at Hurstwood, and had given currency to a tradition that it was there the poet's own people lived". Apropos of Spenser's alleged residence at Hurstwood, "Cliviger" (*Notes and Queries* 9 April 1853) refreshingly says: "I confess all this appears to me very like a hoax". He notes that "Dr. Whitaker, the learned historian of Whalley", who lived near Hurstwood Hall, describes it and gives its history in the family of Townley since the 16th Cent. He records no tradition of Spenser's residence there.

invariably spelled with a *c* in Irish documents." The title page of *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* reads "By Ed. Spenser", and Grosart remarks (IV, 32) that it was "published by Spenser himself". Spenser's prefaces and dedicatory letters are usually unservicable abbreviations. But his sonnet to Harvey and that prefixed to *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice* are signed *Spencer*.

Grosart's second argument (I, xxxviii) is that based on Christian names: "In the Pendle Forest Branch the Lawrences and Edmunds appear and reappear — as afterwards in the Poet's own family." Lawrence occurs once in the poet's family. Other names recur, as Nathaniel and William, which do not appear in the Lancashire family. The name Edmund naturally recurred not infrequently in the family of the poet.

Subsequent to the genealogical investigations of F. E. Spenser, a John Travers, Esq. of Birsh Hill, Cork, claiming descent from Spenser's sister Sarah,¹⁾ communicated an un-circumstantial family tradition that they Spensers were derived from Lancashire. The tradition was not based on written records. Spenser's connection with the north, therefore, falls back upon the authority of the *June Gloss*, which represents him as having dwelt in the "North parts", the "North countrye". The term is vague. To a Londoner contrasting it with Kent, Cambridge might be represented as the "North parts",²⁾ and Spenser's transfer from the University to court circles presents an appropriate parallel to Virgil's transfer of residence from Mantua to Rome. The term "North parts" will be felt in this case to be somewhat forced; but I propose presently to suggest a peculiar aptness in its use. The known facts of Spenser's life, — his birth and education in London, taken with his avowed and admitted kinship to the Spencers of

²⁾ Cf. *The Patrician*, V, 54.

³⁾ Thomas Keightley: *On the Life of Edmund Spenser*, Fraser's Mag. LX, 412 long since suggested this, saying: "Surely, as E. K. calls Kent the South, he might have regarded Cambridge as the North, both being viewed with respect to London". Keightley, whom I first read after reaching the same conclusions, also infers (p. 413): "The latter's [Harvey's] being personally acquainted with her, would seem to prove that she resided in Cambridge or its vicinity."

Althorp,¹⁾ — discount if anything his derivation from remote Lancashire. The claim has been urged chiefly, if not solely, by residents of Lancashire.

The fact (urged by Grosart) that Hugh Singleton, who published *The Shepherd's Callendar*, was a Lancashire man,²⁾ has less bearing upon the origin of Spenser's family, than upon the supposed Lancastrian dialect in its vocabulary. This began to be commented on after it was supposed that Spenser came from Lancashire. Grosart records with scorn the presentation of a paper by T. T. Wilkinson (1867),³⁾ in which forty-five words common to Spenser and East Lancaster were discussed. His own list (I, 408—17) he describes (I, xlv) as: "Upwards of 200 North East Lancashire words in *The Shepherd's Calendar* alone, and a good many beyond 300 in the other Poems, or a total of fully 550 distinctly dialectical words and phrases". He notes that: "Many of these words occur in other northern counties"; ... "but then and now each word enumerated is strictly North East Lancashire." Spenser and the Lancastrians equally speak English. Criticized with the aid of merely the Oxford English Dictionary and English Dialect Dictionary, to which Grosart could not have recourse, his list is found to contain nothing peculiarly Lancastrian.

By way of illustration, II insert a consideration of all the words instanced beginning in A and B. The first list consists of words by no means confined to the northern dialects, and not uncommon in authors familiar to Spenser.

Abie, aby, aby = abide. *Abyde*, endure.

Aboord, aboard. *Algates*, all ways.

¹⁾ *Muipotmos*. Ded. letter to Lady Carey.

²⁾ Cited by Grosart, V, lx—lxi.

³⁾ "*Edmund Spenser and the East Lancashire Dialect*". Transactions of the Hist. Soc. of Lan. and Cheshire (1867), 87—102. Its character is indicated by John W. Hales: *Folia Litteraria*, p. 157, who says: "Many of the words quoted by Mr. T. T. Wilkinson ... are of too general occurrence to be of value in localising the poem; and such words, for instance, as *kirk*, *gate* (a road), *wood* (mad), *latch*, *gar* (compel) etc. etc.; and of no word is it shown that it is distinctively East Lancashire." Wilkinson's paper and a sufficient refutation of it by Wm. A. Part will be found in the Gentleman's Mag., 1867, Pt. I, pp. 207—8, 501—2.

