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Deleted King(s) in the Warwick Manuscript of *Cælica*

Yuichiroh Nishino

Introduction

Fulke Greville (1554-1628) held two different financial positions in the Elizabethan and Jacobean courts.¹ In 1598, he was appointed as Treasurer of the Navy. After the Queen died, Greville lost his job and became unemployed until 1613. In 1614, he gained the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. In sonnet 94 of *Cælica* (1633), there appear financial terms, such as ‘Tellors’ and ‘checquere’ which are deeply connected with Greville’s post in the Jacobean court.²

Men that delight to multiplie desire,
Like Tellors are that take coyne but to paie;
Still tempted to be false, with little hire,
Blacke handes except, which they would have awaie.
For where powr wysly audytes her estate
The checquere mens best recompense is hate.³
(lines 1-6, my underlining)

The word ‘Tellors’ (line 2) means, as *the Oxford English Dictionary* defines it, ‘One who counts or keeps tally’ and a ‘teller’ was ‘one of four officers of the

* This is a revised version of a paper read at the 90th annual conference of the English Literary Society of Japan held on 20 May 2018 at Tokyo Woman’s Christian University. In all quotations, punctuation and spelling remain as in the originals, apart from modernisation of the long s.

¹ Rebholz, pp. ix-xx and 233-256. Rees, p. 2.

² *Cælica* sonnet 94 is thought to have been written between 1604 and 1614, during which period Greville had retired from the court. Rebholz mentions that Greville’s political career might be relevant to *Cælica*. Regarding the dates of *Cælica* and the other works, see Appendix I (Rebholz, pp. 339-340). The chronological table on p. 340 shows the possible dates of Greville’s works. See also Croll, p. 17 and Bullough, vol. 1, pp. 34-42. Gary L. Litt reads *Cælica* as ‘a consciously manipulated record of intellectual experience and poetic growth’ (p. 220).

³ All quotations from Greville’s poems are taken from *The Complete Poems and Plays of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke (1554-1628), in Two Volumes* (hereafter *Complete Poems*).

Exchequer formerly charged with the receipt and payment of moneys' (s.v. 'teller', 2. a and b).⁴ Tellers control the nation's finance on behalf of the Exchequer.⁵ Here the poet compares 'desire' to coins. As tellers 'take coyne', 'Men' take pleasure in collecting 'desire'. Since tellers deal with a record number of coins, they wish they could have all the coins to themselves. However, no matter how much they wish, they end up finding that their own hands become 'Blacke'. Their hands become black because they touch many oxidised coins.⁶ Desires are like coins as well. Men store desire and spend it in the same way as people store coins. The more they handle desire, the more their hands become 'black', which means 'foul' (s.v. 'black', a. 9). In the couplet, both men and tellers are called 'checquere men'. When lands are audited at the behest of the authorities in order to collect taxes, tellers take charge of the tax collection. Whilst 'checquere men[']s' duty is both to assess people's lands and to collect tax, they receive little payment ('hire') but 'hate' from the people.⁷ What the poet is trying to say here is that if you are too much obsessed with desire, you would not receive any rewards. Furthermore, you would be hated by others as tax collectors are despised by the people.

Rebholz has argued that implied criticisms of James appear in Greville's two plays, *Mustapha* (1633) and *Alaham* (1633), and his prose work, *A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney* (1652) (hereafter *Dedication*).⁸ If any implicit

⁴ Regarding tellers in 16th century England, see Inai, *passim*.

⁵ As to the financial system in 16th and 17th century England, see Inai, pp. 101-102. According to Inai, the office of Under-Treasurer was created in the 1430s when secretaries started to replace the Treasurer.

⁶ Rees also suggests in the notes that tellers' hands became black because 'they handled coins' (Rees, p. 160). Similarly, Wilkes thinks that 'Blacke handes' come 'from handling the coin' (*Complete Poems*, vol. 1, p. 450).

⁷ Rees interprets this passage as meaning: 'When tax-collecting and other duties are well carried out and supervised, nobody will love the tax-collectors' (Rees, p. 160). Wilkes argues that hate is 'earned by the "checquere man" if the finances are rigorously administered' (*Complete Poems*, vol. 1, p. 451).

