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A MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES

Over the six decades it remained in print in Tudor and Stuart England, William Baldwin's collection of tragic verse narratives, *A Mirror for Magistrates*, captivated readers and led numerous poets and playwrights to create their own *Mirror*-inspired works on the fallen figures of England's past. This modernized and annotated edition of Baldwin's collection – the first such edition ever published – provides modern readers with a clear and easily accessible text of the work. It also provides much-needed scholarly elucidations of its contents and glosses of its most difficult lines and unfamiliar words. The volume permits students of early modern literature and history to view Baldwin's work in a new light, allowing them to reassess its contents and its poems' appeal to several generations of early modern readers and authors, including William Shakespeare, Michael Drayton, and Samuel Daniel.

SCOTT C. LUCAS is Professor of English Literature at The Citadel, the Military College of South Carolina. He is the author of *'A Mirror for Magistrates' and the Politics of the English Reformation* (2009).

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A MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES

A Modernized and Annotated Edition

EDITED BY

SCOTT C. LUCAS

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Acknowledgments

It is a pleasure to recognize and to express my thanks to the many people and institutions who aided me during the preparation of this edition. I am grateful to Mike Pincombe and Jennifer Richards for first suggesting to me the idea of a new edition of the original texts of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, and to John N. King for championing the project when the time came to propose it to Cambridge University Press. I am equally grateful to Sarah Stanton of Cambridge University Press for guiding me during the first several years I devoted to the edition, and to Emily Hockley, who took over the project on behalf of the Press after Sarah's retirement and saw the work to publication.

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Several scholars generously agreed to read annotated poems and/or prose passages from my edition and to offer responses to them. These

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include Erin Ashworth-King, Kathryn DeZur, Katie Forsyth, Rachel Hile, Denna Iammarino, Roger Kuin, Michael Livingston, Melanie Lo, Ben Lowe, John McDiarmid, Ernest Rufleth, Cathy Shrank, Rachel Stenner, and Matthew Woodcock. People to whom I've turned over the course of the project for advice, answers, and/or general support include David Allen, Harriet Archer, Amy Blakeway, James Broaddus, Paul Cavill, Anne Curry, Joel Davis, Kelly DeVries, Alyson Eggleston, Thomas Freeman, Andrew Hadfield, Thomas Herron, Stuart Kinsella, Roger Kuin, Michael Livingston, Daniel Lochman, Peter Marshall, Steven May, Tricia McElroy, James Nohrnberg, Mike Pincombe, Anne Lake Prescott, Beth Quitslund, Jon Quitslund, Robert Reid, Nicola Royan, Sara Saylor, and Jessica Winston.

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Abbreviations

Aesop	Aesop, *Aesopi Phrygis et vita … et fabellae* (London, 1535; *STC* 171)
Calvin, *Institutes*	John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* 2 vols., ed. John McNeill, trans. Ford Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960)
Curtius, *History of Alexander*	Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Quintus Curtius, with an English Translation* (*History of Alexander*), 2 vols., trans. John Rolfe (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1946)
Douay-Rheims Bible	*The Holie Bible faithfully translated into English* (Douai, 1609; *STC* 2207)
Fabyan; *Fabyan's Chronicle*	Robert Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France*, ed. Henry Ellis (London, 1811) (Modern edition comprising the texts of the early modern editions of 1516, 1533, 1542, and 1559 (*STC* 10659–64))
Froissart, 1; Froissart's *Chronicles*, 1	Jean Froissart, *Here begynneth the first volum of sir Iohan Froyssart of the cronycles*, trans. John Bourchier, Lord Berners (London, 1523; *STC* 11396) (English translation of Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*, written *c.* 1370–1405)
Froissart, 2; Froissart's *Chronicles*, 2	Jean Froissart, *Here begynneth the thirde and fourthe boke of sir Iohn Froissart of the cronycles*, trans. John Bourchier, Lord Berners (London, 1525; *STC* 11397)
Geneva Bible	*The Bible and Holy Scriptures* (Geneva, 1560; *STC* 2093)
Great Bible	*The Byble in Englyshe* ([Paris and] London, 1539; *STC* 2068)

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Hall; *Hall's Chronicle*	Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, ed. Henry Ellis (London, 1809) (based on the early modern editions of 1548 and 1550; *STC* 12721–3a). Original title *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre & Yorke*.
Hardyng; *Hardyng's Chronicle*	John Hardyng, *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, ed. Henry Ellis (London, 1812 (based on the two early modern editions of 1543, both of which print the 'Yorkist' version of the metrical chronicle Hardyng composed and revised *c.* 1436–65); *STC* 12766.7–7)
Herodotus	*Herodotus, with an English Translation*, 4 vols., trans. A. D. Godley (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1920–30)
Livy, *History of Rome*	Livy, *Livy, With an English Translation* (*History of Rome*), 14 vols., trans. B. O. Foster et al. (London: Heinemann, 1919–59)
Lucas, *'A Mirror for Magistrates'*	Scott C. Lucas, *'A Mirror for Magistrates' and the Politics of the English Reformation* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009)
Lucas, '"Let none such office take"'	Scott C. Lucas, '"Let none such office take, save he that can for right his prince forsake": *A Mirror for Magistrates*, Resistance Theory, and the Elizabethan Monarchical Republic', *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England: Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson*, ed. John McDiarmid (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 91–107
Lydgate, *Tragedies*	John Lydgate, *The Tragedies, gathered by Jhon Bochas, of all such Princes as fell from theyr estates* (*The Fall of Princes*) (London: J. Wayland, [1554]; *STC* 3178)
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
Ovid, *Metamorphoses*	Ovid, *Metamorphoses with an English Translation*, 2 vols., trans. Frank Justus Miller (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960)
Plutarch's Lives	Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*, 11 vols., trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1914)
PROME	Chris Given-Wilson, ed., *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275–1504*, 16 vols. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005)

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Ross, *Edward IV*	Charles Ross, *Edward IV* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974)
STC	A. W. Pollard, et al., *A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, 2nd edn, 3 vols. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91) (citations to the *STC* are to entry number)
NA	National Archives, Kew, Surrey
Valerius	Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000)
Virgil, *Aeneid*	Virgil, *Virgil, with an English Translation*, 2 vols., trans. H. Rushton Faircloth (London: Heinemann, 1930)

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Introduction

Scholars have long recognized *A Mirror for Magistrates* as one of the most widely read and influential works of English poetry of the entire Tudor and Jacobean periods. For more than sixty years, this collection of tragic verse narratives spoken in the voices of ghosts from Britain's past remained almost constantly in print, appearing in numerous ever-expanding editions between 1559 and 1610 and in several reissues of earlier editions between 1575 and 1621. Its poems' style and subject matter inspired a host of early modern authors, including such figures as William Shakespeare, Edmund Spenser, and Michael Drayton. In addition, it led numerous poets not connected with the original group of *Mirror* contributors to try their own hands at tragic verse narratives in the *Mirror* tradition. A number of these poems were added to the earliest gatherings of *Mirror* tragedies in new editions of the text, swelling the number of *Mirror* poems from nineteen in 1559 to ninety-one by 1610. Few Tudor works inspired such adulation and emulation as *A Mirror for Magistrates*; the full extent of its appeal to and influence on early modern readers remains still to be assessed.[1]

The Origins of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, 1554–*c.* 1556

The work that would become *A Mirror for Magistrates* began its life in 1554 under the title *A Memorial of Such Princes, as since the time of King Richard the Second have been unfortunate in the realm of England*. The text was an unlikely collaboration between a religiously conservative (and soon to be openly Catholic) printer John Wayland (d. *c.* 1571–3) and his evangelical Protestant employee William Baldwin (1526/7–1563). In the reign of England's reformist monarch Edward VI (1547–1553), William Baldwin had worked in the print shop of Edward Whitchurch, perhaps the most prolific printer of Reformation texts in England. King Edward died in 1553, however, and he was succeeded by his Catholic sister Mary I (1553–1558), whose new government was hostile to the activities of those who had

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advanced religious reform under her brother. In the months after Mary's accession, many evangelical printers thus either voluntarily left their trade or were removed from it. Among the latter group was Whitchurch. While it allowed Whitchurch to maintain ownership of his printing house, Mary's government forced him to accept a new man, John Wayland, as his shop's overseer. Wayland took control of Whitchurch's employees and presses for a specific purpose: to use them to print a new, ultimately Catholic version of the church's most popular book of private devotion, the English primer.[2]

Wayland received permission to print the Marian primer in October 1553, and he installed himself in Whitchurch's shop in the months thereafter. Unfortunately, church leaders had not yet agreed on a text for this revised devotional manual, and Wayland had no sense of when that decision might be made. Therefore, to bring in money and to keep his print servants employed while he waited, he decided to release new editions of venerable literary works from England's past. The first text to which he turned was Stephen Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure* (1509), which came off his presses in June 1554; as the *Pastime* was being prepared, he determined to follow this publication with a new printing of John Lydgate's *The Fall of Princes* (*c.* 1431–7), a massive poetic work which recounts in voluminous detail the downfalls of historical figures stretching from Adam and Eve to King John II of France (d. 1364).

