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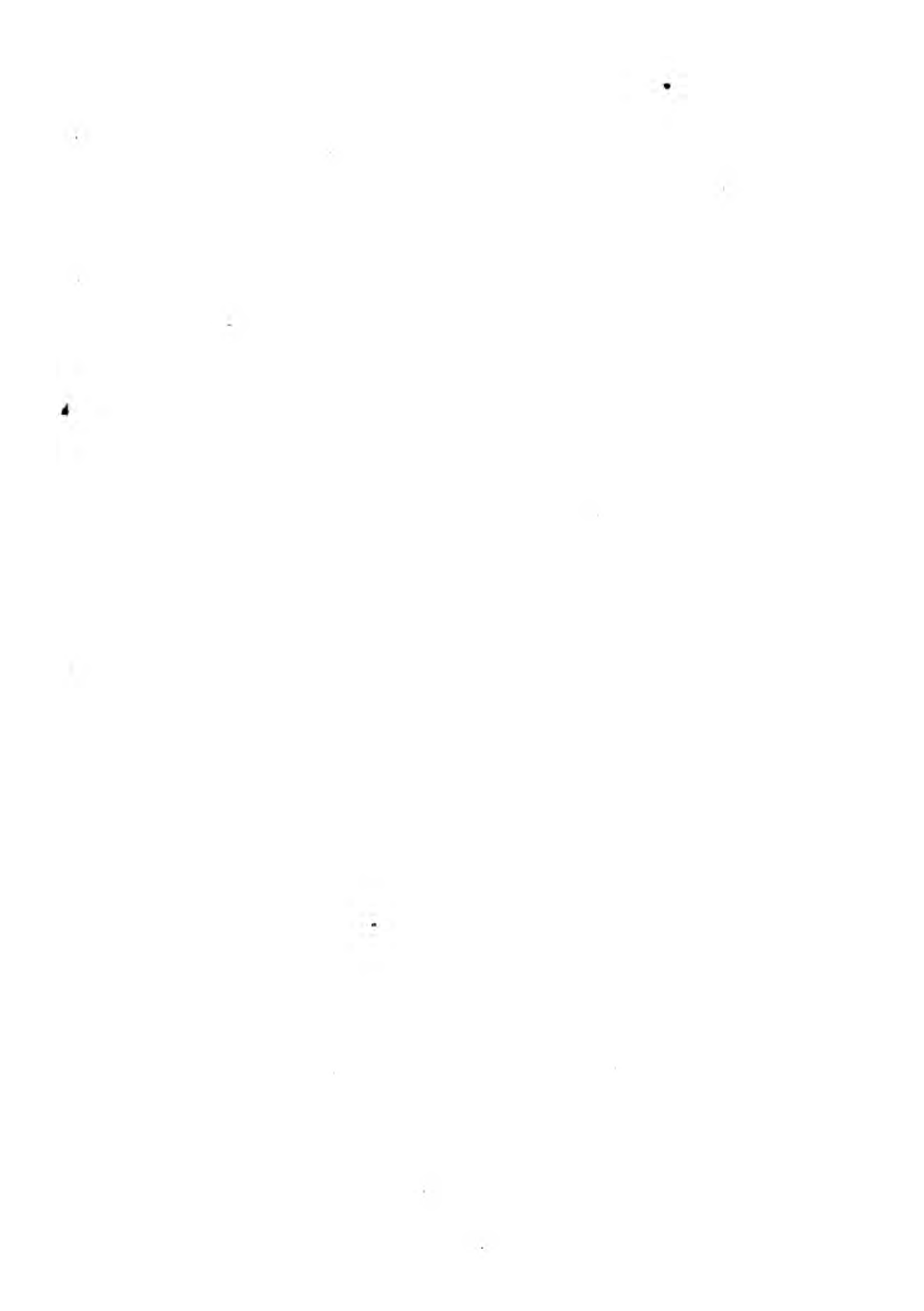
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POEMS

BY SIR HENRY WOTTON

SIR WALTER RALEIGH

AND OTHERS



POEMS
BY SIR HENRY WOTTON
SIR WALTER RALEIGH
AND OTHERS



EDITED
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LATE FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE OXFORD



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CHARLES WHITTINGHAM, CHISWICK.



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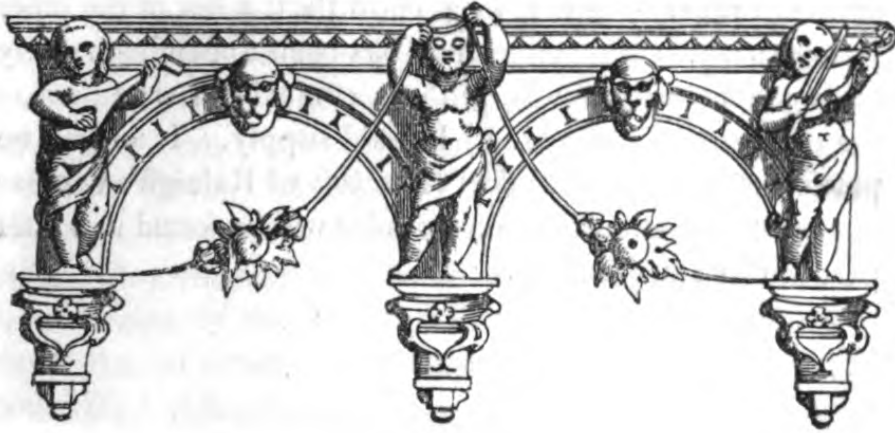


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INTRODUCTION.

THE First and Second Parts of this Volume are reprinted from the fourth edition of *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, a collection of Sir Henry Wotton's smaller pieces, which was published by Izaak Walton some years after their author's death: *—the one contains such poems as were known to be Wotton's own compositions;—the other, some miscellaneous poems by various writers which were found among his papers. As several pieces contained in the Second Part have been ascribed to Sir Walter Raleigh without sufficient reason, it

* The first edition of *Rel. Wotton.* was published, with Walton's *Life of Wotton* prefixed, in 1651, and was dedicated to Mary, Baroness Wotton (widow of Wotton's nephew, Thomas, second Lord Wotton of Marley), and her three daughters, Ladies Stanhope, Tufton, and Hales.—The second edition appeared in 1654, with the same Dedication.—The third, in which many additions and improvements were introduced, was published in 1672, and dedicated to Philip, Earl of Chesterfield, son of the Lady Stanhope named above.—In the fourth, which was published in 1685, the edition of 1672 was reprinted, page by page, without any material alteration; and a Collection of Wotton's early Letters to Lord Zouch (1591-3) was added at the end.—The ed. of 1685 is always used in this volume, except where any other is specified.

seemed proper to annex, as a Third Part, a few of the other poems to which Raleigh's name has been appended, mostly on much better grounds, with as complete a statement of the evidence in each case as I could supply. It formed no portion of my plan to collect *the whole* of Raleigh's Poems; but an examination of the remainder will be found in a later part of this Introduction.

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

IN reprinting the Poems contained in Rel. Wotton., I have followed the order of the original editions, except that the last piece in Part I. is taken from among the Letters. Mr. Dyce, who has lately edited Wotton's own Poems for the Percy Society, in a separate form, has adopted an arrangement which comes much nearer to the order in which they would be composed; but we have not sufficient information to determine the exact date of every poem.*

None of Wotton's extant poems have been traced to an earlier date than 1602: but when very young, he wrote a tragedy called *Tancredo*, which is now lost, for the "private

* The following is a summary of the chronological facts already known.—No. i was printed in 1602, and was perhaps written some years earlier. No. ii may also be regarded as a youthful composition. No. xiii could not be written till after 1604, and may have been composed at a much later date. No. viii is said to have been printed in 1614, and can be traced soon afterwards. If No. iv was really addressed to Buckingham, it falls later than August, 1616, when he was raised to the Peerage. It would be laying too much stress on the MS. title to fix it after he was made a Duke in 1623. No. vii was written either in 1615 or 1621, probably the former; No. iii about 1620; No. xi in 1625; and No. xii in 1627. If No. x was written in pursuance of the design mentioned in the Introduction to it, we must place it in or after 1627. No. v was written in 1630; No. vi in 1633; No. ix after Wotton was seventy years old, as Walton tells us,—therefore in 1638 or 1639; and No. xiv in one of the same years, probably in 1638.—Mr. Dyce arranges them thus:—i. ii. iv. viii. xiii. vii. iii. xi. xii. v. vi. ix. x. xiv.

use" of the members of Queen's College, Oxford.* He also speaks himself in one place of the pain it gave him to "re-visit the Fancies of [his] Youth," which his "judgement" told him were "all too green;" and in another, of his "Lines" having "serv'd [his] Youth to vent some wanton cries."† If these expressions refer to any "Amatory" songs, they may be still concealed among the many scattered poems of the Elizabethan age to which no author's name can be attached with certainty. No such inference, however, can be drawn from the following Epigram, which was addressed to him in or before 1598 :—

" EPIGR. 4. AD HENRICUM WOTTONUM.

" *Wotton*, the country and the country swayne,—
How can they yeelde a Poet any sense?
How can they stirre him vp, or heat his vaine?
How can they feede him with intelligence?
You haue that fire which can a witt enflame,
In happy London, Englands fayrest eye:
Well may you Poets haue of worthy name,
Which haue the foode and life of poetry.

And yet the country or[e] the towne may swaye,
Or beare a part, as clownes doe in a play."

(*Bastard's Chrestoleros*, 1598, *Lib. ii. p. 29.*)

Zouch thought that Wotton was here addressed "as a poet;"

* See *Walton's Lives*, p. 125, ed. 1796. (That edition is always used in the following references.) The remarks in the *Introd.* to N^{o.} i should not have been confined to *Bastard's Epigram*; for though I was not referring to the *Tragedy*, Wotton's own expressions ought to have been mentioned.—*Mr. Gilchrist* had a volume entitled "A Courtlie controversie of Cupid's Cautels," &c. "translated out of French by Henry Wotton," 1578 (*Cens. Lit. x. 318*, ed. 1815); but the future Sir Henry was then only ten years old. There were others who bore the same name at an earlier period. (See *Wood's A. O. i. 227*, and *Fasti, i. 149, 161, 180.*)—Sir Henry's half-brother, John, (who was born April 11: 1550: and was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and whose "death in his younger years," says *Walton*, "put a period to his growing hopes,") is supposed by *Brydges* to have been the author of two poems in *England's Helicon* (pp. 49, 65, repr.), which bear the signature of "Iohn [and I.] Wootton."

† See this vol. pp. 23, 41.—Wotton seems to speak of another unknown poem, written at a much later date, in *Rel. Wotton. pp. 444, 566.*

—Warton puts it, more correctly, “as a scholar and a patron.”* Bastard says nothing of his *being* a Poet, but that those who lived in London might expect to “*have* Poets of worthy name,” because they had “the foode and life of poetry.”

The First Part does not contain *all* the extant poems which were composed by Wotton; but the others which have been ascribed to him bear traces of maturer age,—with the exception, perhaps, of his share in “a Dialogue between Sir *Henry Wootton* and Mr. *Donne*,” which was printed among *Donne’s Poems*.† Wotton may have written some of the pieces in Part II. of which Walton only knew that they were found among his papers;—in one case especially, the “Description of the Country’s Recreations,” this seems very probable;—and it is also possible that he was the author of one poem in Part III., the “Farewell to the Vanities of the World,” though it was never included among his Remains.‡ The following lines, which were prefixed to Howell’s *Dodona’s Grove*, must be ranked among his latest compositions, as the book (which would be submitted to him in MS.) was not published till the year after his death:—

“ TO THE RARELY ACCOMPLISH’D, AND WORTHY
OF BEST EMPLOYMENT, MASTER HOWEL,
UPON HIS VOCALL FQRREST.

“ Beleeve it, Sir, you happily have hit
Vpon a curious Fancie, of such wit,
That farre transcends the vulgar; for each Line
Me thinks breathes Barclay, or a Boccoline.

* Zouch’s *Walton*, p. 191. Warton’s *Milton’s Minor Poems*, p. 119, ed. 1791.—Bastard inscribed another Epigram to Henry Wotton, *Lib. iv. Ep. 39*, p. 102. He had been his contemporary at Oxford. See *Wood’s A. O.* ii. 227.—The name of “*Sr Henry Wotton*” was inserted in the first sketch of *Bolton’s Hypercritica*, among those of “the best Authors for written English.” He is there certainly among the Poets, by the side of “*Benjamin Johnson*.” See *Anc. Crit. Essays*, ii. 247, note.

† See this vol. p. 10. *Donne* addressed three Poetical Epistles to Wotton (pp. 61, 76, 104, ed. 1633. The last is also in *Walton’s Life of Wotton*, p. 144), besides some letters in prose.

‡ See the extracts from the *Complete Angler* in this vol. pp. 55, 110.

I know you might (none better) make the Vine,
 The Olive, Ivie, Mulberry, and Pine,
 With others, their owne Dialects expose;
 But you have taught them all rich English Prose.
 I end and envie; but must justly say,
 Who makes Trees speak so well, deserves *the Bay*.

HENRY WOTTON.

Some Poems in Part I. have been claimed for other writers (Nos. i. vi. vii. xiii); but Wotton has gained as well as lost by the general confusion of property in these smaller compositions. It is not necessary to give a list of all the poems which have been erroneously attributed to him; but two instances may be mentioned, because they are brought forward by better authorities than usual.—Archbishop Sancroft assigns to him one of the most popular pieces printed among the Poems of Carew; it has also been given to Lord Pembroke; but Carew's title will probably be thought most valid, not by any means from the authority of the Collection which bears his name, but from the nature of the verses.*—Mr. Collier has printed, from Ben Jonson's handwriting, a translation of Martial's *Vitam quæ faciunt beatiorem*, which he thought might be Wotton's, because the same paper contained one of Wotton's pieces which Jonson had transcribed (see p. 29); but there can be no doubt that it is Jonson's own, as he told Drummond that he had translated that very Epigram.†

* In Carew it begins, "Aske me no more where Jove bestowes"—p. 129, repr. of 1824. The other copies are in Pembroke's Poems, 1660, p. 92, and MS. Tann. 465, fol. 60. A fourth is in Wit Restored, 1658, p. 114. It is curious that no two of these agree throughout in the arrangement of the stanzas; but all the others begin with what is the second stanza in Carew,—"Aske me no more whither do stray"—.

† Collier's Life of Alleyn, p. 54. Conversations of Jonson and Drummond, p. 2, Shakesp. Soc. ed. cf. p. 7.—The Epigram (Lib. x. Ep. 47) was very frequently translated, as by Surrey (p. 43, ed. Nott), Randolph (p. 61, ed. 1668), &c. From one of Howell's Letters, it seems that he and Sir Thomas Lake had written rival translations for a wager, and that Sir Kenelm Digby adjudged Lake's to be the better. (Ep. Ho-El. § 5, p. 31, ed. 1645.) There is another translation in MS. Mal. 14, p. 34. Jonson *may* have transcribed a friend's translation, in addition to translating it himself; but the internal evidence, as Mr. Collier remarks, is decidedly in his favour.

A brief account of Wotton's prose writings may be expected here. Most of them were posthumous; for though he sometimes amused himself with looking after printers,* he seldom committed anything to the press. There were, however, at least three things which were printed during his life-time:—

(1.) In 1612, he printed a Latin letter to Mark Welser, one of the Chief Magistrates of Augsburg, and dispersed it in most parts of Italy and Germany. This Epistle, in which much excellent vituperation is wasted on a very unworthy object, was occasioned by the results of an indiscretion committed in 1604, when he was on his way to Venice. In the plenitude of his satisfaction at having been recalled from exile to be honoured with knighthood,† and entrusted with an important office, Wotton grew facetious about his new dignity, and propounded his famous definition of an Ambassador,—“an honest man sent *to lie* abroad for the good of his Country.” The pun might pass in English; for “*to lie*” was the term then used for the residence of an Ambassador. But when he issued it in Latin, for the benefit of the learned abroad, the equivocation vanished; and Scioppius, who was seeking accusations to bring against the Protestants, pounced upon the plain “*ad mentiendum*” as the English diplomatic creed.‡ More mischief than Wotton had ever dreamt of

* See Rel. Wotton. pp. 321, 336, 340, 468.

† Here we meet with a difficulty in passing. Wotton's name does not occur in the printed list of James's crowd of Knights; and the Records of the Herald's College will not supply the deficiency. Some have conjectured that he was knighted in Scotland, which is flatly at variance with Walton's narrative (p. 142). But it is known that some knightings were never recorded, because the new knights would not pay their fees.

‡ Walton, pp. 150-2. Wotton wrote another letter on the subject to King James; and Wood speaks as if two were printed. A. O. ii. 644-5.—Contemporary allusions occur in Ruggle's Ignoramus, p. 32, ed. Hawkins; Massinger, ii. 126, ed. 1813; and a second pun on the definition (as if one were not enough) in a Sermon preached by Dr. J. King the younger before the University of Oxford in 1625, p. 6.—Notwithstanding the advice of his early friend Alberto Scipioni (Rel. Wotton. pp. 344, 356, cf. pp. 699, 711),

rose out of this very simple jest; but its effects on his prospects have been sometimes overstated.*

(2.) In 1624, he published a small tract entitled "The Elements of Architecture," which has been frequently reprinted. One copy was presented to the Earl of Middlesex, with the following letter:—†

"TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARLE OF MIDDLESEX,
LORD HIGH THRESORER OF ENGLAND.

MY LORD,

I humbly present vnto youre Lord^p this Pamphlet;
printed sheete by sheete as fast as It was borne, and borne

Wotton had to learn caution from experience; for there were three other matters in his first Venetian Embassy for which he has been blamed: first, for "injurious speeches" against the King of France in 1604 (*Camd. Ann. Jac. I.* pp. 3, 84); secondly, and most unjustly, for delaying to present King James's Book to the Venetian Senate (see the extracts in *Bio. Brit.* vi. 4343.); thirdly, for being (as some thought) too zealous for his Master's honour (*Winwood*, iii. 77; cf. *Sketches from Ven. Hist.* ii. 319-20).—Chamberlain's occasional attacks upon him (e. g. *Winw.* iii. 461, 469) must have sprung from prejudice.

* It has been said, that he was kept five years without employment in consequence. Let us see how far this is true.—In 1612, he was Ambassador to Savoy. We have contemporary accounts of his setting out in March and returning in the end of July (*Winwood*, iii. 353, 367, 394; *Nichols's Progresses of James I.* ii. 438, 460; cf. *Letters of F. Paul*, 1693, pp. 322-5); and among the Ashm. MSS. (1729, Lett. 114-6) are two autograph letters from Wotton to Lord Pembroke written during his absence, one dated from the foot of *M. Cenis*, May 9: 1612: (with a journal) the other dated from *Turin*, May 28: 1612:—The accusation of Scioppius does not appear to have been known till after his return (*Winw.* iii. 407; *Nichols*, *ib.* 468); and his letter to *Welsler* is dated Dec. 1612. Within a year after that period (*viz.* Nov 16: evidently in 1613), he told Sir Edmund Bacon that the King had expressed a "general purpose" to put him "again into some use." (*Rel. Wotton*. p. 429.) The result of this I do not know; but he was again sent abroad before November, 1614, for Mr. Collier has recently printed a letter from him to Spinola which is dated in that month, and endorsed as from the "Ambassador to the Estates Netherland." (*Egerton Papers*, p. 466. See also *Rel. Wotton*. p. 280.) In the following year, he was re-appointed to *Voice*.—He had been a Member of Parliament in 1614. See this vol. p. 85, note.

† The original is in Mr. Pickering's possession; but the signature has been cut away by the binder. Another copy was given "To Mr Doctor

as soone as It was conceived : So as It must needes haue the imperfections and deformities of an immature birth, besides the weakenesse of the Parent. And therefore I could not allowe it so much fauour even from my self as to thinke it worthie of dedication to any. Yet my long deuotion towards y^r Lord^p and youre owne noble love of this Art which I handle doe warrant me to intertayne you with a copie thereof. And so I rest

Your Lord^{ps} ever
deuoted Servant."

Some years afterwards, he presented another copy to Juxon, when he held the same office, with a letter which is printed among his Remains.*

(3.) His "Plausus et Vota," addressed to King Charles when returning from Scotland after his Coronation in 1633, were printed in that year.†

Goslin, the most worthie Master of Caies Colledge. *Authoris et Operis Donum.*" (On that person, see Fuller's *Worthies of Norwich*, p. 275. Wood's *Fasti*, i. 350. Warton's *Milton*, p. 493, ed. 1791.) See too *Rel. Wotton*, p. 357.

* *Rel. Wotton*, p. 338. Wotton's circumstances made the Lord Treasurer a very important officer to him; and Juxon seems to have treated him with great kindness. It was very different with his predecessor, Weston, Earl of Portland, as we might have guessed even from one of Wotton's respectful letters to him (p. 561). In another place, Wotton speaks out, more boldly than he was wont to do, of the way in which Weston had made a scorn of his poverty and a sport of his modesty (p. 468). Considering the obvious design of the letter in which he gave Weston a sketch of his own character (p. 333), the intimations of his faults which it contains are both honestly and skilfully brought in.

† See this vol. p. 22. The original edition is on folio paper, with only 17 widely printed lines on a page. Sign. to N 2, with two leaves prefixed, as ¶ 1 and 2. It was reprinted in 1681 in a Tract entitled "*Monarchia Britannica, sub auspiciis Elizabethæ Felicis, Jacobi Pacifici, Caroli I. Pientissimi,*" &c. (That publication included three small pamphlets, the first by Master, the second by Savile, and the third by Wotton.) In addition to the Translation in *Rel. Wotton*, Zonch (p. 511) mentions another "which is very scarce, printed in a very small twenty-fours, on a large type, containing 118 pages, besides the Dedication and Preface."

The two following tracts were first published in 1641 and 1642 :—(4.) “Of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, Some Observations by way of Parallel in the time of their estates of Favour;” * and (5.) “A View of the Life and Death of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.” These notices of Wotton’s two chief Patrons † are his most valuable contribution to the History of his own Times; and they have attracted more general attention than any others of his writings. Both have been reprinted, the former at the Lee Priory Press in 1814, and the latter in the Harleian Miscellany. Much of the matter (as we might have expected) is common to both; and they should be compared with the character of Buckingham which Wotton sent to the Queen of Bohemia in 1626 (Rel. Wotton. pp. 551-6).

These five pieces were all inserted in Rel. Wotton. If we add to them, (6.) “The State of Christendom,” a folio volume, which, though composed before the death of Elizabeth, was not printed till 1657, we shall have completed the list of Wotton’s finished Works; of those, at least, which we possess; for we know nothing more than Walton has told us (p. 126) of three lectures *de oculo* which he delivered at Oxford in his twentieth year.

A perfect catalogue of those which he only designed, or

* “The Difference and Disparity” between them, which follows this by way of answer in Rel. Wotton. is said in eds. 1672-85 to have been “written by the Earl of Clarendon in his younger dayes.” (p. 184.) In the first ed. of Rel. Wotton. it was ascribed to Wotton himself, (and “dedicated to the Earl of Portland”) as if Wotton had chosen to display his skill by writing on both sides of the question. In the second ed. there is no name at all.