⁸ See Rebholz, pp. 200-215. *A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney* (1652) is commonly known as *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney*. John Gouws describes the title of *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney* as 'misleading as to both the content and the nature of the work' (*Prose Works*, p. xiii). Gouws calls it *A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney*, the title of which is used only in the Trinity College, Cambridge MS. Therefore, in this paper, I follow Gouws's suggestion and use *Dedication* instead of *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney*. In this paper, all quotations from *Dedication* are taken from *Prose Works*.

criticism of James could be seen in Greville's two plays and his prose work, similar criticism might be hidden in *Cælica* as well. What is more, the Jacobean age is thought to have been fraught with corruption. For example, Linda Peck points out that 'corrupted practices, while characteristic of early modern administration, became a matter of increasing concern in the early seventeenth century'.⁹ She also argues as follows:

In the early seventeenth century, money assumed an increasingly central role, in part as a deliberate policy of the Crown to sell titles and offices. Such sales provided funds for king and courtiers when parliament voted inadequate subsidies and when income from Crown revenues became inadequate. Moreover, payment served as a filter for the Crown faced with too many worthy suitors. But the increasing role of money as the medium of exchange from client to patron and the control of court patronage by a royal favorite affected the relationships on which the Crown depended.¹⁰

Since James's extravagance was problematic in the period, it is possible to argue that *Cælica* sonnet 94 might contain Greville's criticism of Jacobean financial problems. Wilkes interprets the phrase 'Still tempted to be false' (line 3) as meaning that tellers struggle with a temptation to commit bribery.¹¹ Malcolm Smuts points out that the Jacobean peace after 1604 'became widely associated with growing luxury and vice' and that 'the peacetime expenditure of the crown on pension and expenses at court fed into this prejudice, creating an impression that money was being diverted from the kingdom's defence to supply corrupt and extravagant court'.¹² If the sonnet had been composed under these circumstances, the poet might be suggesting that the Jacobean Exchequer was subject to financial corruption.

In this paper, I would like to re-examine the relationships of *Cælica* sonnet 94 with Greville's own experience at the Exchequer in order to show

⁹ Peck, p. 5.

¹⁰ Peck, p. 20.

¹¹ *Complete Poems*, vol. 1, p. 450.

¹² Smuts, p. 37.

the ways in which Greville's text might connote implicit criticism of James VI and I in this particular sonnet.

I. Historical Background: Greville as a Reformer of Financial Corruption

It was in 1598 that Greville was appointed as Treasurer of the Navy.¹³ He kept working until he was forced to surrender the position by Robert Cecil (1563–1612) in 1604.¹⁴ Working as Treasurer, Greville realised that severe taxation would cause people's 'hate' and discontentment. For example, in 1599, Edward Wotton (1548–1626), who was to become Comptroller of the Household under James I, wrote to Greville to complain about taxes on his lands. Wotton says, 'Sir, your brother, Mr Verney hath of late set a very great tax upon my lands in Dassett towards the relief of the poor of a foreign and remote parish. I find the course very hard for many reasons'. He asked Greville to 'write earnestlie unto him [Varney] to stay this strange and extraordinary course'. Two days later, on 3rd of February 1599, Greville wrote to Varney about Wotton's complaints and asked him to alleviate the heavy taxation, saying, 'The effect is first to complain of the hard tax laid upon his lands in Dasset, for relief of the poor in the parish of Brayles, the next part is his desire to be heard before you peremptorily conclude against him[,] ... And beside for my sake be pleased thus far to moderate yourself and your fellows'.¹⁵ Greville knew that the taxation would oppress the general public. In the parliament held in 1595, he made a statement that the tax increase and imposition should be carefully considered before it was put into effect.

The poor are grieved by being overcharged; this must be helped by increasing our own Burthen; for otherwise the weak feet will complain of too heavy a body; that is to be feared. If the feet knew their strength as we know their oppression, they would not bear as they do. But to answer them, it sufficeth that the time requireth it. And in a Prince power will command. To satisfy them, they cannot think we overcharge them, when

¹³ On Greville's career as Treasurer of the Navy, see Rebholz, pp. 155–180.