To make his edition of *The Fall* more appealing to contemporary readers, Wayland commissioned a supplement to the poem, one which would continue Lydgate's narrative plan of recording in verse the falls of famous men and women (a genre scholars have termed *de casibus* tragedy), but which would focus solely on fallen English, Scottish, and Welsh figures of the previous two centuries. Wayland assigned this project to Baldwin, who during his time with Whitchurch had become both an expert printer and a celebrated author. Reluctant to take on the task alone, Baldwin gathered seven 'learned men' to assist him.[3] Evidence suggests that this group of contributors initially met sometime between 20 April and 21 May 1554. Reading through copies of two Tudor chronicles, Robert Fabyan's *Fabyan's Chronicle* (first printed in 1516) and Edward Hall's *Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York* (first printed in 1548), the men planned a series of individual poems, each telling the story of a British figure who endured tragedy sometime after the narratives included in Lydgate's *Fall* ended, in the mid fourteenth century.[4]

While they used the *Fall* as their general literary model, the *Memorial* poets modified Lydgate's style of recording his historical tragedies. In composing his poem, Lydgate had offered chiefly a paraphrase of his prose

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source, Giovanni Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* (*Concerning the Falls of Illustrious Men*) (1355–74), which Lydgate knew through a French translation (Laurence de Premierfait's *De Cas de Noble Hommes et Femmes* (1400–9)). In his text, Boccaccio had presented the ghosts of famous figures from the past as coming before him to tell their woeful tales. Lydgate, by contrast, in most cases only summarized in his own voice how the ghosts interacted with Boccaccio (or 'Bochas', as Lydgate called him). The *Memorial* authors chose to replace Lydgate's paraphrastic presentation with a more dramatic one, in which each spirit would rise before William Baldwin to narrate his own tragic verse narrative himself. The result was a poetic form of immediate and often intense emotional power, which invited readers to imagine hearing the actual voices of some of the most famous men of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Britain relating in tones of personal grief, regret, or outrage the course of their lives and the events that led to their tragic ends.

The poets spent the summer of 1554 composing their historical verse tragedies, and they met at least once more in late August or early September to share with each other the poems they had created.[5] Baldwin evidently took notes at both the initial gathering and at this later one, and he then combined his records of the two meetings into a fictionalized running prose narrative that provided means of transition between the various tragedies of *A Memorial of Such Princes*. For the prose links, Baldwin created the fiction that the *Memorial* contributors all gathered on a single evening, in which they read accounts from the chronicles and, in a burst of extemporaneous inspiration, immediately composed poems in the voices of the fallen subjects they found most worthy of comment. The result was a prose frame for the collection unique in English literature of the time, one that purported to share with readers a record of the authors' actual comments on their own and others' contributions, as well as their thoughts on a wide range of other topics related to the poems' contents.

After arranging the collection into a form suitable for printing, Baldwin took the *Memorial* to Wayland's shop and had it printed at the end of the new *Fall of Princes* edition. Unfortunately, someone in Wayland's shop (most likely Wayland himself) detected controversial matter in the *Memorial* poems and brought the newly printed work to Mary I's lord chancellor, Stephen Gardiner, for review. Gardiner found enough of the contents of the *Memorial* objectionable to order the entire work suppressed before publication. The *Memorial* was never allowed to appear in Mary's reign, and most of its pages were simply scrapped. As a result, copies of only a single leaf of text and two title pages relating to the 1554

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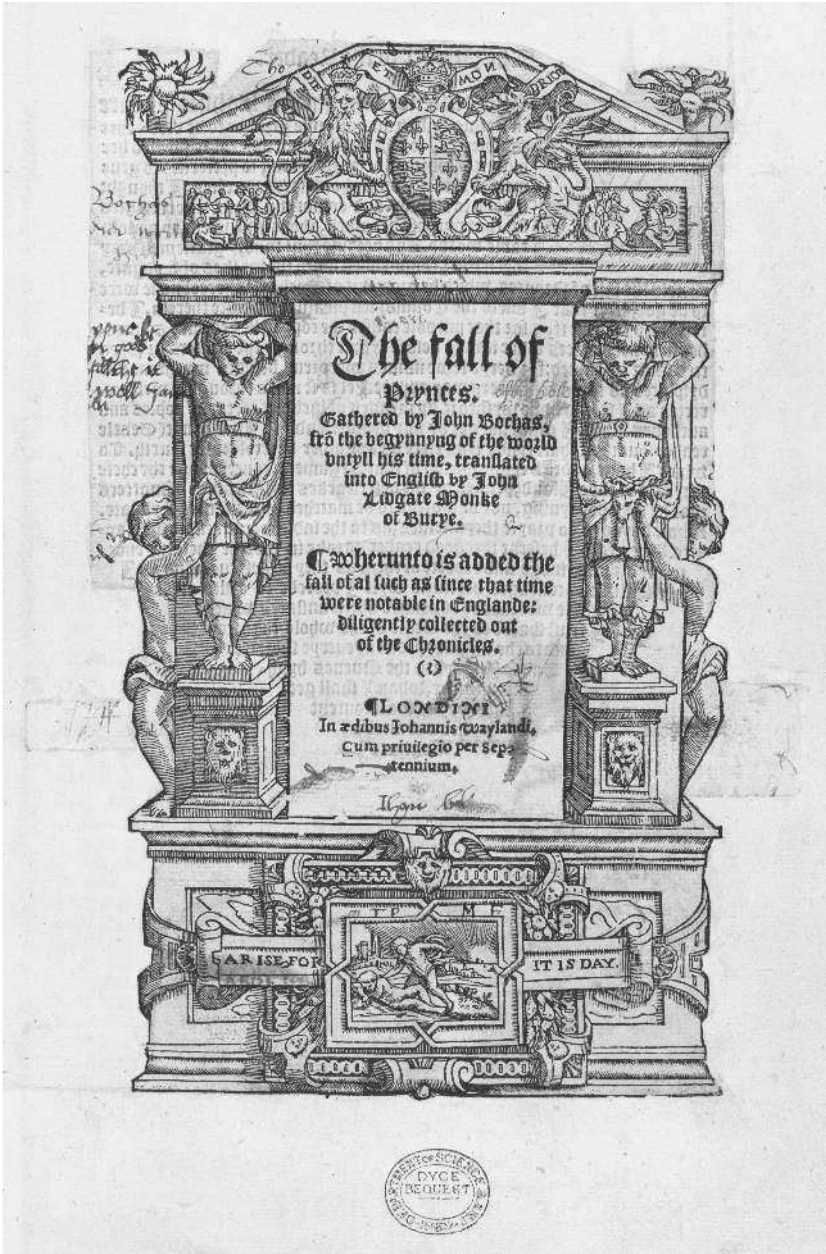

The fall of
Prynces.
Gathered by John Bochas,
frō the begynnyng of the worlde
vntyll his time, translated
into Englishe by John
Lidgate Monke
of Burye.

¶ Wherunto is added the
fall of al such as since that time
were notable in Englande:
diligently collected out
of the Chronicles.

¶ LONDINI
In ædibus Johannis Waylandi.
Cum priuilegio per sep-
tennium.

DYCE BEQUEST

1. Title page of the prohibited *Fall of Princes-Memorial of Such Princes* volume (London, John Wayland, [1554]; STC 3177.5). © Victoria and Albert Museum. Reproduced by permission.

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Memorial now survive (see Illustrations 1 and 2). Although his methods were harsh, Gardiner's suspicions were not in fact unfounded, for some of the *Memorial* indeed contained controversial political content, including assertions of the right to actively oppose unjust rulers and elements that could be read as composed to admonish and/or allusively indict some of the chief rulers of the Marian regime.[6]

Despite the government's suppression of the 1554 *Memorial*, Baldwin remained determined to publish some sort of *de casibus* tragedy collection in the 1550s. To that end, in about late 1555 or early 1556 he commissioned new poems in the style of the original *Memorial* contributions. Whereas the original *Memorial* had sought to present the ghosts of figures from Richard II's reign (1377–1399) to that of Edward IV (1461–1483), Baldwin's new gathering of tragedies, informally called the 'Second Part' of the *Memorial*, would recount the falls of men and women who suffered under Edward V and Richard III (1483–1485). Baldwin received several poems for this collection, and he acquired as well George Ferrers's tragedy 'Edmund Duke of Somerset', which belonged with the original set of *Memorial* tragedies, and at least part of Humphrey Cavell's 'Blacksmith', which was intended for a planned third volume of tragedies covering the falls of Tudor subjects. Now wiser with experience, Baldwin took the precaution of presenting his *de casibus* tragedy idea to members of Queen Mary's privy council before attempting to put his collection into print. Unfortunately for Baldwin, Mary's officers forbade the publication of this second literary attempt, despite its relative lack of controversial political content, just as Chancellor Gardiner had prohibited the first one. It would not be until Elizabeth's reign that any of the Marian poems Baldwin had collected could see publication.[7]

A Mirror for Magistrates, 1559

The death of Mary I in November 1558 finally allowed Baldwin the opportunity to guide *A Memorial of Such Princes* into print. Through the assistance of his fellow *Memorial* contributor Lord Henry Stafford, Baldwin received in early 1559 a licence from the Elizabethan regime to release *A Memorial of Such Princes*, now lightly re-edited and retitled *A Mirror for Magistrates* (see Illustration 3). In a newly composed dedication 'to the nobility and all other in office', Baldwin no longer presented his collection as a supplement to Lydgate's *Fall* but as an admonitory 'mirror' designed specifically to dissuade England's highest officers from the sort of political misbehaviour its tragedies portray. 'For here as in a looking glass,' Baldwin told England's rulers in his dedication, 'you shall see (if any vice