† Among Mr. B. H. Bright’s MSS. (N^o. 276) was a Journal supposed to have been written by Wotton, when in attendance on Lord Essex, from Aug. 14: to Dec. 17: 1591: This document must be very curious, as Walton evidently knew nothing of his being in the service of Lord Essex till some years after that date; and it fills up a chasm in the series of Letters to Lord Zouch (Rel. Wotton. p. 650) which is interrupted from Apr. 21: 1591: to May 8: 1592.

which he forsook as soon as he had made a commencement, would be of much greater length; for he too often wasted his energies in making good beginnings. This may have been what Warton meant, when he called him "a polite scholar, but on the whole a mixed and desultory character,"—an account with which Sir Egerton Brydges, perhaps through a feeling of sympathy, was far from satisfied. It is plain that the defect was acknowledged and regretted by his friends; as when Sir Richard Baker, whose "Ancient Friendship" with him ("which was first, and is ever best, elemented in an Academy") is recorded by them both, complained that he had "done himself much wrong, and the kingdom more, in leaving no more of his Writings behind him."*

Many traces of his abandoned plans may still be found. The literary schemes which he mentions in his Letters to Lord Zouch † should scarcely be ranked among them; for the materials which he was then collecting were probably used in his book on the state of Christendom. But as early as 1606, Camden warned him, that he would rouse up many enemies if he carried out some plans which he had then communicated, of entering on the stormy warfare of Romanist disputation.‡ He was probably quite willing to comply with Camden's advice.—In 1613, Thuanus complained, that Wotton had detained a MS. History, by Father Paul, of the great dispute between Rome and Venice, which Wotton had witnessed and partly shared, on the plea that he meant to undertake the subject himself.§—Several unfinished pa-

* Chronicle, p. 424, ed. 1733. It was also quoted by Izaak Walton in the Preface to *Rel. Wotton*.—Wotton's letter to Baker, which is quoted above, is in *Rel. Wotton*. p. 351.

† See *Rel. Wotton*. pp. 592, 605, 606.

‡ *Camdeni Epistolæ*, 1691, p. 70. (Letter from Camden to Wotton, dated Feb. 10, 1606.) Wotton certainly considered that his experience had qualified him for such subjects. See *Rel. Wotton*. pp. 323, 328, 654-5.

§ *Camdeni Epistolæ*, p. 139. (Letter from Thuanus to Camden, dated

pers on various points in Venetian History are found among his Remains.*—He had also collected many materials for a Life of Luther, with a general History of the Reformation in Germany; but it was laid aside, after he became Provost of Eton College, at the request of King Charles, who wished him to direct his attention to the Ancient History of England. To further this design, a pension of 200*l.* a year, which had been settled on him by the King, was augmented to 500*l.*, that he might be able to provide “the amanuenses and clerks necessary to be employed in that work.”† “Little, however, appears to have been written,” says Mr. Lodge, “and probably less was paid.” The one fact is certain, whatever may be thought of the other. In “A Concept of some Observations” on remarkable passages in English History, which were to extend from the Norman Conquest to the time of Charles I., he advanced no farther than the reign of the Conqueror; and of a Latin account of Henry VI., we have only three broken pages.‡—At the close

Easter, 1613.)—That Wotton was engaged on that subject, we know from other sources (see Winw. iii. 432); but the MS. to which Thuanus alludes was entrusted to Bedel, not Wotton. See Letters of F. Paul, pp. 330, 393.

* His accounts of “The Election of the New Duke of Venice, after the Death of Giovanni Bembo” (March 16: 1618:) and of “The Election of the following Duke after the death of Niccolo Donato” (May 8: 1618:) are prefaced by a dedicatory letter dated May 25: 1618: (Rel. Wotton. pp. 253-264.) Part of a Latin Introduction to a more general History of Venice was sent to the King with a letter dated Dec. 9: 1622: (Rel. Wotton. pp. 247-250. A difficulty occurs in that brief Preface, of which the greater part is evidently lost. He dates it “Anno unci Mediatoris supra Millesimum sexcentesium vicesimo secundo, Ætatis meæ quinquagesimo tertio jam labente.” Now if Wotton was born, as Wood states, Mar. 30: 1568: his 53rd year would close Mar. 30: 1621: i. e. nearly twelve months before 1622 would then begin, Mar. 25: 1622: and more than 20 months before the date of his letter to the King. Yet Wood’s date for his birth is confirmed by the account of his age when he died, and in particular by some Pedigrees in the Herald’s College, which Mr. Courthope has kindly examined for me.) There is also an unfinished “Letter concerning the Original of Venice,” Rel. Wotton. pp. 250-2.

† See Zouch’s Walton, pp. 176, 510. Cf. Rel. Wotton. p. 562.

‡ Rel. Wotton. pp. 100-110. A copy of the former is printed (from a

of his Treatise on Architecture, he announced that he intended to publish another work, which he had "long devoted to the service of [his] Countrey," namely, "A Philosophical Survey of Education, which is indeed a second Building or repairing of Nature, and, as I may term it, a kind of *Moral Architecture*." This design he kept in view at Eton, where "he was pleased constantly to breed up one or more hopeful youths, which he picked out of the school, and took into his own domestic care, and to attend him at his meals: out of whose discourse and behaviour he gathered observations for the better completing of his intended work of education: of which, by his still striving to make the whole better, he lived to leave but part to posterity."*

Some still smaller fragments may be enumerated in a note; † but even those will probably leave our list imperfect. Wood mentions two of Wotton's unpublished MSS. which he had seen; ‡ and he had heard of several others. Some perished altogether; for Walton tells us (p. 187), that in

Tann. MS.) in Gutch's Collect. Cur. i. 215-222, with a Preface which is not in Rel. Wotton.

* Walton, p. 165. Rel. Wotton. p. 71. The commencement of this projected Treatise is in Rel. Wotton., together with "The Aphorisms of Education," pp. 73-99.

† His "Character of Ferdinando di Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany," was dedicated to the King (Rel. Wotton. pp. 243-6). It confirms Walton's account of Wotton's introduction to King James.—A few remarks on "the Great Action between Pompey and Cæsar" were to be dedicated to Sir Edmund Bacon (ib. pp. 239-242). This may be the commencement of the work which he mentioned in a letter to Sir Edmund written in 1637 (ib. p. 468).—There are also two Religious Meditations, one on Gen. xxii., and the other on Christmas-Day (ib. pp. 265-272).

‡ The first was, a "Journal of his Embassies to Venice. MS. fairly written in the library of Edw. Lord Conway." The second, "Three Propositions to the Count d'Angosciola in Matter of Duel," &c. This had been in Sheldon's Library, and is "now," says Wood, "among the books in the Coll. of Arms." (A. O. ii. 646.) I am told that it cannot be found in the Herald's College. It seems that some of Sheldon's MSS. which were intended for that Library never reached it; and probably Wood only knew that this MS. had been Sheldon's, and stated its subsequent destination as a matter of course.

his last illness, he burnt "many papers that had passed his pen, both in the days of his youth, and in the busy part of his life;" and it must not be forgotten, that both in his *Life of Donne*, and in his *Complete Angler*, Walton professed to be merely doing what Wotton meant to have done, "had not death prevented him." To the specimens of his *Table-talk* which Walton has preserved, many might be added from other sources.*

His Letters and Journals, of which many were printed in *Rel. Wotton.*, are often of considerable value, even to the general Historian. From these documents, the best illustrations of Walton's beautiful biography have been drawn; and his future commentators might furnish some important additions from papers which have never been collected.†

* For example:—"Sir Henrie Wotton vsed to say; That Critticks are like Brushers of Noble-mens cloaths." Bacon's *Apoth.* No. 64, p. 83, ed. 1625. (A letter from Lord Bacon to Wotton, with the reply, is in *Rel. Wotton.* pp. 297-302. Wotton is said to have written the famous inscription on Bacon's monument, "Franciscus Bacon . . . Sic sedebat," &c.) Park, in his MS. notes to *Rel. Wotton.* quotes another saying from *Fragmenta Aulica*, 1662, p. 127.—A story which Wotton related to King James, in illustration of the sagacity of the fox, "perhaps derived," as Mr. Thoms says, "from dear old Izaak Walton," was no doubt told with all possible gravity. (*Anecd. and Trad.* p. 25.) It was quite as characteristic of Wotton to repeat it as of James to believe it.

† Some of these have been already mentioned; viz. the *Journal of 1591*, two letters to Lord Pembroke in 1612, a letter to Spinola in 1614, and a letter to Lord Middlesex in 1624. Many others are mentioned in the catalogues of Public Libraries, especially that of the Harl. MSS.; but these I need not specify, as they will be readily found by those who want them.—Mr. Pickering has an unpublished letter of Wotton's dated June 5: 1604:—One which is printed in *Winwood*, ii. 24, dated Dover, July 19: 1604: marks the period of his leaving England.—Some of his letters written to Prince Henry, during his first Venetian embassy, were quoted from Harl. MS. 7007, by Birch, in his *Life of Prince Henry* (pp. 99, 106, 114, 171). One of them has been lately printed at length by Sir Henry Ellis (*Orig. Letters*, I Ser. iii. 98; Birch, p. 114). In another occurs the expression "a poor counterfeit Italian," which is quoted by Zouch (p. 141; Birch, p. 107).—I have been kindly informed that there is a letter of Wotton's among Mr. Dawson Turner's MSS. dated Venice, Mar. 9: 1607: and signed *Ottavio Baldi*.—Collins printed two letters written at Venice in 1617, in

Notwithstanding the affectionate sedulity with which Walton recorded the chief occurrences of his life, and the labour which has been expended on it by various modern writers, there are several points in his character which might be placed in a still clearer light by a more extensive examination of contemporary letters and publications; but as this volume is designed to trace the history of poems rather than of men, it would be impossible to enter on the subject here. Any elaborate details of dates and pedigrees would be still less appropriate; and I must therefore content myself by appending a note on his connection with Sir Albertus Morton, to redeem a promise which I have made elsewhere.*

his *Histor. Collect. on Noble Fam.* pp. 266-7, whence they were copied by Brydges (*Peers of James I.*) and from Brydges by Miss Aikin.—The letters in *Cabala* (pp. 364-7, ed. 1691,) are all in *Rel. Wotton*.—There are two letters from Wotton to Wentworth among the *Strafford Papers* (i. 45, 48); as well as two from Wentworth to Wotton (i. 5, 6). The rough sketch of one of Wotton's is printed among his *Remains*, p. 373.

* See this vol. p. 40.—Thomas Wotton, the father of Sir Henry, was twice married; by his first wife, Elizabeth Rudstone, he had six sons and three daughters, some of whom died young. By his second, Eleanor, daughter of Sir W. Finch, and widow of Robert Morton, esq., he had only two sons, William, who was born Apr. 14: 1566: and died in the July of the same year; and Henry, who was born March 30: 1568:—George Morton, esq., the father of Sir Albertus, was the son of Sir Henry's mother by her former husband. (Pedigrees of Wotton and Morton, communicated by W. Courthope, esq., Rouge-Croix, to whom I am indebted for this and many other favours.) Sir Albertus is mentioned in one of Wotton's *Venetian Letters* cited by Birch (*Life of Pr. Henry*, p. 171); and I think in one of those to Lord Pembroke, preserved among the *Ashm. MSS.*; though only the first and last letters of his name can be now decyphered. His appointment to a clerkship of the Council seems to have taken place in 1613 (*Rel. Wotton*. pp. 421-5; *Winwood*, iii. 469); and his future advancement may probably be ascribed to the influence of Buckingham, whose "singular Love" for him is recorded by his uncle, as "concurring with" the Queen of Bohemia's "inestimable affection." (*ib.* p. 552.) His name is mentioned in the list of candidates for the vacant Provostship of Eton, at the time when it was given to Sir Henry (*Zouch*, p. 160). Wood thought that he left "a son of both his names, who was elected scholar of King's Coll. [Cambridge] in 1638; but left that house soon after, and became a lieut. col. in the wars in Ireland." But this person must have been the "second son to Sir Robert Morton, Knight, late deceased" (brother to Sir Albertus), who was one of Wotton's executors. That Sir Albertus died without issue, is proved

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

EIGHTEEN of the poems contained in this volume have been ascribed to Raleigh:* but I have not discovered any direct evidence which extends to more than eleven; and even that number contains some much disputed pieces.† Of the other seven, two have apparently been assigned to Raleigh by mere mistake; and his claim to five, though there is nothing to give it a positive contradiction, has not hitherto been satisfactorily established.‡ But several other pieces to which his name is generally annexed have been incidentally quoted or referred to; and as the whole number of his reputed poems is but small, I will give such a list of them as my present materials enable me to furnish.

by the disposal of his property after the death of his widow in 1627. (See also Cartwright's Rape of Bramber, p. 243. Hasted's Kent, iii. 136.) Wotton's "Nephew Colonel Morton," or, as he elsewhere calls him, "my Sir Thomas Morton," was another of Sir Albertus Morton's brothers (Rel. Wotton. pp. 479, 578).

* Namely, one in Part I.; six in Part II.; all the nine poems in Part III.; and two short pieces printed on pp. 74, 81.

† They are, No. vi. in Part II.; all Part III. except No. iii.; and the two short pieces just mentioned, one of which (p. 81) rests only on the testimony of a single MS.—Of these, The Lie (III. i.) and the piece beginning "Passions are likened best," &c. (III. ix.) have been most disputed; but I believe that Raleigh wrote them both; the Reply to Marlow (III. viii.) is not a very certain case, but the general opinion is in Raleigh's favour; the four lines containing a pun on his name (III. iv.) read more like an attack upon him; and the Ballad on a Pilgrimage to Walsingham (III. vii.) must be regarded as exceedingly doubtful.—Seven of the eleven were in the Lee Priory ed.; two were among the Addit. Poems in the Oxford ed.; one is taken from Davison; and one from MS.

‡ The two are, Wotton's Hymn at Venice (I. xiii), and Tychbourne's Verses (II. iv.) The five are, those pieces in Part II. which are signed *Ignoto* (i. ii. v. viii.), and the Farewell to the Vanities of the World (III. iii.). The four signed *Ignoto* in Part II. are in the Lee Priory ed. of Raleigh. The other three are not claimed by his modern editors.

In the Life of Raleigh which Oldys prefixed to his edition of the History of the World (1736), about seventeen poems were mentioned;* but his references were sadly wasted on his successors. In Birch's edition of Raleigh's Minor Works (1751), only nine poems were ascribed to him;—Cayley (1805), though he made some additions, merely repeated the titles of other poems from Oldys;—and when Sir Egerton Brydges published a thin quarto volume at the Lee Priory Press, in 1813, as "The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh now first collected," he did not even try to exhaust the materials which had been previously brought together, while he filled up his book by reprinting all the poems in England's Helicon and Reliquiæ Wottonianæ which bore the signature *Ignoto*. The following is the Table of Contents prefixed to the Lee Priory edition;—†

I. A Description of the Country's Recreations.—*Ignoto*.
—*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*.

II. Dispraise of Love and Lovers' Follies.—*Ignoto*.—*England's Helicon*.

* Eight of the nine in Birch had been named by Oldys (the other being The Lie, or, as Birch called it, the Farewell). So had one which Brydges took from Cayley. Oldys had also mentioned seven of the Addit. Poems given in the Oxford ed., two of which were also in Cayley, but not in Brydges. A lost Poem (Cynthia, known from Spenser) makes up the number.—But as he referred with an "&c." to an Ashm. MS. from which another of the Oxford additions was taken, he may be said to have pointed out eighteen in all.

† I have added the numbers, for convenience in reference; and have marked by an asterisk the nine poems which were printed by Birch. (Of the two pieces omitted in the numeration, one, which Birch also gave, is professedly by Marlow; it was introduced, because the Answer is ascribed to Raleigh; the other is only a second copy of that which precedes it.)—The authorities appended to each title (as well as the titles themselves) are exactly copied from the original Table; and they are preserved here, because they are the only testimonies which Brydges thought fit to supply.—His Collection was reprinted in London the year after it was published at the Lee Priory Press; but without any additional pieces.

- *III. On the Snuff of a Candle.—*Dr. Birch.*
- IV. A Dialogue betwixt God and the Soul.—*Ignoto.—Reliq. Wott.*
- V. Phillida's Love-call to her Coridon, and his Replying.—*Ign.—Eng. Heli.*
- *VI. Sir Walter Raleigh the Night before his Death.—*W. R.—Rel. Wott.*
- VII. The Shepherd's Slumber.—*Engl. Heli.*
- VIII. De Morte.—*Ignoto.—Reliq. Wott.*
- IX. A Nymph's Disdain of Love.—*Ignoto.—Engl. Heli.*
- X. The Shepherd's Description of Love.—*Ignoto.—Engl. Heli.*
- XI. Hymn.—*Ignoto.—Reliq. Wott.*
Song.—By Christopher Marlow.—*Dr. Birch.—Engl. Heli.*
- *XII. The Answer.—By Sir Walter Raleigh.—*Dr. Birch.—Engl. Heli.*
The Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd.—*Ignoto.—Engl. Heli.*
- XIII. Another of the same Nature made since.—*Ignoto.—Engl. Heli.*
- XIV. An Heroical Poem.—*Ignoto.—Engl. Heli.*
- XV. The Shepherd to the Flowers.—*Ignoto.—Engl. Heli.*
- *XVI. Upon Gascoigne's Poem, called "The Steel-Glass."—*Dr. Birch.*
- XVII. Thirsis the Shepherd to his Pipe.—*Ignoto.—Engl. Heli.*
- XVIII. Love the only Price of Love.—*Ignoto.—Engl. Heli.*
- XIX. The Shepherd's Praise of his Sacred Diana.—*Ignoto.—Engl. Heli.*
- *XX. The Silent Lover.—*Dr. Birch.*
- *XXI. A Vision upon the Fairy Queen.—*Spenser.*
- *XXII. On the same.—*Spenser.*

XXIII. The Lover's Absence Kills me, her Presence
[Cures] me.—*Ign.*—*Eng. Hel.*

XXIV. A Defiance to Disdainful Love.—*Ignoto.*—*Engl. Heli.*

XXV. Dulcina.—*Cayley's Life of Raleigh.*

XXVI. His Love admits no Rival.—*Cayley's Life of Raleigh.*

*XXVII. His Pilgrimage.—*Dr. Birch.*

*XXVIII. The Farewell.—*Dr. Birch.*—*Davison's Rhapsody.*

After all the inquiries which have been made upon this subject, I fear that we cannot substantiate Raleigh's claim to any poems in this list, except the nine which are marked by an asterisk, as having been previously ascribed to him by Birch. Seven of those are reprinted in this volume;* another is quoted and described (N^o. xxii. see p. 116); and the ninth is the poem prefixed to Gascoigne's Steele-Glass, in 1576 (N^o. xvi), about which there is some difficulty. Two objections have been raised; namely, that the writer's name is spelt in an unusual manner, and that he describes himself as "of the Middle Temple," while Raleigh declared on his trial, that he had never "read a word of the law or statute before" he "was prisoner in the Tower."† The first cannot be allowed much weight (see p. 95); to the second, it has been answered, that he may have been merely a resi-

* No. iii. on p. 74.—No. vi=II. vi. p. 73.—No. xii=III. viii. p. 125.—No. xx=III. ix. p. 130.—No. xxi=III. v. p. 115.—No. xxvii=III. ii. p. 104.—No. xxviii=III. i. p. 89.

† Works, i. 669. Wood's statement (A. O. ii. 236,) was no doubt borrowed from the signature. Naunton says, "His approaches to the University and *Inns of Court* - - - were rather excursions than sieges or settings down; for he stayed not long in a place." *Fragm. Reg.* p. 216, ed. 1694. See Oldys and Birch in vol. i. of the Oxford ed. pp. 21-3, 572. (Add, Cayley, i. 10. *Muses Library*, p. 269. *Ritson, Bibl. Poet.* p. 307. *D'Israeli, Cur. of Lit.* p. 258, ed. 1839.)

dent in the Middle-Temple, which seems the most probable solution. As to the internal evidence, the critics are at variance. Oldys and Brydges assume that it is completely in Raleigh's favour; Mr. D'Israeli, also, though he hesitates about the spelling, says that "these verses, both by their spirit and signature, cannot fail to be his;" while Mr. Tytler says, that "although written in the quaint style of his age, their poetical merit is below his other pieces, and it is difficult to believe that they flowed from the same sweet vein which produced the answer to Marlow's *Passionate Shepherd*."* Such are the advantages we gain by turning to internal evidence.

Two other poems in the list (N^{os} x. xix.) are said to have the very dubious authority of Raleigh's obliterated initials in England's Helicon. To what I have elsewhere said on this point,† I have only to add, that a very different copy of N^o. x. was printed anonymously in Davison's *Rhapsodie*; and that Brydges, in his reprint of Davison, included it among Raleigh's Poems, but confessedly without any authority. That copy therefore, gives us no assistance. As to the change of signature, the new one of *Ignoto* is so

* *Life of Raleigh*, p. 22, ed. 1840. Perhaps we may venture to remark, that it is somewhat doubtful what *were* Raleigh's other pieces, and even whether he wrote the *Reply to Marlow* (III. viii.) at all. Some may also think that the "solid axiomatical vein" which Oldys observed in the lines on Gascoigne, is more characteristic of Raleigh's style than the "sweet vein" which Mr. Tytler discovers in the other poem, which was meant for a grave and earnest *rebutte* to all "sweet" Pastorals.

† See this vol. p. 125, note †, and p. 136. The two copies of No. x. are so much varied, that I doubt whether their real identity has been observed. In E. H. the poem is entitled, "The Shepherds Description of Loue," and it is printed in the form of a Dialogue between Melibeus and Faustns, beginning, "*Melibeus*. Shepheard, what's Loue, I pray thee tell" —(Sign. L. 2). In Davison, it is entitled, "The Anatomie of Loue;" the Dialogue is not marked; and it begins, "*Now* what is loue, I pray thee tell" —. (P. 147, ed. 1621,=ii. 97. Lee Priory ed. of Davison,=p. 295, ed. Nicolas.—The stanza which appears to conclude this piece in ed. 1621 is really a separate fragment by A. W., of which I shall have to speak again.)

firmly fixed in the case of N^o. x. in Steevens's copy of E. H., that I cannot tell whether it really conceals the initials of Raleigh. In the case of N^o. xix., however, they are perfectly legible (Sign. N. 4); and I will therefore subjoin the poem :—

“ THE SHEEPHEARDS PRAISE OF HIS SACRED DIANA.

“ Praysed be *Dianaes* faire and harmelesse light;
Praised be the dewes, where-with she moists the ground;
Praised be her beames, the glory of the night;
Prais'd be her power, by which all powers abound :

“ Prais'd be her Nymphs, with whom she decks the woods;
Prais'd be her Knights, in whom true honour liues;
Prais'd be that force, by which she mooues the floods:
Let that *Diana* shine which all these giues.

“ In heauen Queene she is among the Spheares;
She Mistresse-like makes all things to be pure;
Eternity in her oft change she beares;
She beauty is; by her the faire endure.

“ Time weares her not; she dooth his Chariot guide;
Mortality below her Orbe is plast;
By her the vertue[s] of the starres downe slide;
In her is vertues perfect Image cast.

“ A knowledge pure it is her woorth to know:
With *Circes* let them dwell that thinke not so.

FINIS.

[S. W. R.] IGNOTO.”

Brydges justly calls this “ fulsome adulation of the Queen ;” but the lines are nevertheless dignified and stately; and we should value them more highly if we could forget both the allegorical meaning and the utter paganism of the poem.

With respect to the two poems taken from Cayley (N^{os}. xxv-vi), Brydges says that he is ignorant of Cayley's authority, and that he has “ strong doubts whether” they “ are really to be attributed to Raleigh's pen.” His doubts are not unreasonable; but Cayley's authority can be found without much difficulty. The two poems were printed in the Appendix to his Life of Raleigh (pp. 105-8), together with a third which Brydges has omitted. “ *Dulcina*” (N^o.

xxv) was probably taken from Ellis ;*—for the piece entitled “His Love admits no Rival” (N^o. xxvi), he distinctly quoted the London Magazine for August, 1734, p. 444, a reference which Oldys had supplied ;†—and the other piece, which is entitled “The Excuse,” had been printed at length by Oldys, from whom Cayley unquestionably copied it.‡ This last is one of the best authenticated of all Raleigh’s poems, as Oldys shewed ; and Brydges was very unfortunate in transferring from Cayley only those two poems which were most doubtful, while he omitted the other, about which there can be no doubt at all.