¹⁴ On Greville's surrender of the position of Treasurer, see Rebholz, pp. 158–159 and Rees, pp. 2, 12.

¹⁵ Quoted in Peck, p. 81.

we charge our selves with them and above them. But if nothing will satisfy them, our doings are sufficient to bind them. If the multitudes of Parliaments be remembered heretofore, many Subsidies now in one Parliament cannot seem burthensome.¹⁶

In this statement, Greville compares the poor to 'the feet'. Here Greville officially announces that he stands by the poor and shows his sympathy with those who suffer from the heavy taxation. His logic is based on the theory of the body politic and he claims the necessity of balancing the poor with the rich.

When Greville served as Treasurer of the Navy in the Elizabethan period, he met Sir John Coke (1563–1644), who would later become Greville's lifelong friend. Greville and Coke found that the Navy was tainted with corruption. They concentrated on reforming the corrupted financial system of the Navy. According to Rebholz, Greville and Coke classified the corruption into three categories: 'faults in the general administration of the navy, unduly high "ordinary" costs for maintaining the stores and ships in harbour, and the threat to the Treasurer's "particular" interest latent in the other officers' hold on his accounts'.¹⁷ Incompetent officers were ubiquitous in the Navy. Some principal officers did not attend 'at the weekly meetings'.¹⁸ Not only did these officers receive some illegal profit, but also they sold their 'own commodities to the navy at an exorbitant price'.¹⁹ As Rebholz presumes, Greville might have used his own money to compensate for the deficit, when necessary.²⁰

However, Greville's plan for reform seemed to have been too radical at that time.²¹ There is a satirical ballad in which the names of Greville and Coke appear. In this ballad, they are a target to be mocked:

¹⁶ D'Ewes, p. 490.

¹⁷ Rebholz argues that Greville's and Coke's proposal of reform 'may not have been presented to the government until 1603 to 1604' and that 'the abuses they purport to correct were apparent to Greville and Coke much earlier' (p. 164).

¹⁸ Rebholz, pp. 164–165.

¹⁹ Rebholz, p. 165.

²⁰ Rebholz, p. 165.

²¹ On Greville's and Coke's attempts to reform the navy system, see Rebholz, pp. 159–180.

Fulke and John, Fulke and John,
You two shall rise anon
When greater men be gone.
You two can pry as far,
When honours fined are,
As any man of war.
Lord, for thy pity!²²

The 2-3 lines, 'You two shall rise anon / When greater men be gone', indicate that Greville and Coke appeared to be ambitious. The word 'pry' (line 4) suggests that Greville and Coke are eager to be successful in the court (s.v. 'pry', v¹. 1). Moreover, 'pry' could also mean 'To look for, look through, or look at closely; to observe narrowly' (s.v. v¹. 3). Greville and Coke 'pryed' into high-ranking officials and checked whether they were involved in any corruption. Thus, the word 'pry' in this ballad illustrates the severity of Greville's and Coke's surveillance.

Robert Cecil could be one of the 'greater men' in this ballad. After Elizabeth's death, Cecil's power became predominant over the court. When James VI succeeded to the English throne as James I, Cecil exercised his authority over personnel management. To Greville, Cecil was '*malus Genius*' [an evil spirit].²³ Rebholz points out that Greville must have felt something close to hostility coming from Cecil, and vice versa.²⁴ Cecil used Sir Robert Mansell (1570/71-1652), who was an admiral in the English Royal Navy and an MP, to 'force Greville out of office'. In return, Cecil promised to appoint Mansell as Treasurer.²⁵ John Coke sensed Mansell's plot beforehand and wrote to Greville about the plot. In the letter dated 23rd of October 1603, Coke writes of 'Sir R. Mansell's endeavour to obtain a reversion in the Navy Office over Mr. Grevill's head'.²⁶ Finally, in 1604, Cecil and Mansell forced Greville to surrender the treasurership.²⁷ As a result, Greville retired from the court and, therefore,

²² Quoted in Rebholz, p. 166.

²³ Quoted in Rebholz, p. 233.

²⁴ Rebholz, pp. 150-159.

²⁵ Rebholz, pp. 167-177.