<i>Afoore</i> , before.	<i>Bond</i> , bound.
<i>Amerced</i> , fined.	<i>Bonilasse</i> , bonny lass.
<i>Arke</i> , chest.	<i>Boot</i> , advantage.
<i>Beare</i> , bear.	<i>Boughts</i> , bouts, turns.
<i>Bents</i> , rushes.	<i>Bourne</i> , a small brook.
<i>Beseek</i> , beseech.	<i>Bousing</i> , drinking.
<i>Bet</i> , beat.	<i>Bout</i> , about.
<i>Betide</i> , befall.	<i>Brade</i> , broad.
<i>Bin</i> and <i>bene</i> , local pron. of 'be'.	<i>Brakes</i> , brackens.
<i>Bleard</i> , dimmed.	<i>Breere</i> , briar.
<i>Blowen</i> , blown.	<i>Brenne</i> , burn.
<i>Bode</i> , did abide.	<i>Brent</i> , burnt.
<i>Bodie</i> , person.	<i>Bringin</i> , bring.
	<i>Busse</i> , a kiss.

The second list contains words, forms, and senses, which appear in authors known to have been familiar to Spenser before the publication of the *Calendar*.

<i>Affear</i> , to frighten.	<i>Lydgate</i> .	<i>Langland</i> .
<i>Affear'd</i> , frightened.	<i>Chaucer</i> .	
<i>Alablaster</i> , alabaster.	<i>Tindale</i> .	<i>Sidney</i> .
<i>Aslake</i> , to appease.	<i>Chaucer</i> .	<i>Lydgate</i> .
<i>Astart</i> , started, startled.	<i>Chaucer</i> .	<i>Lydgate</i> .
<i>Balke</i> , a bar or beam.	<i>Chaucer</i> .	
<i>Beforne</i> , before.	<i>Chaucer</i> .	
<i>Belive</i> , forthwith.	<i>Sackville</i> .	
<i>Besprent</i> , bestrewn.	<i>Chaucer</i> .	
<i>Blubber'd</i> , face swollen with weeping.	<i>Preston</i> .	
<i>Brag</i> , proudly.	<i>Plowman's Crede</i> .	
<i>Barst</i> , burst.	<i>Skelton</i> .	
<i>Breme</i> , chilly.	<i>Lydgate</i> .	
<i>Bryzes</i> , flies.	<i>Chaucer</i> .	

The third list is made up of words, forms, and senses, so widespread among the dialects that they cannot be termed peculiarly Lancastrian. With them I enter such words as the *English Dialect Dictionary*, neglecting the results of Grosart's researches in Lancaster,¹⁾ has quite failed to notice. These are distinguished by an asterisk.

¹⁾ E. D. D. cites for this county a large number of books and word lists by 148 authors, including the word list of T. T. Wilkinson, but not that of Grosart.

Aberr, Abear, = bear. ... "Widely diffused through the dialects." *E. D. D.*

Atween, between. ... "In gen. dial. use in Sc. Irel. Eng." *E. D. D.*

**Awarned*, forewarned, admonished. I'll awarnt thee. ... Apparently unique in the *Faerie Queen*. Grosart's word seems to be a corruption of *a) warrant*.

**Alew*, outcry, pil-a-lew = great noise. ... Apparently unique in the *Faerie Queene*.

Ayme, idea, notion. ... "Lan. Chs. Stf. Der. War." *E. D. D.*

**Bashed*, abashed. ... The verb occurs in Scotland and six counties of England. The adjective is instanced in *Lancashire* only; but in the form *bash*.

**Bayt*, to rest or refresh. ... It occurs in Barbour and Holinshed. As a noun it is found in *Cum.* & *N. Lin.*, but not in *Lan.* The ordinary sense, 'to partake of refreshments', is universal.

**Beare*, bier. ... *Oxf. E. D.* records the variant in the 15th century.

**Becomen*, become. ... Readily found in earlier authors.

Biggen, building, pile. ... The form is *N. Cy*, not nec. *Lan.* The word *bigging* is found in Scot., Irel., and five counties of England.

**Bloosme*, blossome — in habitual use. ... *Oxf. E. D.* and *E. D. D.* do not record it. Chaucer has *blosme*.

**Bounces*, bunches.

**Bragly*, proudly.

**Broughten*, brought.

**Buckle*, to make a vigorous start. ... The word is widespread in Scot., Irel. and Eng., but is not recorded in *Lan.*

**Butten*, butt.

Four words remain:

Blonket, blanket — everyday use. ... But *Oxf. E. D.* and *E. D. D.* fail to record the sense. The word occurs in the May eclogue (l. 5), where it is evidently the not uncommon variant of *Blunket*, grey. *E. K.* so understands it: for he glosses "gray".

Bannes, curses. . . . The noun appears to have been first so used by Spenser. *E. D. D.* records it only in *Lan.* Yk. and Sc. This sense of the verb was and is common.

Baffuld, beaten. . . . This sense is recorded in *Nor.* and *Suf.*, but not in *Lan.*

Bickermēt, quarreling, strife. . . . Used by Webbe 1586, Spenser 1596. *E. D. D.* finds it in *Lin.* and *W. Som.*, not in *Lan.*

The net result of the two letters is absolutely nothing.