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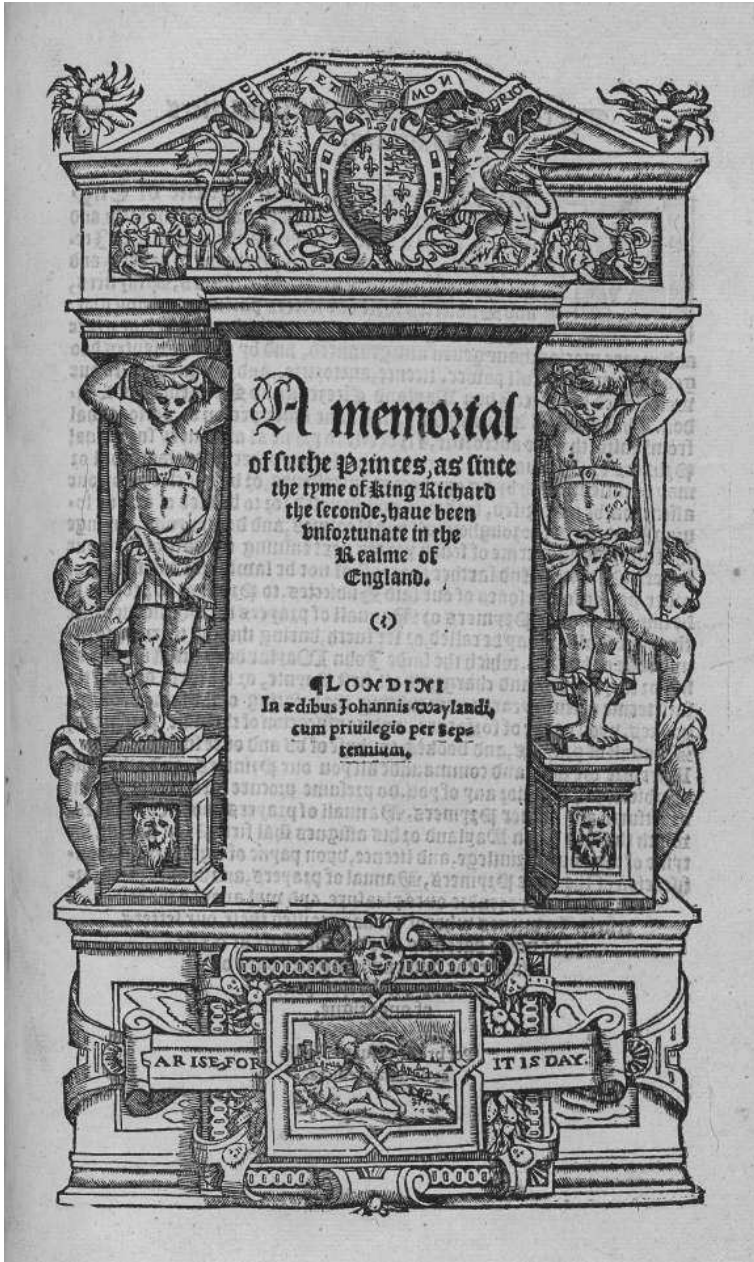

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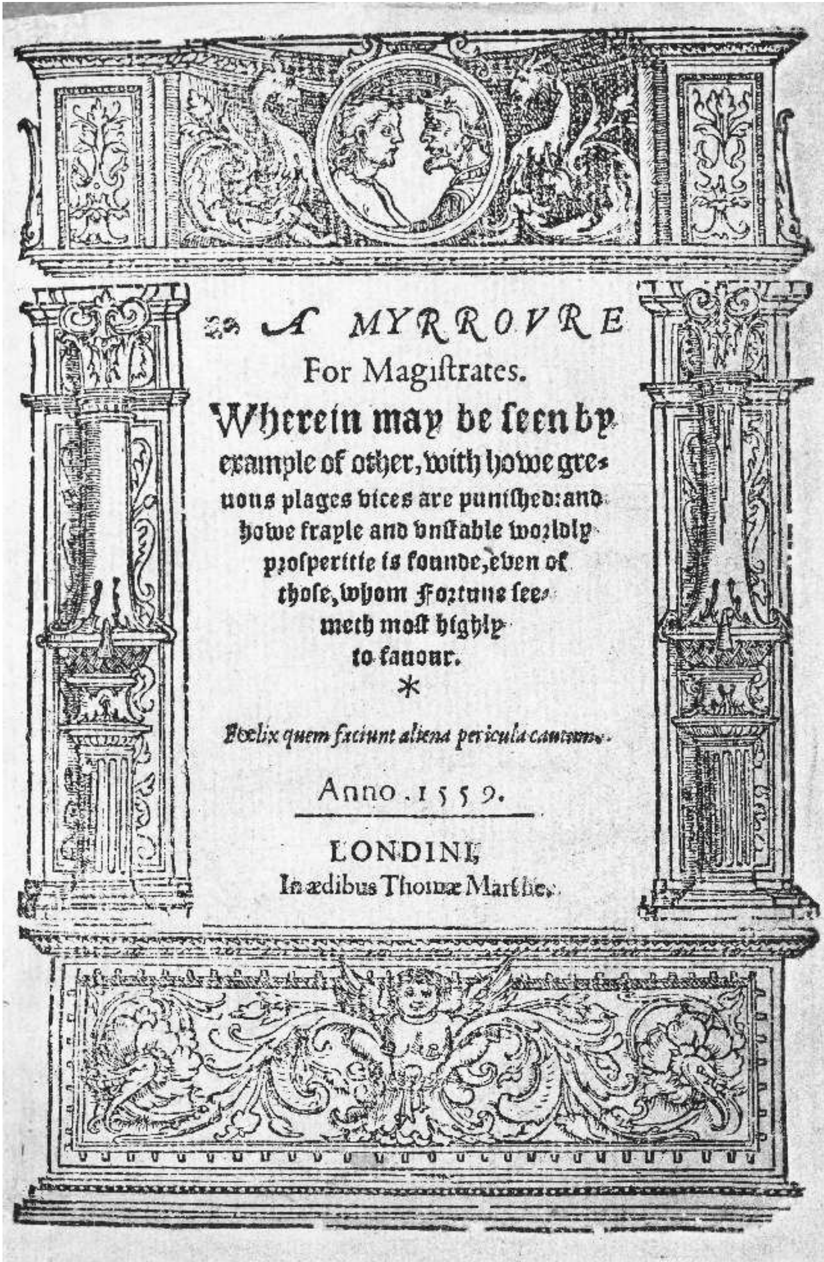

A MYRROVRE
For Magistrates.
Wherein may be seen by
example of other, with howe gre-
uous plages vices are punished: and
howe frayle and vnstable worldly
prosperitie is founde, euen of
those, whom Fortune see-
meth most highly
to fauour.
*
Foelix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.
Anno. 1559.
LONDINI,
In ædibus Thomæ Marshe.

3. Title Page of *A Mirror for Magistrates* (London, Thomas Marshe, 1559; STC 1247). Reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

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be in you) how the like hath been punished in other heretofore; whereby admonished, I trust it will be a good occasion to move you to the sooner amendment. This is the chiefest end why it was set forth, which God grant it may attain.'

While Baldwin made the politically admonitory purpose of many of his collection's poems clear, one *Memorial* tragedy evidently remained too controversial to publish, even in the wake of Mary I's death. This was George Ferrers's poem 'Good Duke Humphrey Murdered and Eleanor Cobham his Wife Banished', which appeared in the table of contents of the 1559 *Mirror* but not in the text itself (see Appendix 1). That poem, eventually revised and split into two separate tragedies, did not come before the public until 1578 (see Tragedy 28 and Tragedy 29, as well as their associated prose links).[8]

A Mirror for Magistrates, 1563

In the early 1560s, Stafford encouraged Baldwin to publish the poems he had gathered in or around 1556 for his unpublished 'Second Part' of *A Memorial of Such Princes*. At some point in this project, Baldwin decided not merely to print his manuscript of Marian *de casibus* tragedies and prose links but to revise it, adding new, Elizabethan creations composed by himself and others to augment and, it seems likely, in some cases to replace the poems he had received years ago.

Baldwin was still at work on his new *Mirror for Magistrates* project when he passed away suddenly in September 1563. Left with only a partially revised manuscript, *Mirror* printer Thomas Marshe released what he had, combining Baldwin's partly revised Elizabethan manuscript with the remaining original material from the Marian collection. This additional material contained eight new poems that were on the whole much longer than the original works gathered for the *Memorial*. Among those works were George Ferrers's 'Edmund Duke of Somerset', which Ferrers had intended for the original *Memorial* but did not finish in time, and the poem 'Blacksmith', which would likely have been saved for a planned third volume of *Mirror* tragedies. Also included in this edition were two poems that were to help to ensure the enduring success of *A Mirror for Magistrates* for decades to come: Thomas Churchyard's oft-imitated 'Shore's Wife' and Thomas Sackville's lengthy tour de force of flowing verse, classical allusion, and high tragic emotion, 'The Induction and Complaint of Henry Duke of Buckingham'.

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A Mirror for Magistrates, 1571–1621

William Baldwin did not live to see the full success of his long-troubled *de casibus* tragedy collection. Such was the enduring popularity of his work that a third edition of the *Mirror* appeared in 1571, which revised and in some cases rearranged several of the poems and prose pieces in the collection. Unlike the edition of 1563, this offering mentioned Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and Eleanor Cobham in its table of contents, but it now presented what had been described as a single poem in the 1559 edition as two different texts, one in each of the voices of the fallen pair. Despite this listing, neither Humphrey's nor Eleanor's tragedy appeared in the edition itself.

