

Wyatt and Tottel A Textual Comparison

It is of course well known that most of the poems which Tottel (or his editor) assigns to Wyatt also occur in earlier MSS in versions significantly different from Tottel's. The MSS have greater authority than Tottel; indeed, one of them, the Egerton MS, from which most of my examples are taken, contains poems in Wyatt's hand as well as a number corrected by him. It would seem that the exact nature of Tottel's revisions has not been adequately explored from a critical point of view. This article aims to go some way towards filling the gap.¹ Although the edition's punctuation, at least, must occasionally be questioned, I shall for practical convenience regard the readings provided in the *Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, edited by Kenneth Muir and Patricia Thomson, as Wyatt's.² I have compared all the poems that appear there with their counterparts in the Scolar Press facsimile reprint³ of the 1557 edition of *Tottel's Miscellany*; however, I shall comment merely on what seems to me *significant* in Tottel's editing.

The most glaring difference, Tottel's titles apart, is of course that in Tottel lines scan, or are meant to, where they do not in Wyatt. This observation, whatever precise views we may hold about sixteenth-century pronunciation, has been repeatedly and correctly made, together with the claim that Tottel's metrical revisions regularly involve a marked loss of subtlety and vigour. I do not, personally, think that this category of revisions has received all the attention which it deserves, but since the cardinal point about it has been roughly established it is not my primary target. Amongst a veritable deluge of examples of this kind, the following perhaps stand out as major: XVI (T39), "There was never file half so well filed," and CCXLIV (T116), "Syghes ar my foode, drynke are my teares." The latter poem, which Tottel ruined throughout, is particularly interesting metrically. In MT, the distribution of stresses dominant in ordinary speech would indicate an allegiance to the alliterative tradition (or at least "phrasal" verse) which Tottel, who tried to make the poem iambic, would or could not see.

However, contrary to what seems often to be thought, it is a relatively difficult task to describe Tottel's motivations. It is true that a great many of his revisions would at least appear to have been metrically prompted. It is equally true that he turned rondeaux into poems looking like sonnets (for example I, T69; II, T70). It is of course not surprising that political circumstances gave rise to alterations in CV (T125) and CVII (T126). And the fact that Tottel provided the poems with titles is not easily overlooked. But the picture of his editorial procedure has been too simple. His revisions are in fact the manifestation, a manifestation which makes itself felt in more than a few obvious ways, of a different poetic taste. In this respect, Tottel's wish to create sonnets is of course as important as his wish to write iambic verse, and both, as expressions of a different poetic sensibility—if the word is appropriate—should concern literary

historians more than for instance changes merely and naturally introduced as a result of changing political circumstances.

I shall first consider Tottel's revisions for what they are, primarily demonstrating that metrically prompted changes are only part of a much larger process. Although the exact nature of Tottel's taste is sometimes difficult to describe, one can do so with a fair measure of success. What is considerably harder, is to arrive at responsible conclusions about the implications of the difference between Wyatt and Tottel. In the final section of this article, I shall somewhat tentatively remark on what seems to me the importance of Tottel's editing in the history of English verse.

Even where they appear to be merely metrical, Tottel's revisions may instead or in addition have a different motivation. The general motivation behind "Syghes ar my foode, drynke ar my teares" is undoubtedly metrical. Yet if we take the first line by itself, and compare it with the Tottel version "Syghes are my foode: my drink are my teares," we cannot feel certain that the addition of the word "my" before "drink" springs only from a desire to have an unaccented syllable before an accented one. One may well wonder why Tottel, here as well as elsewhere, chooses a word that makes the speaker emphatically self-centred; also, why he did not make the line a perfectly normal iambic pentameter with trochaic substitution in the first foot by "reading in" yet another extra syllable. To demonstrate these two points practically: Tottel could, theoretically, have read: "Syghes are my foode: and drink are now my teares." I do not understand why he did not introduce a word like "now." The reason why he chooses "my" instead of a possible alternative "and" is not necessarily a negative one: "my drink" gives clearer sense and provides a formal parallel with "my foode." However, one can obviously argue that the choice of "my" was not metrically the only one open to Tottel; although he apparently needed a monosyllabic word, his choice of one word rather than another is interesting. The difficulty, of course, is that it is in practice hard to speculate on options like these. The word "my" is an obvious choice where the word "and" is not. Therefore, if one wants to *prove* that Tottel revised Wyatt's text where he had no metrical need, one must find examples of lines metrically regular in both Wyatt and Tottel, but otherwise different. Such lines actually occur. I think they confirm one's suspicions about revisions seemingly only metrical, which can perhaps sometimes be reconsidered in the light of those definitely not metrical. Other non-metrical material is of course to be found in the titles, and I shall turn to some of these first.