I have not detected anything more significant in Grosart's entire list. In passing, I have noted several words used by Spenser and surviving in the dialects, wherein the Lancastrian form differs noticeably from that which is most common.

Spenser.

Lancaster.

<i>alablaste</i>		<i>aliblaste</i> .
<i>almes</i>		<i>aumas, aumus</i> .
<i>balke</i> , to disappoint		<i>bawk</i> .
<i>bend</i> , band		<i>bant</i> .
<i>blatter</i> , to bluster		<i>bledder, blother, blutter</i> .
<i>bought</i> , <i>n.</i> fold		<i>boot, buft</i> .

This investigation shows that Spenser did not use a distinctly Lancastrian dialect.

It takes us back to Dryden's observation that Spenser had some command of "our northerne dialect".¹⁾ But this is no more than E. K. had pointed out in the May and September Glosses:

"*The Gate*, the Gote: Nothernely : spoken, to turne O into A."

"*Wae*, woe, Northernly."

Several words of Grosart's list exemplify this peculiarity, as *ayme*, *biggen*, *craggs*, *cruddles*, *forrswatt*, *glen*, *ingate*. But Spenser was not obliged to live in the northern counties in order to learn, them, any more than a Londoner to learn Italian must go to Italy.²⁾ Spenser's language cannot be

¹⁾ Det. of tr. of Virgil's Pastorals.

²⁾ At Cambridge there were many North Country men. Wm. Soone, describing the University in 1575 (C. H. Cooper: *Annals of Cambridge*, II, 329), says; "In standing for degrees, the North country and South country

regarded as inartificial. Sidney and Jonson understood it as an affectation of archaisms.¹⁾ E. K. in the Epistle to Harvey notes that Spenser's words are "also used of most excellent Authors, and most famous poets. In whom . . . this our Poet hath bin much travailed and thoroughly read". The reason which he assigns for the use of them is: "Because such old and obsolete wordes are most used of Country folks." The whole passage reads as though it were suggested by some account of Italian cultivation off trecentist Tuscanism. Spenser's conformation to such an orthodox ideal is not surprising. Most of his striking Northern words actually appear in accessible books, as Barbour's *Bruce*, Douglas's *Aeneid*, or the poems of Dunbar.²⁾ Finally, the employment of northern forms was the most natural, the crudest, way of distinguishing the speech of his rustics from that of Londoners.³⁾

The last prop of the Lancastrian Rose is Grosart's thesis (I, lii): "That North-East Lancashire scenery as distinguished from Southern (e. g. Kent and its dales and downs) and the historically-known character of the people of the district, are similarly reflected in the Poems; whilst the places in the Glosse, etc., can only be understood as applying to North-East Lancashire." Grosart has been painstaking in his research.

men have warm contests with one another; as at Oxford the Welsh and English." On such occasions, Northern peculiarities of speech would probably serve as a theme for ridicule.

¹⁾ That same framing of his style to an old rustic language I dare not allow. (Sidney: *Defense of Poesie*, ed. A. S. Cook 1898, p. 47.) "Spenser, in affecting the ancients, writ no language." (Jonson: *Timber*, ed. F. E. Schelling 1892, p. 57.) Fuller (*Worthies* II, 80) regards these words as "Chaucerisms" and "beauties". Dryden (Ded. of tr. of Virgil's *Pastorals*) notes that by means of them Spenser "exactly imitated the Doric of Theocritus". (Saintsbury's Scott's ed. of Dryden XIII, 325.)

²⁾ Thus *glen*, which first appears in England in the April eclogue, was accessible in Barbour and Dunbar. Perhaps Harvey's "Welche ostisse" in Cambridge (Letter to Spenser, cited in Grosart, I, 439) used it.

³⁾ A certain literary interest in the north country is discernible at this time, as may be seen from entries in the Stationers' Register. "A Ballat etc. of a Northerne mans repoorte of the wonderfull greate snowe in the southern partes." 14 Feb., 1578-9. "A booke of newes from the northe cont., a conference betwene Simon Certen and Peyrce Ploughman." 19 Oct., 1579. Dedicated to Sir Henry Sidney, the father of Spenser's patron.

He has: "Read these portions of the Shepherd's Calendar . . . on Pendle" (I, lxxxvi). He has "enjoyed a long residence in North East Lancashire, familiarity with its people, "gentle and simple", and its racy dialect and ancient dated usages" (I, xlii). His statements regarding Lancashire are, therefore, presumably correct. His argument is not easily reduced to order, but I will attempt to deal with its points seriatim.

With regard to the scenery, Grosart advances (III, lxxxv) "Hobbinoll's description of its "hills" and "wastes", "bogs" and "glens". This appears to him (III, civ) to correspond to "the wild and waste mountain and moorland and woodland region of the Pendle Forest". As a matter of fact, Hobbinoll makes no such description. He never mentions *wastes* and *bogs*. The only use of *glen* is in his description of Rosalind, "the Widdowes daughter of the glenne". He does, however, mention "*wastfull hylles*" (June eclogue), and some stanzas previously he describes them as:

"Those hilles, where harbrough nis to see,
Nor holy bush, nor brere, nor winding witche."