A fourth offering of the *Mirror* appeared in 1574, with a companion volume of tragedies by the poet John Higgins – not a member of Baldwin's original gathering of contributors – presenting fallen men and women of Britain's mythic past.[9] The 1574 text was reissued in a new printing of 1575, followed by a fifth edition of Baldwin's work in 1578. It was in the first released version of the 1578 *Mirror* that a poem in the voice of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, finally appeared. Sometime after this edition was published, the printer Marshe added as a cancel to unsold copies a new poem in the voice of Eleanor Cobham. With both Gloucester's and Cobham's poems now published, all the poems originally compiled for *A Memorial of Such Princes* in 1554 were finally, at least in some form, in print. Many questions, however, still remain concerning the poems 'Gloucester' and 'Eleanor Cobham' and their precise relation to Ferrers's original hybrid 'Gloucester–Cobham' tragedy included in the suppressed *Memorial* text.[10]

In 1587 yet another edition of the *Mirror* appeared, this one combining Baldwin's gathered poems with those of John Higgins, as well as adding new poems by various hands, including a tragedy by Thomas Churchyard in the voice of Thomas Cardinal Wolsey (d. 1530). In 1610 the seventh and final edition of the *Mirror* came before the public, conjoining Baldwin's and Higgins's editions with poems by one Thomas Blenerhasset, who in 1578 had released an independent collection of *de casibus* tragedies titled *The Second Part of the Mirror for Magistrates.* The editor of the 1610 edition, Richard Niccols, added a new induction to the work and several tragedies of his own, and he removed all the prose links of the previous editions. Niccols's offering of this now fifty-year-old text was the last in the early modern period. Copies of this edition were reissued in 1619, 1620, and 1621 and thereafter the text ended its six decades before the eyes of early modern readers. Despite its troubled beginning, few literary texts in early

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modern England proved themselves to be as long-lived, earnestly admired, and widely influential as William Baldwin's *A Mirror for Magistrates.*

Known Authors of Baldwin's *A Mirror for Magistrates* (1559 and 1563 Editions)

Although the titles of twenty poems appear in the table of contents of the 1559 *Mirror for Magistrates*, only nineteen are actually included in the text itself. Of those nineteen, eight are credited to three particular authors, while a single surviving leaf of the suppressed 1554 edition identifies Sir Thomas Chaloner as the author of the poem 'Richard II'. Ten tragedies in the 1559 *Mirror* are anonymous, though evidence points to Henry, tenth Baron Stafford, as the author of one of them. By contrast, the 1563 edition clearly identifies by last name each of the authors of the eight poems added to it, though more than one hand evidently took part in at least one of the tragedies, namely Tragedy 27, 'The Blacksmith'. The known authors of Baldwin's *A Mirror for Magistrates* are as follows.

Authors of the 1559 Mirror for Magistrates

WILLIAM BALDWIN (author of at least Tragedies 4, 6, 8, 13, 18, 20, 23, and perhaps others, as well as creator of all the prose sections of the text) William Baldwin, the compiler, editor, and chief contributor to the first two editions of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, was born in London sometime between 15 January 1526 and 14 January 1527.[11] Nothing certain is known of his life before the year 1547, when he published his earliest extant work, a commendatory sonnet attached to a medical text printed by Edward Whitchurch (Baldwin's is the first sonnet known to have been printed in England). Baldwin's next work, a collection of wise sayings attributed to ancient thinkers titled *A Treatise of Moral Philosophy* (January 1548), was an immediate and lasting success, going through four editions in Edward VI's reign and a remarkable twenty over the course of the succeeding 100 years. In 1549 Baldwin followed his *Treatise* with a metrical paraphrase of the Song of Songs, *The Canticles or Ballads of Solomon.* Baldwin printed this work himself in the shop of Edward Whitchurch.

In the 1550s Baldwin's writings became more controversial. Near the opening of the decade Baldwin released anonymously his translation of Pier Paolo Vergerio's scabrous anti-papal satire *Wonderful News of the Death of Paul III*, and he likely took part, as the pseudonymous 'Western Wyll', in the 1551 public flyting (exchange of poetic invective) occasioned by future

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Mirror poet Thomas Churchyard's allusive attack, in his broadside poem *Davy Dycar's Dream*, on the unpopular government of John Dudley, earl of Warwick. By 1552 Baldwin had become close enough to future *Mirror* contributor George Ferrers to have Ferrers bring him to court to assist in mounting Christmas-time entertainments for Edward VI. Baldwin used his service at court as the scene for the opening of his next major work, the comedic prose narrative *Beware the Cat* (composed 1553), which some have called the first English novel.

The anti-Catholic content Baldwin built into both *Beware the Cat* and his 1553 poem *The Funerals of Edward VI* ensured that neither could be printed after Edward VI's July 1553 death and the accession of Mary I to the throne. Under Mary, Baldwin continued to work in Edward Whitchurch's printing house, and it was for that shop's new government-imposed supervisor John Wayland that he undertook the creation of *A Memorial of Such Princes*.

On Queen Elizabeth's accession (November 1558), Baldwin quickly moved to bring his prohibited *Memorial of Such Princes* into print as *A Mirror for Magistrates*. He then released his other long-suppressed works, *The Funerals of Edward VI* (printed 1560) and *Beware the Cat* (printed 1561). At the same time, Baldwin took holy orders, becoming in 1560 a minister in the English church. By early 1561 he was in service to Lord Henry Stafford as his chaplain, and he continued to serve the bibliophile Stafford even after gaining in June 1561 the benefice of St Michael le Querne church, which stood directly across from the principal locus of the London book trade, the churchyard of St Paul's cathedral. It is a testament to the respect London diocesan leaders held for Baldwin that they invited him in September 1563 to preach the Sunday sermon at Paul's Cross, an event that often attracted thousands of auditors, including some of the highest of the realm.

Baldwin would not live to capitalize on his growing success. Within a week of his appearance at Paul's Cross he succumbed to the plague, leaving unfinished his revision of new material for the 1563 *Mirror* and also a planned new English chronicle he intended to compose with the antiquarian John Stow. He died at just 37 years of age.

GEORGE FERRERS (Tragedies 1, 3, 26, 28, 29) George Ferrers (*c.* 1510–1579) was born to a prominent family of St Albans, Hertfordshire.[12] According to his admirer John Leland, he began his personal rise to fame when he entered the service of Thomas Cromwell, likely in the late 1520s.[13] By the early 1530s Ferrers had left Cromwell's employ to pursue the study of law, almost certainly beginning at an unknown Inn of Chancery (where

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law students at the time traditionally commenced their studies) before moving to Lincoln's Inn in 1534. In that same year the antiquarian Ferrers released the first printed English translation of *Magna Carta*, publishing it with a host of other medieval legal documents he translated from Latin and Anglo-Norman French.[14]

Ferrers returned to Cromwell's service in the later 1530s, and was declared fit to be a 'daily waiter' in Cromwell's house. In 1539 he transferred his service to the king himself, becoming first a member of Henry VIII's personal bodyguard and then, by 1542, a page of the chamber. Ferrers also began in 1542 a parliamentary career that would extend well into the reign of Elizabeth I.

On the accession of Edward VI, Ferrers apparently continued to hold some position as a crown officer, though in 1548 he was described as having entered the personal service of the powerful and charismatic protector of the realm, Edward Seymour (d. 1552), duke of Somerset. In the wake of Somerset's removal from power in October 1549 by a group of powerful nobles led by John Dudley, earl of Warwick, and Thomas Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, Ferrers was understood to have remained loyal to his patron. In March 1550, following Somerset's pardon in the previous month for alleged crimes committed as protector, Ferrers was arrested, along with Sir Thomas Chaloner's two younger brothers and other 'ffyne wytted yong men' associated with King Edward's court, on suspicion of writing against the newly ascendant Warwick and his allies in government.[15] Ferrers ultimately escaped without any formal charge against him. In later years he would make Edward Seymour's troubles, both those imposed upon him by others and those of his own creation, allusive topics of reference in several of his *Mirror* tragedies.

If Ferrers had earned the suspicion of high officers in 1550, that suspicion was not shared by his monarch. It was apparently Edward VI himself who in 1551 invited Ferrers to mount Christmas entertainments as the court's annual lord of misrule. Together with future *Mirror* author Sir Thomas Chaloner, Ferrers created performances so entertaining that he was brought back again – this time with William Baldwin as his assistant – as the Christmas-time lord of misrule for the 1552/3 season.

In Mary's reign, Ferrers served in the parliaments of 1553 and 1554 and as a justice of the peace for Hertfordshire, where he held the large and valuable manor of Markyate. He assisted the privy council in defending London against the 1554 rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger, and in 1555 he supplied evidence against the Catholic priest (and former adherent of John Dudley) John Dee, whom he accused of using sorcery to calculate the

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deaths of Queen Mary and her husband King Philip. After 1555 he retired from public life, concentrating on managing his estates in Hertfordshire.

In the years after Elizabeth's accession, Ferrers apparently became close to Robert Dudley, first earl of Leicester, and was involved with Leicester's plan to make Mary, Queen of Scots, Elizabeth I's heir. He continued to support Mary Stuart's claim to the English crown even as he served in the parliament of 1571. According to John Stow, Ferrers composed in the 1560s an account of Mary I's reign for the chronicler Richard Grafton; in 1575 he helped mount the earl of Leicester's famous entertainments for Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth. He died in 1579.