Tottel's titles are much like short prefaces explaining what the reader can expect in the poems. Words to do with love abound in these titles, probably to boost the appeal of the anthology, much in the way a newspaper may use sensational headlines. The protagonist of the poems is regularly referred to as "the lover," as if Wyatt were adopting a merely artificial pose throughout. In general, the titles are at best little more than superfluous, though they can be quite neutral in tone. At worst, they are pedantically unnecessary, or plain senti-

mental (with frequent use of "emotional" words), or quite misleading. It is a habit of Tottel's to make it appear as though the poems must refer to love, and particularly a specific incident in love, while in fact they can or must be read as having a much more general significance. For instance, XVI (T39), "There was never ffille half so well filed," has the introductory note: "The abused louer seeth his foly, and entendeth to trust no more." The poem *may* be read as referring to one or more love relationships, but it need not. The title to XXIII (T60) reads: "The louer reioyseth against fortune that by hindering his sute had happily made him forsake his folly." This comment is more seriously misleading. The—admittedly difficult—poem hardly gives a hint of forsaken folly, nor does it say anything about, or even remotely point at, a love relationship. Wyatt's interest is in the relationship between a power called "fortune" and himself, one of the central preoccupations in his poetry. Strikingly enough, the terminology applied to the impact of fortune on the poet is very similar to that used elsewhere of a woman, and this may show, vice versa, that a poem about a woman may have wider implications. Tottel is almost certainly partly responsible for what has often been a too narrow emphasis in Wyatt criticism, something undoubtedly also affected by Tottel's choice of poems *per se*, for instance that of sonnets. As a last example of a mistaken heading I mention that for LII (T65). "Marvaill no more, all tho." This poem has the verbally intricate final stanza:

But yet perchaunce som chaunce
 May chaunce to chaunge my tune;
 And when suche chaunce doeth chaunce,
 Then shall I thanck fortune;
 And if I have souche chaunce,
 Perchaunce ere it be long,
 For such a pleasaunt chaunce
 To syng som plaisaunt song.

Although the poet may wish for a specific change in "fortune," he does not indicate this, and he has previously described his distress only in generalizing terms (for instance, in stanza 1, "othre liff then wo/I never proved none"). Nor does the poem show that it is about love. Tottel, however, has the foolish title: "The louers sorowfull state maketh him write sorowfull songes, but Souche his loue may change the same." And in the final stanza the editor prints the word "such" in parentheses and with a capital, as if it were a proper name: "Souch." The poet is thus made to sound as though he is clamouring, as a lover, for specific salvation from a specific creature called "Souch." (MT, generally as ready as Tottel to refer the poems to specific situations, follows Nott—who always insisted on dragging "Fair Geraldine" into Surrey's poems—in thinking that the poem is addressed to one Mary Souche; MT, p. 307.)

The falsification of Wyatt's intentions was, however, also extended to the poems themselves, and the internal alterations were certainly not a matter of mere metrics. Some of the non-metrical changes—all of which are of course crucially important—were perhaps prompted

by formal considerations other than those mentioned so far. Wyatt uses effective repetition in XXXI (T95), line two, "Of that that is now with that that hath ben." The close formal parallel between the second "half-line" and the first is functional, because it can be related with the content. Tottel, however, prints: "Eke that is now, and that that once hath bene." Metrically, Tottel's line would have been as good had he kept Wyatt's first "that." It follows that he, like some other critics, did not want to see the word "that" used four times in a line. An instance of gradation was changed in CXCI (T89), line 15 ("therwith therowt" → "therwith throughout"), though the metre remained unaffected. Wyatt's word order also seems to have displeased Tottel, and wherever Tottel changes it, for metrical reasons or not, the poems become more artificial and less forceful. The well-known alteration of "But here I ame in Kent and Christendome" (CV, line 100) into "But I am here in kent and christendome" (T125) can hardly be metrical, and involves marked lack of force. Here, as sometimes elsewhere, the precise nature of Tottel's dislike is perhaps not easy to determine. In XXIV Wyatt moves quite conventionally and naturally from a generalization about birds to his own state: "Alas, of that sort I may be by right." Tottel has (T47): "Alas, of that sort may I be, by right." The peculiar inversion serves no useful purpose, and seems a mannered gimmick. In this instance the change is clearly not metrical; in several others it is, but would seem to have come naturally to Tottel apart from metrical considerations.

