Foster

Cornwallis's Use of the Classics
CORNWALLIS'S USE OF THE CLASSICS

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY Lucy Ray Foster ENTITLED Cornwallis's Use of the Classics BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF Master of Arts in English

[Signatures]

Recommendation concurred in:

Committee on Final Examination*

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INTRODUCTION

Sir William Cornwallis published his first book of essays in 1600.¹ A second part appeared in 1601, and a third edition in 1606, containing a reprint of the second part of 1601. In all, there are fifty-two essays on such subjects as love, fame, resolution, friendship, counsel, sorrow, and similar abstract themes, such as were favorite topics of the moralists of the period. In 1604 he published "The Miraculous and Happy Union of England and Scotland, and in 1616, "Essays of Certain Paradoxes" and "The Encomiums." The "Paradoxes" include "The Praise of King Richard the Third," "The Praise of French Pockes," "The Praise of Nothing," and "That It is Good to be in Debt." The "Encomiums" include "The Praise of Sadness" and "The Praise of the Emperor Julian the Apostate." These comprise the entire amount of Cornwallis's work except the edition of 1632 which contains three more essays than the original collection, and the "Discourses upon Seneca the Tragedian," reprinted from 1631 and first published in 1601.¹

The intent of the essays is moral and educational, the aim being to present in familiar form instructions on the ideal conduct of life. Cornwallis's general attitude toward life, as it appears in his writings, is that in all things a man must be virtuous. He must be temperate, brave, enduring, reserved, patriotic, and industrious,

¹ See "Geography of National Biography."
putting forth his energies at all times toward that which will be of the most profit morally and intellectually. This attitude is maintained consistently throughout his essays, but is not necessarily an actual program for regulating his daily life. It is rather the expression of what he thinks a man's manner of life should be ideally, and was determined by his reading in the philosophers and historians of classical times.

In style Cornwallis follows the personal tone of Montaigne. He uses the first person as the medium for expressing his ideas and observations—sometimes original, oftentimes otherwise—upon the subject under discussion. Frequently, too, he gives a more intimate touch to his writing by recording his own feelings and giving illustrations from his own life, as does Montaigne; but he is more didactic than the Frenchman in the treatment of his subject, having rather the tone of the preacher, and his tendency to point a moral. He usually closes with a practical exhortation for the benefit either of himself or of his reader, while on the other hand Montaigne, after rambling on and finally finishing with a story or general observation that differs little from any other part of his essay, leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions in regard to whatever moral there may be. One of the best illustrations of this didactic trait of Cornwallis is found in the ending of the paradox "That It is Good to be in Debt." The imitation of Montaigne was not accidental; for there is good evidence that the Englishman knew the Frenchman's writings, although not in printed form. He obtained his knowledge of them through Florio's translation, undoubtedly the manuscript, since this translation was not printed till 1603, three years after the first edition of Cornwallis. In the essay "Of Censuring," he has a rather
long comment on Florio, although he does not mention him by name. He writes, "For profitable Recreation that noble French Knight, the Lord de Montaigne, is most excellent whom though I have not been so much beholding to the French as to see in his Originall, yet divers of his pieces I have seen translated." He then goes on to praise the translator, speaking of the excellence and brevity of his style. In addition to this comment which shows clearly that he had read the essays, he mentions Montaigne five times by name. In spite of all the differences in subject matter and treatment of theme due to the dissimilarity in the natures of the two men, Cornwallis ranks as the first deliberate imitator of Montaigne and therefore the first personal essayist of England.

Cornwallis like Montaigne draws much of his material from classical sources—not only allusions but also quotations. In his fifty-nine essays, he uses two hundred sixty-nine Latin quotations and makes three hundred forty-five direct references to classical men and stories; but there are in his writings all told only one hundred twenty-four quotations and references not classical. The purpose of this paper is, in the first place, to determine in what way and to what extent this mass of material derived from the classics affects the ideas in Cornwallis's essays, and, in the second place, to identify as far as possible the sources of his Latin quotations.

1 In the essays "Of Affection," "Of Silence and Secrecy," "Of Trappes for Fame," "Of Essays and Books," and "The Instruments of a Statesman."

2 The "Essays" proper plus the "Encomiums" and "Paradoxes."

3 I have been able to identify less than one-half the Latin quotations because of limited time and a lack of concordances and other material current in Cornwallis's day.
In general the method of procedure will be as follows:

1. A classification and discussion of the classical allusions to show their relation to the ideas expressed in the essays.

2. A similar but more extensive treatment of the quotations.

3. A table containing all the quotations, the sources of which has been found, in the order in which they appear in the essays.

4. An index of the quotations so identified under the author from whom they have been taken.
CHAPTER I.

THE USE OF CLASSICAL ALLUSIONS

Since Cornwallis has made so many allusions to men of classical times with stories or incidents regarding them (three hundred forty-five in all), the question naturally arises, "From what sources did he draw his knowledge of the classics?" An accurate classification is hard to make on account of the variety and combinations in illustrative material. For instance, I have not attempted to classify separately the references to men and to stories, because in almost every case some anecdote, incident, or illustrative quality is given in connection with each man. The only exception to this is that I have grouped under the heading "stories" those few references in which the man's name is not used.