SIR THOMAS CHALONER (Tragedy 5) Thomas Chaloner (1520/1–1565) was born to a prosperous London mercer who served as a teller of the exchequer under Henry VIII and Edward VI.[16] After studying at Cambridge, Chaloner returned to London, where, like George Ferrers, he entered both Lincoln's Inn and Thomas Cromwell's service. After time abroad in the service of the Tudor diplomat Sir Henry Knyvett, Chaloner joined his father in 1544 in the exchequer. The next year he became a member of parliament and a clerk of the privy council, the latter position allowing him close access to some of the most important political figures of the mid-Tudor period. Through an advantageous marriage, he also began to acquire extensive former monastery lands in the north of England.

Chaloner's career continued to advance under Edward VI. He maintained his position as clerk of the privy council and, in September 1547, he joined Protector Somerset's expedition into Scotland as Somerset's secretary. It was Somerset who knighted Chaloner in the field for his service. Having a strong humanist bent, the learned Chaloner published several translations during the 1540s, including the first English version of Erasmus's celebrated *Praise of Folly*. In 1551–2 he joined George Ferrers in mounting Christmas entertainments for Edward VI, and he spent the last years of King Edward's reign as one of the three English ambassadors to the French court.

Following Queen Mary's accession, Chaloner was recalled from his foreign post. He thereafter spent most of Mary's rule on his lands in Yorkshire and Cumberland, serving as a member of the Council of the North and as a representative in negotiations with Scotland. On the accession of Elizabeth, Chaloner was selected for ambassadorial service, first at the Imperial court and then, in 1561, at that of the Spanish (and former English) King Philip II. Although generally unhappy in Spain, Chaloner used his time abroad to devote himself to the composition of much neo-Latin verse. Throughout the Elizabethan period he remained in touch through letters with his

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fellow *Mirror* authors George Ferrers and Thomas Sackville. He died in October 1565; William Cecil served as his chief mourner and oversaw the publication of all of Chaloner's unpublished Latin poetry.

HENRY, TENTH BARON STAFFORD (Tragedy 2) Unlike Baldwin, Ferrers, and Chaloner, Henry Lord Stafford (1501–1563) is not mentioned by name in either *A Mirror for Magistrates* or the surviving leaf of text from *A Memorial of Such Princes*. Nevertheless, strong circumstantial evidence points to his authorship of Tragedy 2, 'The Two Rogers'.[17]

Stafford was the eldest son of Edward Stafford (d. 1521), third duke of Buckingham, and for twenty years he enjoyed an elevated status as heir to the wealthiest noble in Henry VIII's England.[18] His privileged life collapsed, however, in 1521, when his father was condemned and executed on treason charges that the younger Stafford never accepted as true. As a consequence of Buckingham's treason conviction, all the Stafford lands, goods, and titles were confiscated by the crown, leaving Henry Stafford to live in very straitened – and sometimes desperate – circumstances. After much petitioning and pleading, Stafford finally convinced parliament in 1547 to grant him the least of his family's historical titles, baron of Stafford. He received with it, however, none of his family's lands or former wealth.

It was in that same year of his elevation that Stafford made the acquaintance of future *Mirror* contributor George Ferrers, whose Markyate manor Stafford proposed to (and, it seems, did) rent from Ferrers. The two men shared an interest in antiquarian endeavour, Stafford's shaped not merely by a love of learning but also by his zeal to find historical precedents to contest the legality of condemning noblemen without proper trial or response to charges, a method commonly used in passing parliamentary bills of attainder of the sort posthumously used against his own father in 1523.

In February 1554 Stafford successfully petitioned Queen Mary to grant him the office of chamberlain of the exchequer. His new post gave him not only a steady income but also access to the store of long-unconsulted medieval government records held in the Tower of London. Both Stafford and Ferrers availed themselves of the Plantagenet rolls of parliament kept in the Tower archive to inform their poems in *A Memorial of Such Princes* and *A Mirror for Magistrates*.

Under Elizabeth, Stafford worked to calendar and index the Tower's medieval documents, and he made William Baldwin his chaplain. Although he never recovered the bulk of his family's wealth and property, the learned Stafford was able to live comfortably until the end of his life, overseeing his lands, expanding his impressive personal library, and assisting and

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encouraging Baldwin in bringing the Marian *Memorial of Such Princes* material into print as *A Mirror for Magistrates*. He died in early 1563.

JOHN SKELTON (Tragedy 19) An anonymous *Mirror* poet ends the 1559 collection by providing a version of the poem 'Of the Death of the Noble Prince King Edward IV', which he attributes to John Skelton (*c.* 1460–1529). The work first appeared in print about the year 1545 in the collection *Here After Followeth Certain Books, Compiled by Master Skelton* (*STC* 22598); the version included in the *Mirror* is based on that of this edition, with a new title supplied by William Baldwin and some slight emendations.[19]

Authors of Poems Added to the 1563 Edition

In addition to William Baldwin, who takes credit for two poems printed in the 'Second Part of the *Mirror for Magistrates*' (the gathering of Marian and Elizabethan poems and prose links added to those of the 1559 *Mirror* in the second edition), and George Ferrers, who composed one of that text's offerings, five new men contributed verse to the 1563 'Second Part'. Of these, two composed their poems in Queen Mary's reign, two created their tragedies in that of Elizabeth, and one, Thomas Sackville, apparently composed parts of his hybrid 'Induction and Complaint of Henry Duke of Buckingham' both in the Marian and Elizabethan periods.

Marian Contributors

THOMAS CHURCHYARD (Tragedy 25) The prolific poet Thomas Churchyard was born in Shrewsbury about the year 1529.[20] After serving as a page in the household of Henry Howard, poet earl of Surrey, Churchyard began a lengthy career as a solider and poet, often journeying abroad to fight and then returning to England to make a living as best he could as an author. The public flyting over his poem *Davy Dycar's Dream* may have first brought him to William Baldwin's attention, but it is George Ferrers who is credited with bringing Churchyard's tragedy 'Shore's Wife' to Baldwin for the planned 'Second Part' of *A Memorial of Such Princes* (see Prose 21). On its publication in the 1563 *Mirror*, Churchyard's poem became an instant success, inspiring numerous imitators and making its speaker Elizabeth (dubbed by later authors Jane) Shore one of the most familiar female figures in Elizabethan and Jacobean historical literature.

Unfortunately, the impecunious Churchyard was never able to replicate the success of 'Shore's Wife' and, over the course of his long life, he published numerous works of verse and prose that brought him little in

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the way of remuneration. Churchyard never lost his interest in *A Mirror for Magistrates* or the *de casibus* tragedy tradition. In 1575 he released 'Sir Simon Burley's Tragedy', which told – in the manner of Ferrers's Tragedy 1, 'Robert Tresilian' – the downfall of one of King Richard II's favourites, and in 1587 he contributed a new poem in the voice of Thomas Cardinal Wolsey (d. 1530) and two prose links to the sixth edition of *A Mirror for Magistrates*. In 1593 he returned to his ever-popular 'Shore's Wife', composing an expanded version of the work and defending his authorship of the poem against the many who, he claimed, denied his composition of it. Issued in that year as well was another *de casibus* work, 'The Earl of Morton's Tragedy'. Still composing verse until almost the end of his life, Churchyard passed away in 1604.

HUMPHREY CAVELL (Tragedy 27) The career of the parliamentarian and Inns of Court man Humphrey Cavell (1525–1558) would seem to indicate a closeness with George Ferrers, but it was in fact Baldwin who solicited Cavell's contribution to the *circa* 1556 'Second Part' of the *Memorial of Such Princes*. Cavell was born to a junior branch of an important Cornish family. He joined the Middle Temple in or before 1546, and it may have been his fellow member of that Inn of Court, Henry Lord Stafford, who brought Cavell to Baldwin's attention. Under Mary I, Cavell enjoyed a successful legal career and sat in three Marian parliaments. Mike Pincombe persuasively argues that Cavell supplied only the middle section of Tragedy 27, 'The Blacksmith', leaving Baldwin to compose the remainder.[21] Cavell died on 17 November 1558, the last day of Queen Mary's reign.[22]

Marian-Elizabethan Contributor

THOMAS SACKVILLE (Tragedy 22) Evidence suggests that Thomas Sackville (*c.* 1536–1608) provided new verse to both the Marian 'Second Part' of *A Memorial of Such Princes* and to the Elizabethan section of the 'Second Part of the *Mirror for Magistrates*'. In Prose 23, Baldwin describes Sackville as having contributed Tragedy 22b, 'Henry, Duke of Buckingham', to the 'Second Part' of the *Memorial*. On hearing that the Marian privy council would not permit Baldwin to print the 'Second Part', Sackville took all the tragedies composed in the voices of figures who fell before Buckingham and set out to write his own *Memorial*-like *de casibus* tragedy collection, moving backwards in English history to the time of William the Conqueror. To begin this new sole-author project, Sackville crafted an 'induction' or introductory framing poem (Tragedy 22a), which he then attached to the previously written 'Buckingham'. Eventually abandoning his own *de casibus* tragedy project, Sackville gave Baldwin the joint 'Induction

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and Complaint of Henry Duke of Buckingham' poem for inclusion in the second edition of *A Mirror for Magistrates*. Although the date of Sackville's 'Induction' is not certainly known, Paul Bacquet argues that it is a work of the Elizabethan period, and that Sackville employed the lengthy description of the heavenly bodies at the opening of the poem to pinpoint the date on which the action of his 'Induction' is set, 23 November 1560.[23]

Sackville was the son and heir of the wealthy royal servant Sir Richard Sackville, a man who in 1560 would help William Baldwin to his first clerical living.[24] Said to have been educated at Oxford University, Sackville joined the Inner Temple in November 1554, and he was praised by Jasper Heywood in 1560 for the sonnets (now lost or unidentified) he wrote while a student there. The flowing iambic verse, powerful imagery, and high emotion of Sackville's 'Induction' soon made it the most widely admired and imitated piece of poetry in *A Mirror for Magistrates*, and its author's reputation as an artist only grew through his part in composing England's first blank verse tragedy, *Gorboduc* (1561). Sackville, however, quickly left literature as a calling and commenced a decades-long career as a diplomat, crown officer, and privy councillor. In 1567 Queen Elizabeth named him Baron Buckhurst; in 1604 James I made him first earl of Dorset. Sackville died at the privy council table at Whitehall on 19 April 1608.