All the remaining fifteen are given to Raleigh because they have been found with the signature *Ignoto*,—four in Rel. Wotton., and eleven in England’s Helicon. The former are reprinted in this volume ;§ and it will therefore be sufficient to say a few words on the latter.

By combining the two editions of England’s Helicon (1600 and 1614),|| we obtain sixteen poems which were

* Specimens, ii. 189, ed. 1801.—In that edition, Ellis gave to Raleigh both “Dulcina” and “The Soul’s Errand.” The former was afterwards excluded from his Collection ; and the latter, as the reader knows, was transferred to Sylvester. I do not know why he ever ascribed “Dulcina” to Raleigh. It is in Percy, iii. 151, ed. 1767. Cf. Chappell’s Nat. Engl. Airs, ii. 48, &c.—Cayley seems to have taken from Ellis all the poems which he did not find in Oldys.

† Oldys, p. 423, note. The title in the London Mag. is merely “A Poem by Sir Walter Raleigh.” It will be more easily recognized as an answer to Wither’s verses, “Shall I, wasting in despair”—, beginning, “Shall I like a hermit dwell”—. Ritson also mentions it, Bibl. Poet. p. 308. But it seems as improbable that Raleigh wrote this reply to Wither as that Jonson wrote another. (See Gifford’s Life of Jonson, p. cxlix. and on various other imitations, see Brit. Bibl. i. 185, note.)—Both “Dulcina” and this piece are given to Raleigh by Campbell, p. 78.

‡ An inferior copy of it was printed in the Oxford ed. of Raleigh. See below, N^o. xxxii, p. xxxv, where a fuller account of the evidence is given.

§ N^o. i=II. i. p. 55.—N^o. iv=II. ii. p. 60.—N^o. viii=II. viii. p. 81.—N^o. xi=II. v. p. 71.

|| This account is taken from Steevens’s copy of England’s Helicon, ed. 1630 (among Malone’s books in the Bodleian), in which MS. transcripts of the pieces added in the second ed. are inserted. The same copy was ex-

subscribed *Ignoto* in that Miscellany, two of which are resigned by Brydges to Shakespeare and Barnfield.* The fourteen others are all given to Raleigh; but as three have received a separate consideration (N^{os}. x, xii, and xix), we are now only concerned with eleven. Against Raleigh's title to six of these, there is direct evidence in favour of other writers; for one of them (N^o. xvii) occurs in an earlier part of England's Helicon with the initials of Sir Edward Dyer; † and five (N^{os}. ii, xiv, xviii, xxiii, and xxiv) must be resigned to the unknown A. W., to whom a very considerable portion of Davison's Poeticall Rhapsodie belongs, on the conclusive evidence of a Catalogue of his Poems, which was printed in the Lee Priory edition of Davison's Collection, from a MS. in the handwriting of Francis Davison himself. ‡ Now when our only guide has failed us in no

amined for the reprint of E. H. The list in Cens. Lit. increases the number to seventeen, by subscribing *Ignoto* to one of the additional poems, which was only marked so in the Index; and Ritson reduces it to fifteen, by stating that there were only ten (instead of eleven) in the first edition.

* Preface to reprint of E. H. p. xxiv. The poems are N^{os}. 35, 36, Sign. H. (pp. 58-9, repr.) Both were in the *Passionate Pilgrim* (Collier's *Shakesp.* viii. 572, 577); but Shakespeare probably had as little to do with the one as with the other. "Shakespeare certainly wrote none of this wretched piece," says Mr. Dyce, speaking of that which Brydges (after Malone) gave up to him. *Shakesp. Poems*, p. 258.

† This was observed by Ritson, p. 255. The copy marked S. E. D. is entitled, "The Shepherds Dumpe" (Sign. N. 4.). As the other copy is rather different (Sign. A a. 4.) it has been thought that it was inserted to amend the former; but it was more likely to be a mere mistake; for the former copy is preferable. One strange misprint in the latter ("honors" for "horrors" in line 13) which runs through the repr. of E. H. and the Lee Priory, London, and Oxford eds. of Raleigh, is not in the original edition.

‡ Not in the writing of the author, as Brydges thought,—unless Davison was himself A. W., which is altogether unlikely. See Nicolas's ed. of Davison, pp. cxxv-viii.—It is not much more probable that Raleigh was A. W.; and therefore, as the List contains the first lines of N^{os}. ii, xiv, xviii, xxiii, and xxiv, those pieces must be at once excluded from Raleigh's Poems.—Ellis and Cayley had preceded Brydges in giving to Raleigh two of the five, viz. N^{os}. xiv. and xxiv.—In the Preface to his repr. of E. H., 1812, Brydges mentioned that Davison's Collection contained copies of them; but he was not then acquainted with the MS. which proves that A. W. wrote them, nor did he know of it when he inserted them in the

less than eight cases out of sixteen,—for we have seen that two were given up by Brydges himself,—we are not disposed to trust it any longer. We may therefore say at once, that the five which still remain unmentioned (N^{os}. v, vii, ix, xiii, and xv) have been printed among Raleigh's Poems without any evidence at all.* Besides, if *Ignoto* had any special significance in the body of the book, it must have had the same in the Table of Contents, which was inserted in the second edition of England's Helicon; but that Table would

Collection of Raleigh's Poems in 1813. Ritson also was ignorant of that document when he compiled his *Bibl. Poet.*, as is plain from his article on A. W., p. 382. When, therefore, he affirmed that N^o. ii was "ascertained to be the composition of *Francis Davison*" (*ib.* p. 255), it can scarcely have been because he had any reasons for regarding A. W. as a signature used by Davison himself. It is more likely that this was the only one of the five which he had observed in Davison's Collection, and that he assigned it to the editor as a matter of course, just as he seems to have done in the case of a more famous poem (see this vol. p. 91). Steevens had pencilled Davison's name at the foot of his transcript of N^o. ii.—It should be observed, as a further indication of what was meant by *Ignoto*, that all the five poems to which this note relates were added, with four others, in the second ed. of E. H., which was published after three eds. of Davison had appeared; and as seven out of the nine additions had been in Davison, they were probably transferred to E. H. from that Collection.

* Ellis and Cayley had led the way by ascribing two of these five poems also to Raleigh on the evidence of the signature *Ignoto*; viz. N^{os}. xiii and xv; and a third, N^o. ix, has since been reprinted as Raleigh's by Campbell, no doubt on Brydges's authority. The Muse's Library contains copies of N^{os}. vii and xiii from E. H., but they are properly printed as anonymous.—There are other ancient copies of some of the five (as one of N^o. xv in the *Phœnix Nest*, 1593, *Cens. Lit.* ii. 120, and one of N^o. v in the *Crowne Garland of Golden Roses*, 1612, p. 63, *Percy Soc.* reprint); but they supply no evidence.—Only one of them requires further notice, viz. N^o. xiii, which is the *Imitation* of Marlow's *Passionate Shepherd*, mentioned third in the list on p. 126 in this volume. Warton expressly gave this *Imitation* (as well as the *Reply*) to Raleigh, but without adducing any evidence except the signature *Ignoto* (see below). He thus began the system of trusting to that subscription, which Ellis and Cayley carried a little further, and which Brydges completed. The *Reply* to Marlow rests on other testimony.—I may add, that a MS. remark of Dr. Farmer's is cited in *Cens. Lit.* i. 162, as assigning this *Imitation* of Marlow to Shakespeare; but that note must have belonged either to the original *Song*, or to the *Reply*, which immediately preceded the *Imitation* in E. H., and which were printed (imperfectly) as Shakespeare's in the *Passionate Pilgrim*, 1599.

add eight or nine fresh pieces* to our list; for it appears that the word is there affixed to twenty-four poems, if not to twenty-five.

This, then, appears to be a sufficient answer to Brydges's assertion, that "he who looks to its actual application at this time will give little credit to" the objection, "that this subscription of *Ignoto* must be taken as no more than equal to Anonymous." † It plainly meant no more than that in England's Helicon; and we find it just as difficult to dis-

* A brief account of these will complete our proof that *Ignoto* was really an indefinite signature in England's Helicon.—One was at first subscribed M. F. G., but a *blank* was pasted over the initials (Sign. P.).—Two were sung before the Queen on Progresses, "the Authors name *vnknowne to me*" (Sign. Q. and Q. 2).—Three were taken from "Maister Iohn Dowlands booke of tableture for the Lute, *the Authours names not there set downe & therefore left to their owners*" (Sign. V. 4—X. 2). They are in Mr. Collier's recent publication of Lyrical Poems from old Music Books (pp. 63, 61, 57); the second of them is among Lord Brooke's Poems, 1633, p. 197, and has been chosen as a specimen of his poetry by Mrs. Cooper, Ellis, and others; the third has been ascribed to Shakespeare on the authority of initials in a MS. at Hamburgh; but Stevens has pencilled M. F. G. (the initials of Lord Brooke) at the foot of this, as well as the other.—A seventh has no signature at all in the body of the book (Sign. V. 4); but Mr. Collier (p. 65) prints it from the same vol. of Dowland's from which he took the three just mentioned.—An eighth was also taken from a Music Book (Sign. Z. 3).—The only one not mentioned is entitled "An Inuectiue against Loue" (a distinct poem from N^o. xxiv) which was by A. W. It was one of the pieces added to the second ed. of E. H., which, as I have said, were probably borrowed from Davison.—(The reason why I speak doubtfully of the number may be seen from the repr. of this Table of Contents, or from Stevens's transcript of it.)

† Notes to Raleigh's Poems, p. 69. "These signatures," he adds, "when once seized, become appropriate." If he refers to such cases as the *Immerito* of Spenser, and the *Infortunio* of Ralph Starkey, they are not parallel instances; for those words have an obvious meaning; but why should Raleigh, or any one else, monopolize the title of the *Unknown Poet*?—Some of Brydges's remarks in that place betray a strange forgetfulness of his Preface to the reprint of E. H., which appeared before the publication of Raleigh's Poems. "To *one* of these poems in the first edition of the 'Helicon,' the name of *Ignoto* was pasted over the initial letters W. R." In that Preface, he said the same of *three* poems. Again; "Once, if I recollect, *Ignoto* was misapplied in the 'Helicon;' but probably under a mistaken apprehension that the piece was Raleigh's." In the reprint of E. H., he

cover any recondite signification from the manner in which it is employed in Davison or Rel. Wotton. If we turn to other publications, the indefinite character of the signature becomes still more apparent.* When Warton called it "Raleigh's constant signature," he probably meant only that Raleigh frequently used it, as others might do likewise.† But an occasional or even a frequent use of it would give us no information, unless it was also *exclusive*, which cannot any longer be maintained.

said that *two* which were so marked belonged to Shakespeare and Barnfield; and that a *third* was given, in another part of the same volume, to Sir Edward Dyer. "The major part of these poems," he concludes, "possess also the internal evidence of traits of Raleigh's genius." We will listen to arguments from internal evidence, when those who use them will come to some agreement on it.

* Thus Sir John Harington applies it to the author of the *Arte of English Poesie*, whom we now know to be Puttenham (*Anc. Crit. Essays*, ii. 123); and uses it in his *Additions to Godwin* of "an English gentleman" who scribbled verses on a wall (*Nug. Ant.* ii. 140, ed. Park).—Ritson remarked that the signatures W. R. and *Ignoto* were sometimes found together in the very same publication, where different persons were obviously meant, as in the *Commendatory Poems on Spenser's Faery Queen*, and on *Lithgow's Pilgrim's Farewell* (*Bibl. Poet.* pp. 255, 307).—Both the signatures are also used in *Davison*; and a MS. note of Dr. Farmer's on the *Ignoto* appended to one poem, which Brydges gave to Raleigh in his reprint of that collection, is curious enough:—"Perhaps *Spencer*, since he frequently signed himself so; as did *Shakespear* also." But he afterwards drew his pen through this observation.

† *H. E. P.* iii. p. 354, ed. 1840. (The note appended by Warton's editors, professedly from Cayley, was borrowed by Cayley from Ellis.) Warton had been speaking of Marlow's *Passionate Shepherd*; and after quoting Izaak Walton, he proceeded: "In England's *Helicon* . . . it is printed with Christopher Marlow's name, and followed by the *Reply*, subscribed *Ignoto*, Raleigh's constant signature. A page or two afterwards, it is imitated by Raleigh." If he had any "good reasons for his opinion," we can only regret that he "neglected to adduce them;" but he was probably thinking only of the poem before him, which most agree to treat as Raleigh's, on Walton's authority, though it is only signed *Ignoto* in *E. H.*; and of those cases in which there was some confusion between W. R. and *Ignoto*. But by giving Raleigh the *Imitation of Marlow* as well as the *Reply*, he certainly set the example of assuming that *Ignoto* was evidence in Raleigh's favour.

This was afterwards conceded by Brydges himself; but as he did not follow up his general acknowledgement, in any of his numerous publications with which I am acquainted, by a minute examination of the evidence, it has failed of its effect. His Collection, with the exception of a single piece (N^o. iv), has been admitted into the best edition of Raleigh's entire Works, to which those who wish for specimens of his poetry most naturally turn; and hence poems to which Raleigh has no kind of title are perpetually ascribed to him on the authority of that publication.

Eleven "Additional Poems" were given in that edition (which was published at Oxford in 1829), with the following titles and references. I have prefixed the numbers, as before, carrying them on from the former list:—

- XXIX. The Lover's Maze.—*From Le Prince d'Amour.*
 XXX. Farewell to the Court.—*From Le Prince d'Amour.*
 XXXI. The Advice.—*From Le Prince d'Amour.*
 XXXII. Verses by Sir Walter Raleigh.—*From the Ashmolean MSS.*
 XXXIII. Moral Advice.—*From the Ashmolean MSS.*
 XXXIV. A Lover's Verses.—*From the Bodleian MSS.*
 XXXV. False Love and True Love.—*From the Bodleian MSS.*
 XXXVI. The Answer to the Lie.—*From the Ashmolean MSS.*
 XXXVII. Erroris Responsio.—*From the Ashmolean MSS.*
 XXXVIII. Epitaph on Secretary Cecil.—*See Osborne's Traditional Memoires, 1658, p. 89, and Oldys's Life, p. 424.*
 XXXIX. A Riddle.—*From a MS. in the Bodleian written about 1589.*

Ten of these poems need not detain us long. Two of them are printed at length in this volume, and four others

are quoted and described;* the rebus on the name *Noel*, which is all that belongs to Raleigh in N^o. xxxix, has been ascribed to him by other authorities, but it is sometimes given to no less a personage than Queen Elizabeth herself;† and as to the three which are taken from the Collection of Poems appended to *Le Prince d'Amour*, 1660, though the evidence is not so unimpeachable as might be wished, it is right to give Raleigh the full advantage of it, till better can be found.‡

But the other poem in the list (N^o. xxxii) is a very different matter. Though the only authority cited here is that of the Ashmolean MSS.,§ the piece was expressly ascribed to Raleigh by Puttenham as early as 1589, when he quoted

* N^o. xxxiii=III. iv. p. 114, and N^o. xxxv=III. vii. p. 120.—On N^o. xxxiv, see p. 121, note.—On N^{os}. xxxvi-vii, see pp. 95, 96.—On N^o. xxxviii, see p. 122, note.

† Manningham, who entered both riddles in his Diary under the date of Dec. 30: 1602: reverses the order of them, beginning "Sir W. Rawly made this rime upon the name of a gallant, one Mr. Noel;" and then adding "Noel's answer." (Collier's Hist. Dram. P. i. 336, note.) They are arranged as in the Oxford ed. in MS. Mal. 19, p. 42.—The two are often found apart; as that on *Rawly* in Aubrey, Letters from the Bodl. ii. 512; and D'Israeli, Cur. of Lit. p. 259 (with a different second line):—and that on *Noel* in Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, i. 85, ed. Park (from Collins), where it is ascribed to Queen Elizabeth; and Halliwell's Nursery Rhymes, N^o. ccxxxvii, where no author's name is given.

‡ They were mentioned by Oldys, p. 423, note.—The signature to each of the three poems is W. R. (Pr. d'Am. pp. 131-3). There is a more complete copy of No. xxix in Davison's Rhapsodie, in the earlier editions of which it was entitled "A Reporting Sonnet;" but afterwards "In the grace of wit, of tongue, and face." (P. 144, ed. 1621=i. 102, Lee Priory ed.)—There is also another copy of N^o. xxxi in MS. Rawl. Poet. 85, fol. 116, subscribed only, "Finis. Written to Mrs A. V."

§ That is, I presume, MS. Ashm. 781, p. 138. Signature, "S^r Wa: Raleigh."—Oldys (pp. 130-1) mentioned another copy in Wit's Interpreter, 1671, p. 205, where it is headed, "By Sir Walter Raleigh."—There is an anonymous copy of this poem also in MS. Rawl. Poet. 85, fol. 104, v^o.—I have remarked above, that Cayley inserted it in the Appendix to his Life of Raleigh (p. 107) between two poems which Brydges took on his authority, when this was overlooked.—This omission on the part of Brydges is the more inexplicable, because he had given it at length from Oldys in his ed. of Phillips, p. 314; but indeed I am equally at a loss to understand why he borrowed so little from Oldys in 1800 (for he missed his most im-

the concluding couplet of it as an instance of "*Ploche*, or the Doubler,"—"a speedie iteration of one word, but with some little intermission by inserting one or two words betweene, as in a most excellent dittie written by Sir *Walter Raleigh* these two closing verses :

‘ Yet when I sawe my selfe to you was true,
I loued my selfe, bycause my selfe loued you.’”*

This evidence was mentioned by Oldys, who printed a much better text than that in the Oxford edition, from a transcript which was traced originally to Lady Isabella Thynne, with the title, "The Excuse. Written by Sir *Walter Raleigh* in his younger years."

This completes our examination of the poems ascribed to Raleigh in the largest Collection of his Works. Had it not been for the discovery, that most of the anonymous poems in Davison were written by A. W., the list would have been much longer ; for their "internal evidence" led Brydges to announce a design of reprinting them as Raleigh's, in the form of a second volume of his Poems.† Of the eight pieces which he did assign to Raleigh, with considerable hesitation, in his reprint of Davison, one only need be added to our enumeration, viz. :—

portant references); and why even that little was forgotten when he collected Raleigh's Poems in 1813.

* *Arte of English Poesie*, p. 168, repr.—A Madrigal in Davison (p. 205, ed. 1621) closes with a couplet of somewhat similar construction :—

“ And if my life I lone, then must I too
Loue your sweete selfe, for my life liues in you.”

† There is no intimation of such an intention in the Lee Priory Collection of Raleigh's Poems ; but it was announced a few months afterwards.—The Catalogue of A. W.'s Poems was printed in the second volume of the Lee Priory Davison : when the first vol. of that work was published, Brydges still intended to give Raleigh the anonymous poems. In one case especially, that of the poem beginning "It chanced of late a shepherd's swain," he mentioned his suspicion that Raleigh wrote it (p. 40) ; but it was afterwards found to be by A. W. (ii. 70. Cf. *Exc. Tudor*, ii. 123. The poem is in *Percy*, i. 316, ed. 1767, and *Ellis*, iii. 18, ed. 1811.)

XL. A Poesie to prove Affection is not Love.—*W. R.**

There are several other poems by Sir Walter Raleigh which have never been collected. The two following were mentioned by Malone:—†

XLI. “An Epitaph vpon the right Honourable Sir *Philip Sidney* knight: Lord gouernor of Flushing,” among those appended to Spenser’s *Astrophel* (Sign. K. 2).

XLII. “To the Translator:” Fourteen lines prefixed to Sir A. Gorges’ Translation of Lucan’s *Pharsalia*, folio, 1614, with the signature “*W. R.*”

The Epitaph on Sidney, which consists of sixty lines in fifteen stanzas, has no signature; but the last stanza supplies evidence that Raleigh wrote it:—

“That day their *Hanniball* died, our *Scipio* fell,
Scipio, *Cicero*, and *Petrarch* of our time,
 Whose vertues, wounded by my worthlesse rime,
 Let Angels speake, and heauen thy praises tell.”

Sir John Harington is supposed to be alluding to these lines, when he speaks of “our English *Petrarke*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, or (as Sir *Walter Raulegh* in his Epitaph worthely calleth him) the *Scipio* and the *Petrarke* of our time.”‡

* It is in this volume, III. vi. p. 117. Two of the others, which had no signature, answer to Nos x and xxviii in our list. The rest were all marked *Ignoto* in one or other of the four editions of Davison. They are, two short pieces entitled “A Dialogue betwixt the Louer and his Lady;”—“An Inuectiue against Women;”—“The True Loues knot;”—and an Eclogue, beginning “Come, gentle heardman, sit by me”—(pp. 57, 145, 216, 187, ed. 1621).

† Shakespeare by Boswell, ii. 580.—Malone also referred to the “Poesie to prove Affection is not Love,” and “The Lie;” but he thought the latter doubtful, because it has no signature in Davison. Of Raleigh’s *Cynthia*, too, which is mentioned by Spenser, he adds another notice; viz. that Gabriel Harvey, in some MS. notes on Chaucer, called it “a fine and sweet invention.”

‡ Translation of Ariosto, 1591, p. 126. (In the notes on Book xvi.)—So also Drummond, in his Character of several Authors, says, “S. W. R., in an

This quotation (which supplies a different reading) seems sufficiently close to establish the fact of Raleigh's authorship; and if so, the following stanza (which is the third) deserves the notice of his Biographers:—

“ And I, that in thy time and liuing state,
Did onely praise thy vertues in my thought,
As one that seeld the rising sun hath sought,
With words and teares now waile thy timelesse fate.”

The lines prefixed to Gorges' Translation of Lucan are too remarkable to be omitted :*—

“ Had *Lucan* hid the truth to please the time,
He had beene too vnworthy of thy Penne,
Who neuer sought, nor euer car'd to clime
By flattery, or seeking worthlesse men.
For this thou hast been bruised; but yet those scarres
Do beautifie no lesse then those wounds do,
Receiu'd in iust and in religious warres;
Though thou hast bled by both, and bearest them too.
Change not: to change thy fortune tis too late:
Who with a manly faith resolues to dye,
May promise to himselfe a lasting state,
Though not so great, yet free from infamy.
Such was thy *Lucan*, whom, so to translate,
Nature thy Muse (like *LVCANS*) did create.
W. R.”

Epitaph on Sidney, calleth him our English Petrarch.” (Appendix to Conversations of Jonson and Drummond, p. 49, Shakesp. Soc. ed. The editor, who seems to have overlooked the Epitaph quoted above, says, “ An Epitaph on Sir Philip Sidney, attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh, is included in the Roxburghe volume, ‘ Sidneiana,’ published by Dr. Butler, Bishop of Lichfield, in 1837. This, however, is not the epitaph that Drummond refers to.” Zouch says, that “ Sir Walter Raleigh, in *an epigram* written on Sidney, calls him our English Petrarch.” Life of Sidney, p. 304, ed. 1809.)—The Elegy which immediately follows Raleigh's in *Astrophel* is entitled “ Another of the same;” and as this expression is more likely to mean the same writer than the same subject, we should suspect that Raleigh wrote it also. Malone (who remarks that there is another copy in the Phœnix Nest) thought, from the metre, that it was Sir Edward Dyer's; but Raleigh sometimes used that metre, as in his second poem on the Faery Queen. It begins thus:—

“ Silence augmenteth grief; writing encreaseth rage;
Staid are my thoughts, which lou'd, & lost, the wonder of our age;” &c.

* They have been previously reprinted in Brit. Bibl. i. 455, in an account

A piece of the same length, and signed by the same initials, but of immeasurably inferior value, was prefixed to Lithgow's "Pilgrimes Farewell," (Edinburgh, 1618,) with the heading, "To his singular Friend, William Lithgow." We are told, that "from the initials, this piece is usually attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh;"* but it is impossible to suspect him of it.