Other alterations were clearly based on a wish to change the meaning. Metrical changes often involve the process already noted in connection with the titles, that of a deliberate narrowing down from general to specific, from abstract to concrete (Tottel was, for one thing, less intelligent than Wyatt). Poem X offers a striking instance in line 11, "Trete ye me well, and kepe ye in the same state," which in T46 becomes: "Treat you me well; and kepe you in that state." Whilst the protagonist in Wyatt expresses a longing for permanent security, his plea in Tottel is pedestrian and sentimental. And it is quite certain that Tottel was eager to introduce such sentimentality. For in XXI, "It may be good, like it who list," for instance, we have an interesting non-metrical change of this kind. In lines 5 and 6 the protagonist, speaking of the general pattern of a relationship, says: "The wyndy wordes, the les quaynt game,/Of soden chaunge maketh me agast." It is of course possible that the reference is to a particular moment, but the situation seems one possibly experienced before, and at least more vaguely threatening than Tottel's specific and prosaic: "The wordes, that from your mouth last came,/Of sodayn change make me agast" (T58). In CLXXXVII, "The restfull place, Revyver of my smarte," the speaker says quite vaguely in line 19: "Yet that I gave I cannot call agayn"; Tottel has (T62): "My hart once set, I can not it refrayne." Yet Wyatt's line scans well enough.

Tottel likes to see his speaker sentimentally self-involved. Where it metrically suited him, he was keen to add an "I" or a "me" (see e.g. XXIII, T60, line 15), but he also introduced such words where there was no metrical need, clearly because he wanted the poems to be sentimental, more "personal," or predictable. Consider for instance

III (T45), where the poet in the octave gives some classical examples of people outwardly displaying feelings opposite to their real ones. He then goes on:

So chaunceth it oft that every passion
The mynde hideth by colour contrary
With fayned visage, now sad, now mery . . .

It is only *after* this generalizing statement that he, quite surprisingly, refers to his own situation:

Whereby, if I laught, any tyme, or season
It is for bicause I have nother way
To cloke my care but vnder spoort and play.

Quite an interesting and poignant revelation; but Tottel makes the "louer," as he unnecessarily calls him, more self-absorbed, and considerably spoils the strategy of surprise, by printing line 9 as: "So chanceth me, that euery passion." There was no metrical need for this, for he could simply have deleted "oft." The substitution of "me" for "it" is part of a process of sentimentalization, or at least a wish to make the poem more specific and "personal." An interesting change of a similar kind, but with a different effect, occurs in IV (T37). Line 1 in Wyatt is: "The longe love, that in my thought doeth harbar." In Tottel it becomes: "The longe loue, that in my thought I harber." If Tottel read Wyatt's "doeth" as disyllabic, he could have used "doth," as he does in the following line. The choice of "I" seems non-metrical, but designed to create the effect of a speaker carefully cultivating an emotion which instead in Wyatt's version is taking sweeping possession of him.

Elsewhere, the sentimentalization is undertaken even more dramatically. We find a striking example in LIX (T71). The MT version is:

Some tyme I fled the fyre that me brent
By see, by land, by water and by wynd;
And now I folow the coles that be quent
From Dovor to Calais against my mynde.
Lo! how desire is boeth sprong and spent!
And he may se that whilome was so blynde;
And all his labor now he laugh to scorne.
Mashed in the breers that erst was all to torne.