Elizabethan Contributors

JOHN DOLMAN (Tragedy 21) It was the printer Thomas Marshe who in Elizabeth's reign found two new poets to contribute to the 1563 *Mirror* project (see Prose 21). The first, John Dolman (1540/1–1602 or after), was a younger son of a prosperous Berkshire clothier.[25] He attended Oxford University and entered the Inner Temple in 1560. In the following year he published a translation of Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* printed by Thomas Marshe, and it was no doubt this work that led Marshe to recommend him for Baldwin's expansion of *A Mirror for Magistrates*. Dolman's contribution, 'Lord Hastings' (Tragedy 21), has proven itself to be the most aesthetically controversial poem in Baldwin's collection: Lily B. Campbell calls it perhaps the worst piece of poetry in the *Mirror*, while John Thompson praises it as among the best the collection has to offer.[26] Both perspectives are at least partly correct. Dolman's tragedy mixes forbidding stanzas filled with convoluted word order and unclear referents with lines offering some of the most direct, vibrant, and exciting poetry of the mid-Tudor period. Dolman's introduction of a number of innovations into the *Mirror* tradition, including offering multiple voices in his poem, full stops in the middle of lines, and frequent enjambment appears

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to have influenced Baldwin's own experimentations with these techniques in Tragedy 20, 'Anthony Woodville, Lord Rivers and Scales'. 'Hastings' is Dolman's last known literary work; after its publication, he evidently devoted himself almost solely to what became a long and distinguished career in law.

FRANCIS SEAGER (Tragedy 24) Almost certainly the son of the Dutch-born Cambridge stationer Seager Nicholson (who witnessed Francis's will), Francis Seager (d. 1565), a scrivener by trade, established himself as an author as early as Edward VI's reign.[27] After publishing in 1549 a revised and expanded version of William Caxton's translation of Alain Chartier's *Le Curial*, Seager (whose name appears in contemporary writings variously as Seager, Seagar, Segar, Seagars, and 'Nycholson, *alias* Seager') released *Certain Psalms Select out of the Psalter of David, and Drawn into English Metre* (1553), which presented metrical psalm paraphrases in the style of Thomas Sternhold's immensely popular *Certain Psalms Chosen Out of the Psalter of David, and Drawn Into English Metre* (1549). Seager also released a poetic compendium of moral instruction titled *The School of Virtue* (1557 or before), which became so popular that it continued to be reprinted well into the seventeenth century. Thomas Marshe, who brought to Baldwin Seager's 'Richard III', is not known to have been a printer of any of Seager's works; he could have become acquainted with Seager, however, during the time the two men were concurrently members of the Stationers' Company (1557–9).[28] Seager wrote his will on 22 January 1565 and died soon thereafter. He left several children who came to prominence under Elizabeth and James, including Sir William Segar, Garter King of Arms; Jane Segar, author of the manuscript poetry collection 'Divine Prophecies of the Ten Sybils' (1589); and Francis Segar, a well-known gentleman servant to the Landgrave of Hesse.[29]

Interpreting Baldwin's *Mirror*

For much of the twentieth century *Mirror* scholars chiefly treated Baldwin's collection as a more or less univocal expression of uncontroversial 'Tudor ideas', a storehouse of contemporary beliefs that they could extract from the text and apply to the study of later, better-known works of Elizabethan literature. When such scholars found difficulty in reducing the lengthy and complex *Mirror* to a simple exemplary display of doctrinal statements, many of them declared it to be a failure, since it did not achieve the task they claimed it was created to achieve.[30]

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Given earlier scholars' inability to account for how such a 'failed' work could have gained the wide admiration and influence it enjoyed in its own time, many later students of the text have rejected the totalizing assumptions of earlier *Mirror* critics and have instead asserted the radical multivocality of Baldwin's *Mirror* editions. Baldwin's editions comprise twenty-seven poems and twenty-nine prose links, with as many as fourteen poets taking a hand in the composition of these sections. Similarly, Baldwin represents numerous authors, friends, and 'furtherers' as sharing their thoughts with one another in the prose links, and he records a remarkably wide variety of opinions and assertions in the prose sections he offers. It is little wonder, then, that many later *Mirror* scholars have called for the study of each *Mirror* poem as an individual work of art in itself and for an understanding of the text's numerous prose links as works of fundamentally unsettled and dynamic dialogic exchange.[31]

Moreover, each *Mirror* poem is offered in the voice of a specific ghostly figure of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and it is not always clear when a represented speaker is meant to be understood as expressing the views of his/her creator and when he/she is meant to be read as speaking 'in character', offering opinions appropriate to the figure him/herself and not necessarily those endorsed by that character's creator.[32] Finally, as the notes to this edition demonstrate, several *Mirror* authors take great liberty with their historical sources, at times to create more powerfully affective works of art but at others to turn contemporary readers' attention away from the medieval protagonists they portray to reflect instead on recent and ongoing political actions of the mid-Tudor period. The possibility of topical allusion must be taken into account when reviewing any of the 1559 *Mirror* tragedies, though not all, of course, pursue such a project. Each individual section of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, in other words, demands careful analysis from a variety of perspectives, each of which may provide fruitful avenues of interpretive investigation.

The Verse of the *Mirror*

Baldwin's *Mirror* has traditionally been faulted not only for its allegedly 'failed' content but also for its prosody, which a number of critics have condemned for its inability to emulate the regular iambic rhythms of later English poetry. It is important to remember, however, that the majority of *Mirror* authors never set out to write in iambic pentameter, a form that was to dominate English verse only after the tragedies of Baldwin's *Mirror* were composed (and which, indeed, was helped to prominence by two widely

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admired *Mirror* poems, Sackville's 'Induction and Complaint of Henry Duke of Buckingham' and Churchyard's 'Shore's Wife'). Certainly, several generations of Elizabethan and Jacobean readers found the *Mirror* tragedies' versification not only entirely satisfactory but even admirable. Most notably, in the 1580s no less a judge of English poetry than Sir Philip Sidney lauded the *Mirror* as 'meetely furnished of beautiful parts', and he held the collection to be worthy of honour above almost any other work of English-language verse.[33] In their tragedies, the *Mirror* authors employ a variety of both traditional and innovative poetic styles; so variegated are the poets' metrical choices that one critic has hailed the collection as 'an extraordinary museum of metre', one worthy of close analysis rather than curt dismissal.[34]

The majority of the *Mirror* tragedies are written in the formal manner of John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, that is, in seven-line rhyme royal stanzas of accentual verse. Lydgate did not write in iambs; instead, he aimed for five stressed 'beats' per line, placing from zero to two unstressed syllables between each of his five stressed syllables. This was the dominant metre in the late medieval period for what Martin Duffell calls 'long-line' verse, that averaging ten or more syllables per line.[35] While many of the *Mirror* authors follow Lydgate's general example, they usually seek a line length more uniform than that of Lydgate's *Fall*, rarely offering fewer than ten or more than eleven syllables per five-stress line.

Not all *Mirror* authors follow Lydgate's metrical example, however. George Ferrers emulates the traditional four-beat line of John Skelton's Tragedy 19, 'King Edward IV', in composing his own Tragedy 3, 'Thomas of Woodstock', and he and Francis Seager employ the 'tumbling verse' (poetry of no fixed rhythm) familiar in medieval romances and popular poetry for two *Mirror* contributions (Tragedies 1 and 24). For their part, Sir Thomas Chaloner and the author of Tragedy 17, 'King Henry VI', reject models of the past and create new stanzaic forms for their poems, while Sackville, Churchyard, and Dolman emulate the poet earl of Surrey's striking experiments in iambic verse – a form Duffell terms 'iambic *vers de dix*' – in their own *Mirror* contributions. As with the content of the *Mirror*, the metrics of the various tragedies of the collection and their effect on shaping readers' responses to each poem have yet fully to be explored.[36]

The Text of this Edition

The text of this edition of Baldwin's *Mirror for Magistrates* is based on the copies of the 1559, 1563, and 1578 editions held by the Huntington Library. They have been collated with the copies of these texts in the British

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Library and checked against others at the Folger Shakespeare Library, the University of Texas's Harry Ransom Center, the Bodleian Library, and the University and Trinity College Libraries of Cambridge University. All textual variants are noted in the apparatus, with the exception of the unique content of one sheet included in the Trinity College 1563 copy, which was apparently a proof sheet accidently included in that text.[37] I have corrected obvious printing errors in the text, silently in the case of those listed in the original editions' errata sheets and with reference in the textual apparatus to the original renderings when making alterations on my own.