Raleigh's name has been so often misapplied in old MS. Collections, that we are unwilling to ascribe any pieces to him on that kind of evidence, except where several accounts are found to coincide. It is moreover so exceedingly difficult to bear in mind the countless little pieces which were written and printed in the seventeenth century, that we are in constant danger of producing as a novelty some perfectly familiar fragment, whenever we trust to the table-books of old transcribers. It is therefore with great diffidence that I venture to add two other articles to the list, on the evidence of single MSS.† One of them is printed in this volume; the other is only a set of sprightly nonsense-verses (sprightly,

of Sir A. Gorges' Lucan. Compare some very manly verses, addressed by Sir Arthur to King James, and printed in *Restituta*, iv. 509:—

"Of many now that sounde with hopes consort
Your wisdome, bountie, and peace-blessed raygne,
My skylle is least; but of the most import,
Because not school'd by favours, gyfts, or gaine:
And, that which more approves my truthfull layes,
To sweete my tunes I straine not Flattrye's stringe;
But holde that temper, in your royall prayse,
That longe I did before you weare my Kinge,
As one that vertue for itselke regards,
And loves his Kinge more then his King's rewards.
1^o *Ianua*: 1609."

* Brit. Bibl. ii. 142, where there is an account of Lithgow's Book, of which Malone had a copy (Bodl. Mal. 717). It was also mentioned in Ritson, p. 307, note.

† There are several others which I might have mentioned; but I am not sufficiently acquainted with the great mass of old poetical MSS. preserved in our various Libraries to give anything like a complete list; and nothing

though "the hangman" plays a prominent part in them) written to amuse a child.

XLIII. "What is our Life? the play of passion;" &c.—*S^r W: R:*—See this vol. p. 81.

XLIV. "Sir Walter Rauleigh to his Sonne."—MS. Malone 19, p. 130.

On looking back over this list of poems, it is mortifying to observe, that scarcely half of them can be attributed to Raleigh without fear of contradiction. That he wrote more poems than we now possess, is beyond dispute. We may well wonder, with Malone, that his "Cynthia" has been allowed to perish; but many others of his compositions must have shared its fate; for there is little left to account for the quaint commendations of Puttenham, Meres, and Bolton, still less to justify the glorious praise of Spenser. It is some consolation, however, to remember, that the stores of Elizabethan poetry are not yet exhausted; and that those who are not debarred, by the confinement of a country residence, from free access to our Public Libraries, may yet find many relics of his poetry which I have neither seen nor heard of. Few discoveries of the kind would be more pleasing than one which should authorize us to conclude, that Raleigh himself was the anonymous friend of Francis Davison, who is now known only by the unexplained initials A. W.; but this is more than we can venture to anticipate. Yet Brydges was not merely guessing in the dark, when he thought that those

short of that would be permanently useful. I may refer to one piece, however, which is mentioned in the Catalogue of Mr. B. H. Bright's MSS., for the oddity of its title: "The despairinge complainte of wretched Rawleighe for his treacheries wrought against the worthie Essex." (No. 190. In the same number was "Rawleigh's Caveat to secure Courtiers." See too the accounts of Nos. 189, 207.)—The poem ascribed to Raleigh in the Topographer (see this vol. p. 45) is only one instance out of many of the risk we run by trusting MS. authorities when they stand alone.

poems bore strong internal evidence of Raleigh's genius. "A. W.," he remarks, "almost always begins his poems well, so as to make his initial lines striking and full of interest by their animation and harmony;" and this was surely one of Raleigh's chief characteristics. Indeed he often begins much better than he ends. Among other instances, Brydges mentions "Smooth are thy lookes; so is the deepest streame"—a line which at once reminds us of the commencement of a poem which we may safely regard as Raleigh's.* Another instance of resemblance is not a little singular. Puttenham, when giving examples of "*Anaphora*, or the Figure of Report," quotes "this written by Sir *Walter Raleigh* of his greatest mistresse in most excellent verses:—

' In vayne mine eyes, in vaine you wast your teares;
In vayne my sighs, the smokes of my despaires;
In vayne you search the earth and heauens aboue;
In vayne ye seeke; for fortune keeps my loue.' †

Compare the following fragment, the first line of which occurs in the Catalogue of A. W.'s Poems:—

* See this vol. III. ix. p. 132. The same thought occurs in other poems by A. W.; as in the "Inuective against Loue," which has been already mentioned—"The deepest streames aboue doe calmest flow"—(Dav. p. 124, ed. 1621=ii. 31, Lee Pr. ed.). Again,—“The deepest streames do flow full calme to sight”—(ib. p. 186=i. 100). Also in a poem which A. W. answered,—“Where riuers smoothest run, deepe are the fords”—(ib. p. 134=ii. 56. This last piece is in Mr. Collier's volume of *Lyrical Poems*, p. 71).

† *Arte of English Poesie*, p. 165, repr. Another fragment quoted by Puttenham has been identified. See above, p. xxxvi. The following is also preserved by him (p. 167);—"that of Sir *Walter Raleighs* very sweet:—

' With wisdomes eyes had but blind fortune seene,
Than had my looue, my looue for ener beene.' "

A few other fragments of Raleigh's are still in existence; such as the line "Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall," which, according to Fuller, he wrote on a window, where Queen Elizabeth might see it; and which she was pleased to answer. (*Worthies of Devon*. p. 261.)—Mr. Tytler has called attention to the short metrical translations which occur in his *History of the World*. *Life of Raleigh*, pp. 298-300.—There are also some lines which he is said to have addressed to Queen Anne shortly before his execution.—His poems were used in the *Garden of the Muses*, a compilation of single lines and couplets, 1600 and 1610; but his property cannot be distinguished from the rest.

“ In vaine I liue, such sorrow liues in me;
 In vaine liues sorrow, since by her I line;
 Life workes in vaine, where death will Master be;
 Death striues in vaine, where life doth vertue giue:
 Thus each of vs would worke anothers woe,
 And hurts himselve in vaine, and helps his foe.” *

Another very similar stanza is printed in Cens. Lit. (ii, 101, ed. 1815) from Este's Madrigales, &c. 1604 :—

“ In vaine, my tongue, thou begst to ease my care;
 In vaine, mine eies, yon gase or looke for aide;
 In vaine, my eares, you listen after aire;
 In vaine, my thoughts, you thinke what hath beene said;
 In vaine my hope, when truth is not rewarded,
 In vaine my faith serues where 'tis not regarded.”

As the poems of A. W. have been so much mixed up with those of Raleigh, I will annex a brief specimen of them, from Davison's Collection,—the only publication in which any of them are known to have been *originally* printed :—

“ Eternall Time, that wastest without wast,
 That art, and art not,—diest, and liuest still;
 Most slow of all, and yet of greatest hast;
 Both ill and good, and neither good nor ill:
 How can I iustly praise thee or dispraise?
 Darke are thy nights, but bright and cleare thy daies.

“ Both free and scarce, thou giu'st and tak'st againe;
 Thy wombe, that all doth breede, is Tombe to all;
 What so by thee hath life, by thee is slaine;
 From thee do all things rise, to thee they fall:
 Constant, inconstant; mouing, standing still;
 Was, is, shall be, doe thee both breede and kill.

“ I lose thee, while I seek to find thee out;
 The farther off, the more I follow thee;
 The faster hold, the greater cause of doubt;
 Was, is, I know; but shall, I cannot see:
 All things by thee are measured, thou by none;
 All are in thee; thou in thy selfe alone.”

(p. 137, ed. 1621=ii. 62, L. P. ed.)

* In the later eds. of Davison (p. 148, ed. 1621) these lines were printed as if they formed the conclusion of the poem beginning “ Now what is lone, I pray thee tell ”—(see above, on N^o. x); and as that was obviously a blunder, Sir H. Nicolas, who printed from the third ed., 1611, threw them into a note (p. 297). But in ed. 1608, from which the Lee Priory reprint was taken, they appear to have been properly marked as a separate Poem (see that repr. i. 114, and Pref. p. 27, ii. 70). Brydges reads, in the first line, ‘ *sith* sorrow.’

It is now time to sum up the evidence which has been brought together, by making it the basis of a new classification of Raleigh's reputed poems. I have hitherto examined them in the order presented by his editors: and any attempt to make a better arrangement must necessarily be defective, as I cannot suppose that all the evidence has been exhausted. But the enquiry has been already pursued to a much greater extent than I intended; and it would therefore be improper to stop short of its legitimate conclusion. Moreover, a revision of the subject will give me the opportunity of furnishing complete copies of several poems, which have been only alluded to elsewhere.

In the case of any man but Raleigh, this would be, in the main, a question of *degrees* of evidence,—whether it were more or less conclusive in each particular instance. But the Collection published by Sir Egerton Brydges was made in such a predatory spirit, that we must be content, in Raleigh's case, with a ruder mode of classification; and must ask only,—whether there be any positive evidence *for* him, or any positive evidence *against* him, or simply *no* evidence at all. The poems, then, will fall into three classes, answering to these, though in a slightly different order. In the first, we must place all those pieces which can be assigned to Raleigh with any kind of probability, even if it often falls far short of certainty. The second may include those which are altogether uncertain,—of which we know nothing at all, either one way or the other. To the third will belong those poems which we know for certain that Raleigh did *not* write, chiefly because we can shew that others have a better-founded claim to them.

Of the whole number of forty-four poems, we may perhaps arrange *twenty-three* in the first class, which will leave *thirteen* for the second, and *eight* for the third. But each class may be a little enlarged by the addition of scattered poems and fragments, which have been mentioned without being included in the list.

I. Of the twenty-three poems placed in the first class, *nine* are found in the Lee Priory edition; *nine* among the Additional Poems in the Oxford edition; and *five* in the concluding numbers of the list, which have never been collected by the editors of Raleigh.

1. The nine in the Lee Priory edition are, N^{os.} iii, vi, xii, xvi, xx, xxi, xxii, xxvii, and xxviii. Seven of these having been reprinted elsewhere in this volume,* it is only necessary to add the other two, viz. N^{os.} xvi and xxii.

N^{o.} xvi is the piece in commendation of George Gascoigne's Steele-Glass, 1576:—†

“ WALTER RAWELY OF THE MIDDLE-TEMPLE
IN COMMENDATION OF THE STEELE-GLASSE.

“ Swete were the sauce would please ech kind of tast:
The life likewise were pure that neuer swerued;
For spyteful tonges, in cankred stomackes plaste,
Deeme worst of things, which best (percase) deserued.
But what for that? this med'cine may suffyse
To scorne the rest, and seke to please the wise.

“ Though sundry mindes in sundry sorte do deeme,
Yet worthiest wights yelde prayse for enery payne:
But ennious braynes do nought (or light) esteme
Such stately steppes as they cannot attaine:
For who so reapes renowne aboue the rest,
With heapes of hate shal surely be opprest.

“ Wherefore, to write my censure of this booke,
This Glasse of Steele vnpartially doth shewe
Abuses all, to such as in it looke,
From prince to poore, from high estate to lowe.
As for the verse, who list like trade to trye,
I feare me much, shal hardly reache so high.”

N^{o.} xxii is the second poem on Spenser's Faery Queen (see p. 116). As it is tolerably certain, both from the initials appended to these verses, and from their position in the original edition of Spenser, that they were really written by Sir Walter Raleigh, they may be used as an additional argument to corroborate his claim to the lines on Gascoigne.

* See the references on p. xxvi, note *.

† The controversy on this poem has been stated above, pp. xxvi-xxvii.
—The piece is here printed from ed. 1587.

For though internal evidence, as we have seen, is but a doubtful guide, when we are dealing with such scanty materials, it can scarcely be denied, that the commendation of the Steele-Glass, which has just been quoted, and this *second* commendation of the Faery Queen, bear a very close resemblance to each other, in the quaint judicial gravity with which the writer in each case sums up the merits of the work before him, and then delivers his "censure" according to the law he has laid down:—*

" ANOTHER OF THE SAME.

" The prayse of meaner wits this worke like profit brings,
 As doth the Cuckoes song delight, when *Philumena* sings.
 If thou hast formed right true vertues face herein,
 Vertue her selfe can best discern, to whom they written bin:
 If thou hast beauty praysd, let her sole lookes dinine
 Iudge if ought therein be amis, and mend it by her eine:
 If Chastitie want ought, or Temperaunce her dew,
 Behold her Princely mind aright, and write thy Queene anew.
 Meane while she shall perceiue how far her vertues sore
 About the reach of all that liue, or such as wrote of yore:
 And thereby will excuse and fauour thy good will;
 Whose vertue can not be exprest, but by an Angels quill.
 Of me no lines are lou'd, nor letters are of price,
 Of all which speak our English tongue, but those of thy deuice.
 W. R."

2. The following are the nine pieces admitted to this class from the Oxford edition:—N^{os}. xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvii, xxxviii, and xxxix. They have been much

* The lines on Gorges' Lucan (above, p. xxxviii) are of a similar character; but they are less quaint, and are written in a graver spirit, with a still more pointed application.—It should be remembered, that the name and initials, by which these Commendatory poems are recognized as Raleigh's, receive strong confirmation from his intercourse with the persons so commended. Oldys, at least, thought that he had found "the links, if not the perfect chain, of some acquaintance" between Raleigh and Gascoigne:—of his friendship with Spenser, there are ample records:—and Sir Arthur Gorges was Raleigh's kinsman; had been captain of Raleigh's own ship in the Island voyage, when he was wounded by his side in the landing at Fayall; and has left a history of that expedition, which is of material importance in the Biography of Raleigh. (See Oldys's *Life of Raleigh*, pp. 267-306; and for a further account of Gorges, see Malone's *Shakesp.* by Bosw. ii. pp. 245-248; Mitford's *Life of Spenser*, p. xxviii, note.)

less fully represented in this volume than those in the Lee Priory edition, partly because the evidence, in regard to most of them, is very unsatisfactory, and partly because their merit is more slender. But as we must be content to take both evidence and merit as we find them, I will add some further specimens.

The most important of them is N^o. xxxii, which, as we have seen,* was quoted as Raleigh's by Puttenham in 1589. The earliest complete copy of it which I have met with in print appeared in 1593, in a Miscellany called "The Phœnix Nest" (p. 72); but it is anonymous. The following is the text which Oldys printed:—

" THE EXCUSE.

WRITTEN BY SIR WALTER RALEGH IN HIS YOUNGER YEARS.

" Calling to mind, my *eyes* went long about
To cause my heart for to forsake my breast,
All in a rage, I sought to pull them out,
As who had been such traitors to my rest:
What could they say to win again my grace?—
Forsooth, that they had seen my mistress' face.

" Another time, my *heart* I call'd to mind,
Thinking that he this woe on me had brought,
Because that he to love his force resign'd,
When of such wars my fancy never thought:
What could he say when I would him have slain?—
That he was hers, and had foregone my chain.

" At last, when I perceiv'd both eyes and heart
Excuse themselves, as guiltless of my ill,
I found *myself* the cause of all my smart,
And told myself, that I myself would kill:
Yet when I saw myself to you was true,
I lov'd myself, because myself lov'd you."

The only evidence which justifies us in assigning to

* See above, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.—The evidence for Raleigh, in addition to Puttenham's citation, is the name given in Oldys's MS., in MS. Ashm. 781, and (a testimony of much less consequence) in Wit's Interpreter. The copy in MS. Rawl. Poet. 85 is anonymous, like that printed in the Phœnix Nest. Most of these old copies differ materially from that which is given above; but some parts of that printed in the Oxford ed. are made quite unintelligible by one or two unlucky mistakes.

Raleigh Nos. xxix, xxx, and xxxi, consists in the initials "W. R." annexed to them in a small collection of poems printed in 1660;* for though much older copies of all three poems are still in existence, they have no author's name subjoined. The text of N^o. xxix which is preserved in the Oxford ed. seems to have been taken by the editor of *Le Prince d'Amour* from a copy in the Phœnix Nest, 1593 (p. 71); but it was printed more at length in Davison's *Poeticall Rhapsodie*, 1602; and is now reprinted from the fourth ed. of that *Miscellany* (1621, p. 144):—

" IN THE GRACE OF WIT, OF TONGUE, AND FACE.†

" Her face, her tongue, her wit, so faire, so sweet, so sharpe,
First bent, then drew, now hit, mine eye, mine eare, my hart :
Mine eye, mine eare, my heart, to like, to learne, to loue,
Her face, hir tong, hir wit, doth lead, doth teach, doth moue :
Her face, her tong, hir wit, with beams, with sound, with art,
Doth blind, doth charme, doth rule, mine eie, mine eare, my heart.

" Mine eie, mine eare, my hart, with life, with hope, with skil,
Her face, her tong, her wit, doth feed, doth feast, doth fill :
O face, o tong, o wit, with frowns, with checks, with smart,
Wring not, vex not, wound not, mine eie, mine eare, my hart :
This eie, this eare, this hart, shal ioy, shal bind, shal sweare,
Your face, your tong, your wit, to serue, to loue, to feare."

N^o. xxx was also printed in the Phœnix Nest (p. 70); and the text of that volume is adopted here:—‡

* See above, p. xxxv, note †.—I am inclined to regard this evidence as peculiarly doubtful.

† It has been remarked before, that there are *three* titles to this poem; viz. "A Reporting Sonnet," in Dav. eds. 1602 and 1608; that given above in Dav. eds. 1611 and 1621; and "The Lover's Maze" in *Le Prince d'Amour*. The copies in the Phœnix Nest and *Le Prince d'Amour* are arranged so as to set forth more plainly the intricacies of the poem; but four of the lines in Davison are altogether omitted, and there are considerable variations throughout.

‡ Title in *Le Prince d'Amour*, "Farewell to the Court." In the Phœnix Nest there is none. The copy in *Le Pr. d'Am.* is rather mutilated: thus, in line 10, it has 'I onely *wait* the *wrongs*'—; in line 11, 'whose *sound* well nigh *is* done'—in line 13, 'ere *care* or *Winters* cold'—. These readings are retained in the Oxford edition.—Oldys thought that "from the subject" of this and the next piece "especially," they were "manifestly" written by Raleigh,—“the one just before his first Guianian expedition; the other to the lady that was his wife.”

“ Like truthles dreames, so are my ioyes expired,
And past returne are all my dandled daies,
My loue misled, and fancie quite retired ;
Of all which past, the sorow onely staies.

“ My lost delights, now cleane from sight of land,
Haue left me all alone in vnknowne waies,
My minde to woe, my life in fortunes hand ;
Of all which past, the sorow onely staies.

“ As in a countrey strange without companion,
I onely waile the wrong of deaths delaies,
Whose sweete spring spent, whose sommer wel nie done ;
Of all which past, the sorow onely staies ;

“ Whom care forewarnes, ere age and winter colde,
To haste me hence, to finde my fortunes folde.”

N^o. xxxi consists of three stanzas, of which I shall subjoin the first and second,—following, in this case, the text of *Le Prince d'Amour* :—

“ THE ADVICE.

“ Many desire, but few or none deserve
To win the Fort of thy most constant will :
Therefore take heed ; let fancy never swerve
But unto him that will defend thee still :
For this be sure, the fort of fame once won,
Farewell the rest : thy happy dayes are done !

“ Many desire, but few or none deserve
To pluck the flowers, and let the leaves to fall :
Therefore take heed ; let fancy never swerve
But unto him that will take leaves and all :
For this be sure, the flower once pluckt away,
Farewell the rest : thy happy days decay !”
* * * * *

N^o. xxxv is printed in this volume (p. 122) ; and it seems needless to add anything to what has been elsewhere said of N^o. xxxiv (p. 121, note), of N^o. xxxvii (p. 96), and of N^o. xxxviii (p. 122, note) : but I will insert Manningham's version of N^o. xxxix from Mr. Collier, who remarks, however, that it “ does more credit to his adversary than to Sir W. Raleigh, but not much to either ” :—*

* See above, p. xxxv, note †.—The judgment passed on such trifles as these depends very much on the persons to whom they are ascribed. Wal-

“ Dec. 30 : 1602 :

“ Sir W. Rawly made this rime upon the name of a gallant, one Mr. Noel :—

“ Noe L.

“ The word of deniall, & the letter of fifty
Makes the gent[leman]’s name, that will never be thrifty.

“ And Noel’s answere.

“ Raw Ly.

“ The foe to the stomacke, & the word of disgrace
Shews the gent[leman]’s name with the bold face.”

3. The five remaining poems placed in this class are, N^{os}. xl (printed on p. 118), xli (from which extracts are given on pp. xxxvii–viii), xlii (printed on p. xxxviii), xliii (printed on p. 81), and xliv, which I now subjoin :—

“ SIR WALTER RAULEIGH TO HIS SONNE.

“ T[h]ree things thear bee, that prosper all apace,
And flourish, while they are a sunder farr ;
But on a day, they meet all in a place,
And when they meet, they one another marre.

“ And they be these : the Wood, the Weed, the Wagge :
The Wood is that that makes the gallowes Tree ;
The Weed is that that strings the hangmans bagge ;
The Wagg, my pretty knaue, betokens thee.

“ Now marke, deere boy : while these assemble not,
Greene springes the tree, hempe growes, the wagg is wild :
But when they meet, it makes the timber rot,
It frets the halter, and it choakes the child.

GOD BLESSE THE CHILD !” *

To this class belong also the fragments mentioned on p. xli.

II. All the thirteen poems which were placed in the second class are found in the Lee Priory edition. They are, N^{os}. x and xix, where the signatures were changed in Eng-

pole, quoting the couplet here given to Raleigh, says, “ There cannot be a sillier species of poetry than rebuses ; yet of that kind there are *few better* than the following, which *queen Elizabeth* made on Mr. Noel :” &c.

* Although it is quite possible that Raleigh never wrote these rhymes at all (see p. xxxix), there is no difficulty in supposing that he *may* have strung them together, when in the Tower, as a momentary relief to his weariness. Even his energy must have sometimes needed a lighter relaxation than he could find in writing the History of the World.

land's Helicon ;* Nos. xxv and xxvi, which Brydges copied from Cayley ;† Nos. i, iv, viii, and xi, which were signed *Ignoto* in Rel. Wotton., and are all in this volume ; and Nos. v, vii, ix, xiii, and xv, which were subscribed *Ignoto* in England's Helicon, and which differed from others marked by the same signature in that volume, in that no other facts of consequence were known about them (see p. xxxi). I add one of these last (No. xv), as a specimen of a class of poems which has had considerable influence on Raleigh's poetical character:—

“THE SHEEPHEARD TO THE FLOWERS. †

“ Sweete Violets (Loues Paradise), that spread
Your gracious odours, which you couched beare
Within your palie faces,
Vpon the gentle wing of some calme-breathing-winde

* See above, p. xxvii.—I can find only two reasons why these changes were ascribed to Raleigh's wish to be concealed, rather than to the more obvious cause, that the printer found himself mistaken in his original account (see p. 126). The first is the supposed analogy of a similar change in the case of the Reply to Marlow, added to Walton's assertion that Raleigh wrote that poem. The second is the belief that *Ignoto* was Raleigh's own peculiar signature. As the first is found to rest on an erroneous statement (see p. 136), and as the second has been sufficiently disproved above, we are now driven to the other alternative. But this would be so contrary to Raleigh's claim, that it would almost justify us in arranging the two poems in the *third* class. It seems as well, however, to leave them here.—Both were printed anonymously in the Phoenix Nest (pp. 69, 90); and No. x also in Davison, as I have remarked already. No. xix has been printed on p. xxviii. Nott quotes No. x as Raleigh's (Surrey, p. 246); but only from “ed. 1814.”

† See above, pp. xxviii-ix.—The authority of the London Magazine will scarcely be thought sufficient to transfer No. xxvi to Class I.