Cornwallis mentions twenty-two different men enough times or in such a way as to make it seem evident that he was familiar with their writings. From these men, especially Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, Tacitus, Cicero, Seneca, and Plato, he undoubtedly drew much of his material. The following classification gives first the names of the twenty-two possible sources with the number of references to each, and in some cases quotations to show reasons for considering them sources and at the same time to show Cornwallis's opinion and knowledge of them as writers; secondly, the number of other classical names and allusions used.
Plato: (Fifteen times). Three times he speaks of his "Socrates;" once he says he likes his (Plato's) description of Socrates as a soldier (1); twice he mentions him with Seneca, writing, "I have been counselled by Plato and Seneca for Philosophy" (25); and, "These last (books) I am much bound to, especially to Seneca and Plato" (1); once, "I have already commended Plato, yet speaking of books, I must again mention him" (45). Eight other references.²

Plutarch: (Ten times). Twice he speaks of Plutarch's "Lives" (15, 19); twice he compares him with Diogenes Laertius as a writer, declaring that Laertius is better than Plutarch because few of Plutarch's captains are philosophers, while many of Diogenes' philosophers are captains not inferior to Plutarch's (35); and again, "Among those I have seen none are worthy but Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius, which two being diligently read, and rightly used, cannot but recompence the reader's pains......" (45); once he mentions him with Tacitus and Sallust: "Shall we not become excellent with conversing with Tacitus, Plutarch, Sallust and fellowes of that ranke?" (15); once as a writer of essays. Four other references to Plutarch's sayings.

Cicero: (Nine times). Four times as a writer ("Praise of the Emperor Julian," 19, 15); once he speaks of his style as inferior to that of Tacitus and Seneca (43). Four other references.

Seneca: (Eight times). Once he mentions his "Epistles;" once he speaks of his style in connection with that of Cicero and

---

1 The number of the essay in 1632 edition.

2 By other references, I mean in each case such as may have been taken from books about the man and not necessarily from his own books. For example, any of the last eight references to Plato may have been taken from the "Life of Plato" by Diogenes Laertius.
Tacitus (43); twice he mentions him with Plato (1, 25); twice he speaks of him as a writer of morality (45): once in connection with Aristotle and once with Petrarch. Two other references.

Tacitus: (Eight times). Twice he speaks of him as a historian (12, 45); once he mentions him with regard to his style: "From Tacitus concise stile, there are many Jewells to be gotten" (15); once in connection with Plutarch and Sallust (15); three times as the source of an illustrating story (27, 45).

Diogenes Laertius: (Five times). Twice he mentions him in connection with Plutarch as a writer (35, 45); once he writes, "I happened amongst my books to meet with Diogenes Laertius, where I was much delighted, even more than ever I was with any book" (35). Two other references.

Aristotle: (Three times). Once he mentions him with Seneca (45). Two other references.

Virgil: (Twice). Once he speaks of Virgil's "Aeneid" as a "booke meet for Princes" (45); once of Eolus from Virgil (52).

Xenophon: (Twice). Twice he mentions his "Cyrus" (20, 45).

Sallust: (Twice). Once as a writer: "Sallust is excellent in his descriptions of men" (15); once in connection with Tacitus and Plutarch (15).

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1 See the discussion of Cicero.
2 See the discussion of Plato for quotations.
3 See the discussion of Plutarch for quotation.
4 See the discussion of Seneca for quotation.
5 See the discussion of Plutarch for quotation.
6 See the discussion of Seneca for quotation.
7 See the discussion of Plutarch for quotation.
"Aesop's Fables": (Twice). (45, 49).

Homer: (Twice). Once as a poet (45). One other reference.

Livy: (Once). He writes, "When I read Livy...." (35).

Suetonius: (Once). He writes, "I remember Suetonius mentions Nero" (25).

Lipsius: (Once). He mentions his "De Constantia" (32).

Ovid: (Once). ("The Praise of Sadness").

Lucan: (Once). He mentions him as a "poet good to inspire to arms" (45).

Terence: (Once). He says, "I remember Terence makes a Father commend his sonne" (46).

Tibullus: (Once).

Lucretius: (Once).

St. Augustine: (Once). He mentions a saying in his "Confessions." 1

Whether or not Cornwallis is indebted most to the authors whom he mentions the greatest number of times is a hard question to answer; but at least it is clear that he was familiar with them.

Therefore it seems reasonable to assume that he would draw his illus-

1 The following are mentioned more than twice:

Alexander, 25  Nero, 5  Demetrius, 3
Caesar, 22  Antony, 4  Pompey, 3
Augustus, 8  Tiberius, 4  Aurelius, 3
Cato, 6  Sulla, 4  Zeno, 3
Socrates, 6  Galba, 3  Dion, 3
Lycurgus, 5

The remaining allusions can be summarized as follows:

Twenty men mentioned twice.
Seventy-seven men mentioned once.
Eighteen references to groups of men like the Romans.
Five references to customs and laws.
Four miscellaneous references like the Golden Age of Saturn.
Thirteen stories.
trations from them, since he knew them best. Moreover, another fact adds weight to this assumption, namely that we know those authors deal with many of the people mentioned in the list. For example, Plutarch in his "Lives" wrote the history of twenty-seven of the men and Diogenes Laertius in his "Lives of Famous Philosophers" wrote of ten of them. Then in addition, we find many names familiar to the readers of the "Histories" and "Annals" of Tacitus; the "Lives" of Suetonius, as well as the works of Cicero and others mentioned in the list of sources. Of course this discussion of authors does not prove that Cornwallis took his material directly from these books, but only suggests them as a probable source. The second part of the classification—that of the names used in his allusions—shows something of the extent of his knowledge so far as the number and variety of the references are concerned.