This poem has been curiously misinterpreted. Commenting on the last line, Miss Foxwell said: "Wiat is now merely caught by the briars that formerly had torn him severely."⁴ Rollins, in his monumental edition of Tottel's Miscellany, did not dissociate himself from this.⁵ More recently, Southall wrote: "In this final section [the last four lines] Wyatt remarks that his desire for Anne is given fresh life and is also satisfied ('sprong and spent'), and expresses trepidation in the last three lines at the thought that the king, ill enough done by already, may discover how very badly he is being used."⁶ Yet the poem is at once simpler and more consistent than these readings would have it. We must of course ignore the full stop which MT has in line 7 and which does not occur in the Egerton MS. In a possible para-

phrase, the poem's meaning is: "At one time in the past, I tried to escape from the passion which devoured me no matter where I went. Now, by contrast, I follow what remains of my passion (and, concretely, the source of it) only with reluctance, from Dover to Calais. Is it not a marvel how, on the one hand, desire is suddenly brought on (i.e. "sprong"), and, on the other hand, it gets used up (i.e. "spent")? One who once upon a time was foolishly blinded by his passion can now see things for what they are. He who was formerly torn to pieces while he was entangled in the thorny bushes of passion can now laugh contemptuously, thinking of all the painful energy he has wasted."

However, long before modern critics misread the poem, Tottel did so, and it is interesting to see the sentimental run of his mind. Instead of "against my mynde" (line 4), Tottel prints "with willing minde." This change is non-metrical. The editor wants the speaker to be a complete slave to the fire of his passion, a weakling who was formerly too cowardly to burn his fingers, but musters courage now that there are only "coales" left. The farcical sentimentalization is continued further on, for in lines 7-8 Tottel has: "And all his labour, laughes he now to scorne,/Meashed in the breers, that erst was onely torne." And the title informs us: "The louer that fled loue now folowes it with his harme." In other words, the speaker, while scorning his former "labour," now, in the presence of his love wallows in his new exquisite misery. This unmanly sentimentality forms a direct contrast with Wyatt's aloof withdrawal.

I have already referred to the politically motivated censorship in CV and CVII. The trimming goes further than it needs, however: while CVII, in line 19, has "tordes," T126 has "dung" for this, a term apparently more prudish. Inveective and colloquial expressions had to go. In XLVII (T40), the poet describes the impact his lady's eyes make upon him; he concludes: "after the blase, as is no wounder,/ Of dedly nay here I the ferefull thoundere." The word "nay," in its lively colloquialism, comes as a witty climax in the poem, particularly because of the mockingly elevated comparison with "ferefull thoundere." Tottel inserts the incomprehensible word "noyse" for "nay."

Any surprise due to incongruity, paradox or irony, is in danger of being sacrificed in Tottel. He goes to surprising lengths to introduce the obvious, the commonplace, the powerless. In XXXIII (T97), the speaker compares his "painfull lyff" to "vnmesurable montayns," developing the conceit throughout the sonnet. In MT, line 11 reads: "Cattell in them, and in me love is fed." The comparison here presents love suggestively as an unwieldy obstacle, something rather clumsy. Whatever Wyatt's precise intention in the *armenti/Cattell* translation, Tottel seems to have found the comparison inappropriate and raises it to a more elevated plane in: "Wilde beastes in them, fierce love in me is fed." The adjective "fierce" is typical of the sort of thing Tottel introduces. The word "Cattell" could have been accepted by Tottel as a trochaic first foot. Instead of "fierce" he could have used, metrically, "and," a word already there in Wyatt's version. Tottel again objected

to the comparison in lines 13-14: "Off the restles birdes they have the tune and note,/And I alwayes plaintes that passe thorough my throte." Characteristically, the speaker implies that his own song is "restles"; Wyatt did not find this word in Sannazaro. Its use went completely against Tottel's conception of poetic art and his idea of what birds in a poem should do, for he printed "singing birds."

The first stanza of XC (T83) is as follows:

Th'answere that ye made to me, my dere,
Whann I did sewe for my poore hartes redresse,
Hathe so appalld my countenaunce and my chere,
That yn this case I ame all comfotelesse,
Sins I of blame no cawse can well expresse.

Obviously, the "answere" was hurtful in the extreme; it must therefore be in bitter irony that Wyatt, in line 18, refers to it as "that frendly word" ("itt" in line 20 of course refers to the same thing, *pace* R. C. Harrier, *NQ*, June 1953, p. 234). Tottel either misunderstood the irony or deliberately did away with it, for his reading for "frendly" is "bitter." In many instances, it is difficult to tell whether irony is lost in Tottel because of metrical changes or because the editor disliked or misunderstood it. It is probably safe to suspect him of not being keenly responsive to it. Such revisions are definitely damaging to the stature of Wyatt's poetry. A famous example occurs of course in what is probably Wyatt's best known poem, XXXVII, "They fle from me that sometyme did me seke" (T52). Wyatt's closing couplet is:

But syns that I so kyndely ame serued,
I would fain knowe what she hath deserued.