‡ Reprinted from England's Helicon, Sign. T. ed. 1600; where it is printed in Italics. Nearly the same text was given some years earlier in the Phoenix Nest, p. 95.—“There are some beautiful images in this poem,” says Sir Egerton Brydges, “clothed in very elegant language; but its construction is altogether involved and obscure, which makes me doubt if it be really Raleigh's.” (Notes to Lee Priory ed., p. 67.) His doubts soon vanished; for in a note on the poem in Cens. Lit. ii. 120, ed. 1815, he says, “This is one of Sir Walter Raleigh's Poems. See Raleigh's Poems, printed at the private press of Lee Priory, 1814.” If Brydges himself could so easily forget the uncertain nature of his evidence, we need not wonder that others have often done the like.

That playes amidst the Plaine;
 If, by the fauour of propitious starres, you gaine
 Such grace as in my Ladies bosome place to finde,
 Be proude to touch those places!
 And when her warmth your moysture forth dooth weare,
 Whereby her daintie parts are sweetly fed,—
 You, honours† of the flowrie Meades, I pray,
 You, prettie daughters of the earth and Sunne,—
 With mild and seemely breathing straite display
 My bitter sighs, that haue my hart vndone!

“Vermillion Roses, that, with new dayes rise,
 Display your crimson folds fresh looking faire,
 Whose radiant bright disgraces
 The rich adorned rayes of roseate rising morne;
 Ah, if her Virgins hand
 Doo pluck your pure,‡ ere *Phæbus* view the land,
 And vaile your gracious pompe in louely Natures scorne;
 If chauce my Mistres traces
 Fast by your flowers to take the Sommers ayre;
 Then wofull blushing tempt her glorious eyes
 To spread their teares, *Adonis* death reporting;
 And tell Lones torments, sorrowing for her friend,
 Whose drops of blood, within your leaues consorting,
 Report faire *Venus* moanes to haue no end!§
 Then may remorse, in pitying of my smart,
 Drie vp my teares, and dwell within her hart.

FINIS.

IGNOTO.”

We may arrange here most of the poems ascribed to Raleigh in Brydges's edition of Davison (see pp. xxxvi-xxxvii); the lines addressed to William Lithgow (see p. xxxix); and the Farewell to the Vanities of the World (p. 111).

III. Of the eight poems referred to the third class, *six* were printed in the Lee Priory Collection; and *two* in the Oxford edition.

1. The six in the Lee Priory edition are, Nos. ii, xiv, xviii, xxiii, and xxiv, which were written by A. W. (see p. xxx); and No. xvii, to which both Dyer and Lodge have better

† ‘Your honours’—Engl. Hel. and Phœn. Nest; and so the eds. of Raleigh. The reading adopted in the text is given in Ellis and Cens. Lit.—A little above, Ellis reads ‘you find—.’

‡ ‘your purse’ (!) repr. of E. H.; and so the eds. of Raleigh.—‘you pure’—Cens. Lit.—Just below, the eds. of Raleigh have ‘Fast by *the* flowers’—.

§ ‘Report faire Venus mones *withouten* end’—Phœnix Nest.

claims than Raleigh.* It is almost superfluous to add any specimen of these; but as Brydges distinctly refers to the following poem (which is by A. W., N^o. xiv) in some remarks which will be quoted presently, it may be admitted on the same grounds as "The Shepheard to the Flowers:"—

" VPON AN HEROICALL POEM WHICH HE HAD BEGUN (IN IMITATION
OF VIRGIL) OF THE FIRST INHABITING THIS FAMOUS ILE
BY BRUTE AND THE TROYIANS.†

" My wanton Muse, that whilome wont to sing
Faire Beauties praise and Venus sweete delight,
Of late had chang'd the tenor of her string
To higher tunes then serue for Cupids fight:
 Shrill Trumpets sound, sharp swords, & Lances strong,
 Warre, blond, and death, were matter of her song.

" The God of loue by chance had heard thereof,—
That I was prou'd a rebell to his crowne:
Fit words for warre ! quoth he, with angry scoffe;
A likely man to write of Mars his frowne !
 Well are they sped whose prayes he will † write,
 Whose wanton Pen can nought but loue indite !

" This saide, he whiskt his party-colour'd wings,
And downe to earth he comes, more swift then thought;
Then to my heart in angry hast he flings,
To see what change these newes of warres had wrought:
 He pries and lookes,—he ransacks eu'ry vaine,—
 Yet finds he nought, saue lone, and louers paine.

* As to Lodge, the poem is signed " *T. L. Gent.*" in the *Phœnix Nest*, 1593, p. 59.—As to Dyer, see above, p. xxx, note †. If the piece was printed twice in E. H. through mere inadvertency (as I fully believe), it comes to this,—that the publisher had one " *especiall copy*" to which Dyer's initials were subjoined, and another which he marked *Ignoto* because it had no name at all. Had it been found that Dyer had no claim to it, his initials would have been obliterated, as in other cases. It seems evident that the publisher of E. H. did not know that it had been previously given to another writer. He has affixed the initials S. E. D. to two other poems which occur in Lodge's *Rosalynde*. Dr. Nott quotes No. xvii as an imitation of Wyatt. *Notes on W.* p. 543.

† Reprinted from Davison, p. 25. ed. 1621.—In the second ed. of E. H., to which this poem was added for the first time, it was erroneously entitled " *An Heroicall Poeme.*" Though Brydges mentioned the fuller title in his repr. of E. H. (Pref. p. xxxi.) he seems to have forgotten all about it when he collected Raleigh's Poems; for he says, " *This should rather be entitled, Lines occasioned by my having undertaken to write an Heroical Poem*" (p. 67), as if he were merely correcting, from conjecture, the account given in E. H.

‡ ' *shall*'—both the reprints of Davison, from the earlier eds. There are some other small variations, which I need not mention.

“ Then I, that now perceiu'd his needlesse feare,
 With heauy smile began to plead my cause :—
 In vaine (quoth I) this endlesse griefe I beare;
 In vaine I striue to keepe thy grieuous lawes;
 If, after prooffe so often trusty found,
 Vniust suspect condemne me as vnsound.

“ Is this the guerdon of my faithfull heart ?
 Is this the hope on which my life is staid ?
 Is this the ease of neuer-ceasing smart ?
 Is this the price that for my paines is paid ?
 Yet better serue fierce Mars in bloody field,
 Where death or conquest end or ioy doth yeeld.

“ Long haue I seru'd;—what is my pay but paine ?
 Oft haue I sude;—what gaine I but delay ?
 My faithfull loue is quited with disdain;
 My griefe a game, my pen is made a play;
 Yea loue, that doth in other fauour find,
 In me in counted madnesse out of kind.

“ And last of all,—but grieuous most of all,—
 Thy selfe, sweete loue, hath kild me with suspect:
 Could loue beleene that I from loue would fall ?
 Is warre of force to make me loue neglect ?
 No! Cupid knowes, my minde is faster set,
 Then that by warre I should my loue forget.

“ My muse, indeed, to warre inclines her mind,—
 The famous acts of worthy Brute to write,
 To whom the Gods this Ilands rule assignde,
 Which long he sought by Seas through Neptunes spight:
 With such conceits my busie head doth swell;
 But in my heart, nought else but loue doth dwell.

“ And in this war, thy part is not the least:
 Here shall my Muse Brutes noble Loue declare;
 Here shalt thou see thy double loue increast,
 Of fairest twins that euer Lady bare:
 Let Mars triumph in armour shining bright;
 His conqerd armes shall be thy tryumphs light,

“ As he the world, so thou shalt him subdue;
 And I thy glory through the world will ring,
 So by my paines thou wilt vouchsafe to rue,
 And kill despaire.—With that he whisk't his wing,
 And bad me write, and promist wished rest:
 But sore I feare false hope will be the best.”

2. The two pieces in the Oxford edition which may be rejected with certainty are, Nos. xxxiii and xxxvi (see pp. 95, 114). It can scarcely be doubted that both are *attacks* on Raleigh.

Lastly, a poem which was ascribed to him in the Topographer unquestionably belongs to Wotton (see p. 45); and if Tychbourne's verses were printed, as Mr. D'Israeli states (see p. 68, note), "in one of the old editions of Sir Walter Raleigh's Poems,"—a circumstance which I know only from his report,—the claim is equally untenable.*

Though we have been compelled, in this classification, to take from Raleigh many of the finest poems commonly ascribed to him, it will, I think, be found, that the outlines of his poetical character become more definite, as the limits of his poetry are more distinctly drawn. In the way in which it has been previously collected, his own peculiar features have been nearly lost, while they were softened down and blended with those common to a whole school of his contemporaries. The Lee Priory Collection, especially, is calculated to give us the most erroneous notions of Raleigh as a poet,—not only because it assigns to him so many poems, amounting to two-thirds of the whole volume, which he never wrote,—but because so many of the most characteristic poems which he did write are excluded. By far the most valuable part of that publication is the Biographical and Critical Introduction, which we cannot read without a feeling of regret, that the admiration for his author, which Brydges expressed with so much eloquence, was not rewarded with better success. I believe some parts of it were afterwards incorporated in another of his publications, which I have not at hand; but as it was not retained in the Oxford edition of Raleigh's Works, the following extracts will be new to many readers, and must be acceptable to all:—

“Raleigh's mind appears to have been characterized by boldness, and freedom from nice scruples, either in thought or in action.—He was, as Lodge says of Sydney, a poet

* The arrangement of the poems ascribed to Raleigh in these three classes will be understood more easily from the table appended to this Introduction.

rather by necessity than inclination ; he only indulged in speculation when he was shut out from action : for his head was restless and turbulent. When no overwhelming passions or interests misled him, he was generous, and perhaps even feeling.

“ Difficulties and disappointments gave a plaintive sort of moral cast to his occasional effusions.—He possessed all the various faculties of the mind in such ample degrees, that to whichever of them he had given exclusive or unproportionate cultivation, in that he must have highly excelled. There are so many beautiful lines in the poem prefixed to Spenser’s ‘ Fairy Queen,’ beginning ‘ Methought I saw,’ &c. [see p. 116] that it is clear he was capable of attaining an high place among poetical writers.” — — —

“—Do I pronounce Raleigh a poet ? Not perhaps in the judgment of a severe criticism. Raleigh, in his better days, was too much occupied in action to have cultivated all the powers of a poet ; which require solitude, and perpetual meditation, and a refinement of sensibility, such as intercourse with business and the world deadens.

“ But perhaps it will be pleaded, that his long years of imprisonment gave him leisure for meditation, more than enough. It has been beautifully said by Lovelace that

‘ Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage,’

so long as the mind is free. But broken spirits, and indescribable injuries and misfortunes, do not agree with the fervour required by the Muse. Hope, that ‘ sings of promis’d pleasure,’ could never visit him in his dreary bondage ; and Ambition, whose lights had hitherto led him through difficulties and dangers and sufferings, must now have kept entirely aloof from one, whose fetters disabled him to follow as a votary in her train. Images of rural beauty, quiet, and freedom might perhaps have added by the contrast to the poignancy of his present painful situation ; and he might rather prefer the severity of mental labour in unravelling the

dreary and comfortless records of perplexing History, in remote ages of war and bloodshed.

“There are times when we dare not stir our feelings or our fancies ; when the only mode of reconciling ourselves to the excruciating pressure of our sorrows is the encouragement of a dull apathy, which will allow none but the coarser powers of the intellect to operate.

“The production of an *Heroic Poem* would have nobly employed this illustrious Hero’s mighty faculties, during the lamentable years of his unjust incarceration.* But how could *he* delight to dwell on the tale of Heroes, to whom the result of Heroism had been oppression, imprisonment, ruin, and condemnation to death ?

“We have no proof that Raleigh possessed the copious, vivid, and creative powers of Spenser ; nor is it probable that any cultivation would have brought forth from him fruit equally rich. But even in the careless fragments now presented to the reader, I think we can perceive some traits of attraction and excellence, which perhaps even Spenser wanted. If less diversified than that gifted bard, he would, I think, have sometimes been more forcible and sublime. His images would have been more gigantic, and his reflections more daring. With all his mental attention keenly bent on the busy state of existing things in political society, the range of his thought had been lowered down to practical wisdom : but other habits of intellectual exercise, excursions into the ethereal fields of fiction, and converse with the Spirits which

* Written doubtless in reference to the poem by A. W. printed above, p. lii. In his note on that poem, Brydges says:—“It well agrees with that which is understood to have been the progress of Raleigh’s poetical habits. He began with amorous pieces ; he had now, I doubt not, turned his mind to a longer and more important kind of poem ; from which probably the continual scenes of activity that he was engaged in soon withdrew him. If his leisure had permitted such an application of his rich and various faculties, I see no reason why he should not have succeeded in so arduous an attempt.” It is very unlucky, certainly, that the piece in question was not written by Raleigh.

inhabit those upper regions, would have given a grasp and a colour to his conceptions as magnificent as the fortitude of his soul.

“ I lament, therefore, that these idlenesses of a passing hour, thrown forth without care, and scattered without an attempt at preservation, are all the specimens that we have of Raleigh’s poetical genius. To me they appear to justify the praise which I have thus ventured to confer on that genius : but I am well aware that they will be viewed in a very different manner by many others, who will discover nothing in them but the crude abortions of a jejune wit, never worth collecting, and now grown tiresomely obsolete by the changes of Time.

“ To him,” he concludes, “ whose enlarged taste is alive to excellence in every varying fashion of our literature ; to him, whose mind is not so narrowed by the severity of a cold discipline, as to refuse to throw on the composition some of the interest derived from the character of the man ; to him whose fancy is not too sterile or too cynical to delight in pastoral poetry ;* to him whose sensibility or ardour can cherish with fondness the very fragments of genius ; to him whose love of History is enlightened by imagination and enriched by moral reflection ; I consign this imperfect collection of the *Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*, with a glow of satisfaction and triumph : yet not unabated by regret at the imperfect manner in which I have performed my task.” †

* We have no proof that the “ pastoral poetry” in the Collection belongs to Raleigh.

† This Introduction is dated Jan. 16: 1814: The title-page and Dedication bear the date of 1813.



THE various causes of uncertainty, which make it so difficult to draw out a correct list of Raleigh's Poems, had so wide an influence on all the Minor Literature of his time, that it is quite impossible to form a proper estimate of them in one case, without subjoining a few illustrations of their more general effect. There is nothing remarkable in the simple fact that such uncertainty existed; for small pieces which are written chiefly for amusement, and passed about in MS. from hand to hand, would in all ages be assigned to different persons at different times, as the information or fancies of transcribers varied; but there were some peculiar circumstances which made these contradictory accounts more perplexing than usual in the reigns of Elizabeth and James.

This was fully acknowledged at the time. Thus Puttenham complained, that "such among the Nobilitie or gentry as be very well seene in many laudable sciences, and especially in *making* or Poesie" were often so "loath to be a knowen of their skill," that if they wrote at all, they either "suppressed it agayne, or els suffred it to be publisht without their owne names to it; as if it were a discredit for a Gentleman to seeme learned, and to shew him selfe amorous of any good Art." In another passage, where Raleigh (among several others) is expressly mentioned, he confessed, that how "excellently well" they had written could only be discovered, "if their doings could be found out and made publicke with the rest."* Even when such poets did not care to conceal their names, they took no measures to secure their rights of authorship; but were quite content for their poems to be dispersed, as Meres says of Shakespeare's "sugred sonnets," "among (their) private friends." Hence

* *Arte of English Poesie*, pp. 16, 49, reprint. Cf. Sidney's *Defence of Poesy*, p. 52, ed. Gray.

the praises of their contemporaries, which are sometimes quite unintelligible if we look only to their printed remains, must be constantly understood as referring to poems which have either perished altogether, or are still lying hid among the MS. stores of our public and private Libraries.

Many others were, however, printed; and these claim our first attention. But unfortunately the confusion was increased, instead of lessened, by the manner in which they were committed to the press. In the time of Surrey, they were often set forth on broad-sheets, and then "moralized" by some rhymers of greater zeal than knowledge,—a kind of popularity which would not tend to the advantage of either the true text or the permanent reputation of their authors. With that very perishable class of publications we need not now concern ourselves. The books from which our evidence is more frequently obtained,—such as the three entitled the Phoenix Nest, England's Helicon, and the Poeticall Rhapsodie, with which the reader is sufficiently familiar,—were of a somewhat higher character. But though the publishers of those old Miscellanies, of which several others have been recently reprinted, were generally careful, so far as we can judge, not to affix names on mere conjecture,* they do not yield us much assistance when they give us poems by "Uncertain Authors," or by "a most worthy Gentleman," or by their "dear friends *Anonymoi*;" and it rather shakes our confidence in even the very best of them to find Francis Davison complaining, that his printer had put in the signa-

* Thus in the Preface to England's Helicon, we are told that no actual names or initials were appended, except on the authority of "some especial copy,"—an assertion which is considerably modified by the accompanying remark, that any one who had been "defrauded of any thing by him composed by another man's title put to the same" would have the opportunity of freely challenging his own in public, by the appearance of that Collection. The occasional substitution of different signatures in that volume proves both the carefulness of the editor and the difficulty he found in getting accurate information. And he made several positive mistakes that were *not* corrected, to say nothing of the poems marked *Ignoto*.

tures without his privity. We should have been spared the necessity of much laborious arguing, if the true nature of those signatures had been borne more constantly in mind, by some who have seen recondite meanings in the vaguest words, and have found deep mysteries in the merest printer's blunders. The frequent use of doubtful initials, also, has often led to error. We are nevertheless compelled, in general, to take these volumes as the basis of our enquiries, except in the few cases where we have the still better evidence of contemporary citations.

The Compilers of a lower grade, who put names upon their title-pages without due authority, occasion still more difficulty. Even during the life-time of an author, an unscrupulous printer would sometimes hurry through the press a volume (like "The Passionate Pilgrim") which he had collected as he could ; and which he tried to sell by "gracing the forefront" with an attractive name.* In such cases, reclamations and denials often (though not always) followed ; but it was more difficult to rectify the error if the reputed author were no longer living ; and the complaints of a despoiled survivor sometimes failed to gain a hearing. Many of the materials for such publications were obtained from Musical Composers, who would often be unable to give a correct account of the various poems which had been entrusted to them years before ; and many, which the nominal author of the volume had happened to transcribe, were mixed up with his own productions, if his reputation made it worth while to present the very sweepings of his study to the world.

* As these remarks are confined to *Minor*, or (as it is called) *Fugitive Poetry*, I need not do more than refer generally to the artifices often practised by the book-sellers with regard to more important works.—One curious instance of a fraudulent alteration, in a book which comes nearer to our purpose, is mentioned in Mr. Collier's *Life of Shakespeare*, p. cxvi, note.—There are not many instances of bolder fraud on record than one which occurs much later,—when a new title-page was prefixed to the old ed. of *King's Poems*, in 1700, ascribing the whole volume to *Ben Jonson*.

—The following instances of the mistakes committed in these posthumous Collections are of later date than the Miscellanies last mentioned; but they are chosen from their connection with each other, and with some of the poems reprinted in this volume.

The Collection of Poems published in 1660 by Dr. John Donne the younger,* under the names of LORD PEMBROKE and SIR B. RUDYARD, supplies us with several examples. Four of those pieces are contained in this volume; and there is evidence enough in every case to shew that the younger Donne's account is incorrect.† Two others were printed in 1657 among the Poems of Bishop Henry King; and as they are also found in two MS. Collections of his pieces which are still in existence, there is every reason to

* For this person, of whom Wood said that, by reason of his manifold failings, his memory was even then by many "condemn'd to utter oblivion," it is sufficient to refer to Wood's *Fasti*, i. 503, compared with A. O. ii. 504, iv. 724; Zouch's *Walton*, pp. xv-vi. 115-6; and Nicolas's *Life of Walton*, pp. lxvi-vii, cxlix-l.—Mr. Hallam (*Introd. to Lit. &c.* iii. 44, ed. 1843) assumes that the editor was his father, the Dean of St. Paul's, who is always understood when only "Dr. Donne" is mentioned; and therefore, as the Dean died in 1631, he argues that there must have been an earlier edition than that of 1660. He adds, in corroboration, "the Countess of Devonshire is not called Dowager; her husband died in 1643." Then the copies differ. In that which I have used, the word is plain enough;—"To the Right Honorable Christiana, Countess of Devonshire, Dowager." (That copy is among Malone's books in the Bodleian, 460. The following note-worthy names are written in the beginning: "Izaak Walton"—[his own writing]; "E libris M^{ri} Fulman"—; "T. Warton, Coll. Trin. Oxon. 1759." It was afterwards Park's, and then Malone's. The most objectionable leaf has been torn out, which was probably honest Izaak's doing; but it has been restored in MS. The address "To the Reader," in which it is acknowledged that some poems may be wrongly ascribed, is in modern type; but there is the original Dedication, which contains some of the very expressions used by the same Donne in the letter to Lord Craven, which he prefixed to the later editions of his father's Poems.—I have not seen the reprint.)—Mr. Lodge (see below, p. 131, note) does not seem to have observed the chronological difficulty involved in making *the* Dr. Donne the editor. The younger Donne died in 1662.

† They are, Wotton's Poem written in his Youth, I. i. p. 3; Dr. Brooke of Tears, II. iii. p. 63; The Lie, III. i. p. 89; and the poem sometimes entitled The Silent Lover, III. ix. p. 130.

believe that he really wrote them.* The credit of another (such as it is) must be surrendered to Sir Edward Dyer.† Here then we have *seven* poems which were all inserted on mistaken grounds in one small volume. But the list of contradictions is not yet exhausted. I have already mentioned (above, p. xiii) that an eighth has also been ascribed to Carew and Wotton. A ninth occurs among the Poems of Dr. Donne himself, the father of the editor; but in this case there is some little evidence in Pembroke's favour.‡ A tenth is Ben Jonson's famous Epitaph on the Countess of Pembroke, to which a very inferior second part is added, which Gifford was willing to ascribe to the filial affection of her son.§ It is not necessary to seek for any further proofs of the unauthorized character of this publication; but I may add, that the name of "Strode" (or, more briefly, "Str.") is appended, in Fulman's copy, and apparently in his small neat writing, to three other poems which I have not mentioned.|| Upon the whole, it must be confessed that this

* See Biogr. Not. of Bp. Henry King, p. lxii.

† See this vol. p. 114, note; Pembroke, p. 29. In that publication, the pun by which Dyer's claim is supported is ruthlessly demolished by the printer, who lets the line stand, innocently enough, "Dye ere thou let his Name be known"—.

‡ It is the song beginning "Soul's joy, when [al. *now*] I am gone"—Pembroke, p. 24; Donne, p. 57, ed. 1669. But it was not in the first edition of Donne (1633); and it is ascribed to Pembroke in the MS. from which Brydges printed some of Browne's Poems. Pref. p. 6.

§ Gifford's Jonson, viii. 337; Pembroke, p. 66 (mispr. 96). See too Park's Walpole, ii. 203, note. As to Gifford's remarks, it should be observed, that both parts are found in many ancient copies,—e. g. in San-croft's Collection, MS. Tann. 465, fol. 62; and in MS. Ashm. 781, p. 152. (Both those copies are anonymous.) So also in a copy printed by Brydges (as above, p. 5), who claims it for William Browne.

|| Dr. Bliss has printed one of these as Strode's on the authority of Lawes. A. O. iii. 152. It begins, "Keep on your veile [*Mask*—Pembr. corrected in MS.] and hide your eye"—Pembroke, p. 109. There is an anonymous copy of it in Clifford's Tixall Poetry, p. 203.—Another of the three, beginning "Like to a hand which hath been us'd to play" (Pembr. p. 108) is given by Dr. Bliss to Carew, on the authority of an Ashm. MS. A. O. ii. 659.

“monument” to Pembroke’s memory is an egregious failure. It is in the noble, though qualified, eulogy of Clarendon that his best “monument” is found; and the fame of Rudyard’s “learned muse” will live in the pages of Ben Jonson, when this poor volume is *again* forgotten.