Grosart is unmindful of Spenser's indebtedness here to Marot and Virgil; but apart from this, the description has no force. That no shelter and no *witch* (whether "reed" or "winding, sinous bank") were to be had upon the hills, does not distinguish them from other hills. The absence of briar, however, conflicts with Grosart's statement (I, lvii): "Both the oak and *briar* were most abundant in the district when Spenser wrote."

The wasteful hills, in so far as they have literal significance, are the most marked feature of the region. Pendle Hill has an altitude of 1831 ft., enough to be distinguished by Grosart (I, lvi) as one of the three "highest hills between Scotland and Trent". This contrasts sharply with the undulating downs of Kent. But Spenser's "North countrye" cannot have been a region of high hills. Although no passage in the poem indicates their altitude, the June Gloss shows that E. K. saw inaptitude in the contrast of hills and dales as applied to the "North countrye" and Kent. He observes that "the Southpartes . . . though they be full of hylles and woodes (for Kent is verye hyllye and woodye . . . yet in

respecte of the Northpartes they be called dales. For indeed the North is counted the higher countrye". With Pendle in mind, Kent would not appear to be very hilly, and with a contrast of 1800 against 100 feet, he need not say that "Indede the North is counted the higher countrye". This remark indicates, if anything, that the topography was really not dissimilar.

The second point advanced by Grosart (III, lxxxv, civ) is: "His (Hobbinoll's) vivid recountings of its dark superstitions in contrast with the brighter and happier beliefs of the "sunny South". Grosart notes that the district was: "The reputed rendezvous of witches, and inhabited by a people strongly possessed with superstitious belief to birds of ill omen, elves, and diabolic assumptions by "old women" of animal forms". The Lancashire witches have been made famous by Ainsworth; but witches are not mentioned in the Calendar. Grosart's basis for these "vivid recountings" is three lines of the June eclogue:

"Forsake the soyle that doth thee so bewitch . . .

Here [in the dales] no night Ravenes lodge more black
than pitch,

No elvish ghosts, nor ghastly Owles do flee."

Once more referring to Marot and Virgil, this is seen to parallel the passage in which Tityrus and Meliboeus note the omens of misfortune.¹⁾ E. K.'s gloss is explicit. "Night Ravens, etc.) by such hatefull byrdes, hee meaneth all misfortunes (whereof they be tokens) flying everywhere." E. K. does not take the owl and raven to be peculiarly Lancastrian.

A third set of likenesses is found by Grosart (I, 44, 47) in the descriptive features of the December eclogue (stanzas 4, 5, 6, and 12). Grosart is conscious of Spenser's indebtedness here to Marot.²⁾ Yet he includes in his list of characteristics

¹⁾ Virgil had instanced a riven oak. Marot convertte this to "Chesnes frappee de la foudre des cieulx", and adds:

"Semblablement la sinistre corneille
Me disoit bien la fortune pareille" (l. 40).

²⁾ *Eclogue au Roi sous les noms de Pan et Robin.*

the "wasteful woods", the "forrest wide", the presence of "wolves", and the pastime of gathering nuts. Colin says:

"I went the wastefull woodes and forest wyde,
Withouten dreade of Wolves to bene espyed.
I wont to raunge amydde the mazie thicket,
And gather nuttes."

Marot says:

"En la forest (sans craincte des loups)
Je m'en allois souvent cueillir le houx."

Other features do not appear in Marot. They are the hare, pricket (buck), oak, raven, walnut; also, the honey bee, toadstool, paddock (toad), owl, and "chaunting birds".¹⁾ I cannot however, regard them as peculiarly Lancastrian. Grosart might have noticed that Fuller mentions none of these features under Lancashire. He instances hares under Cambridgeshire, deer under Oxfordshire, oaks under Berkshire and Gloucestershire, walnuts under Surrey, larks under Bedfordshire, sheep and wool under many counties but not Lancaster.

Several flowers mentioned in the April eclogue are cited by Grosart (I, lvii) as "still *the* flowers of the district". They are daffodils, gillyflowers, violets, forget-me-nots, and the yellow primrose. But Grosart does not mention other flowers enumerated there, as the pink, rose, columbine, chevisance, "flowre Delice", carnation, cowslip, kingcup, lily and pansy, which it seems fair to assume are not common in Lancashire.

His authority for regarding the district as moorland (I, liv) is a line in Drayton, following the two on Rosalind:

"The Moreland mayden, so admired of men."

Nothing in Drayton indicates that this describes Rosalind, rather than a second person in the list.

¹⁾ Larks are also instanced by Grosart (I, lvii). The "queene apples" of the June eclogue are suggested by Vürgil (Ecl. I, l. 36). The falling water of the April eclogue is conventionall, and is found in the first idyl of Theocritus.

"Yonder water, that is poured from the high face of the rock."
tr. A. Lang, Macmillan, 1892.