In this edition the entire contents of Baldwin's two *Mirror* editions have been modernized, with the exception of usages with no direct modern equivalent (e.g. I preserve archaic past tenses such as 'drave' and 'be' in place of 'drove' and 'been') and words whose early modern rendering allows the possibility of more than one meaning (e.g. 'sournamed' (*surnamed*) is preserved in its original spelling in Tragedy 18 to keep the possible pun on the word 'sour'). Quotes in the Explanatory Notes from other early modern texts are kept in original spelling, though orthography has been modernized ('i' is rendered as 'j' and 'v' as 'u' where appropriate, and contractions have been silently expanded).

To aid in the reading of the *Mirror* authors' verse, I have added accents to show where syllables usually silent in modern usage are apparently meant to be pronounced (as in the voiced '-ed' ending and in unusual pronunciations such as the trisyallbic 'marrìage' that appears in several of the tragedies). For the same reason, I have also indicated when words are spelled in the original with fewer syllables than they are in modern orthography (e.g. 'en'my' instead of 'enemy' when the word is rendered as two syllables in the original).

The rhythm of each line will indicate the pronunciation of most other words in the text. Readers should note that words such as 'tower', 'flower', and 'power' are usually monosyllabic in the *Mirror*. Terms such as 'over', 'never', and 'even' can be one or two syllables, as can the word 'naked'. The terminal 'e' in 'the' before a vowel – and sometimes in other words – is frequently elided ('the one' is often pronounced 'th'one', even if it is not spelled as such), and a terminal 'y' before an initial vowel sound in the succeeding word may be combined with that vowel sound ('many a' is usually meant to be pronounced 'man-ya'). Words whose first syllable ends in an 'e' can have that 'e' pronounced or not pronounced ('flattery' is in many cases 'flatt'ry', 'shouldest' is often 'should'st'), while the '-eth' suffix may have its 'e' understood to be silent and – in Tragedy 21 in particular – even the entire suffix understood to be silent.

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Some scholars have called attention to the fact that both Baldwin in 1554 and Thomas Marshe's compositors in 1559 and 1563 set the prose passages of the *Memorial* and *Mirror* in a typeface somewhat larger than that of the poems.[38] Sherri Geller has argued that the prose sections' larger typeface was Baldwin's bid to call readers' primary attention away from the poems themselves and to focus it on the prose passages linking them; for Geller, Lily B. Campbell's choice in her 1938 edition of *A Mirror for Magistrates* not similarly to place the prose links in a larger typeface thus 'significantly misrepresents the early *Mirrors* and thereby contributes inadvertently to critics' misdirected privileging of the complaints and underestimation of the frame story [that is, the prose links]'.[39]

These scholars' arguments rest on the belief that a larger typeface automatically connoted to early modern readers a sense of increased importance for the passages so rendered. There is, however, no evidence for this assumption. That the evangelical printer John Day, for instance, often chose to use a type for scriptural quotations smaller than that of the main text in his editions of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* does not indicate that Day held the Bible to be a work of lesser status than Foxe's writings. Similarly, that in printing John Calvin's *Institutes* Reyner Wolfe and Richard Harrison chose to put Calvin's preface to the reader in a type larger than that used for the body of text speaks more to the printers' desire for aesthetic variety than to their sense that Calvin's short preface was somehow of more importance than the primary contents of Calvin's famous work.[40] Finally, if Baldwin did seek to indicate by means of type size the primacy of the prose passages over the poems, early modern *Mirror* readers completely missed this cue: while extracts from the poems of the 1559 and 1563 *Mirror* may be found in a number of extant Tudor and Stuart commonplace books and printed collections, I am not aware of any similar extensive extraction of material from the prose offerings of the *Mirror*. For his part, *Mirror* editor Richard Niccols expressed no reservations at all in printing only poems from *A Mirror for Magistrates* and none of its prose links in his 1610 edition of the work. I thus acknowledge here the slight disparity of typeface sizes in the original *Mirror* editions, but I choose to employ, as earlier editors did, a uniform font size for all sections of Baldwin's work.

Except where noted, I follow for historical names, titles, dates, and facts information provided in the various articles of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online edition). My edition's orthography and definitional glosses rely chiefly on matter in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (online edition).

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This is the first annotated edition of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, and I hope its notes and glosses will prove useful to scholars as they approach what has long been viewed as a difficult and forbidding literary work. Much of the *Mirror* handles political events of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as filtered both through the beliefs and prejudices of the medieval and early modern chroniclers the authors use as their sources and also, in several places, through the poets' own projects of rewriting the past allusively to 'mirror' political events of their own time, the mid-Tudor period, a time still relatively unfamiliar to many students of early modern English literature. As a work of the mid-Tudor period, furthermore, *A Mirror for Magistrates* often couches its subject matter in language closer to Middle English than the early modern English used later in the sixteenth century. For this reason, the poems of the *Mirror* often resist easy comprehension even for students of the later Tudor literature. It is my hope that the glosses and annotations of this edition will help readers as they negotiate the poems and prose links of the collection and thereby spur further critical interest in Baldwin's still understudied two *Mirror* editions.[41]

Issues of space have constrained me to aim this edition's glosses chiefly at advanced students of early modern literature. Elucidations in the text are thus, for the most part, confined to difficult passages and the most unfamiliar words. Words that suggest their modern equivalents I have not glossed (e.g. 'valiantise', when the context points to its meaning 'valiancy'; and 'bewray', whose sound suggests its meaning of 'betray'), nor have I always defined early modern aphaeretic usages if their meaning seems sufficiently clear by sound and/or context (e.g. 'scape' for 'escape', 'prive' for 'deprive', 'gin' for 'begin'). Most archaic past tenses, such as 'brake' for 'broke' and 'sware' for 'swore', I have listed at the end of this volume but have not defined in the text itself. Finally, rather than elucidate in the text itself modern words that possessed in the early modern period meanings beyond those most familiar to readers today (words often termed 'false friends' for their immediate suggestion of an inapplicable modern connotation different from the intended early modern one), I have instead created a single glossary of such terms, which is located at the end of the book. Readers should remind themselves of the various early modern meanings of the terms defined in the Glossary, in addition to the words' familiar modern connotations, before approaching the content of the *Mirror*.

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1. On the admiration for and influence of the *Mirror* in the early modern period, see W. F. Trench, *'A Mirror for Magistrates': Its Origin and Influence* (Edinburgh, 1898), 71–137; Willard Farnham, 'The Progeny of *A Mirror for Magistrates*', *Modern Philology* 29.4 (1932): 395–410; and Homer Nearing, *English Historical Poetry, 1599–1641* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945). See also the headnotes offered before each *Mirror* tragedy's explanatory notes, which are placed at the end of the book.
2. The evidence for the Marian government's installation of Wayland in Whitchurch's shop is presented in Peter Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501–1557*, 2 vols. (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 2:756–65; and Scott Lucas, '"An Auncient Zelous Gospeller [. . .] Desirous to Do Anything to Common Good": Edward Whitchurch and the Reformist Cause in Marian and Elizabethan England', *Reformation* 21.1 (2016): 50–2. Parliament returned England to the Catholic faith on 1 January 1555.
3. See 'Baldwin's Dedication' below. While these seven men are usually referred to as the 'company of authors' or the poets of the *Mirror*, it should be noted that Baldwin never refers to the group by either of those two names. While he indeed credits the members of the company with producing matter for the *Mirror* poems, it is possible that some of these men supplied only historical information about the subjects of the collection's tragedies and not the actual verse in which that information was displayed. The language of the prose passages preceding Tragedies 7 and 14 in particular may suggest that some of the company contributed only ideas and 'notes' to Baldwin, matter which Baldwin himself then put into verse (see Prose 7 and Prose 14). That such an arrangement existed could help to make sense of Baldwin's suggestion in the dedicatory epistle of the 1563 *Mirror* that the bulk of the poetry in the 1559 *Mirror* was of his own creation ('Baldwin's Dedication').
4. For the conception and creation of *A Memorial of Such Princes*, see Prose 1 and John Wayland's printer's note in Appendix 1. The approximate date of the contributors' initial meeting in 1554 is indicated by the participation in this London-based project of Sir Thomas Chaloner, a resident of the north during Mary's reign. According to his own account book, Chaloner left his Yorkshire residence for London on 16 April 1554, a journey that took him a minimum of four days to complete. He was once more at his Yorkshire residence on 25 May and would not return to London until August (see British Library, Lansdowne MS 824, fo. 50r).
5. Chaloner left Yorkshire in 1554 for his second visit to London on 17 August and was back on his Yorkshire lands by 13 September (British Library, Lansdowne MS 824, fos. 51v, 54r).
6. For the suppression of the *Memorial* and the politically allusive matter that may have sparked Gardiner's decision to prohibit it, see Lucas, *'A Mirror for Magistrates'*, 20–3, 49–201. For general studies of the often controversial political content of the *Memorial* and 1559 *Mirror*, see Andrew Hadfield,

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Literature, Politics and National Identity (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 91–107; Lucas, *'A Mirror for Magistrates'*; and Lucas, '"Let none such office take"'.