The poem which is ascribed to Wotton and Pembroke, as well as to Carew, is not the only doubtful piece inserted in the posthumous Collection of CAREW’S Poems (1640). In that case he may have been the injured party, as he certainly was when his Masque entitled “Cælum Britannicum” was ascribed to Sir William Davenant. But in other cases, his editor was the aggressor; as in regard to three poems which were reclaimed by Shirley in 1646,* and probably to two others which Herrick inserted in his *Hesperides* in 1648.†

Nor again is Pembroke the only person who can lay claim to compositions which were printed in the various editions (all posthumous) of the Poems of DR. DONNE. Basse’s Epitaph on Shakespeare, which was inserted in the first of those editions (1633, p. 165, mispr. 149), was afterwards withdrawn; but the later impressions retained a Translation of Psalm cxxxvii which undoubtedly belongs to Francis Davison,‡ and an Elegy which is found also in Ben Jonson’s

* Carew, pp. 130-3, repr. of 1824; Dyce’s Shirley, vi. 409-11. See *ib.* p. 461. There are many variations.—One of them was also stolen by Picke, in 1639. See *Restit.* iv. 350.

† Carew, pp. 122, 134; Herrick, pp. 120, 243. Herrick’s copies are, however, much less perfect than those in Carew. Mr. Hallam (*Introd. to Lit.* iii. 43) appears to think this circumstance in Herrick’s favour; but surely it tells the other way, for stolen poems were more likely to be mutilated than mended. The best argument for Herrick is found in the dates and characters of the two publications.

‡ Donne, p. 157, ed. 1633=p. 322, ed. 1669; Davison’s Psalms, p. 27, Lee Priory ed.=p. 358, ed. Nicolas, who mentions the circumstance, p. cxx. It is marked as Davison’s in a copy of Donne, ed. 1633, belonging to the Library of C. C. C., Oxford, in contemporary handwriting. Even Dr. Cotton enters it in his “List” as Donne’s (p. 65); and Mr. Todd avails himself of it to rebut Donne’s attack on Sternhold (*Observations on the Old Version*, p. 90).

Works.* Mr. Laing's recent edition of the *Conversations of Jonson and Drummond* throws still further doubts on the good faith of that Collection.†

Instances of the same nature might be multiplied to almost any extent;‡ but these are enough to shew, that the insertion of a poem among a writer's collected Works does not always prove him to be the author of it, unless (as in the case of *Rel. Wotton.*) we have good assurance of the editor's honesty and knowledge. Several subordinate circumstances might be also mentioned, which contribute to weaken our confidence in what we might have hoped to find the surest proof of authorship. Thus at times, a facile writer would help a less ready friend upon occasion, by inditing verses for him; and the borrower and lender would be easily confounded.|| A favourite poem, again, often called forth many imitations; and it is not always possible to distinguish between the original and the copy,—still less to distribute different variations on the same original among their respective owners.§ Indeed it cannot be doubted that a few altera-

* *Donne*, p. 300, ed. 1633=p. 92, ed. 1669; *Gifford's Jonson*, viii. 406. Perhaps this is not the only instance.

† See two cases mentioned on p. 11 of that vol. So on p. 36, "Joseph Hall [wrote] the harbenger to *Done's Anniversarie.*"

‡ No one can doubt that a mistake of this kind was committed when "The Lie" was inserted among the posthumous poems of *Sylvester*, unless his editor thought that the vile additions made it his. Others in that Collection are open to dispute; for two of them are printed as *Campion's* in *Exc. Tudor.* (i. 36; *Sylvester*, pp. 633-4) on the authority of one of the *Harleian MSS.*—*Cleveland* was so much disturbed by the insertion of one of his poems among *Randolph's*, that he wrote a second piece on the occasion (*Randolph*, p. 108, ed. 1668; *Cleveland*, pp. 25-30, ed. 1677). He ought to have been much obliged to *Randolph's* brother for taking it away.

|| See *Mr. Collier's Shakespeare*, viii. 475; *Nott's Surrey*, p. 262.

§ For one remarkable case of repeated imitation, I may refer to the collection of stanzas on the model of that beginning "Like to the falling of a *Starre*" in Appendix D to *Biogr. Not. of Bp. H. King.*—A second instance is the series on the model of "Come live with me and be my love." See this vol. p. 126, note.—A third is mentioned above, in the remarks on No. xxvi in the list of *Raleigh's Poems.*—A fourth is the set of variations on "My mind to me a Kingdom is"—which I will enumerate here, as I

tions (often for the worse) sometimes sufficed to satisfy the conscience of a writer, who was willing to enrich his own stores by borrowing from his neighbour's superfluity.* All these things cause great perplexity, even to those who have the original volumes at command: and when we add, that from their rarity, one compiler is often forced to trust to information which has been supplied by another, and that several titles, such as *The Farewell*, *The Invective*, *A Valediction*, *The Legacy*, &c. were the common stock in trade of editors, who prefixed each of them to distinct poems, we shall be at no loss to understand how so much confusion has arisen.

If we turn from printed books to those old MS. Collec-

think it is not generally known that Sir Edward Dyer has some claim to the original poem. There are three copies of verses on that model; two of which, viz. one of four stanzas and another of six, were printed by Byrd in 1588. They have been reprinted from his text in *Cens. Lit.* ii. 108-10, and *Exc. Tudor.* i. 100-3. Percy inserted them in the *Reliques* with some alterations and additions; but he changed his mind more than once as to whether they were two distinct poems, or only the dis severed parts of one (see i. 292-4, 303, ed. 1767; and i. 307-10, ed. 1839). The third (containing four stanzas) is among Sylvester's posthumous poems, p. 651; and Ellis reprinted it under his name. In *Cens. Lit.* ii. 102, another copy of it is given from a Music Book by Gibbons, 1612. Now the longest, and apparently the earliest, of these poems is signed "E. Dier" in MS. *Rawl. Poet.* 85, fol. 17. That copy contains eight stanzas, and one of the two which are not in Byrd corresponds with a stanza which Percy added. The following are the reasons which incline us to trust this MS. (1.) Because it is the very MS. to which reference is commonly made for several of Dyer's unprinted poems,—as by Dr. Bliss, *A. O.* i. 743, and apparently by Mr. Dyce, ed. of *Greene*, i. p. xxxv, n. and by Park, note on *Warton*, iii. 230. Park is the only person I can recollect who has mentioned this particular poem in the MS.; and he cannot have read more than the first line, for he only says, "one of them bears the popular burden of 'My mind to me a Kingdom is.'" (2.) Because it is quite possible that Dyer wrote many extant poems of which he is not known to be the author; for, as Mr. Dyce says, none of his (*acknowledged*) productions "have descended to our times that seem to justify the contemporary applause which he received." (3.) Because I cannot discover that there is any other claimant to this poem.—One of *Greene's* poems ends with the line, "A mind content both crown and kingdom is." (*Works*, ii. 288, ed. Dyce.)

* Sometimes even this poor apology was dispensed with; as when *Wastell* inserted one of *Southwell's* poems in his *Microbiblion*, 1629.

tions which it was the fashion for the admirers of Poetry to form for themselves, matters seem at first to grow worse instead of better; for transcribers would often make ingenuity supply the place of information, in their eagerness to adorn their scrap-books with distinguished names.* In authorities of that kind, therefore, even such as might be thought most trust-worthy, we are met at once by the contradictory accounts which naturally followed from the different notions men would form of style. Thus among the poems which are printed from "Authentic Remains" of the highest character in *Nugæ Antiquæ*, one is ascribed to Lord Rochford, which is contained in Sir Thomas Wyatt's own MS., and "is signed with his name in his own handwriting;"† and two are said to have been written by John Harington, the father of the Translator of Ariosto, when he was confined in the Tower in 1554, which were inserted with different signatures (and at greater length) in the *Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*, only twenty-two years after that date.‡ Again, the authority

* This volume contains many instances of these conjectural accounts. In one case (p. 76, note), several erroneous ascriptions are enumerated, all of which were superseded on better information. If the transcribers had remained in ignorance (as they often would do) these would have been so many different claimants; and if Rel. Wotton had never reached a second edition, the first signature, *Ignoto*, would no doubt have added Raleigh to the number.

† It is the piece beginning "My lute awake" &c. *Nug. Ant.* ii. 400, ed. Park; Nott's Wyatt, p. 20. (This was one of the two poems moralized by John Hall, Nott's Appendix to Wyatt, Nos. xxviii-ix; and there are two modern versions of it.) In Park's notes on Walpole (*R. and N. Anth.* i. 275) and Warton (*H. E. P.* iii. 43, 53, ed. 1840) he seems to be thinking only of Nott's incidental remark in his *Life of Surrey* (p. xx, note), not of the decisive passage in his *Notes to Wyatt* (p. 545). Wyatt's MS., like the other, came from the Harington Collection.

‡ The first begins "The lyfe is longe that lothsomely dothe last"—*Nug. Ant.* ii. 332; *Parad. of D. D.* p. 43, repr. (Signature, "D. S." It has four additional stanzas.) The second begins "When I looke back, and in myself behold"—*Nug. Ant.* ii. 333; *Parad. of D. D.* p. 11. (Signature, "L. Vaux." It has two additional stanzas). But the copies in *N. A.* appear to be rather compressed than imperfect. Of course I do not pretend to decide between these conflicting statements.—Some far finer verses in *Nug. Ant.*, viz. those beginning "Whence comes my love? O hearte, disclose"—(ii.

of the same John Harington and his father is adduced by his son, to prove that two metrical fragments which he sent to Prince Henry were written respectively by Henry VI and Henry VIII; yet both are found in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, where they seem perfectly at home.* In another publication of great respectability, Bishop Corbet, on the authority of an Ashmolean MS., is made to address Prince Charles (afterwards Charles I) in the famous Epigram which Sir John Harington presented to Queen Elizabeth in the character of her "saucy godson."†

As the conjectures of transcribers would naturally keep pace with the frequency of transcripts, the number of persons to whom a poem is ascribed is generally in proportion to the popularity of the poem itself. The most remarkable of those reprinted in this volume has been assigned to no fewer than *six* different writers, of the most diversified ranks and characters; and two others have been each attributed to *four*.‡ It is true that some of these claimants are due to

324), have excited great suspicion. "If these are genuine," says Mr. Hallam, "and I know not how to dispute it, they are as polished as any written at the close of the queen's reign." (Introd. to *Lit. &c.* ii. 120, ed. 1843. See also Ellis, ii. 165, ed. 1811; Campbell, pp. 39, 40, second ed.; Nott's *Surrey*, p. cclxxix.) But it is confessed that there is already one mistake in the date (1564); and Park's proposal to substitute an earlier date, as the legend prefixed requires, would only make the marvel greater.

* *Nug. Ant.* i. 386-8; *Mirror for Mag.* ii. 220, 465, repr.

† Gilchrist's Corbet, p. 82; *Nug. Ant.* i. 172.—Another of Mr. Gilchrist's additions to Corbet's poems (in which he followed Waldron) is almost as unfortunate. See p. 222, where he confesses that the piece "bears no resemblance to" Corbet's "acknowledged productions," and adds, that it is ascribed to Herrick in one of the *Ashmolean MSS.* He should have told us, that Herrick's title rests on far better evidence; for the poem is in his *Hesperides*, p. 35, with the heading, "A Country life: To his Brother, M. Tho: Herrick." The copy ascribed to Corbet is confessedly imperfect; that printed by Herrick is complete.—For a third very doubtful case in the same volume, see p. 239; and MS. Malone 21, p. 1.—One of the poems inserted in the old eds. of Corbet belongs to Bp. H. King. See *King's Poems*, 1843, p. 61.

‡ They are, *The Lie*,—*The Farewell to the Vanities of the World*,—and the piece known as *The Silent Lover*. Another guess has produced a *fifth* claimant to the second of these. See p. 136.

recent conjectures ; but this only shews the tendency of such mistakes to multiply in course of time.

These old MS. Collections, however, should not be undervalued ; for they must be used, although with caution, as preserving in many cases a truer tradition than has found its way into print. The rage for conjecture would have no influence where an author's name was known ; and an obscurer writer would often be revealed to his friends, when a publisher was compelled to affix a name by guess.

Traditions setting forth when and why a poem was composed, of which many examples are cited in this volume, must of course be received with equal caution ; as they would often spring from the same spirit of conjecture which has given rise to so many contradictory claims. Our willingness to believe them, when they are well authenticated, should make us all the more careful, when no evidence is given. We need not doubt, for instance, that Raleigh, like Tychbourne,* wrote a few brief lines the night before his execution (p. 75) ; but when four poems of much greater length are ascribed to the same period (p. 97), we reject the account at once, as arising from confusion and mistake. That a man *may* have recourse to verse, as the medium of expressing his feelings even in the immediate prospect of a violent death, is no more impossible, than that he should seek the same relief when he is suffering from a disorder which seems likely to prove fatal ; and of this we have numerous examples. Thus Sir Henry Wotton, after an attack of fever, sent his friends " a few poor Lines which [his] pains did beget" (p. 50) :—Dr. Donne, in addition to some other verses written during illness, composed one piece " in [his]

* The evidence in support of the tradition is in Tychbourne's case unusually ample (see pp. 68-70, and Ritson, *Bibl. Poet.* p. 361) ; yet besides the misappropriation of the lines to Raleigh, which is mentioned by Mr. D'Israeli, I think there is a MS. in existence (to which I cannot now refer) where they are assigned to Francis Throckmorton, who was executed in 1584.

sickness, March 23: 1630[-1],”* and died on the last day of that month:—Sir Philip Sidney, after he was wounded, “was able to amuse his sick-bed by composing an ode, unfortunately now lost, on the nature of his wound, which he caused to be sung to solemn music, as an entertainment that might soothe and divert his mind from his torments.”†

In cases where a tradition of this kind must be rejected, it may often happen, that the author’s name rests on far better testimony. This has been sometimes overlooked; and the falsehood of an unauthorized legend has been held to involve the denial of a writer’s claim. But it does not follow that a person never wrote a poem at all, because it can be proved that he did not write it at a particular time. A well-known passage in Gascoigne’s “Epistle” prefixed to his collected Works (1575) will assist us in establishing this distinction. When he ridiculed those who thought that Lord Vaux’s Verses, beginning “I lothe that I did love,” were written on his death-bed, and that Edwards’s “Soulknit” was written in extremity of sickness, he did not mean to deny that Vaux and Edwards really wrote the poems; and he has been followed by our various antiqua-

* See Walton’s Lives, p. 83, ed. 1796.

† Gray’s Life of Sidney, p. 56.—An imperfect copy of some commonplace verses, said to have been written by Sidney “a little before his Death,” is found in Winstanley’s Poets, 1687, p. 86. I subjoin a better version of them, not because they are genuine,—for as Sidney’s parents died a short time before him, the fifth line contains a plain proof of forgery,—but because they form an apt illustration of these traditions in general, and because I cannot find that they are mentioned by Zouch or Gray:—

“S^R PHILIP SYDNEY LYING
ON HIS DEATH-BED.

“It is not I that dy; I do but leaue an Inne
Where harboured was with me all filthy kinde of sinne:
It is not I that dy; I do but now begin
Into eternall ioyes by faith to enter in.

Why mourne ye then, my Parents, friends, and kin?
Lament ye when I lose: why weepe ye when I win?

(MS. Cheth. 8012, p. 86; and MS. Ashm. 781, p. 150.)

ries in his recognition of their claims.* The appended stories, indeed, are asserted (and believed) to be false; but their falsehood has no malign influence on the rights of the two authors in question.

These two traditions seem precisely parallel to that annexed to the poem called "The Lie;" or, if there is any difference at all, Raleigh's execution makes his case the stronger. For though they had no lack, in that day, of common Malefactors' Ballads, sung to the tune of "Fortune my Foe," or printed on broadsheets, with a hideous "effigies" of the criminal, and a red-letter description of his crime,† something of a higher strain was looked for at the hands of remarkable state-victims; and if no parting-poem was forthcoming, a ready substitute was found in the first suitable copy of verses which came to hand. Thus, to say

* Lord Vaux's Ballad, which was first printed in Tottell's *Miscellany*, and which is quoted, with singular propriety, by the Grave-diggers in *Hamlet*, is still a tolerably familiar piece, and may be found in most Collections. It is curious that another of his pieces, which is inserted in the *Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*, is headed "In his extreame sycknesse."—Edwards's "Soulknill" is mentioned below (p. 90). I suppose that it is not known to exist; but there is not a shadow of reason for confounding it with "The Soul's Errand." The title would lead us to expect a burthen, something like those of the songs in the *Tempest* and the *Merchant of Venice*, or in "Corydon's Dolefull Knell" (Percy, ii. 263, ed. 1767). It has been accordingly conjectured, that it may have been the poem, "O death, rocke me on sleepe," the beginning of which is parodied in 2 Hen. IV. (A. ii. Sc. iv.) and which has been ascribed both to Lord Rochford and his sister, but to neither on good evidence. See *Blackwood's Magazine* for Oct. 1838, p. 466.

† Of course these were never meant to deceive any one. Such Ballads as those ascribed to Luke Hutton (*Collier's Old Ballads*, p. 117), *Mannington* (*Ritson's Anc. Songs*, ii. 47, ed. 1829), &c., were no doubt produced by scribes of the same kind. It seems to be in reference to this custom that *Rowlands* makes his pirate speak of coming to the gallows,

"There, like a swan, to sing my dying hower,
That liv'd a raven, onely to devoure."

(Knaves of Spades and Diamonds, p. 86, Percy Soc. repr.)

See also Chappell's *Nat. Engl. Airs*, ii. 141-2, 191; *Motherwell's Minstrelsy*, p. xxvi.—As *Molops* remarks, "These fetter'd Swans chant it most me:odiously before their deaths." (*Cartwright's Royall Slave*.)

nothing of some vague traditions of the kind connected with the names of Queen Anne Boleyn and her brother, Lord Rochford; or of the four Latin lines said to have been written with a pin on the walls of her prison by Lady Jane Grey; we have many such pieces as those entitled "Verses written by the Lord Admiral Seymour the week before he was beheaded, 1549;" and "Verses made by [Robert] Earl of Essex in his trouble," with others "composed in the Tower."* At a later period, we have "Verses said to be made by Thomas, Earl of Strafford, not long before his death," besides "The Lieutenant's [Strafford's] Legend," which are probably both spurious; and also "Majesty in Misery," which is reported, on very good authority, to be the genuine composition of King Charles.† In some of these cases, it is possible that both name and tradition are correct;—in others, it is nearly certain that both are alike fictitious;—but the existence of a double mis-statement in these latter cases will not prove that it exists in all; nor are we justified in inferring that a name is forged, because a legend is erroneous. In the case of a poem like "The Lie," so many things concurred to make it likely that the story would be connected with it,—the subject of the verses, the celebrity and fate of their reputed author, and the report of

* On a poem said to have been written by his father, Walter, Earl of Essex, "the night before he died," see Park's *Walpole*, ii. 18-21. It is another of the many cases where the old MSS. and the printed copies are at variance.—Ritson records a great number of these so-called dying-verses, besides those which I have mentioned. See *Bibl. Poet.* pp. 22 (cf. p. 97), 117, 145, 174, 203, 209, 309, 334, &c.—They were sometimes actually used as Epitaphs. See, for example, those of Richard Carew of Anthony, in *Lyson's Magn. Brit.* iii. 17.

† These pieces are all well-known.—A remarkable instance of double forgery, differing from those named above, in that the actual death of another person is assumed as the occasion of a poem, and not the impending death of its author, is mentioned by Mr. Dyce, *Life of Shirley*, p. liii. It is the case of Shirley's Dirge, "The glories of our blood and state"—which was printed in a vol. of *Butler's Posthumous Works*, as "a thought upon death, after hearing of the murder of Charles I."

the manner in which some of his latest moments were employed,—that we should have had no reason to be surprised at the tradition, could we prove still more conclusively that Raleigh wrote it, as we *can* prove that it was written, “ more than twenty years before his death.”

These general remarks will serve to explain the origin of those contradictory statements, which we find even in respect to some of the poems which Izaak Walton edited; and their application to the poems reprinted in the Third Part of this volume, as well to those of which we have been speaking in this Introduction, is sufficiently obvious. They will also account for the long lists of various readings which I have appended to most of the separate poems;—and this is, I think, the last subject which seems to require notice here. When a writer has conducted his own compositions through the press, it is mere waste of labour to bring together all the trifling alterations which have been afterwards introduced by careless copyists; but the case is altogether different, when poems have come down to us in the very form which most exposed them to corruption. Even in the First Part, we cannot be certain how far the text preserves the very words which Wotton used; for though few men have been so richly endowed as Izaak Walton with the higher qualifications of a faithful and affectionate biographer, it is plain that, as an editor, he cannot always claim the merit of minute and scrupulous fidelity in transcription. Otherwise, we should not have found so many variations between the different copies of poems which he published in different places; nor would there have been so much agreement in rejected readings as we sometimes observe in copies obtained from other sources. It is scarcely necessary to remark, however, that the best reading (or what seems to be such) is not always the most genuine; and the advantages of an established standard are so obvious, that I have never disturbed his text, either in the First or Second Part, without great reluctance. The same plan has been followed in

the Third Part, in the treatment of the text which has been chosen in each particular case. As to those variations which are obviously erroneous, they have been preserved to supply evidence of the degree of credit which is due to the transcripts from which they were derived.

J. H.

COMBE-LONGA, OXON.,
Jan. 18: 1845:

P.S. The 55th publication of the Percy Society, which was not delivered to the Members till after the preceding sheets were printed, furnishes us (at p. 14) with a different copy of the lines given on p. 114 in this volume, by which their real nature, as I had understood it, is proved beyond dispute.* Another libel on Raleigh, which is printed in the same tract (pp. 15-18), contains a curious parody on the Sonnet addressed to him by Spenser:—

“ I pitty that the sommers nightingale,
Immortall Cinthia’s sometime deare delight,
That us’d to singe so sweete a madrigale,” &c.

Spenser’s words are:—

“ To thee, that art the Summer’s nightingale,
Thy sovereign Goddess’s most dear delight,
Why do I send this rustic madrigale,” &c.

The name “Cynthia” was probably chosen with a reference to Raleigh’s poem (now lost) which bore that title. See above, pp. xxiv, n. xxxvii, n.

March 6: 1845:

* From the expressions used by the Editor, Mr. Halliwell, in his Preface, I believe he will not be surprised to learn that these lines (to which some others are added in his copy) were printed in the Oxford ed. of Raleigh’s Works.—“The Lots,” which he gives on pp. 5-10, were written by Sir John Davies; and were printed in Davison’s Poeticall Rhapsodie. The two copies, however, are by no means the same; and each supplies some omissions in the other.—The poem which he quotes on p. 47, from the Phœnix Nest, was printed also in England’s Helicon and Davison; and is included in the modern eds. of Raleigh. See above, on N^o. x.



INDEX I.

POEMS ASCRIBED TO SIR WALTER RALEIGH.*

[The Poems to which *no mark* is prefixed are arranged above (pp. xlv-xlix) in Class I., i. e. poems which are given to Raleigh with some shew of probability; those which are marked by *an asterisk* are arranged in Class II (pp. xlix-li) i. e. poems for which no direct evidence has been found, either to substantiate or to refute his claim; those which are marked by *an obelus* are arranged in Class III (pp. li-liv) i. e. poems which certainly belong to other writers.—The “N^{os}” appended to each line refer to the detailed list of Raleigh’s reputed poems.—Those lines which are printed in *Italics* belong to poems which are only quoted or mentioned, but not reprinted, in this volume.]