Apropos of the fable of the Oak and Briar in the February eclogue, Grosart finds it significant that oaks and briars then abounded in Lancashire, and calls attention to the name of the township Extwistle-cum-Briercliffe, Exwistle being defined as "the boundary of oaks" (I, lvii). But Hobbinoll speaks of:

"Those hills where barbrough nis to see,
Nor holy bush, nor *brere*."

In spite of the absurdity of these many pointless comparisons,¹⁾ it will be felt that some real similarity between Lancashire and the Calendar must exist. The explanation is not far to seek. The topography of Lancashire is stated to be one of "green rounded elewated ridges being separated by pleasant cultivated valleys, variegated by woods and watered by rivers".²⁾ This is distinctly the pastoral type of scenery. It is Sicilian. So appropriate is it that all these characteristics are conventional to the pastoral, and used by many a poet, as Tasso in *Aminta*, who never heard of Lancashire.

Grosart, therefore, has really no basis for assuming that Spenser ever visited Lancashire. His speculations concerning a possible Rose Dineley are thus shown to be wholly idle.

IV.

In undertaking to give Rosalind once more a habitation and a name, I note with pleasure that John W. Hales has suggested the same well ordering of the anagram. In *Folia Litteraria*,³⁾ he says: "Suppose her Christan name to be Eliza, could the name of Nord, or any other combination of the four

¹⁾ Further points adduced are (1) the name Lettice, as common in that region (I, lviii). It was also the name of Leicester's wife. (2) The identification of Sir John in the May eclogue with Sir John Aspdene at Burnley (I, lix). This is unsupported by evidence; but can, nevertheless, be refuted. Palinode alludes to Sir John as living:

"Let me thy tale borowe
For our Sir John, to say tomorrowe
At the Kerke."

Sir John Aspdene, as Grosart notes, died in 1567. I suggest instead "a Syr John Lacke Latin" mentioned by Latimer and others. (Cf. Skelton: *Magnificence* v. 1201.)

²⁾ *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed. Lancashire.

³⁾ Macmillan, 1893, p. 160.

remaining letters be found in any local register or document?" Hales went no further. He did not see the significance of the recombination which he had suggested. And, curiously enough, it has happened, as in the case of Fleay and Grosart, that identical solutions were arrived at independently.¹⁾

The solution which I advance tentatively is Elizabeth North.

1. The name solves the anagram.

Rosalinde is the spelling to be used as a basis. It is the uniform spelling of the fifth quarto, which is Spenser's final edition. In all five quartos it is the spelling used where the name is noticed as an anagram. It is the spelling used by Harvey (Grosart, ed. Harvey, Huth Lib., I, 81—2). This yields *Elisa Nord*. *Eliza* is used by Spenser for Elizabeth, the Queen, in the April eclogue. *Nord* is merely a French way of spelling North. If the poet were making an anagram of this name, the change from *Rosalinthe* to *Rosalinde* would be inevitable.

2. The lady is not a hypothesis, but a fact.

Thomas North, the translator of *Plutarch's Lives*, had a daughter named Elizabeth (C. H. Cooper, *Ath. Cantab.* II, 350).

3. Her circumstances fit the allusions relative to Rosalind.

a) As to station, she was:

"A countrie lasse" living in a "neighbour towne" (Jan. ecl.) Thomas North was the brother of Roger, Lord North of Kirtling. Kirtling is fourteen miles due east from Cambridge, and is now a town of 750 people.²⁾ Thomas North was presented with the freedom of the city of Cambridge in 1568. In the book of household charges of Roger North³⁾ is his entry

¹⁾ My solution was written out a year before I met with Hales's conjecture.

²⁾ Longman's Gaz.

³⁾ *Archaeologia*, XIX (1821), p. 283—301.

under December, 1576, of "a lease of a house and household stuff given to Mr. Tho. North". Elizabeth's presence is marked by similar entries: 1578, Nov. 3. 4. "Geven Elizabeth North for Smocks Xs."; Dec. 5. 6. "Geven Bess North to buy a Peticote vij s."

"A gentlewoman of no meane [mediocre] house." (April Gloss.)¹⁾ Her grandfather was Edward, first Lord North. Her uncle constantly represented the shire in Parliament, held offices connected with the University, and was high steward of the town, of Cambridge. He had served as ambassador extraordinary to France, and in 1578 the Queen visited him.

"A private personage unknowne" (Spenser's letter to Harvey, 15 Oct. 1579). Thomas North was a poor country gentleman. Since he resided at Lincoln's Inn in 1557 (ded. to his tr. of Guevara), and had two children before Elizabeth, she is not likely to have been, in 1579, over nineteen years old.

- b) "The widdowes daughter". (April eclogue and Gloss.)