²⁶ Quoted in 'The Manuscripts of the Earl Cowper, K.G.', vol. 1, p. 45 [23rd of October 1603].

²⁷ On Mansell's plot, see also Rebholz, pp. 169-177.

started a life of retirement in Warwickshire in 1604. In *Dedication*, Greville describes the retirement as due to the 'decrepit age of the world'.²⁸

Greville's retirement ended with the death of Robert Cecil. King James was well aware that Greville had played an important role in the Navy. Furthermore, as Rebholz points out, James 'admitted that Greville's successors in the Navy Office were corrupt and inefficient'.²⁹ Now James appointed Greville as Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer.³⁰ When Greville re-entered the court, he was faced with much darker corruption than he had witnessed before. Not only was James's extravagance controversial at that time, but also the court was fraught with embezzlement and bribery. For instance, Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk (1561-1626), was the first on the list of the corrupt courtiers. John Chamberlain (1553-1628) was well-informed to hear the news about the court. His letter to his friend, Dudley Carleton (1573-1632), implies that Greville disclosed Howard's embezzlement as follows:

The Lord Treasurer [=Thomas Howard] makes account to have don a great peece of service in bringing the Kings revenewes to surmount his ordinarie expences more then 1000 a yeare: but Master Chauncellor [=Fulke Greville] geves out that the reconing is mistaken for a very great summe. There is scant goode quarter between them of late, for in other things he hath don the Lord Treasurer very yll offices.³¹

The letter indicates that Howard manipulated a financial statement in order to cover up his embezzlement. Technically speaking, Howard seemed to have committed an accounting fraud.³² Chamberlain's letter also suggests that

²⁸ *Prose Works*, p. 23.

²⁹ Rebholz, p. 233. According to Andrew Thrust, after Robert Mansell displaced Greville, 'Corruption was allowed to flourish at every level while he [=Mansell] himself regularly exacted exorbitant fees from the navy's suppliers as a condition of payment'. Andrew Thrust argues that Robert Mansell was 'keen to enrich himself at the government's expense'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 36, p. 538 (hereafter *ODNB*).

³⁰ Renholz, p. 240 and Rees, p. 12.

³¹ McClure, vol. 2, p. 49, no. 257 [January 18, 1617].

³² On the embezzlement by Thomas Howard and his wife, Katherine Howard (1564-1638), see *ODNB*, vol. 28, pp. 395, 438-439.

Greville was called 'Master Chauncellor' by other courtiers.³³ Howard was known to be 'one of the most extravagant courtiers at the extravagant Jacobean court'.³⁴ In the Elizabethan period, Howard served as vice-admiral of the expedition against Cadiz and, as Pauline Croft argues, 'his costly naval ventures brought him near to bankruptcy' in Elizabeth's reign.³⁵ Greville must have known about Howard's over-spending. Pauline Croft also argues that 'There can be no doubt that his [Howard's] tenure of the lord treasurership greatly worsened the pervasive corruption of the Jacobean court, with its subordination of the royal finances to private gain and the consequent alienation of public and parliamentary opinion'.³⁶ Rebholz presumes that Greville often kept his silence about Howard's embezzlement and 'never involved himself directly in the corruption of the Suffolks'.³⁷ Greville might have tolerated Howard's extravagance in order to retain his own office. However, the letter indicates that Greville could not ignore Howard's fraud any longer. Chamberlain saw Greville's revelation of Howard's embezzlement as 'very yll offices'. Greville must have known that the revelation could damage his relationship with Howard, but he eventually chose to reform the Exchequer.

II. Deleted King(s) in the Warwick Manuscript of *Cælica*

A set of six manuscripts of Greville's works is known as 'the Warwick Manuscripts' (hereafter *W*). According to Hilton Kelliher, these manuscripts are

fair copies made towards the end of Greville's life by scribes working

³³ See McClure, vol. 1, p. 584. According to Notestein, Relf and Simpson, Greville was called Chancellor (Notestein, et al., vol. 2, p. 140, no. 20). Moreover, on 18th of April 1621, Greville was called 'Mr. Chancellor' during the parliamentary debate (Notestein, et al., vol. 2, p. 299, and also vol. 5, p. 259, vol. 6, pp. 17, 56, 82, 267). Francis Bacon also once called Greville 'Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer' (Spedding, vol. 5, pp. 92, 135 and 200).