Tottel's substitution "unkyndly" for "kyndely," while no doubt partly inspired by what could easily be seen as defective metre, is nevertheless characteristic. "Kyndely" can of course mean "according to my kind," which seems no more than a theoretical possibility, or "according to her kind," with the ironic implication that her kind is "wyld" (line 4), or "kindly" in the usual modern sense while the treatment has been ironically unkind. (The latter reading perhaps derives some support from the version "gentillye" in the Devonshire MS, of which we know that it surprisingly often corresponds with deleted readings in the Egerton MS.) Once more, it seems likely that Tottel was not responsive to what surprised or bewildered him in Wyatt, and, as often, changed the text in the direction of pre-conditioned response. He seems to do this so often that it is difficult to believe that where the metre was one worry in his mind it was invariably the only one.

My treatment here can only give an indication of the impact which the revisions make in their massiveness. Together, when considered against the poems in the MSS, they manifest a poetic sensibility very different from Wyatt's own, and it is this sensibility which I have been trying to define, in the hope that it will give us a better understanding of both Wyatt and Tottel. Certainly, as is always the case when one compares something with what it is not, this sort of comparison gives us a better idea of Wyatt's verse. It also

partly helps to explain why readers who read Wyatt as he was reflected in Tottel reacted to him the way they did, and even twentieth-century editions often still show an undue amount of Tottel's influence. The comparison helps us not only to get Wyatt in a clear perspective, but also much of the criticism of Wyatt which has been based on the reading of verse not his own. There is the important circumstance that while Wyatt's verse was clearly in manuscript circulation among a small circle, Tottel (who defends his publication in his preface to the reader) aimed his anthology at a large commercial market. This fact alone may well have much to do with the nature of the editing. Granted that Tottel probably helped to shape the taste of his readers and, as likely, may have had a fair notion of what they wanted (if he did, the facts bore him out), the interesting and important question arises: did Tottel, in his revisions, model himself on certain examples in English poetry of his time or before? (We know in any case that many poets *after* Tottel modelled themselves on the miscellany, both from their practice and their explicit declarations, and it seems significant that later readers often regarded Surrey as the leading light in the book, the greatest poet after Chaucer. This may be connected with the prominent place Tottel gave Surrey as well as possibly certain things in Surrey's verse: a more fluent scansion than Wyatt's—who is often "irregular" even in Tottel—possibly a truer "Petrarchan" mode in which the lover shows, for instance, grief rather than anger, and perhaps a more explicit leaning on classical sources.)

It is extremely difficult to assess exactly what poetic examples in English Tottel may have drawn on. Very extensive research would be necessary to come to any quite exact conclusions, but I am not sure we have sufficient material of a kind suitable to the purpose.

The key figure, naturally enough, would seem to be Surrey. In his instance, we have not only a considerable body of material, but we have it in MSS as well as in Tottel, and he wrote in the time between Wyatt and Tottel, or at least was Wyatt's junior contemporary. A difficulty is that not all of the MS versions of Surrey's poems are earlier than Tottel, and that there are no holograph versions. Even so, a number of versions are earlier, and others are by common scholarly assent "earlier" in that they are much closer to what Surrey must have written than is Tottel. These MSS need far more extensive stylistic study than they have yet had. Meanwhile, it is important to consider how Tottel deviates from the MSS. I have considered all the variants. An extensive argument about them could only be set forth in another article (which I am afraid would be extremely tedious), but there is no doubt in my mind that Tottel is much closer to the Surrey of these MSS⁸ than he is to the MS versions of Wyatt's poems. We should further bear in mind that a number of Surrey's poems appears in MSS the same as Wyatt's (with Surrey regularly closer to Tottel than Wyatt), and, which is very important, that critics throughout the centuries have commented on the fact that Surrey as he appears in Tottel "scans" much more easily than the Wyatt found there. Of course this may mean that Tottel quite accidentally in Wyatt's case worked from MS versions close to what Wyatt had