E. K. notes a peculiarity here, making his caption emphasize the word widow. "*The widdowes*, ... which I think is rather said to colour and conceale the person, then simply spoken." My interpretation is *widow* = *widower*. This sense of *widow* is now widespread in the dialects. It occurs in Spenser's lifetime, as is seen in the following instances sent to me by Henry Bradley, who says: "We have a quotation from the Wells Register, 1552, with reference to the will of "John Taylor, wyddowe". In 1579 Lawrence Tomson²⁾ speaking of St. Paul, says: "He abstained from marriage: whether he never had a wife, or was a widdowe." Thomas North married twice. His second wife, who survived him, was Judith, widow

¹⁾ This makes impossible Upton's (I, xiv) identification of Rosalind with Mirabel in the *Faerie Queene* (as F. J. Child: *Spenser's Poetical Works* I, xii). Mirabel, though exalted in station, had been "lifted up to honorable place". Spenser describes her further as: "Of meane parentage and kindred base" (VI, VII, xxviii).

²⁾ Calvin's *Sermons on Timothy*, etc. 257/2.

of Richard Bridgewater, L. L. D. In 1576 Bridgewater was still living (aged thirty-seven) as appears by an order, Oct. 23d, for him to take his L. L. D. at the next commencement.¹⁾ It was this Mr. Bridgewater presumably who later assisted, as the orator of the University, in an entertainment prepared by the University for the Queen at Audley End²⁾ 26 July, 1578. At this time therefore, North's second marriage had not taken place. His children were then full grown: for Edward, as appears from Roger North's entries, was in service with the Earl of Bedford,³⁾ and in 1579 Elizabeth married. There is another significant entry under Nov. 26, 1577: "A litter to convey my Sister North to London, xxxvij s., ix d." Roger North had two sisters, but both were married. This entry therefore refers to Elizabeth's mother, who is never mentioned again. North was not her first husband.⁴⁾ Lord North's failure to mention a litter to bring her back, makes it probable that her decease took place at this time. Moreover, the disposal of her property seems to be alluded to in the subsequent entry: "1577—8. Nov. 6. Paid the Mr. of the Rolls a Cli. wh^h my brother tooke upp of his Childrens Portion."⁵⁾ Thomas North, therefore, in 1579 probably was a "widdowe".

c) "The North countrye, where he dwelt". (June Gloss.)

E. K. varies this phrase, which he uses once, by using twice the "North partes". In all cases he capitalizes North. The ancestral estate about Kirtling, together with the great political prominence of Roger North, might make it not ungraceful in contrasting

¹⁾ *Ath. Cantab.* II, 542.

²⁾ C. H. Cooper: *Annals of Cambridge*, II, 363.

³⁾ "1577, 16 Apr. to 6 May. Apparell for Edward North when he went to my L. of Bedford. ijli." *Archaeologia*, XIX, 293.

⁴⁾ She was Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Colville of London, and widow of Robert Rich.

⁵⁾ *Archaeologia*, XIX, 297.

the district with Kent, thus to allude to it covertly as the "North partes", the "North country".¹⁾ Spencer's biography is thus freed from his otherwise unfounded journey to the North of England. His removal from Cambridge to the court is seen to be an appropriate parallel to Virgil's removal from Mantua to Rome.

d) "Those hills." (June eclogue and Gloss.)

The general flatness of Cambridgeshire, though there are low chalk hills in this locality, will account for the apologetic tone of E. K. in contrasting them with the dales of Kent. The country is well wooded about Kirtling Hall.²⁾ The hills, if localized at all, may have been the Gogmagog hills, where certain prohibited games, especially in 1574 and 1575, played no small part in the life of Cambridge students.³⁾

e) "Ah, faithlesse Rosalinde." (June eclogue.)

Rosalind's forsaking of Colin and acceptance of Menalcas, is placed by Spenser in June. It was in June 1579 that Elizabeth North married Thomas Stuteville⁴⁾ of Brinkley, a town four miles southwest of Kirtling.⁵⁾

f) "Good Hobbinoll . . . tell Rosalind." (December eclogue.)

With Harvey in Cambridge, Rosalind in Brinkley, and Spenser in London, the message is appropriate. Harvey's acquaintance with Rosalind becomes a matter of course, while E. K. (if Edward Kirke) would naturally hear of her.

¹⁾ It is noteworthy in this connection that Edward Kirke was instituted, 26 May, 1580, rector of Risby in Suffolk (Grosart, III, cxi), a place nine miles northeast of Kirtling.

²⁾ Nichol's *Progresses*, II, 219 note.

³⁾ C. H. Cooper: *Annals of Cambridge*, II, 321, anno 1574.

⁴⁾ Attempts, as by Halpin and Grosart, to make an anagram of Menalcas have no warrant. The gloss remarks truly that it is "the name of a shepherd in Virgil", and does not suggest any further significance than the similarity of rôle.

⁵⁾ *Archaeologia*, XIX, 1821, p. 208.

4. It is probable that Spenser had some acquaintance with Thomas North.

a) At Cambridge (1569--1576).