³⁴ *ODNB*, vol. 28, p. 439.

³⁵ *ODNB*, vol. 28, p. 439.

³⁶ *ODNB*, vol. 28, p. 439. On Thomas Howard as Treasurer, see Lockyer, pp. 43-45. Lockyer argues that James thought Howard was 'a plain honest gentleman' but Howard was not as honest a man as James had expected. See also Williams, vol. I, pp. 335-336.

³⁷ Rebholz, pp. 242-243. Howard's wife and his auditor, Sir John Bingley, also 'extorted bribes from officials and merchants' (Rebholz, p. 242). For further discussion of the Suffolks' involvement in bribery, see Rebholz, pp. 239-247.

under his immediate direction, and their texts, in places heavily revised in Greville's autograph, represent what is virtually the final form of his works.³⁸

W has been preserved in the British Library (Add MS 54570) since 1968.³⁹ The manuscript of *Cælica* was catalogued as 'E' by Alexander Grosart.⁴⁰ According to Kelliher, *Cælica* in *W* 'must have been copied between 1619 and 1625'.⁴¹ That is, Greville arguably reread *W* in the Jacobean age and corrected some of the poems he had written before.

Sonnet 94 was written in folio 68r, and the handwriting of lines 5-6 in the first stanza, 'For wher powr wysly audytes her estate / The checquere mens best recompense is hate' is slightly different from that of other lines.⁴² These two lines are written in the narrow space between the first and second stanzas. In all probability, when Greville saw the *W* manuscript for the first time, the first stanza of sonnet 94 contained only the first four lines. Then Greville added the couplet afterwards. Interestingly enough, in folio 81v, Greville left a draft of these two lines of sonnet 94. Below, I show the two lines as they appear in the manuscript. The crossed-out lines indicate deletions by Greville.

powr
 for wher ~~kings~~ wysly audytes ther estates
 the ~~money-masters~~ checquer mens first recompense is hate
 (Add MS 54570, fol. 81v)

According to Bullough and Kelliher, the draft was written in Greville's own hand.⁴³ If we compare this draft with the additional lines 5-6 of sonnet 94 in folio 68r, we can see Greville's writing process. Whilst the lines 5-6 of sonnet 94 read 'For wher powr wysly audytes her estate' (fol. 68r), the draft contains

³⁸ Kelliher, p. 107.

³⁹ Kelliher, pp. 107-108.

⁴⁰ See Bullough, vol. 1, pp. 28-29 and Alexander, p. 16.

⁴¹ Kelliher, pp. 110-111.

⁴² Add MS 54570, fol. 68r.

⁴³ Bullough, p. 29 and Kelliher, p. 113.

'kings' between 'wher' and 'wysly' instead of 'powr'. As is seen in the fifth line of sonnet 94, the word 'powr' (as a personification) is conceived as a female figure ('potentia' in Latin) and she possesses the 'estate'.⁴⁴ If we look at the draft, we can see Greville wrote 'ther estates,' and the possessive 'ther' refers to the noun 'kings'. Why did Greville delete 'kings' and rewrite it as 'powr'? Hugh Maclean argues that Greville possibly regards the word 'power' as a synonym for sovereignty or the individual sovereign.⁴⁵ Kelliher infers that the 'recensions of the sequence were made between 1615/16 and Greville's death'.⁴⁶ To put it another way, when Greville wrote this draft, James was one of the 'kings'. Therefore, the noun 'kings' possibly refers to James I. Whilst Greville, as Matthew Woodcock argues, 'is frequently ambiguous in his representation of "power" in an abstract sense and his use of the word to denote the representative or bearer of power', the draft in *W* gives us a hint that Greville might have been trying to criticise James more directly in writing 'kings'.⁴⁷ In the end, however, he thought it over, and decided to delete 'kings'. Grammatically speaking, the verb 'audytes' should have been 'audyte'. However, the word 'audytes' on the draft seems to have been written with one stroke. I speculate that when Greville wrote 'audytes', he might be thinking about James. When he finished writing the sentence, however, he changed 'kings' to 'powr', which agrees with 'audytes'. If he had left 'kings' in the 5th line, the sonnet would be a more point-blank criticism of King James. This could be one of the reasons for Greville's deletion of 'kings'.