It remains to be shown to what extent Cornwallis's essays are dominated by the classical idea; viz. whether his thought was more influenced by classical literature than by other literary interests. The latter include Biblical references and references to modern languages, English and foreign, such as those to Christ's feeding the five thousand; to Arthur of Britain and Stowe's "Chronicle;" and to the Turkish government as an example of violence and of tyranny masked under religion. A comparison between these two kinds of allusions shows that the classical far outweighs the non-classical, the proportion being 345 to 46.

If the full extent of the classical influence is brought out, a still further enumeration must be made of the non-literary illustrations which Cornwallis took from his own life and his knowledge of current events. There are forty-five such examples, a small
number in proportion to the large number of classical allusions.

Cornwallis's chief purpose in using his classical store of knowledge is to help make his meaning clear through illustration and emphasis of his ideas. If he is treating a theme, such as vanity, he brings out his meaning by giving an incident from the life of a Greek or a Roman; by comparing the actions and characteristics of different men; or by relating some story of antiquity. His method can best be shown by examining the writings themselves. When, in the "Happy Union of England and Scotland," he wishes to show that England has found her other half which will complete her greatness, he tells Plato's story of how originally the gods made man's body round, and then, because he abused his strength, divided it, leaving him one half of his former self with the power of enjoying his first strength only when he should find a perfect friend. Again, in "The Praise of Sadness," to show the effect of mirth and sensuality upon those who indulge in them, Cornwallis refers to the changed appearance of Hannibal's army after its debauchery of the winter in Campania. In the essay "Of Vanity," he is discussing fortitude as a virtue and in order to illustrate how his opinion of true fortitude differs from the old idea, he compares Cato, Pelopidas, and Camillus. The first may have been thought a pattern of fortitude for having the courage to kill himself; but to the Englishman he would have shown greater fortitude, if like Camillus and Pelopidas he had lived to risk his life for his country. Again in "Of Conceit," as an illustration of reprehending vice or faults by wit instead of by chiding, he tells the story of Archelaus and the talkative barber. To the latter's question as to how he wished to be trimmed, Archelaus replied,"Silently." In another paper when discussing friendships and
-l-
factions, he warns individuals against entering into an alliance with a faction for which there is a hope of reconciliation with its rival, because such a reconciliation results in the death of the weaker parties. He emphasizes his point by relating the action of the members of the Triumvirate in making out the proscription list. Hecuba is used as an example of a happy person suddenly made wretched; Sallust, of a writer excellent for his descriptions of men; Cicero, of a writer who uses too many words; Caractacus, the British captive, of one who was invincible though conquered; and Julius Caesar, an example of attending to business and dying in a fitting manner. Thus it is that Cornwallis has an illustration or example ready for every observation.

In fact in some instances the illustrations are so numerous that they practically make up the essay. In "Of Essays and Books" there are twenty-three such illustrations; in "The Instruments of a Statesman," seventeen; and in "Of Censuring" and "Of the Observation and Use of Things," fifteen. It can readily be seen, therefore, that in a short essay containing so many classical allusions, the thought will have to be merely a thread of connection for the illustrations.

Since the extent of the influence of the classical allusions and the purpose of their use have been considered, it remains to be considered whether there is anything in his essays that would show the kind of influence of classical literature upon his ideas in general. It is significant to note in this connection that, although the number of philosophers, historians, and poets mentioned is about the same, there are forty-seven references to the philosophers and twenty-five to the historians, but only nine to the poets. This in-
dicates that Cornwallis referred to the classics for the purpose of obtaining a code of ethics rather than for mere stories for illustration. Judging, too, from his own words, his ideals must have been colored by the writings of the philosophers, especially Seneca, and the opinions he expresses in regard to fortitude, temperance, affection, and fame must have been instilled into his mind by his reading. He furnishes evidence for this inference when he says that Xenophon in his "Cyrus" has so plainly shown the way of virtue that the poorest understanding cannot go astray, nor the worst abuse him by a wrong interpretation. May it not be possible, then, that when in other essays Cornwallis sets forth his beliefs in virtue and its rewards, he is reproducing to a certain extent, though perhaps unconsciously, Xenophon's expressions on the same subject? Again in the same essay ("Of Essays and Books"), he writes that Seneca's "Tragedies" fit well the hand of a statesman, for upon that imaginary stage are brought many actions that fit the stage of life. In another place he definitely declares, "I am of Seneca's minde concerning this variety of bookes, who compares, etc." He also quotes the ideas of the philosophers and turns to books in looking for virtue: "These last I am much bound to, especially to Seneca and Plato, who have gotten this power over me (though they seldom make me do well), they so wholly possess me, as I am sometimes resolved to meditate on nothing under Socrates' 'Apologie.'" In still another essay, he declares that he will take Socrates and Caesar as patterns and by their example will live temperately and love valor. Other examples could be cited, but these are sufficient to prove that Cornwallis's ideas were determined by his reading.
CHAPTER II
THE USE OF LATIN QUOTATIONS