Spenser matriculated May 20, 1569. In May, 1569, Lord North, as commissioner of musters, threatened to enroll the servants of the scholars of the University. He must have been a motable figure to the students. The accounts of the treasurers of the town¹⁾ show that he was frequently entertained there, and it is probable that Thomas North, in view of his literary interests and his having the freedom of the city of Cambridge, also came frequently to the University. He was already notable as the translator of Guevara's famous *Dial of Princes* 1557 and 1568, and Doni's *Moral Philosophy*, 1570. To persons interested in Continental literature, as Harvey's letters and Spenser's sources show that they were, North must have been a desirable acquaintance. In accompanying his brother on an embassy to France in 1574, he is likely to have met the then Secretary of State, Sir Thomas Smith, the patron and alleged relative of Harvey.²⁾ Smith was also of Cambridge University and lived at Saffron Walden, about fifteen miles from Kirtling. North is likely to have known also George Carey, whose wife Elizabeth Spencer was claimed by the poet as a relative. Carey had leased the estate of Herstwood in Great Saxham, seven miles N. E. of Kirtling, 12 Jan. 1573—4, for a term of twenty-one years. He had accompanied Bedford in 1566 on an embassy to Scotland, and in 1577 Thomas North's son Edward "went to my L. of Bedfordth". (Cf. p. 40 n.) Moreover, Grosart notes (I, 440—2) that Spenser used North's translation of Doni in *The Shepherd's Calendar*, *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, and the *Visions of the World's Vanity*. Though not convinced of the considerable

¹⁾ C. H. Cooper: *Annals of Cambridge*, II, 250—350.

²⁾ "My Cosen, M. Thomas Smith, the sonne of Sir Thomas" (Harvey to Spenser. Grosart: *ed. Harvey*, I, 184.

indebtedness which he points out, I concede the probability of influence.¹⁾

b) In the court circle of Leicester.

In 1579. — The presence of Spenser in London this year is established by his letter to Harvey from Leicester House, 15—16 Oct., by another shortly after, and by Harvey's visit to him there, 22 Dec. 1578.²⁾ If he is the author of E. K.'s Epistle to Harvey, the date of 19 April 1579 may be added to these. If he remained to supervise the publication of the Calendar, the period must be expended to December, when it was entered in the Stationer's Register; and we know from a letter to Harvey that he was in Westminster in April, 1580. His familiarity with Leicester House, his repeated mention of Sidney and Dyer, and the dedication of the Calendar, make it clear that he moved in the circle of dependants on Leicester. Similarly, during this period Thomas North was probably in London, and was aided by the patronage of Leicester. He was publishing his great folio translation of Plutarch's lives. The dedication and preface are dated respectively the 16th and 24th of January 1579—80.³⁾ Considerable time must have been spent in getting so large a book through the press. Spenser and North were, therefore, probably in London throughout the greater part of the year. Shortly after the publication of North's book, Leicester wrote to Burleigh asking his favor for the book, and saying: "He is a very honest gentleman and hath many good things in him which

¹⁾ I cannot find conclusive evidence of any borrowing of details. The general similarity, "rather like to Aesopes fables" (Feb. gloss), is obvious. North's book may have directed Spenser's attention to this kind of work. Plagiarism is not to be looked for in case of his close personal acquaintance with North.

²⁾ Macray: *Annals of the Bodleian Lib.*, p. 122—3. A note of Harvey's in a copy of Copland's print of Howleglas, given him by Spenser, records this visit. The rarity of the book suggests Spenser's wide acquaintance with earlier English writers. Cf. Sidney Lee in D. N. B. on Spenser.

³⁾ Ed. John Hayes, Cambridge, 1676.

are drowned onhly by poverty." In view of the great intimacy between Roger North and Leicester, it is probable that Thomas North frequented Leicester House. His publisher's press (Thomas Vautrouillier's in Blackfriars) was not five minutes walk eastward. Spenser's also (Hugh Singleton's in "Creede Lane neare unto Luadgate") was about equidistant from Leicester Housee and hardly two minutes walk from Vautrouillier's.¹⁾ The writers were almost rubbing shoulders. Though the epistle states that Spenser "compiled thesee xij Aeglogues" during the time that "his unstayed yougth had long wandered in the common Labryrinth of Love", an acquaintance in the winter and sprring of 1578—9 would admit of his composing or aadapting the few passages relative to Rosalind.

There is, perrhaps, an indication of such acquaintance in the Døecember eclogue: "For love then in the Lyons house did dwell" (st. 9). The obvious interpretation is that of E. K. "He imagineth simply that Cupid, whidch is love, had his abode in the whote signe Leo . . . vwhereof the meaning is that love in him wrought ann extraordinarie heate of lust." But this is inapt, wvhen applied to the story because Leo presides over Jvuly, the month after Rosalind forsook Colin. The siggns of the zodiac, constant in the woodcuts of thhe Calendar, rarely are mentioned in the text, — Pisces once, the Lion twice (July²⁾ and Dec.). This prcominence of the Lion, who in *Mother Hubbard's Tale* certainly stands for Leicester,³⁾ is suggestive, in view of Spenser's connection with Leicester. The latter is alluded to by his cognizance

¹⁾ Fenton's Guiccardini and North's Plutarch were printed by Vautrouillier, and entered in the Stationers' Reg., 6 April 1578—9. Fenton was associated with Leicester and Mary Sidney, and in 1580 with Spenser as secretary to Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton.