Did Greville criticise James? *The Five Yeares of King James* (1643) was published under the name of Greville.⁴⁸ *Five Yeares* covers the events of the 1610s specifically from the death of the Earl of Salisbury to the rise of George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham (1592–1628). A section title, '*The complaint for want of treasure; The King sets many Lands to Fee Farm*', explains financial

⁴⁴ Greville also uses the personified 'power' in *Mustapha* (1633), Act 1 scene 2, lines 5–6.

⁴⁵ Maclean, pp. 250–258.

⁴⁶ Kelliher, p. 113.

⁴⁷ Woodcock, p.145.

⁴⁸ According to an anonymous reply in *Notes & Queries*, the *Five Yeares* 'seems erroneously ascribed to Sir Fulke Greville' and was probably written by either Arthur Wilson or 'one of Essex's friends' (pp. 489–490). However, Noah Millstone does not agree with this suggestion and points out that 'Without further evidence, the attribution to Wilson or even to one of Essex's friends should be regarded as groundless' (Millstone, pp. 174–175).

crises in the Jacobean period as follows:

Great summes of money being disbursed upon her Graces [Elizabeth Stuart's] Wedding, and dayly imployments for others; some for Ireland; The Lord Treasurer wanting there to defray ordinary expences, some for the Kings owne use, and some for other occasions, causes a great complaint for want of treasure: Officers at Court goe unpaid, and many of the Kings Servants receive not their wages at set times, so that the King is forced to set many of his Lands to Fee Farme, and the four Deputie Treasurers, with some few other, have the passing of them[.]⁴⁹

Here the 'great complaint for want of treasure' was caused in part not only by James's expenditures for his daughter's wedding, but also 'for the Kings owne use'. James's over-spending even impinged on the lives of courtiers. In order to cope with the financial difficulties and maintain the nation's revenue, James changed his 'Lands to Fee Farme'. However, kings themselves do not levy taxes. It is the Exchequer who collects taxes instead of kings. When people suffer from the taxes, they express their discontent with the Exchequer. In addition, there is a primary source which illustrates that 'chequer mens' received 'hate' from the people. According to a notice dated 29th of July 1604, a petition against the use of king's lands as 'Fee Farm' was submitted to the court and James.

Justice against the King himself is either, — For debts owing by him to the complainant, or wrongfully withholding the lands or goods of the complainant. All which are to be referred to the Court of Exchequer, or to the Lord Treasurer, or to some subordinate officer of the revenue.⁵⁰

Therefore, the Exchequer (including Greville) is subject to public criticism and receives people's 'hate' (sonnet 94, line 6) as a reward. Before the revision, Greville wrote that 'hate' was his 'first recompense'. But he altered the phrase

⁴⁹ *Five Yeares of King James*, p. 52.

⁵⁰ The title of the quotation is 'Notes touching suits made and to be made to the King's most excellent Majesty' (Manuscripts of the Earl Cowper', vol. 1, pp. 47-48).

and rewrote that hate was the 'best' recompense. As the quotation from the petition indicates that the Exchequer came under harsh criticism for the taxation, Greville might have been criticised for the taxation on the fee farms. In response to the criticism levelled at him, Greville changed 'first' to 'best'. Therefore, Greville's revision to 'best recompense is hate' reflects his bitter experience at the Jacobean Exchequer.