In considering Cornwallis's use of Latin quotations and their influence upon his ideas, the first thing to be done, as in the case of the allusions, is to determine the sources from which he draws his material. There are in all his writings two hundred sixty-nine direct Latin quotations, one hundred four of which I was able to locate. The following are the authors with the number of quotations from each:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seneca</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tacitus</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Virgil</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Suetonius</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julian the Apostate</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cicero</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ovid</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plutarch</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plato</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenal</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horace</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epicurus</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sallust</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucretius</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publilius Syrus</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catullus</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diogenes Laertius</td>
<td>1</td>
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A comparison of these results with those obtained in the classification in chapter one of the sources for the allusions shows that the quotations are taken very largely from those same authors to whom Cornwallis refers for illustration. This coincidence in the two

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1 The identification of quotations from Virgil, Tacitus, Horace, and Seneca's "Tragedies" is complete; but it is not complete for the others. This may account for the apparently small number of quotations from Plutarch, Cicero, Laertius, and Plato.
sets of authors is a significant fact in that it would seem to establish conclusively the main sources of his reading.

The extent to which he uses Latin quotations can readily be seen when their number is compared with that of the non-classical. There are two hundred sixty-nine of the former, both prose and poetry, but only thirty-four of the latter: twenty Italian, thirteen English, and one Spanish. It is interesting to note in connection with this study of the attitude of Cornwallis's mind that when not expressing himself with the aid of the classics, he quotes a greater number of times from a foreign language akin to the Latin than from his own language. The English quotations are short, comprising commonplace sayings and proverbs, and Bible verses,\(^1\) such as, "To set the cart before the horse;" "Better fed than taught;" "Everybody's friend but his own;" "Take up thy bed and walk;" and "Love thy neighbor as thyself." In "That It is Good to be in Debt," he quotes three stanzas from a poem by Thomas Occleve. This is the only instance in which he uses English poetry and is in direct contrast to the many times he quotes Latin poetry in passages from two to ten verses in length.

Since the number of Latin quotations far exceeds the number from other languages they must have a definite place in Cornwallis's scheme of writing. The purposes and methods of their use are similar to those of the classical allusions except that they are more varied and of greater importance. To make clear his thought by illustration and emphasis is the most extensive use that Cornwallis makes of the quotations. He follows his reflections upon

\(^1\) In "Of Knowledge" there is one instance of a Bible verse quoted in Latin: "Fiat lux," Genesis I, 3.
the subject in hand by a quotation which sometimes illustrates what he has been saying, and sometimes clinches his meaning by repeating the idea in other words. A few examples will show what I mean in this particular. In "Of Resolution" he is telling how he would not be overcome with grief even though he should lose his wife and his parents, because he knows the revolutions of the world. What he means by this last is shown in the following quotation: "Omnia tempus edax depascitur, omnia carpit. Nil sinit esse diu." (Greedy time devours everything, destroys everything. It permits nothing to last long). Again in "Of Fear," after speaking of those who have shown contempt of fear, and especially of Zeno as a man of constancy who withstood heat, cold, and sickness in pursuit of his philosophical work, he writes:

"Hunc non aeris hiems domuit non frigidus imber,
Non solis radii, non vis tecterima morbi,
Non quicquid vulgo pretiosum, invictus at unus,
Instabat gravibus studiis noctesque diesque."

(Neither cold weather, nor freezing rain, nor the rays of the sun, nor the power of most loathsome disease, nor anything dear to the common crowd, mastered him; unconquered and alone, night and day, he eagerly pursued his weighty studies). In this quotation he does not give an additional thought as he does in the case of the first example cited, but he merely emphasizes the idea expressed in the preceding sentence. The quotation in "Of Knowledge,"

"Omne hominum genus in terris
Simili surgit ab ortu
Unus enim rerum Pater est
Unus cuncta ministrat."

(The whole race of men on earth arises from the same source, for there is one father of all things and one power governs all.)
gives the reason for his statement in the sentence before that all men are brothers and therefore we ought to prefer to help a man rather than to spend affection and money on pictures or other lifeless
These are all examples of quotations used in separate sentences immediately following the main idea; but Cornwallis often places the illustrating quotation within the sentence, either as a translation of some word or as the object of the verb "said." In "Of Opinion," he advises the one who loathes life to love virtue and "to imitate Cato of Whom Sallust says 'Esse quam videri bonus malebat!'" (He preferred to be rather than to seem good.) Again in "Of Silence and Secrecy," we find him using a Latin phrase to translate his English meaning, when he writes, "There is a wise Philosopher that calls words the shadowes of deeds, 'Sermo operis umbra.'"