²⁾ The allusion here (l. 221) has, perhaps, a secondary meaning, since Thomalin and Morrell are speaking allegorically concerning ambition. I am inclined to see in it another allusion to Leicester's temporary loss of favor.

³⁾ Grosart, I, 83.

(as the Gloss explains) in the October eclogue. If the Lion is Leicester, the "JLyons House" is Leicester House. It is not implausible that Elizabeth came to London with her widowed father for a few months before her marriage. The summer previous she must have had a taste of court life, when the Queen and Leicester visited Kirtling Hall. Some confirmation may be drawn from the sestina and its introductory lines in the August eclogue. This follows irrelevantly upon a sufficiently lengthy and complete eclogue. Although several matters in it require comment, the gloss has not a single note. It was therefore inserted in the Calendar subsequent to the completion of the gloss, about April, 1579. The sestina is a lament for the departure of Rosalind:

"I hate the house, since thence my love did part."¹)

In 1578. — Spenser's earlier connection with the circle of Leicester is rendered probable by the evidence for his presence in Ireland with Sir Henry Sidney in the latter half of 1577.²) Presumably Spenser, if there, returned with Sir Henry in 1578. It was in the summer of this year that Leicester's intimacy with Roger North attained its acme: for North was one of the witnesses of Leicester's secret and dangerous marriage with the Countess of Essex. This marriage was revealed by Anjou's agent and cost Leicester a severe rebuff, which gives point to Spenser's line (*Mother Hubbard's Tale*, l. 629):

¹) Since it is poetically referable to a date previous to January, when Colin broke his oaten pipes, there is no incongruity in the limitation of grief: "Till safe and sound She home return." Moreover, Elizabeth's marriage may not have been expected or acceptable to her people. Roger North gave only "June 8. 9. To Shrivvies Mariaeg, x s". This was little more than the price of a petticoat. It is strikingly less than any other marriage present in his entries, even his servants receiving several times as much.

²) Cf. Grosart, I, 65—6. This depends on Phillips' statement that he acted as secretary to Sir Henry Sidney, and Spenser's account (as Irenaeus in *The State of Ireland* "Globe ed., p. 636") of seeing a certain execution, which took place there at that time.

"But his [thhe Lion's] late chayne his Liege
unmeete esteemeth."

In the very midst of these transactions, the Queen on her progress was entertained at Kirtling Hall, September 1—33. Her reception is described by Nichols. The house was full of Leicester's retainers. Even his cooks and minstrels were there. Shortly before, Leicester had written a letter in behalf of Harvey for the continuing of Harvey's fellowship.¹⁾ Harvey must have felt called upon to come over and thank him, if not to hear the oration which was pronounced "by a gentleman of Cambridge", or in connection with his "Gratulationes Valdenses", dedicated to the Queen at Audley End (Sept. Gloss.) Thomas North, who was busy translating Plutarch, must have bethought himself about securing permission for his dedication. As for Spenser, the "songe, with thee sayd Colin sometime made in honour of her Majestie", preserved in the April eclogue, may have been hopefully prepared for this occasion. As for Elizabeth, it was shortly after that her uncle wrote the entry: "Geven Elizabeth North for Smocks." Thus the Pleasures of the Imagination entice us to a plausible scene.²⁾

At a time when it was fashionable for young men to serve a mistress, the student Spenser, led by his literary interests and his desire for advancement, might readily obtain an introduction to this family and through the compliment of his addresses obtain ultimately "his more preferment". Spenser's presence in the circle of Leicester is more readily explained if behind Harvey's reputed agency we discern the powerful hand of Roger North guided by a brother or niece

¹⁾ Harvey's Letter Bk., pp. xiv, ed. J. E. Long Scott. The letter notifying Harvey of this benefaction is dated 22 August, 1578.

²⁾ The absence of direct evidence connecting them is in keeping with the careful preservation of anonymity in other cases of the other personages of *The Shepherd's Calendar*. The author's name was not formally disclosed during his lifetime.

whom Spenser had rendered gracious. That Spenser could have met this Elizabeth North is undeniable, and it is not unnatural to suppose that the author of *A View of the Present State of Ireland* had also a view to the future state of Edmund Spenser, as he certainly had when "for his more preferment removing out of the North partes [he] came into the South".

Where the evidence is so elusive, certainty is out of the question. Spenser may have never met the Norths. He may not have meant by "widow", widower. There may be no pun in E. K.'s allusion to the "North countrye". The anagram *Rosalinde* may be solved in a dozen other ways. I have not the confidence with which Fleay and Grosart conjure into being their respective Rose Dinleys. Yet here is a real lady, of suitable circumstances, moving in a circle with which Spenser was affiliated, and marrying in the month which he consecrates to her infidelity. After three centuries, she alone presents a recognizable claim.

BRYN MAWR, 1907.

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