Greville's experiences at the Exchequer might provide a clue to the deletion in line 2 of the draft, 'the ~~money masters~~ checquer mens first recompence is hate'.⁵¹ The phrase 'money masters' was written between the definite article 'the' and the possessive 'checquer mens'. According to *OED*, 'money master' means a person 'who possesses large funds with which he does business' (s.v. 'money', n. 8). Since both tellers and 'money masters' 'take coyne', the 'money masters' could refer to 'Tellers' in line 2 of sonnet 94. However, the term 'money masters' was sometimes used in a negative sense. For instance, Nicholas Breton (1554/5-c.1626), English poet and satirist, writes, 'Mony-masters are the pride of the market' (sig. Dr).⁵² Here Breton uses 'Mony-masters' in the context of a money-lending transaction. According to Richard Richards, 'unlawful dealings of thieving brokers' were prevalent in the Jacobean period.⁵³ Brokers borrow money from the 'money-masters' and lend money to people with interest. Huniman, a Jacobean pawnbroker, was furious about a situation where some 'money-masters' help brokers to carry on money-lending transactions at an exorbitant rate.⁵⁴ Huniman says that he wants to search brokers' houses in order to reveal the names of 'money-masters' who facilitate the unauthorised transactions.⁵⁵ From this perspective, the phrase 'money-masters' could possibly be associated with the unlawful money-lending transactions in the Jacobean period. If the term 'money masters' had not been deleted, 'kings' could also be associated with the unlawful transactions, which might lead to a direct criticism of James. In *A Treatise of Monarchy* (1670), Greville defines the role of the Exchequer thus: 'Exchequers that revenewes

⁵¹ Whilst 'checquer' in the draft (fol. 81v) does not seem to have 'e' at the end of 'checquer', 'checquere' in the fifth line of sonnet 94 (fol. 68r) seems to have 'e' at the end.

⁵² Breton, *Wits Private Wealth*.

⁵³ Royal MS 18 quoted in Richards, p. 11.

⁵⁴ Richards, pp. 12-13.

⁵⁵ Quoted in Richards, pp. 12-13.

judge, and gather'.⁵⁶ As tellers are one of the four kinds of officers of the Exchequer, the phrase 'checquer mens' matches well with 'Tellers'. They both collect taxes from James's 'estate', that is, 'Fee Farm'. Hence the phrase 'checquer mens' matches not only with tellers, but also with the context of the first stanza of sonnet 94.

Both the quotations from *Five Yeares* and the petition make it obvious that James's extravagance and taxation were criticised at that time. If Greville had an intention of criticising James, the adverb 'wisely' both in the first line of the draft and the 5th line of sonnet 94 should be interpreted as sarcastic. *OED* defines 'wisely' as 'With wisdom, sound judgement, or sagacity' (s.v. adv. 1). In *Dedication*, Greville uses the adverb 'wisely' when he praises Queen Elizabeth as follows:

[...] with the same restraining providence she kept the crown from necessity to use imperial and chargeable mandates upon her people when she had most need of their service, contrary to the wisdom of all government; neither did she, by mistaking or misapplying instances gathered out of the fatal conquests of her ancestors, parallel her present need and levies with theirs, but [Elizabeth] wisely considered that the king and the people were then equally possessors of both realms, and so, in all impositions, contributors to themselves at the first hand.⁵⁷

(My underlining)

Here Greville uses 'wisely' to explain that the Queen respected the balance between the monarch and the people. In *Dedication*, which was probably written from 1610 to 1614, Greville mentions Elizabeth with the intention of criticising James.⁵⁸ If Greville uses 'wisely' in order to praise the Queen, 'wisely' in sonnet 94 and the draft could possibly mean 'Skilfully, cleverly, cunningly' (s.v. 3. a), used to criticise James. James could be one of the 'kings' who 'skilfully' ('wisely') audit people's 'estates' and exploit them in order to yield a

⁵⁶ *Complete Poems*, vol. 2, p. 67.

⁵⁷ *Prose Works*, p. 118, lines 3-11.

⁵⁸ On the dating of *Dedication*, see *Prose Works*, pp. xxi-xxiv and Rebholz, pp. 210, 331-340. Rebholz argues that Greville praises Queen Elizabeth in *Dedication* 'as a weapon against James' (p. 210).

profit. People are fully aware of James's craftiness and feel discontented with the taxation.