Cornwallis's mind is so imbued with the classics that he seems to prefer to use Latin even when one would most naturally expect him to use English. He puts the quotation within the sentence, making it so much a part of the thought that the sentence would be incomplete without it. In "Of Knowledge" during a discussion of poverty he makes this statement, "Poverty is the way 'Res quibus occultas penitus consivere possis'" (by which you may be able to consider things deeply hidden). A more frequent way is to make the quotation a clause after such conjunctions as "for" and "or." In "Of Nature's Policy" he writes, "Thus excellently shall these states stand, that proceed so impartially and wisely to imitate her, for 'Ratio est naturae imitatio!'" (Imitation is the plan of nature). Also in "Of Essays and Books," he writes "........justice must be matched with daring, or else it is not Fortitude; the cause must reconcile the effect to upright truth, or else 'Heu quantum poenae miseris, mens conscia donat.'" (Alas how much punishment a guilty mind gives to the wretched). Sometimes it is not a whole clause, but
merely a phrase or a word that he uses in this way, a use which further emphasizes his tendency to substitute Latin for English. In "Of Censuring," he is speaking of how dying well carries honor and majesty with it. "Let us," he adds, "in God's name 'Hoc agere' (heed this), when we live, live, and when we are about death tend our business." In "Of Fame, he mentions the "Insecta animalia" instead of insects.

In the third place Cornwallis makes many of the quotations the basis of his thought; viz. the quotation not only illustrates an idea expressed in a preceding sentence, but also suggests further reflections upon the subject. In "Of Knowledge" in connection with his comments upon adversity, he quotes, "Si vis vacare animo, aut pauper esse oportet, aut pauperi simili" (If you wish to be free in mind, you ought either to be a poor man or like a poor man), which leads to a further discussion of the particular adversity, poverty. The "non mihi res, sed me rebus submittere conor" (I do not attempt to fit circumstances to me, but to submit myself to circumstances) becomes the basis of his assertion that he does not live to illustrate the excellency of any art, but to use arts as briddles with which to control the headstrong wilfulness of his natural corruption. In "The Instruments of a Statesman" by beginning the essay with the quotation, "Nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firme" (Now, Aeneas, there is necessity for courage, now for a brave heart), he gives the general tone and underlying idea of the essay, namely the courage necessary for the statesman to oppose the vice that besets him.

The examples given above show one phase only of the use of the Latin as a basis of the thought. Two other phases entirely distinct from this are found in "Seneca the Tragedian" and "Julian the
Apostate." Both the thought and form of these essays is determined by the borrowed idea.

In the former, the whole essay is built upon quotations taken from the "Tragedies of Seneca," there being as many parts to it as there are passages (twelve) quoted. Each passage contains from one to five verses and becomes the basis for a little essay by itself. Since he himself says in regard to one quotation, "How my Tragedian meanes hier, I know not, but how I understand him is this......" it is clear he explains the passages not from the standpoint of the author's meaning, but according to the train of philosophical reflection aroused by the Latin. Not only does he comment, however, upon each passage as a whole, but he breaks it up into its parts, and lets each part suggest to him a new idea and new treatment. One quotation with its divisions and the discussion of each will be enough to explain this method and just how each passage affects the ideas of Cornwallis. On the whole the treatment of all twelve quotations is the same.

"Miserrimum est timere cum speres nihil."

(It is most wretched to fear when you have no hope). Cornwallis first takes up the general idea suggested to him by the quotation as a whole, namely the equal balance of the affections in the body of man. Each affection of the mind and humor of the body has its contrary to off-set it: hope has fear, and love, hate. The body and mind are sound so long as the balance is kept even; but when any affection or humor outweighs its opposite, then sickness results—the body languishes and the mind thinks itself miserable, "for (concludes Cornwallis) miserrimum est timere cum speres nihil." He then considers the clause "Miserrimum est timere." Feare is the theme of
this discussion, although, as he says, he has spoken of it often before. His idea here is that, since fear adds to the number and force of griefs and believes them more terrible than they are, it is, therefore, the most affecting punishment that accompanied the fall of man. The next division, "cum speres nihil" suggests to him the quality and blessing of hope. The sum and substance of what he has to say concerning this is that the most pleasing thoughts and most contented minds come from hope, which is an attribute of the soul and of no kin to the body. Hope is always present; it never deserts us even when we lie dying. Finally Cornwallis comes back to the quotation as a whole, considering it from a slightly different angle than in the first place. His conclusion is that it is most miserable to fear when we cannot hope, because when fear is not balanced by hope, desperation is the result.