	Page
* <i>As at noon Dulcina rested</i> (N ^o . xxv. See pp. xxviii-ix.)	—
As you came from the holy land (N ^o . xxxv)	122
Calling to mind, my eyes went long about (N ^o . xxxii. See also pp. xxix, xxxv-xxxvi.)	xlvi
* <i>Come live with me and be my dear</i> (N ^o . xiii. <i>Ignoto</i> in E. H. See pp. xxxi, xxxiii, n. 126, n.)	—
Conceit, begotten by the eyes (N ^o . xl.)	118
* <i>Coridon, arise my Coridon</i> (N ^o . v. <i>Ignoto</i> in E. H. See p. xxxi.)	—
<i>Court’s commender, State’s maintainer</i> (N ^o . xxxvii. See p. 96.)	—
† <i>Court’s scorn, State’s disgracing</i> (N ^o . xxxvi. See p. 95.)	—
Cowards [may] fear to die; but Courage stout (N ^o . iii.)	74
Even such is Time, that takes on trust (N ^o . vi.)	75
<i>Fain would I, but I dare not</i> (N ^o . xxxiv. See p. 121, n.)	—
Give me my scallop-shell of quiet (N ^o . xxvii.)	106
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Her face, her tongue, her wit, &c. (N ^o . xxix. See also p. xxxv, n.)	xlvii

* This Index is confined to the forty-four poems enumerated in the list given in the Introduction. For some additional fragments by Raleigh, see pp. xl, note, and xli.—Three other poems in this volume have been assigned to him, but incorrectly. See pp. 46, 69, 111.—For other cases of the same kind, see pp. xxxvi, note, xxxvii, note, and xxxix.

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* <i>Hey, down a down, did Dian sing</i> (N ^o . ix. <i>Ignoto</i> in E. H. See p. xxxi.)	—
If all the World and Love were young (N ^o . xii. See also p. 136)..	128
† <i>If Love be life, I long to die</i> (N ^o . ii. By A. W. See p. xxx.)....	—
* <i>In Peascod time, when hound to horn</i> (N ^o . vii. <i>Ignoto</i> in E. H. See p. xxxi.).....	—
† <i>Like desert woods, with darksome shades obscured</i> (N ^o . xvii. Probably by Lodge, but ascribed also to Dyer. See pp. xxx, lii, n.)	—
Like truthless dreams, so are my joys expired (N ^o . xxx. See also p. xxxv, n.)	xlvi
* <i>Man's Life's a Tragedy: his Mother's womb</i> (N ^o . viii. <i>Ignoto</i> in R. W.).....	82
Many desire, but few or none deserve (N ^o . xxxi. See also p. xxxv, n.)	xlvi
Methought I saw the grave where Laura lay (N ^o . xxi.)	116
† <i>My wanton Muse, that whilome wont to sing</i> (N ^o . xiv. By A. W. See also p. xxx.)	lii
† <i>Now have I learnt, with much ado, at last</i> (N ^o . xxiv. By A. W. See p. xxx.)	—
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* <i>Prais'd be Diana's fair and harmless light</i> (N ^o . xix. See also pp. l, n. 125, n.)	xxviii
* <i>Quivering Fears, heart-tearing Cares</i> (N ^o . i. <i>Ignoto</i> in R. W.)....	57
* <i>Rise, oh my Soul, with thy desires to Heaven</i> (N ^o . xi. <i>Ignoto</i> in R. W.)	72
* <i>Shall I like a hermit dwell</i> (N ^o . xxvi. See p. xxix.).....	—
* <i>Shepherd, what's Love, I pray thee tell</i> § (N ^o . x. See pp. xxvii, l, n. 125, n. and 136.)	—
* <i>Sweet violets, Love's Paradise, that spread</i> (N ^o . xv. <i>Ignoto</i> in E. H. See also p. xxxi.).....	1
Sweet were the sance would please each kind of taste (N ^o . xvi. See also pp. xxvi-vii.).....	xliv
† <i>The fairest pearls that Northern seas do breed</i> (N ^o . xviii. By A. W. See p. xxx.)	—
† <i>The frozen snake, oppress'd with heaped snow</i> (N ^o . xxiii. By A. W. See p. xxx.)	—
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† <i>Water thy plants with Gracedivine, &c.</i> (N ^o . xxxiii. See also p. lxxiii.)	114
What is our Life? the play of passion (N ^o . xliii.)	81
* <i>Whilst my Soul's eye beheld no Light</i> (N ^o . iv. <i>Ignoto</i> in R. W.) .	61

§ Other copies (in Phoenix Nest, 1593, and Davison) begin, "Now what is Love, I pray thee tell"—.

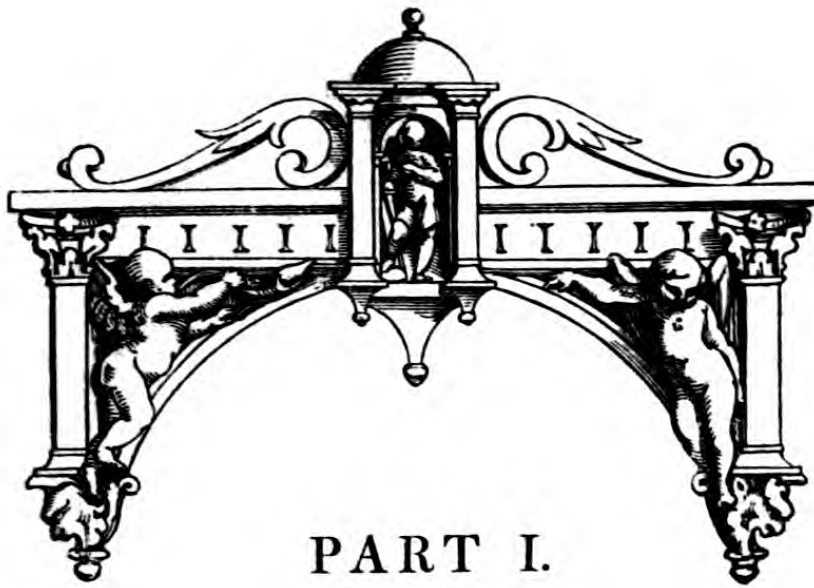


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† Another copy begins, "This day dame Nature seem'd in love"—.



P O E M S

BY

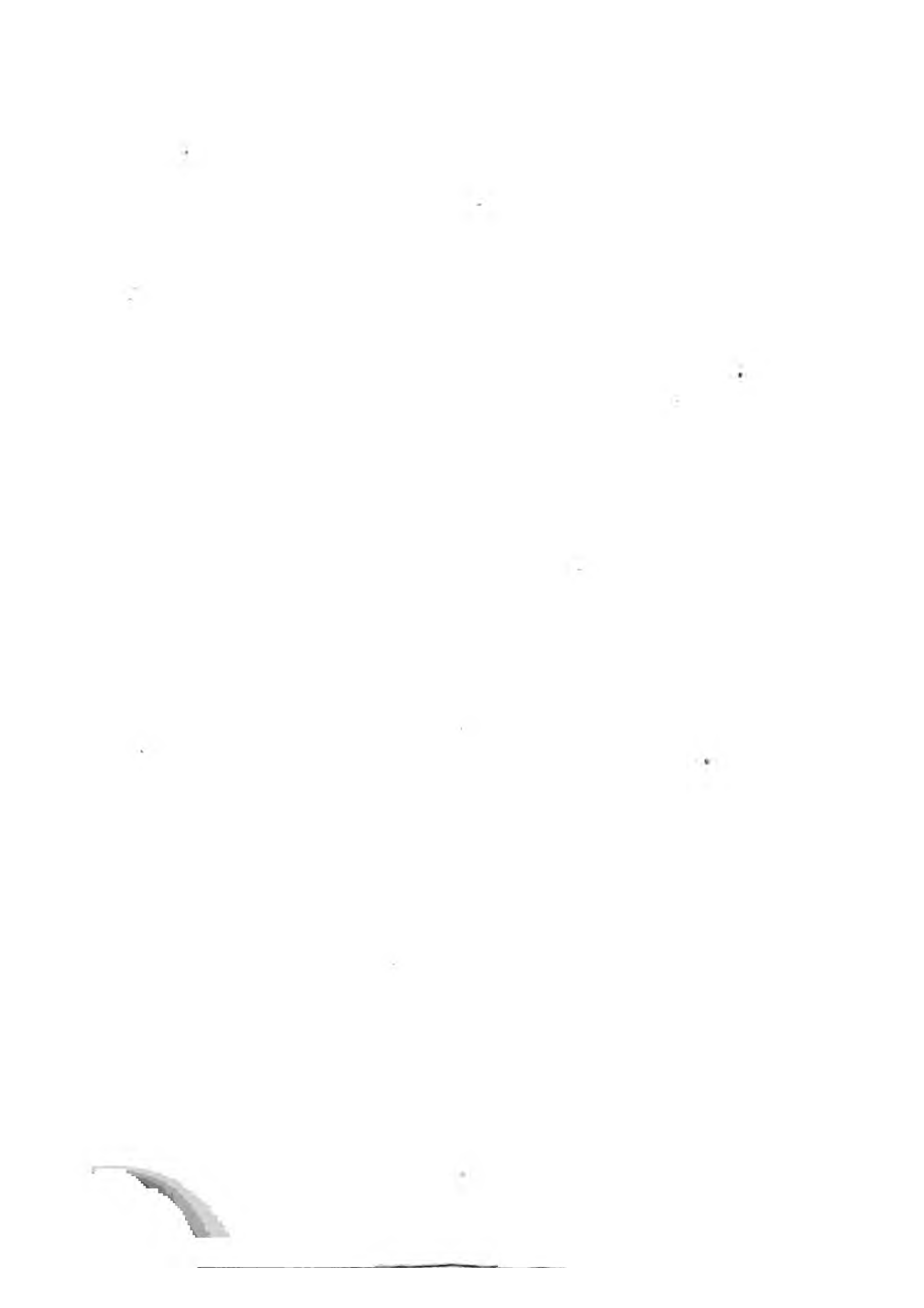
SIR HENRY WOTTON.

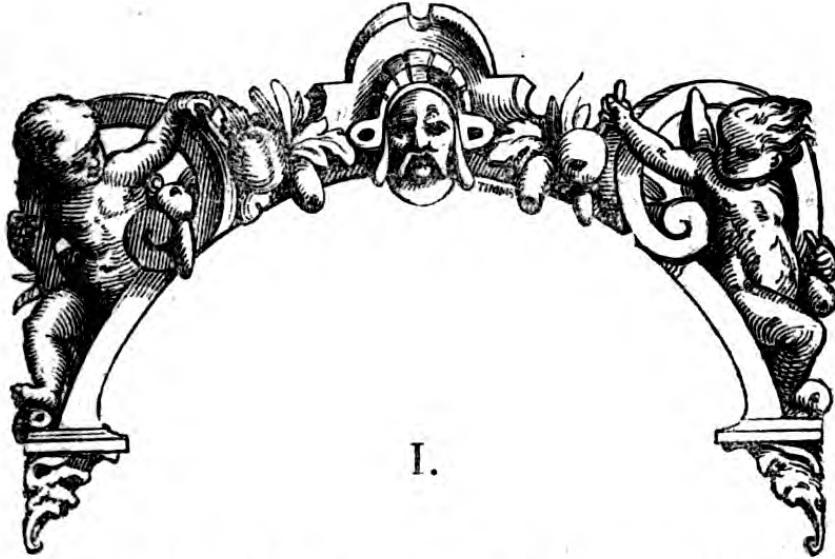
FROM RELIQUIÆ WOTTONIANÆ,

ED. 1685.



B





I.

A POEM WRITTEN BY SIR HENRY
WOTTON IN HIS YOUTH.

[THIS Poem was first printed in Davison's Poeticall Rhapsodie, 1602, as "An Elegie," and with the signature "H. W." Wotton was then thirty-four years old; and it is therefore probable that it was written some years before that time. If there were any truth in the assertion that Wotton was addressed *as a poet* by Bastard in 1598, it would follow that his other youthful compositions are now lost; for this single piece would scarcely entitle him to the rank of a poet, and the others ascribed to him in *Rel. Wotton.* and reprinted in this volume, can be referred,—in most cases with certainty, and in all with probability,—to a much later date. But the statement arose from a misapprehension of the meaning of Bastard's Epigram, which will be found in the Introduction to this volume.

His claim to this piece has been disputed; for it is ascribed to Sir Benjamin Rudyard by the Editor of the Poems

of Pembroke and Rudyard (1660); but the authority of Davison and Izaak Walton will more than counterbalance that of Dr. Donne the younger.

The Variations are from three copies of the Poem; viz. A=Davison's Rhapsodie, in the fourth edition of which it has the longer title, "Of a woman's heart," but no signature at all (1621, p. 202).—B=Rudyard's Poems, p. 34; Title, "Verses made by Sir B. R."—C=MS. Rawl. Poet. 147, p. 74. Signature, "H. Wotton." The additional variations, marked D, are borrowed from Mr. Dyce's edition of Sir Henry Wotton's Poems, printed for the Percy Society. They were taken from a MS. in the handwriting of Sir Roger Twysden, and are here retained to corroborate those of other copies, for it will be seen that none of them are peculiar to that transcript.]



FAITHLESS World, and thy [most]
A Womans Heart; [faithless part,
The true Shop of variety, where sits
Nothing but Fits

[5] And fevers of desire, and pangs of love,
Which toys remove!

Why was she born to please? or I to trust
Words writ in Dust,

Suffering her Eyes to govern my despair,
[10] My pain for Air;

And fruit of time rewarded with untruth,
The food of youth?

Untrue she was; yet I believ'd her eyes,
(Instructed spies,)

[15] Till I was taught, that Love was but a School
To breed a fool.

Or sought she more, by triumphs of denial,
 To make a trial
 How far her smiles commanded my weakness?
 [20] Yield, and confess;
 Excuse no more thy folly; but, for Cure,
 Blush, and endure
 As well thy shame, as passions that were vain;
 And think, 'tis gain,
 To know that Love, lodg'd in a Womans brest,
 Is but a guest.

H. W.

[VARIATIONS.—1. 'most' is the reading of A B C D. In Rel. Wotton. it is 'more'—. I follow Mr. Dyce in this alteration of the text.—9. 'her looks'—B C D.—'by despair'—C.—15. 'is but'—B C.—16. After this line, another couplet is found in B C D, viz.

'Or was it absence that did make her strange,
 Base flower of change?'

17. 'than triumphs'—A B C D.—18. 'To see'—A B C D.—19. Mr. Dyce inserts 'on' after 'commanded,' from D, which is supported by B C. But the line is complete without it, the accent being thrown on the second syllable of 'weakness.'—21. 'Excuse not now . . . nor her nature'—A B C D.—23. The recent editors of Davison announce that the second 'as' is omitted in ed. 1621,—a mere accidental omission, if it were so; but the line has only been disturbed at the press, to the loss of one letter: it runs, 'Aswel thy shames, passions that were vaine'—24. 'thy gain'—A B C D.—24. Sir E. Brydges prints 'jest' for 'guest,' without any authority that I know of.]



II.

SIR HENRY WOTTON AND SERJEANT
HOSKINS RIDING ON THE WAY.

[JOHN HOSKINS was originally a Fellow of New College (1584-6), where he graduated as B. A. May 6 : 1588 : and as M. A. Feb. 26 : 1591-2 : but some sarcasms in which he indulged as *Terræ Filius* for that year, caused him to be expelled from the University without being admitted to his regency. After he had taught a school for some time, and had commenced a Greek Lexicon, a prosperous marriage enabled him to enter at the Middle-Temple, and to become a member of Parliament, where what Sir Henry Wotton calls his "licentiousness, baptized freedom," consigned him to the Tower, June 7 : 1614. He was released in about a year, and in 17 Jac. I. (1619) was elected Lent-Reader of the Middle-Temple. In the 21st of the same reign (1623), he was made serjeant-at-law ; but although the title of serjeant is the only mark of time about this dialogue, we can scarcely believe that so youthful a piece was composed by two men, of whom the younger was then fifty-five. Wood adds, that Hoskins was "soon after a judge or justice itinerant for Wales, and one

of the council of the Marches thereof." He died Aug. 27 : 1638.*

Some of the strange assertions contained in Wood's account of him must undoubtedly be reckoned among the "*folliries* and misinformations," by which, as Wood complains so grievously, (Life, p. lx.) John Aubrey would "stuff his many letters sent to A. W." and which "sometimes would guid him into the paths of error." Aubrey was well acquainted with Hoskins's descendants, and certainly took him for a poet;—the story of his "polishing" Ben Jonson seems to be directly borrowed from Aubrey's MSS.;—and the tradition of the services which he is said to have rendered to Sir Walter Raleigh probably had the same original.† It is certain, however, that Hoskins was familiar with many of his more eminent contemporaries. Wood says that "he was also much respected and beloved by Cambden, Selden, Sam. Daniel, Dr. Joh. Donne, dean of Paul's, Rich. Martin, recorder of London, *sir H. Wotton*, and *sir Ben. Rudyard*;" and he records his name in a similar manner in various other biographies,—e. g. those of Martin, Rudyard, Jonson, and Sir John Davies.‡ Granger has printed an Inscription found under Martin's portrait, which "Chr. Brocus, Jo. Hoskinus, & Hugo Hollandus, obsequii et amoris triumviratu nexi," dedicated in 1620 to Sir Lionel Cranfield, (afterwards Earl of Middlesex,) "*amico amicum amici.*"|| I have somewhere seen an account of a "Convivium," in which Hoskins, Brooke, and Donne take part,—the latter two under the titles of *Christophorus Torrens* and *Joannes Factus*.

* Wood's A. O. ii. 624-627. Fasti, i. 242, 255.

† See (1.) Letters from the Bodleian, ii. 330, 394, 395, and Mr. Thoms's Anecdotes and Traditions, p. 116. (2.) Letters from the Bodleian, ii. 413. (3.) Raleigh's Works, Oxford edit. viii. 743. (The sentence last referred to is omitted in the copy of Aubrey's Life of Raleigh, which is printed in Letters from the Bodleian.)

‡ Wood's A. O. ii. 626, 250, 401, 612, iii. 456.

|| Biographical History, ii. 14.

His "book of poems, neatly written, bigger than those of Dr. Donne," which, as Wood tells us, was lent and lost by his son, Sir Benedict, has never, I believe, been recovered; nor is it likely that any one will ever try to supply its place by collecting his scattered fragments.—Besides the share he may have had in this dialogue, and four lines which will be found in a later part of this volume, Hoskins is known as one of the contributors of verses prefixed to Coryate's Cruities, 1611 (Sign. e 6 and 7). Dr. Bliss has printed a poem consisting of eighty lines, under the title, "Mr. Hoskins Dreame," from one of the Ashmole MSS. (781, p. 129); but it is seldom found in so complete a state. In two MSS. which I have seen, it is cut down to fifty-six lines;* and in a third (MS. Malone 16, p. 20), it is unsparingly abridged to *six*, a copy which must have been well known, since it is inserted in the Ashmole MS. (p. 131) immediately after the longer piece. This last is brief enough to quote. (I give it from the Malone MS.)

“ VERSES PRESENTED TO Y^E KING BY M^{RS} HOSKINS, IN THE
BEHALFE OF HER HUSBAND, P^RISONER.

“THE worst is told, the best is hidd;
Kings know not all, I would they did;
What though my husband once have errd?
Men more to blame haue beene preferrd.
Who hath not errd, he doth not lue;
Hee errd but once,—once, King, forgiue.

FFINIS.”

* Namely, in MS. Malone 19, pp. 61.63. Title, "Mr Hoskins his Dreame." And in a MS. belonging to Mr. Pickering, fol. 149, v^o. Title, "Mr John Hoskins bewaileing his owne, his wiues, his Mothers, and his Childrens woefull case, y^e one borne, y^e other yet vnborne."—Several other fragments by him, besides those given above, may be found in MS. Malone, 19, pp. 87, 140, 141, and in the Cheetham MS. 8012, pp. 76-79,—157-159.—There is a jest of his in Mr. Thoms's Anecd. and Trad. p. 45.—On a strange dance said to be given by him by Fuller, (Worthies, Introd. to Heref.) see Nichols's Progr. of James I. vol. i. p. xix.—His "Rhetorick," illustrated from Sir Philip Sidney, was sold among Mr. B. H. Bright's MSS. No. 217.—I will only add, that Hoskins is supposed by Wood to have written some execrable verses, alluded to by Jonson (iv. 55, ed. Gifford) in a sufficiently disrespectful manner.

I will add two other short pieces, which, with several others, are ascribed to him in an old MS. Miscellany in the Cheetham Library at Manchester (8012, pp. 76, 158):—

I. "OF Y^E LOSSE OF TIME. *Per J*: HOSKINS.

"If life be time y^t here is [l]ent,*
And time on earth be cast away,
Who so his time hath here mispent
Hath hastned his owne dying day:
So it doth proue a killing crime
To massacre our living time.

"If doing nought be like to death,
Of him y^t doth, Camelion-wise,
Take only paines to draw his breath,
The passers by may pasquilize,
Not, here he liues; but, here he dyes."

II. "AN EP: ON A MAN FOR DOINGE NOTHINGE.

"Here lyes the man was borne and cryed,
Tould three score yeares, fell sicke, and dyed."

These fragments are about the best I could find. The second is also in Camden's Remaines (ed. Philipot, 1657, p. 399) with some variations, among "a few conceited, merry, and laughing Epitaphes, the most of them composed by Master *Iohn Hoskins* when he was young." It is copied in Fuller's Worthies of London, p. 202. Ben Jonson would have put the thought in rather a nobler way, thus:—

"Repeat of things a throng,
To shew thou hast BEEN long,
Not LIV'D"—


And again:—

"The ignoble never LIVED; they WERE awhile,
Like swine, or other cattle here on earth:
Their names are not recorded on the file
Of LIFE that fall so"—

* The MS. has 'spent'—which seems to be erroneous.

Yet Aubrey could persuade himself that Hoskins "polished" Ben Jonson, and that Jonson himself confessed it! I believe Gifford's terse summary of Aubrey's character will stand for honest truth:—"In short, Aubrey thought little, believed much, and confused every thing." (Life of Jonson, p. xx. note.)

I may mention here, that among Donne's Poems there is a somewhat similar Dialogue between himself and Wotton, p. 186, ed. 1669.]

Ho. OBLE, lovely, vertuous Creature,
Purposely so fram'd by Nature
To enthrall your servants wits :

Wo. Time must now unite our hearts,
[5] Not for any my deserts,
But because (me thinks) it fits.

Ho. Dearest treasure of my thought,
And yet wert thou to be bought
With my life, thou wert not dear :
[10] *Wo.* Secret comfort of my mind,
Doubt no longer to be kind,
But be so, and so appear.

Ho. Give me love for love again ;
Let our loves be clear and plain,—
[15] Heaven is fairest, when 'tis clearest :
Wo. Lest in clouds, and in differring,
We resemble Seamen erring,
Farthest off, when we are nearest.

Ho. Thus, with numbers interchanged,
[20] *Wotton's* Muse and mine have ranged ;
Verse and Journey both are spent :

Wo. And if *Hoskins* chance to say,
That we well have spent the day,
I, for my part, am content.

H. W.





III.

ON HIS MISTRESS, THE QUEEN OF
BOHEMIA.

[“ LET not our readers mistake this excellent little poem for an effusion of the tender passion. [They would be very odd readers if they did.] Sir Henry Wotton was never accused of being a platonic lover, and at the time of its composition was a grave diplomatist of the age of fifty-two. It proceeded from a feeling of chivalrous loyalty; and when connected, as it always should be, with the anecdote of the jewel, forms altogether a trait in his character, which the mind may contemplate with unmixed delight.” (Freeman’s Kentish Poets, i. 215.) The “anecdote of the jewel” is well-known to all Izaak Walton’s readers. Many state-papers and similar documents, connected with Wotton’s employments on the affairs of the Queen of Bohemia, are preserved in Rel. Wotton. as well as some of his letters to the Queen,—one of which begins as follows: “Most resplendent Queen, even in the Darkness of Fortune. That was wont to be my Style unto Your Majesty, which you see I have not forgotten. For though I have a great while forborn to trouble You with any of my poor Lines; yet the Memory of Your sweet and Royal Vertues is the last thing that will die in me.” (p. 336.)