Greville does not dare to criticise James directly. The way in which Greville criticises James is by means of retrospective allusions to Queen Elizabeth. In *Dedication*, Greville mentions how parsimonious the Queen was as follows:

[...] by the same reverend auditor, she watched over the nimble spirits, self-seekings or large-handedness of her active Secretaries, examining their intelligence-money, packets, bills of transportation, propositions of state which they offered up by their places, together with suits of other natures — in her wisdom still severing the deep business from the specious but narrow selfness of inferior officers.⁵⁹

Given that *Dedication* was written in the Jacobean period, this passage may insinuate James's extravagance.⁶⁰ What is more, James's extravagance was hotly debated in the Commons. For instance, in the debate of parliament in 1614, an MP called Hyde (c.1572-1631) mentioned that James had spent a large sum of money for two years. Hyde also compares James with Elizabeth, saying, 'That the King two years together spent 2 millions every year; that the King has given to one or two men a 1,000 li. land a year of his old rents, which was more than Queen Elizabeth gave to all her servants and favorites in all her reign'.⁶¹ Hyde's harsh criticism sounds similar to the way in which Greville implicitly compares James's financial policy with Elizabeth's in *Dedication*. Greville's political thought is Elizabethan.⁶² In the same way, Greville emphasises that frugality is an important attribute for a monarch. In *A*

⁵⁹ *Prose Works*, p. 110, lines 8-14.

⁶⁰ Rebholz argues that both Greville's plays and *Dedication* contain criticism of the Jacobean government (pp. 200-215). For further historical comparisons of the Elizabethan and Jacobean courts, see Croft, pp. 134-138. See also Lockyer, pp. 31-50.

⁶¹ Jansson, p. 424. Jansson is not sure whether 'Hyde' is Nicholas Hyde (1572-1631) or Robert Hyde (1562-1642), both of whom were MPs in the Jacobean period.

⁶² Woodcock argues that '[in] his repeated exhortations and examples of the correct use of various aspects of government activity Greville may well, as has often been suggested, look back to a better times as he had in the *Dedication* using an idealized treatment of Elizabeth's reign' (pp. 149-150).

Treatise of Monarchy, Greville writes,

Whence, I conclude it for a monarchie
Wisdome, in her expences, and creations,
To use a spare discretee frugalitie,
Which gives the worcke, and workman reputation;
And so againe by all ingenious wayes
Descendinge rents, not impositions raise.⁶³
(*Monarchy*, stanza 464)

Greville concludes that frugality is a key to the monarchy and, therefore, a monarch should be a frugal person. Greville believes that raising ‘impositions’, or oppressive taxes, has an economic impact on the ‘workman’, in other words, the general public. Provided that *Monarchy* was written in the Jacobean age, this stanza may be read as an implicit criticism of James’s extravagance.⁶⁴ Furthermore, in another stanza of *Monarchy*, Greville opines, ‘Wise Princes with their fortunes must be bounded, / Since all excesses be infortunate’ (stanza 462, lines 3-4). Here Greville claims that monarchs should be ‘wise’ in money matters. Therefore, any princes who are extravagant with money are not suitable to be kings. Thus, James would not be a ‘wise’ king to Greville.

Conclusion

So far, I have investigated the relationship between sonnet 94 and Greville’s experiences at the Exchequer in the Jacobean period. Greville’s criticism can be found in *Dedication* in which he retrospectively harks back to the golden age of Queen Elizabeth and mentions her financial management. His references to the Elizabethan age also suggest an implicit criticism of James’s financial policy. In the light of Greville’s long involvement in public affairs, the draft on the blank page of *W* seems to accord with his personal experiences and political career. Writing the draft in *W*, ‘for wher kings wysly audytes ther estates / the money masters first recompence is hate’ (fol. 81v), Greville almost

⁶³ *Complete Poems*, vol. 2, pp. 151-152.

⁶⁴ According to Rebholz, Greville started writing *Monarchy* in 1599-1604, but he continued writing it even after 1604 (p. 340).

presented a direct critique of James. As Kelliher points out 'Greville's known habit of frequent and thorough revision', Greville was careful enough not to criticise James in public.⁶⁵ Greville rephrased 'kings' and wrote 'power' to make sonnet 94 less clearly relevant to James's levy. In doing so, Greville avoided being suspected of writing a direct criticism of James, which, in the worst-case scenario, could lead to an accusation of high treason. Therefore, the deleted 'king(s)' in *W* provides an illuminating insight into *Cælica* sonnet 94.

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⁶⁵ Kelliher, p. 109.

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