In "Julian the Apostate," the general method of treatment is again quite different, although the whole encomium like "Seneca the Tragedian" depends for its ideas and form upon a classical work, Julian's "Caesares." Strange as it may seem, only seven of the thirty-five quotations are taken from the "Caesares." The rest are from various authors and are used for illustration and emphasis; but the important point to be noticed is the influence that the borrowed idea has on the thought as a whole and on the general style and arrangement of the essay. There are three sections to the encomium: a description of the life and habits of Julian; an account of the banquet of the gods, modelled after the "Caesares;" and within this latter a digression on the comparison of Caesar and Alexander. The materials of the first and third sections are composed of historical facts combined with individual observations by the author in his usual manner.
The second section is of particular interest, because it differs from Cornwallis's other methods of treating his subjects. It is a rather unique device on his part for bringing a large number of old Romans to the attention of his readers, and an excuse for giving his opinions of them. Like Julian, Cornwallis has Romulus invite his successors to a feast at which the gods are present. Each Roman enters in turn, beginning with Julius Caesar and continuing through the long list of emperors and generals. Silenus, Jupiter's jester, is present and makes sarcastic remarks which form the basis of many of Cornwallis's comments on the characters of the men. He has followed Julian quite closely so far as Silenus's conversation is concerned. In fact two of the seven passages that I was able to identify as belonging to the "Caesares" are questions of Silenus, and the other five are answers to questions of his. The remainder of his remarks are reported indirectly in English, but yet are important because, as has just been suggested, they furnish the excuse for Cornwallis's comments upon the faults and foibles of the men. So far as the characterization is concerned, however, it is a judicious mixture of material drawn from Julian's account and from other historical sources, such as any reader of the classics would be familiar with. Cornwallis omits some of the men mentioned by Julian, presumably for lack of space, but takes up the contest of the emperors in which the most prominent, such as Caesar, Augustus, Alexander, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius, are allowed to vindicate their course of action on earth. The rivalry is strong. Each one justifies himself and his deeds to the best of his ability, but finds it rather difficult to give a satisfactory answer to Silenus' questions as to why he endeavored, and what he thought the
most excellent thing in life. Alexander replies in answer to the former, "Ut omnia vincerem" (that I might conquer everything). To the latter, Octavius replies, "Pulchre imperium administrare," (to carry on the empire well); but Marcus Aurelius is judged the best, because he says "Deos imitari" (to imitate the gods), and that to imitate the gods is "Quam paucissimis indigere et quam plurimis benefacere." (To want as little as possible and to benefit as many as possible). There is no need to go further into detail to show that the entire thought and the form of "The Praise of the Emperor Julian" rests upon the classics and is influenced by the author's knowledge of them.

From the discussion in the preceding paragraphs, it is evident that a classical subject such as "The Praise of the Emperor Julian" or "Seneca the Tragedian" has its influence upon the content and the style, thus producing an essay entirely different in character from the essays upon his usual subjects, such as love, virtue and fortitude. The extent of the influence of such a subject may be seen by comparing "The Praise of the Emperor Julian" with "The Praise of King Richard the Third." Besides the fact that all the men mentioned and all the references are classical in the former, there are thirty-five Latin quotations; while in the latter there are but three references to classical men, and one quotation, all the illustrations being taken from English history or from the French history connected with Richard III, as would naturally be the case since it is controversial in intent.
CHAPTER III.

A. THE LIST OF QUOTATIONS IDENTIFIED OF RESOLUTION

1. "Spes nomen est boni incerti."
   SENECA:¹ "Epistles" 10, 2.

OF SUSPICION

2. "Occultus ac subdolus fingendis virtutibus donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuerint."
   Tacitus: "Annals" VI, 51, 14.

3. "Nemo rationem otii sui reddere cogeretur."
   Suetonius: "Galba" IX, 12.

4. "Quasdam insidias temere delatas adeo expavit, ut deponere imperium cogeretur."

OF ENTERTAINMENT

5. "Non omnibus Dormio."
   Cicero: "Epistulae ad Familiares" VII, 24, 1.

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¹ Sometimes Cornwallis himself mentions the author and book. Such examples are indicated by writing the names in capitals.
OF CENSURING

6. "Militem donis, populum annona cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit."

Tacitus: "Annals" I, 2, 6.

7. "In inferiorem Germaniam missus est, contemptu magis quam gratia electus."


8. "Constantia mortis haud indigna Sempronio nomine."


OF DISCONTENTMENTS

9. "Tantum abest ut timeam mortem, ut nunc etiam teneam Amore."


OF FAKE

10. "Ut iam servares bene corpus adultera mens est."

Ovid: "Amores" III, 4, 5.

OF AFFECTION

11. "Talis amor teneat, nec sit mihi cura Mederi."

Virgil: "Eclogues" VIII, 89.

OF KEEPING STATE

12. "Iactavit se legere, non emere militem consuesce."

Tacitus: "Histories" I, 5, 15.

OF ESTIMATION AND REPUTATION

13. "Quaecumque salutaria sunt, saepe agitari debent, saepe versari ut non tantum nota sint nobis, sed etiam parata."


Virgil: "Aeneid" II, 325.

15. "Vulgi quae vox ut venit adaures, Obstupuere animis gelidusque per ima currit Ossa tremor."

Virgil: "Aeneid" II, 119-120.

16. "Huc tandem concede, haec ara tuebitur omnes."

Virgil: "Aeneid" II, 523.

17. "..............................quis talia fando Mirmidonum, Dolopumve, aut duri miles Ulyssi Temperet a lachrymis?........................."


18. "Sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros, Et breviter Troiae supremem audire laborem. Quam quam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit, Incipians........"


19. "Scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus."


20. "Exoritur clamor que virum, clangorque tubarum."

Virgil: "Aeneid" II, 313.