written, or from what he actually did write, and in Surrey's from versions quite far removed from what Surrey had actually written, but it would certainly be somewhat surprising if we had to conclude that all the Surrey material (in MSS as well as in Tottel) is not at all similar to what Surrey wrote and yet see Tottel in Wyatt's case working from the very MS that contains poems in Wyatt's hand or one that must have been extraordinarily close to it: Tottel follows the Egerton MS closely where it suits him, and departs from it when it does not. Surrey was after all a later poet than Wyatt, and it would seem a chance happening indeed if all our sources give a completely false picture of him while several MSS containing poems by Wyatt, as well as Tottel, bear such a close relationship to the Egerton MS. Tottel of course does deviate drastically from Wyatt, but the point is that he must have had excellent material to work from, and there is at least a possibility that either he, or the scribes of the Surrey MSS, had material as good in Surrey's case. If not, the various scribes and Tottel show an amazing agreement in the way they must have departed from Surrey's intentions.

Unless better MS material comes to light, our view about the relation between Surrey and Tottel must inevitably stay partly in the realm of speculation. If the available material is at all reliable, however, we can infer from it that Tottel's taste was much closer to Surrey's than to Wyatt's, and it would not be inconceivable that Surrey's verse was at least one thing that may have influenced Tottel in his revision of the Wyatt poems, though I do not mean to suggest that it would have been the *only* factor. But apart from the abundance of iambic lines and of sonnets in the known Surrey corpus (and it is hardly likely that Surrey himself was not at least largely responsible for both things), his poetry also shows a marked absence of irony or surprise such as we find in Wyatt, and his diction seems to be strikingly different. Detailed quantitative work on the Surrey texts as well as other ones should enable us to come to a reasonably precise assessment.

These matters are in the meantime uncertain. My purpose has been to get a better view of the relation between Wyatt and Tottel; suggestions about the relation between Surrey and Tottel and possible implications for our knowledge of the larger movements in English sixteenth-century verse are merely offered as hypotheses for further research.

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¹ The substance of my article was read as a paper at the 13th AULLA Congress, Monash University, August, 1970.

² Kenneth Muir and Patricia Thomson, eds., *Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1969; henceforth MT). I have reviewed this edition for *AUMLA* 35. Although the punctuation is mostly Muir's, I have reproduced his versions of the poems in this article. MT is readily accessible, and, while it would have been possible to print from microfilm copies — kindly lent to me by Massey University — of the important Wyatt MSS, this would have been inconsistent unless whole poems had been quoted in all instances.

All poems not from Tottel are printed from MT, and referred to by their numbers in it.

³ *Songes and Sonettes (Tottel's Miscellany) 1557*, facsimile reprint by the Scolar Press, Menston, England (1967). The poems are not numbered in the original edition. Numbers are taken from H. E. Rollins, ed., *Tottel's Miscellany (1557-1537)*, 2 vols (rev. edn; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965).

⁴ A. K. Foxwell, ed., *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (London: University of London Press, 1913), Vol. II, p. 65.

⁵ Rollins, Vol. II, p. 183.

⁶ Raymond Southall, *The Courtly Maker* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1964), pp. 43-44.

⁷ Professor Colin J. Horne, to whose lively discussion of it this paper owes a few improvements, suggested to me that "sprong" and "spent" may have strong and specific sexual meanings. I have been unable to get certitude on "sprong." However, Eric Partridge, in *Shakespeare's Bawdy* (rev. and enlarged edn; London: Routledge, 1968), glosses "spend" as "to expend sexually; to discharge seminally," and it is certainly repeatedly so used, as my colleague Dr. William Dean points out, in Rochester's *Sodom* (1684). I would think, though, that in our context a sense like this would only be a secondary one. In any case, such a paraphrase as I offer is of course selective, and does not try to get at all the possible meanings in the text.

⁸ See, for discussions and printings of Surrey MSS: Rollins; Frederick M. Padelford, ed., *The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey* (rev. edn; New York: Haskell House, 1966) Emrys Jones, ed., *Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey: Poems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964); Ruth Hughey, ed., *The Arundel Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry*, 2 vols. (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1960). Miss Hughey's work is a model of thoroughness, and of much greater importance for our understanding of the period than its title might superficially suggest. A recent article by H. A. Mason, "The first two printed texts of Surrey's poems" (*TLS*, 4.6.71, p. 656), clearly supports one's faith in the high degree of authenticity of the better Surrey MSS.