7. For a fuller discussion of the Marian origins of Baldwin's *Mirror*, see Lucas, *'A Mirror for Magistrates'*, 18–23, 237–44.
8. On the politically controversial content of Ferrers's Tragedy 28, 'Gloucester', see Lucas, *'A Mirror for Magistrates'*, 90–105.
9. Higgins drew all of his British examples from Geoffrey of Monmouth's fabulous account of Britain's supposed earliest rulers *Historia Regum Britanniae* (*c.* 1136).
10. For some of these questions, see Lily B. Campbell, 'Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and Elianor Cobham his Wife in the *Mirror for Magistrates*', *Huntington Library Bulletin* 5 (1934): 119–55; and Cathy Shrank, '"Hoysted high vpon the rolling wheele": Elianor Cobham's *Lament*', *'A Mirror for Magistrates' in Context: Literature, History, and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge University Press, 2016), 109–25.
11. For detailed treatments of Baldwin's biography, see Lucas, *'A Mirror for Magistrates'*, 36–41, and Scott Lucas, 'The Birth and Later Career of the Author William Baldwin (d. 1563)', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79.1 (2016): 149–62.
12. Except where noted, this account of Ferrers's life draws on H. R. Woudhuysen, 'Ferrers, George (*c.* 1510–1579)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 7 December 2017, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9360; and Lucas, *'A Mirror for Magistrates'*, 41–6 (though the latter biography's claims that Ferrers attended Cambridge University and received a university degree are mistaken).
13. John Leland, '*Ad Georgium Ferrarium*', in *Principum, ac Illustrium Aliquot et Eruditorum in Anglia Virorum* (London, 1589; *STC* 15447), 99. Just how Ferrers came to Cromwell's attention is unknown, though it is perhaps significant that his half-brother Loye Ferrers was successively sub-prior and prior of St Albans monastery in the 1520s, the very period in which Cromwell's master Thomas Cardinal Wolsey held that monastery's office of abbot (NA PROB 11/32/269; Oxford University, Jesus College Library, MS 77, fo. 313r; C. W. Boase, ed., *Register of the University of Oxford*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1885), 1:102; William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols. (London, 1846), 3:327).
14. *The Boke of Magna Carta*, trans. and ed. George Ferrers (London, 1534; *STC* 9272).
15. Susan Brigden, ed., 'The Letters of Richard Scudamore to Sir Philip Hoby, September 1549–March 1555', *Camden Miscellany 30*, Camden Society, 4th series, 39 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1990), 125.
16. For Chaloner's biography, this section draws on Clarence Miller's introduction to Sir Thomas Chaloner, *The Praise of Folie*, ed. Clarence Miller (Oxford University Press, 1965), xxix–xlix; 'Chaloner, Thomas (1521–65)', *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1509–1558*, 3 vols., ed. S. T. Bindoff (London: Secker & Warburg, 1982), 1:611–12; and John Baker, *Men of Court,*

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1440–1550: A Prosopography of the Inns of Court and Chancery, 2 vols. (London: Selden Society, 2012), 1:451–2.

17. See Scott C. Lucas, 'Henry Lord Stafford, "The Two Rogers", and the Creation of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, 1554–1563', *Review of English Studies* 66 (2015): 843–58.
18. For Stafford's life, see C. S. L. Davies, 'Stafford, Henry, tenth Baron Stafford (1501–1563), nobleman', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 7 December 2017, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-26205; Lucas, 'Henry Lord Stafford'.
19. While some scholars have challenged Skelton's authorship of this poem, A. S. G. Edwards finds no compelling grounds for overturning the early modern belief that Skelton was its creator. See his 'John Skelton and "A Lamentable of Kyng Edward IIII"', *Notes & Queries* 61.2 (2014): 203–4.
20. The best study of Churchyard's life and writings is Matthew Woodcock, *Thomas Churchyard: Pen, Sword, and Ego* (Oxford University Press, 2016).
21. Mike Pincombe, 'William Baldwin, Humphrey Cavell, and the Authorship of The Tragedy of the Blacksmith in the 1563 *Mirror for Magistrates*', *Notes & Queries* 56.4 (2009): 515–21.
22. For Cavell, see 'Cavell, Humphrey (by 1525–68)', in Bindoff, ed., *History of Parliament*, 1:596–7; Baker, *Men of Court*, 1:445.
23. Paul Bacquet, *Un Contemporain d'Elisabeth I: Thomas Sackville, L'Homme et L'Oeuvre* (Geneva: Droz, 1966), 151–7.
24. Lucas, 'Birth and Later Career', 153. For Sackville, see Bacquet, *Contemporain*; and Rivkah Zim, 'Sackville, Thomas, first Baron Buckhurst and first earl of Dorset (*c.* 1536–1608), poet and administrator', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 7 December 2017, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-24450
25. For Dolman, see Lily B. Campbell, 'John Dolman', *ELH* 4.3 (1937): 192–200.
26. Lily B. Campbell, ed., *The Mirror for Magistrates: Edited from the Original Texts in the Huntington Library* (Cambridge University Press, 1938), 45; John Thompson, *The Founding of English Metre* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 56–61.
27. There exists no fully reliable biography of Francis Seager. For Seager's works published during his lifetime, see *STC* 2728, 5058, and 22134.5–5. Seager's will, which was probated on 24 February 1565, is in London Metropolitan Archives DL/C/B/005/MS09172/006A, number 36.
28. Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 AD*, 5 vols. (London, 1875), 1:69; 'The Common Paper: Subscriptions to the Oath, 1417–1613', *Scriveners' Company Common Paper 1357–1628 With a Continuation to 1678*, ed. Francis W Steer (London: London Record Society, 1968), 20–49. *British History Online*, 22 May 2017, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol4/pp20–49
29. Anthony R. J. S. Adolph, 'Segar, Sir William (*c.* 1554–1633), herald', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 7 December 2017, http://

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30. See Lucas, *'A Mirror for Magistrates'*, 4–9. For an overview of the first eighty years of twentieth-century *Mirror* criticism, see Jerry Leith Mills, 'Recent Studies in *A Mirror for Magistrates*', *English Literary Renaissance* 9.2 (1979): 343–52.
31. See, among others, Lucas, *'A Mirror for Magistrates'*, 8–12; and Jessica Winston, *Lawyers at Play: Literature, Law, and Politics at the Early Modern Inns of Court, 1558–1581* (Oxford University Press, 2016), 127–48.
32. This point is particularly emphasized by Jennifer Richards in 'Transforming *A Mirror for Magistrates*', *Renaissance Transformations*, ed. Margaret Healy and Thomas Healy (Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 48–63.
33. Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie* (London, 1595; *STC* 22534), sig. I4r–v. Only the poetry of Chaucer, Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, Edmund Spenser, and the authors of *Gorboduc* (Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton) receives similar praise in his text.
34. Thompson, *Founding*, 37. The most influential and perhaps harshest condemnation of the verse of the *Mirror* is that of C. S. Lewis in *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (Oxford University Press, 1954), 240–4, 467.
35. Martin Duffell, *A New History of English Metre* (London: Legenda, 2008), 102–4.
36. Ibid., 122–5. For an analysis of the prosody of several *Mirror* tragedies, see Thompson, *Founding*, 37–61.
37. See the Cambridge University, Trinity College Library, copy Capell R.13 of *A Myrrour for Magistrates* (London, 1563; *STC* 1248), sigs. Bb7v–8r.
38. It is likely that in 1554 the experienced printer Baldwin oversaw the production of the *Memorial* in the print shop in which he was employed. By contrast, the relatively sloppy production of the 1559 *Mirror*, which occasioned a number of notable errors in both the text and the foliation, suggests that Baldwin simply gave Marshe an amended copy of the printed *Memorial of Such Princes* and allowed Marshe's own compositors to set the type (one indication that Marshe's men worked in 1559 from the printed *Memorial* is the table of contents, which fits not the *Mirror* but the suppressed *Memorial* (see Appendix 2)). That the 1563 *Mirror* went to press with its 'Second Part' only about half revised almost certainly suggests that Baldwin had passed away before the second edition was printed. He thus could have had no hand in its production in Marshe's shop.
39. Sherri Geller, 'What History Really Teaches: Historical Pyrrhonism in William Baldwin's *A Mirror for Magistrates*', *Opening the Borders: Inclusivity in Early Modern Studies: Essays in Honor of James V. Mirollo* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), 150. See also Geller, 'Editing Under the Influence of the Standard Textual Hierarchy: Misrepresenting *A Mirror for Magistrates* in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Editions', *Textual Cultures* 2.1 (2007): 43–77; Winston, *Lawyers at Play*, 133–4; Archer and Hadfield, 'Introduction', *'A Mirror for Magistrates' in Context*, 4.

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40. See, for instance, John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London, 1563; *STC* 11222), 928; John Calvin, *The Institution of Christian Religion* (London, 1561; *STC* 4415), sig. A2r–v.
41. While much work remains to be performed in the study of Baldwin's *Mirror* and its influence on early modern culture, book-length engagements with the text already undertaken include Paul Budra, *'A Mirror for Magistrates' and the Shape of De Casibus Tragedy* (University of Toronto Press, 2000); Lucas, *'A Mirror for Magistrates'*; Archer and Hadfield, eds., '*A Mirror for Magistrates*' *in Context*; and Harriet Archer, *Unperfect Histories: 'A Mirror for Magistrates', 1559–1610* (Oxford University Press, 2017). Two other valuable long-form studies are Mike Pincombe's '*A Mirror for Magistrates*, 1559', and '*A Mirror for Magistrates*, 1563', in the online database The Origins of Early Modern Literature: Recovering Mid-Tudor Writing for a Modern Readership, ed. Cathy Shrank et al., www.hrionline.ac.uk/origins/frame.html.

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