Virgil: "Aeneid" II, 484-490.

OF TRAPS FOR FAME

22. "Nec deerant, qui voce vultuque suo tristi inter oblectamenta regia spectari cuperent."


23. "Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae."

Cicero: "De Officiis" I, 77.
24. "Dulce bellum inexpertis"

GRAMMAR RULE.

25. "Ubi turpis est medicina sanari piget."

Seneca: Tragedies, "Oedipus", 517.

26. "Frugalitatem magnum existimamus bonum, non ut semper utamur modicis, verum ut nisi multa habeamus, utamur paucis, verissime credentes illos magnificentia frui suaviissime, qui illa nium indigent."

EPICURUS: "EPISTLES"

27. "Quod facere instituis noli praedicare, nam si facere nequiveris rideberis."


OF KNOWLEDGE

28. "Fiat lux."

"Genesis" 1, 3.

29. "Res quibus occultas penitus conviser possis."

Lucretius I, 146.

30. "Me quidem Anitus ac Melitus occidere possunt, laedere non possunt."

Plato: "Apologia Socratis" 30, D.

31. "Fortuna vitrea est, quae cum splendet, frangitur."

Publilius Syrus: "Sententiae".

OF JUDGMENT

32. ".... Et summa sequar fastigia rerum."

Virgil: "Aeneid" I, 342.

33. "Scillam nescivisse literas, qui dictaturam deposuerit."

Suetonius: "Julius Caesar" LXXVII, 2.

34. "Nec servum meliorem ullum, nec deteriorem dominumuisse."

SUETONIUS: "CALIGULA" X, 10.
35. "Omnia cum amico delibera, sed de ipso prius."
   Seneca: "Epistles" III, 2.

36. "Malo, inquit, quaeri cur statua mihi nulla posita sit, quam cur sit."
   Plutarch: Lives, "Cato the Elder" XIX.

37. "Utilissimus ac brevissimus bonarum malarumque rerum
delectus, cogitare quid aut nolueris sub alio principe aut
volueris."

38. "Tolle haec, inquit, tu enim Themistocles non es."
   Plutarch: Lives, "Themistocles" XVIII.

39. "Sciebam mortalem megenuisse filium."
   Cicero: "Tusculan Disputations" III, 30.

40. "Venit, imo in senatum venit."
   Cicero: "In Catilinam" I, 2.

41. "Nam spreta exolescunt."
   Tacitus: "Annals" IV, 34, 27.

42. "Non ille me maior est, nisi et iustior."
   Plutarch: Lives, "Agesilaus" XXIII.

43. "Heus tu, inquit, quid dicis? Non amas mori cum Phocione?"
44. "Quicquid conabar dicere versus erat."
   OVID: "Tristium" IV, 26.

45. "Ars prima regni est posse te invidiam pati."
   SENECA: TRAGEDIES, "Hercules Furens," 353.

46. "Virtutis est domare quae cuncti pavent."

47. "Superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est."
   VIRGIL'S "AENEID" V, 710.

48. "Caesar dum suum decus extollit, addidit gloriæ victo."
   TACITUS: "Annals" XII, 36, 7-8.

49. "Digressus castellis Vanniæ funditur praelio, quamquam
   rebus adversis laudatus, quod et pugnam capessit, et corpore
   adverso vulnera excipit."
   TACITUS: "Annals" XII, 30, 3-4.

50. "Degeneres animos timor arguit."

51. "Magis fama quam vi starent res suae."
   Tacitus: "Annals" VI, 30, 21.

52. "Mens immota manet, lachrymae volvuntur inanes."
   Virgil: "Aeneid" IV, 449.

53. "Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito,
   Quam tua te fortuna sinet."
   Virgil: "Aeneid" VI, 95-96.

54. "Crescit in adversis Virtus."
   Lucan: "Pharsalia" III, 614.

55. "Heu quantum poena miseris mens conscia donat?"
THE INSTRUMENTS OF A STATESMAN

56. "Nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firmo."

Virgil: "Aeneid" VI, 261.

57. "Omnia rerum omnium, si observentur, iudicia sunt, et argumentum morum ex minimis quoque licet capere."

SENECA: "EPISTLES" LII, 12.

58. "Nec amicum, nec inimicum habeo."


OF WORDS

59. "Quod plerique ex his quos interrogo nesciunt quid agas."

SENECA: "Epistles" XXXII, 1.

60. "Nihil umquam se domi nisi nutu aut manu significasse."


OF FLATTERY, DISSIMULATION AND LYING

61. "Nil habet infoelix paupertas durius in se quam quod ridiculos homines facit."


62. "Si bene ructabit, si rectum minxit amicus, Si trulla inverso crepitum dabit aurea fundo."


OF ADVERSITY

63. "Os homini sublme dedit coelumque tueri."

Ovid: "Metamorphoses" I, 85.

THE PRAISE OF SADNESS

64. "Et quae veneraris et quae despicas, unus exaequabit cinis."

Seneca: "Dialogues" VI, 11, 2.
65. "Nec deerant qui voce vultuque tristi inter oblectamenta regia spectari cuperent."


66. "Casta est quam nemo rogavit."

OVID: "Amores" I, 8, 43.

67. "Deliciae humani generis."

Suetonius: "Titus" I, 1.

68. "Risu inepto res ineptior nulla est."

Catullus: "Carmen" XXXIX, 16.

69. "Laetitia iuvenem, fraus decet tristes senem."

Seneca: Tragedies, "Phaedra" 453.

THE PRAISE OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

70. "Promittas facito, quid enim promittere laedit? pollicitis dives quilibet esse potest."

Ovid: "Ars Amatoria" I, 443.

71. "Edixit ne quis magistratus aut procurator qui provinciam obtineret spectaculum gladiatorum, aut ferarum, aut quod aliud ludierum aederet."


72. "Nam ante non minus tali largitione, quam corripiendis Pecuniis subjectos adfligebant, dum quae libidine deliquerant, ambitu propugnant."


73. "Est vulgus cupiens voluptatem et, si eoden princeps tractat, lactum."

Tacitus: "Annals" XIV, 14, 11-12.

74. "Frons nostra populo conveniat."

SENeca: "Epistles" V, 2.

75. "Id agamus ut meliorem vitam sequamur quam vulgus, non ut contrariam."

SENeca: "Epistles" V, 3.
76. "Popae, quam varium hoc animal."

77. "Longe alius mihi nunc quam ante videres."
    Julian: "Caesares," Silenus to Tiberius.

78. "Difficilius se principem civitatis a primo ordine in secundum, quam a secundo in novissimum detrudi."

    Suetonius: "Julius Caesar" XXIX, 2.

79. "Nonnulli urbanorum cum quid per iocum testandi gratia signarent, non Caesare et Bibulo, sed Iulio et Caesare consule actum scriberent."

    Suetonius: "Julius Caesar" XX, 9-10.

80. "Munus populo aepulumque pronuntiavit in filiae memoriam, quod ante eum nemo fecit."

    Suetonius: "Julius Caesar" XXVI, 9.

81. "Urbes diruit saepius ob praedam quam delictum."

    Suetonius: "JULIUS CAESAR" LIV, 6.

82. "Noli in hac re nimium indignari, quemquam esse qui de me male loquatur."


83. "Ut omnia vincerem."

84. "Inanimata non vincere."

85. "Pulchre imperium administrare."

86. "Deos (inquit) imitari."

87. "Quam paucissimis indigere, et quam plurimis benefacere."
THAT IT IS GOOD TO BE IN DEBT

88. "Ordiar ab ovo."
    Horace: "Sermones" I, 3, 6.

89. "Miserum verbum et dimitto vultu proferendum rogo."
    SENECA: "De Beneficiis" II, 2, 1.

90. "Summa summarum: debemur morti nos nostraque."
    Horace: "Ars Poetica" 63.

HAPPY UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

91. "Suum cuique tribuere."
    Cicero: "De Officiis" I, 15.

SENeca THE TRAGEdIAN

92. "..........Odia qui nimium timeat,
    Regnare nescit. Regna custodit metus."

93. "O regnorum magnis fallax
    Fortuna bonis, in praecipiti
    Dubioque nimis excelsa locas."

94. "Misererim est timere cum speres nihil."
    Seneca: Tragedies, "Troades" 425.

95. "..........Prosperum ac foelix scelus
    Virtus vocatur; suntibus parent boni."
    Seneca: Tragedies, "Hercules Furens" 251-252.

96. "..........Noscere hoc primum decet:
    Quid facere victor debeat, victus pati.
    Violenta nemo imperia continuat diu,
    Moderata durant."
    Seneca: Tragedies, "Troades" 256-257.

97. "Quodcunque libuit, facere victor licet."
    Seneca: Tragedies, "Troades" 335.
98. "Non est ad astra mollis e terris via."
   Seneca: Tragedies, "Hercules Furens" 437.

99. "Res humanas ordine nullo
     Fortuna regit spargitque manu
     Munera caeca, pelora fovens."
   Seneca: Tragedies, "Phaedra" 978-980.

100. "Quicunque regno fidi, et magna potens
     Dominatur aula, nec leves metuit Deos,
     Animumque rebus credulum laetis dedit,
     Me videat et te Troia, non umquam tulit
     Documenta fors maiora, quam fragili loco
     Starent superbi."
   Seneca: Tragedies, "Troades" 1-6.

101. "Inertis est nescire quid liceat sibi."
   Seneca: Tragedies, "Octavia" 453.

102. "Magis haec timet quam maeret, ingenio est opus:
     Alios parentes alloqui luctu decet."
   Seneca: Tragedies, "Troades" 618-619.

103. "Gladios et spes et metus,
     Fors caeca versat: praemium incertum petit
     Certum scelus."

104. "Ferre, quam sortem patiuntur omnes,
     Nemo recusat."
   Seneca: Tragedies, "Troades" 1016-1017.
B. THE INDEX OF QUOTATIONS UNDER THE AUTHORS

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19. Virgil:

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"Of Essays and Books," 4\(^1\)

"The Instruments of a Statesman."

\(^1\) The number indicates more than one quotation from the author in the essay.
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BIOGRAPHY AND CRITICISM