In another, which is commenced in the same way, occurs this passage:—"The last and inwardest Consolation that I can represent unto your Majesty, is your self, your own Soul, your own Virtues, your own Christian constancy and magnanimity: Whereby your Majesty hath exalted the glory of your Sex, conquered your Affections, and trampled upon your adversities. To conclude, you have shewed the World, that though you were born within the chance, yet without the power of fortune." (p. 556. He often repeats these expressions. Cf. pp. 129, 222, 450.) I believe the date assigned by Freeman to the Poem (1620) is nearly correct; for the Elector Palatine was not chosen King of Bohemia till September, 1619: and if it had been written long after that time, the lines would have contained some allusion to the Queen's misfortunes. It was set to music and printed as early as 1624.*

The Variations are now given from three copies of this Poem; viz. A=one in Archbishop Sancroft's Collection, MS. Tann. 465, fol. 43. B=one in MS. Malone 19, p. 23. Title, "To the Spanish Lady." (What this title means, I do not pretend to determine. The *tune* known as "the Spanish Lady" would not suit the metre of this piece. See Percy's Reliques, ii. 246, ed. 1839, and Chappell's Nat. Eng. Mel. No. 24, (*bis*) and Notes, pp. 44, 188.) C=one in Percy's Reliques, ii. 335, where it is "printed from the *Reliquiæ*

* Namely, in Est's Sixt Set of Bookes, &c. with several variations, which are given in Mr. Dyce's edit. of Wotton's Poems. The copy is also mentioned by Haslewood, Pref. to Anc. Crit. Essays, vol. ii. p. xi. Mr. Dyce remarks, that "it is found also, much altered for the worse, and with a wretched Second Part, in *Songs and Fancies*, &c. Aberdeen, 1682." I do not know whether the additional verses which I have extracted from the MSS. form any portion of that "Second Part," but they are very inferior to the rest. In Park's copy of Rel. Wotton. is inserted "The Disparity, from a hint of Sir Henry Wotton," by Aaron Hill; but the writer has taken rather more than "a hint," and has completely spoiled the piece. Cleveland evidently had it in view in the commencement of his "General Eclipse;"—Poems, p. 72, ed. 1677.

Wottoniana, 1651, with some corrections from an old MS. copy." Percy's readings have been previously given by Mr. Dyce.]



YOU meaner Beauties of the Night,
That poorly satisfie our Eyes,
More by your number, than your light,
You Common people of the Skies ;
[5] What are you when the [Moon] shall rise ?

You curious Chanters of the Wood,
That warble forth Dame Natures lays,
Thinking your [Passions] understood
By your weak accents ; what's your praise,
[10] When Philomel her voice shall raise ?

You Violets that first appear,
By your pure purple mantles known,
Like the proud Virgins of the year,
As if the Spring were all your own ;
[15] What are you when the Rose is blown ?

So, when my Mistriss shall be seen
In Form and Beauty of her mind,
By Vertue first, then Choice, a Queen,
Tell me if she were not design'd
Th' Eclipse and Glory of her kind ?

H. W.

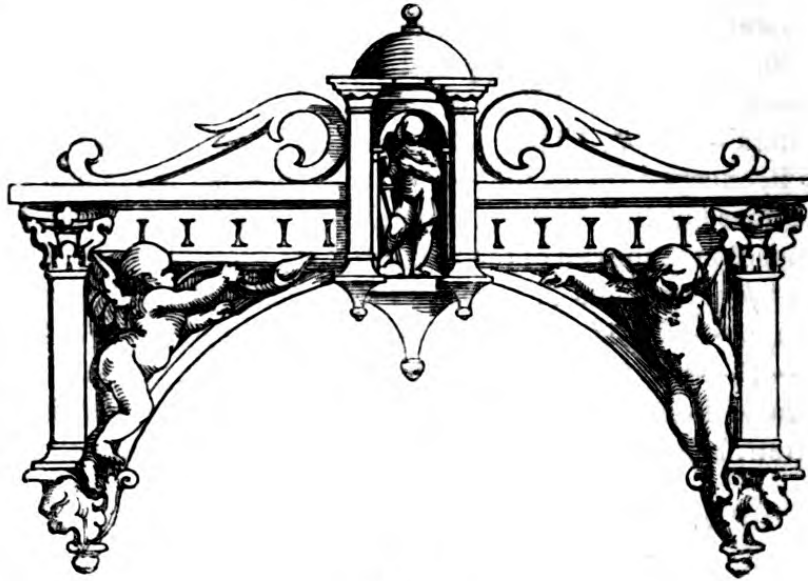
[VARIATIONS.—1. 'Ye'—B.—2. 'Which'—B. 'mens eyes'—A. (afterwards corrected.)—4. 'Like common'—A B.—5. 'What' altered in A to 'Where'—. 'moon' is the reading of A

B C, Est, and Mr. Dyce. In Rel. Wotton. 'Sun.'—The second and third stanzas are transposed in all the copies but Rel. Wotton.—6. 'Ye'—C. 'Yee wandring chaunt^{rs}.'—B. 'warbling chanters'—A.—7. 'That fill the aire with natures laies'—A. So also B, except 'Which fill'—. 8. 'Passions' is the reading of all the copies but Rel. Wotton. which has 'Voices'—, and in ed. 1672, a semicolon at the end of the line.—9. 'By accents weake, what is'—B. 'forc't accents . . . where's the praise'—A.—10. 'her notes doe rayse'—B.—11. 'Ye'—BC.—12. 'Are by your'—A. 'By yo^r new'—B.—15. 'What' altered to 'Where'—in A.—A fourth stanza is introduced in A, as well as a sixth, the last in Rel. Wotton. being the fifth in that copy. The fourth is as follows:—

“ 4. You Rubies, that doe gemmes adorne,
 And Saphyres with yo^r azure hewe,
 Like to the skies, or blushing morne,
 How pale's your brightnes in our veiw,
 When Diamonds are mixt with you?”

In B, the last stanza is made up of the one just quoted, and the last of Rel. Wotton. by means which some new variations, not worth marking, [are introduced.—16. 'Princesse'—B. A gives both words.—17. (Not in B.) 'In brightnes of her lookes & mind'—A, altered to 'In sweetnes—' which is the reading of C.—18. 'For beauty passing loues faire Queene'—A.—19. 'be not'—A. 'was not'—C. 'assigned'—B. The following is the sixth verse in A:—

“ 6. The rose, the violett, all the spring
 Vnto her breath for sweetnes runne;
 The Diamond's dark'ned in the ring;
 If she appeare, the Moones vndone,
 As in the presence of the Sunne.”]



IV.

TO A NOBLE FRIEND IN HIS SICKNESS.

[IN MS. Rawl. Poet. 147, p. 101, this Poem is entitled, "On y^e Duke of Buckingham sicke of a feaver." It has the signature, "Sr. Henry Wotton."]

UNTIMELY Fever, rude insulting guest,
 How didst thou with such unharmonious
 heat
 Dare to distune his well-composed rest,
 Whose Heart so just and noble strokes did beat?

[5] What if his Youth and Spirits well may bear
 More thick Assaults, and stronger Siege than
 this?

We measure not his Courage, but our fear :
 Not what ourselves, but what the Times may
 miss.

Had not that Blood, which thrice his Veins did
yield,

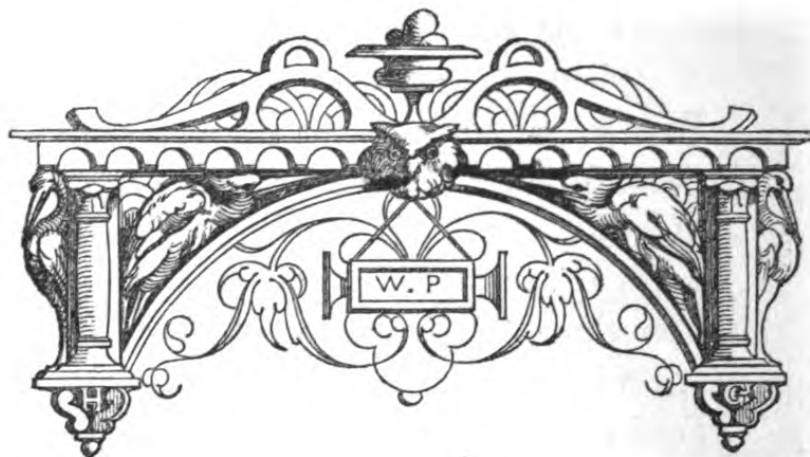
- [10] Been better treasur'd for some glorious day,
At farthest West to paint the liquid Field,
And with new Worlds his Masters love to pay?

But let those Thoughts, sweet Lord, repose a
while;

- Tend only now thy vigour to regain;
[15] And pardon these poor Rhimes, that would be-
guile,
With mine own Grief, some portion of thy pain.

H. W.

[VARIATIONS in MS. Rawl.—2. 'in such'—. 4. 'Who hart
so just so'—. 5. 'W^t though . . . Spirritt'—. 6. 'A more
deepe seige & strong assault then this'—. 9. 'the' for 'that'—.
10. 'better day'—. 13. 'tell those thoughts'.—]



V.

A SHORT HYMN UPON THE BIRTH OF
PRINCE CHARLES.

[THE allusion in the first stanza of this piece, to the noon-day planet which appeared at the birth of Charles II. (May 29: 1630:) has been sufficiently illustrated elsewhere.* Besides Wotton and King, it was commemorated in verse, directly or indirectly, by Corbet, Cleveland, and Herrick at the time; and again, after the Restoration, by Cowley and Waller. The figure of a star is found on some of the medals of Charles II.

The twelfth line† seems to have been a favourite with

* See notes to Bp. Henry King's Poems (1843) pp. 206.7. (Add, Herrick's Hesp. p. 250, as well as p. 96, 1648: and Cleveland, p. 74, ed. 1677.)

† Perhaps Wotton here alludes to the circumstance, that the mother of the new-born English Prince had been a French Princess; as Quarles, (Ded. of Divine Fancies, 1632:) "Let the *English Rose* and the *French Lilly* flourish in thy lovely cheek." But the passages are not exactly parallel. Compare Jonson, viii. 457, line 3.

Wotton, as it is repeated, with a slight alteration, in the next piece,—“His Roses and His Lilies [blowne];”—the imagery is common also with Jonson;—

“See how with roses and with lilies shine
Lilies and roses, flowers of either sex”—

and again, on the Christening of James II;—

“At land she triumphs in the triple shade,
Her rose and lily inter-twined have made.”*

But it is by no means so peculiar as to form any evidence that Jonson wrote either of the pieces. It was the ordinary language of the time.]



YOU that on Stars do look,
Arrest not there your sight,
Though Nature's fairest Book,
And signed with propitious light;

[5] Our Blessing now is more Divine
Than Planets that at Noon did shine.

To thee alone be praise,
From whom our Joy descends,
Thou Chearer of our Days,

[10] Of Causes first, and last of Ends : †
To thee this May we sing, by whom
Our Roses from the Lilies bloom.

Upon this Royal Flower,
Sprung from the chastest ‡ Bed,

* Gifford's Jonson, ix. 37, 53.

† Compare Wotton's *Medit. on Gen. xxii.* “Thou then (Eternal maker and Mover, whose Will is the *first of Causes*, and whose Glory is the *last of Ends*) direct my Feet,” &c. (Rel. Wotton, p. 269.)

‡ In ed. 1651, misprinted ‘*Chastesse*’— Corrected in ed. 1654. The signature in both those editions is ‘H. W.’

[15] Thy glorious sweetness shower ;
And first let Myrtles Crown his Head ;
Then Palms and Lawrels wreath'd between,
But let the Cypress late be seen.

And so succeeding Men,
[20] When they the fulness see
Of this our Joy, shall then
In consort joyn, as well as we,
To celebrate his Praise above,
That spreads our Land with Fruits of Love.

H. WOTTON.





VI.

AN ODE TO THE KING,

AT HIS RETURNING FROM SCOTLAND TO THE QUEEN,
AFTER HIS CORONATION THERE.

[THIS piece occurs in Ben Jonson's *Underwoods*, cvii. (Gifford's *Jonson*, ix. 52); where Gifford has the following note: "This is probably Ben's last tribute of duty to his royal master: it is not his worst; it was perhaps better as it came from the poet, for a stanza has apparently been lost, or confounded with the opening one." I should be sorry to find that Jonson wrote it, and that the poor author must resign his claim to the rich; for what to Jonson is only "not his worst," is to Sir Henry one of his best. But the authority of the second folio of Jonson's *Works* is constantly disputed by Gifford. All the papers found in Jonson's study seem to have been hastily published, whether they were originals or mere copies. Gifford tells us more than once, that "there was undoubtedly an intercommunity of verse between" Jonson and Donne (viii. 378, 406); and there are grounds for supposing that a similar "intercommunity" existed between Jonson and Wotton. (See *Introd.*

to No. viii.) It is quite possible, therefore, that Jonson had merely transcribed the poem.—Mr. Dyce says nothing of this double claim upon the piece, either in his edit. of Wotton's Poems, or in his Remarks on Gifford's Jonson.

Archbishop Sancroft has transcribed it on the same page with two others of Sir Henry's, (Nos. vii. and ix.) and assigns all three to him. (MS. Tann. 465, fol. 61, v^o.) Another copy in MS. Rawl. Poet. 147, p. 96, also bears the signature of "S^r Henry Wotton." Both these MSS. were written in 1647 or 1648,—that is, *after* it was published as Jonson's, and *before* it was printed as Wotton's in Rel. Wotton.

Sir Henry Wotton wrote a Latin tract upon the same occasion, with the title, "Ad Regem è Scotiâ reducem Henrici Wottonii plausus et vota. MDCXXXIII." An English translation of it, by "a Friend of the Authours," was inserted in the two earlier edits. of Rel. Wotton. and the original tract was added in ed. 1672. The motives which he assigned for this composition may be gathered from some of the letters in Rel. Wotton. (pp. 358, 569, 570, ed. 1672.) Garrard speaks of its first publication in a letter to Wentworth, dated Dec. 6: 1633: and says that it had come forth that week. The Parallel between Essex and Buckingham, which he mentions in the same sentence, continued in MS. some time longer. (Straff. Letters, i. 167, 265.)

Some of the phrases in this Poem are characteristic of Wotton's style; for example, the second line may be compared with the following passage in one of his letters to the Queen of Bohemia's Secretary, John Dinely, under the date of Aug. 12: 1628: "I have gotten, with much adoe, some of the Psalms* translated by my late most blessed Master, for

* The Psalter of James I. was not published till 1631. In fact, it was not *finished* when its reputed Author died. The Commission which was given to Sir W. Alexander (Lord Stirling) to "consider and review the meeter and poesie thair of," was doubtless meant to have a much wider

the young Prince of Bohemia, (which is one of your Memorials that have slept too long by me,) and I have ransacked mine own poor Papers for some entertainment for the Queen, which shall be sent together ;—Though it be now a Misery to re-visit the Fancies of my Youth, which my judgement tells me, are all too green, and my Glass tells me, that my self am gray.” (Rel. Wotton. p. 558.) Compare also the following expressions with lines 9, 10 :—“methinks not unlike that which Astrologers call a *Conjunction* of Planets, of no very *benign Aspect* the one to the other ;” (ib. p. 217.) “I am come hither in a very *benign Constellation*, and silent conspiracy of my chiefest Friends,” &c. (ib. p. 575.) Also compare line 19 with the following :—“who, taking him into his regard, taught him more and more to please himself, and moulded him (as it were) Platonically, to his own *Idea* ;” (ib. p. 163, repeated on p. 210. Cf. p. 333.) Taken separately, these coincidences would be scarcely worth remarking ; but they serve to shew that Wotton was familiar with the phraseology employed in this Poem.

The Variations are not sufficiently important to quote, except in one instance, viz. in line 17, where both the MSS. read ‘blowne’ for ‘bloom’—which is the reading of Rel. Wotton. It is also ‘blown’ in the first edit. of Jonson ; and Gifford has ridiculed Whalley for first vaunting it as a *conjectural* emendation, to correct the rhyme, and then *supporting* his conjecture by the early copy. (Life of Jonson, p. ccxxxv.)—The misprint in Rel. Wotton. probably arose, partly from the more familiar idiom, partly from an unseasonable recollection of a line (12) in the last poem. In Jonson, the two concluding lines are inserted after each stanza ; and though only given once in the MSS. they are marked as “Chorus.”]

application than the terms imply. See Mr. Laing’s Notices of Scotch Metr. Versions, in Appendix to Baillie’s Letters. (They have been also printed as a separate tract.)



ROUSE up thy self, my gentle Muse,
 Though now our green Conceits be
 gray,
 And yet once more do not refuse
 To take thy Phrygian Harp, and Play
 [5] In Honor of this chearful Day.

Make first a Song of Joy and Love,
 Which chastely flame in Royal Eyes;
 Then tune it to the Spheres above,
 When the benignest Stars do rise,
 [10] And sweet Conjunctions grace the Skies.

To this let all good Hearts resound,
 While Diadems invest his Head;
 Long may he live, whose Life doth bound
 More than his Laws, and better Lead
 [15] By high Example than by Dread!

Long may He round about Him see
 His Roses and His Lilies [blowne];
 Long may His only Dear and He
 Joy in Ideas of their own,
 [20] And Kingdoms Hopes so timely sown;

Long may they both contend to prove,
 That best of Crowns is such a Love!

[H. W.]*

* This signature is given, as usual, in ed. 1651. Its omission in ed. 1654 and 1672 cannot be regarded as an argument against Wotton's right to the piece, for it seems to have arisen merely from the fulness of the page.



VII.

VPON THE SUDDEN RESTRAINT OF
THE EARL OF SOMERSET,
THEN FALLING FROM FAVOUR.

[“THE following verses,” says Mr. Park,* “addressed ‘to the lord Bacon, when falling from favour,’ are too good to be immured in the obscure little volume whence they are now extracted.” Then, after quoting this present piece from “Bacon’s Felicity of Queen Elizabeth, &c. 1651, p. 158,” he proceeds;—“Sir E. Brydges has observed to me, that the above verses were collected into *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, and bear a denotation of having been addressed to the earl of Somerset. I might add, however, that those denotations are of doubtful authority, and that the first edition of the *Reliquiæ* gave it no earlier appropriation than Bacon’s Felicity, &c. Both books were published in the same year.” This is mere trifling. Park is not even accurate; for the

* Edit. of Walpole’s Royal and Noble Authors, ii. 208, note.

title in Rel. Wotton. does *not* say that it was "addressed to the earl of Somerset," but that it was written "upon his sudden restraint:"—but there are graver faults in the passage; for first, the assertion that the "denotations" of Rel. Wotton. "are of doubtful authority," is evidently made at random. Park shewed that he had not read that volume with much care, when he forgot that it contained the Poem, and needed to be reminded of it by Sir Egerton Brydges. His own copy of Rel. Wotton. is now before me; and though it contains several MS. notes,—the reference to Bacon's Felicity among the rest,—not a single error in the Poetical part is pointed out.—Next, the publication of both books in 1651 goes for nothing; as the one was prepared by Izaak Walton, with Sir Henry's own papers in his hands; while the other was an unauthorized translation of Bacon's Latin tract, made, says Archbishop Tension, by "a person of more good will than ability."*—Lastly, although the lines might be made to apply to Bacon, on the ground that his submission and consequent fall arose from obedience to the King's command, their application to Somerset is far more direct and obvious.

Bacon's sentence was passed May 3: 1621: Somerset was committed into custody, Oct. 18: 1615: and this latter event will give us the probable date of the Poem. Its *imagery* is singularly confused.

The Variations are from two MS. copies. A=Archbishop Sancroft's Collection, MS. Tann. 465, fol. 61, v^o. Title, "On the suddaine restraint of a Favourite." It is given to Wotton. B=MS. Rawl. Poet. 147, p. 97. The title originally was, "Sr. H. W. (on y^e Duke [*sic*] of Somer.)" but the other title, as in the former MS., was afterwards written in. Signature, "Sr. H. W."—The copy printed by Park nearly agrees with that in Rel. Wotton.]

* See Montagu's Life of Bacon, Note 4 H.



DAZZLED thus with height of place,
 Whilst our Hopes our Wits Beguile,
 No man marks the narrow space
 'Twixt a Prison and a Smile.

[5] Then, since Fortunes favours fade,
 You that in her Arms do sleep,*
 Learn to swim, and not to wade;
 For the Hearts of Kings are deep.

But if Greatness be so blind
 [10] As to trust in Towers of Air,
 Let it be with Goodness lin'd,
 That at least the Fall be fair.

Then, though darkned, you shall say,
 When Friends fail, and Princes frown,
 [15] Vertue is the roughest way,
 But proves at Night a Bed of Down.

H. W.

[VARIATIONS. 1: 'Thus dazzled'—A B. 'wth ye height'—A.—2. 'While'—B.—3. 'heids'—B.—5. 'fortunes children'—A B.—9. 'Or if'—A B.—13. 'though broken he may say'—B. 'hee may say' also in A.—14. 'When freinds doe faile'—A. 'When freinds sinke'—B.—15. 'hardest way'—A B.—16. 'Butt at night'—A. 'Yet at night'—B.—Mr. Campbell has introduced two new variations into this Poem, (Spec. p. 158, second ed.) viz. 5. 'Yet since'—and 13. *dark and'*—.]

* "They both *slept long in the arms of Fortune.*" Parallel of Essex and Buckingham, Rel. Wotton. p. 182.



VIII.

THE CHARACTER OF A HAPPY LIFE.

[ACCORDING to a MS. note in the copy of *Rel. Wotton*, which belonged successively to Ritson and Park, this piece was “printed as early as 1614, with the fourth edit. of *Overbury’s Wife and Characters* ;” but it is not found in those copies of either the 4to. or 8vo. edit. of *Overbury* published in that year, which I have had an opportunity of examining.* Other traces of its existence occur soon afterwards ; for Mr. Collier found a part of the first stanza at Dulwich, in the handwriting of Edward Alleyn, on a scrap of paper which contained, on the other side, a memorandum dated 1616. (*Life of Alleyn*, p. 54.) Jonson’s visit to Drummond of Hawthornden is now known to have ended before January 17: 1619: and in his *Conversations* we find the remark, “Sir Edward [Henry] Wotton’s verses of a happie lyfe, he [Jonson] hath by heart.” (*Laing’s ed.* p. 8.) Mr. Freeman is therefore in error when he says, “It may be presumed,

* I do not know when it was first printed with *Overbury*. In the first ed. of the *Reliques* (i. 296.) Percy took it from an edit. of 1638. He had not then seen *Rel. Wotton*.

that Sir Henry designed this as a picture of himself *in his retirement*" (Lives of Kentish Poets, i. 250); for the piece must have been written some time before he withdrew from active employment.

The Variations in the different copies of these verses are unusually numerous. I have collected those of *six*, of which the first has been previously collated by Mr. Dyce. I believe that others might have been added; but their number is perhaps too great already.—A—a copy in Ben Jonson's handwriting, which Mr. Collier found among the Dulwich MSS. and printed in his Life of Alleyn, p. 53.—B=MS. Malone 13, fol. 11. Signature, "Sr. H. Wotton."—C=MS. Malone 19, p. 138, where it is headed by Wotton's name.—D—an old MS. Collection belonging to Mr. Pickering, fol. 115, v^o. This copy has neither title nor signature.—E—a copy among the Poems appended to "Le Prince d'Amour," 1660. p. 134. Title, "Happiness." No signature.—F=Percy's Reliques, i. 333, ed. 1839, where it is printed from Rel. Wotton. ed. 1651, "compared with one or two other copies."]



OW happy is he born and taught,
That serveth not anothers will;
Whose Armour is his honest thought,
And simple truth his utmost Skill;

[5] Whose Passions not his Masters are;
Whose Soul is still prepar'd for Death,
Unti'd unto the World by care
Of publick Fame, or private Breath;

Who envies none that chance doth raise,
[10] Nor Vice [; who never] understood

How deepest Wounds are given by praise;—
Nor Rules of State, but Rules of good;

Who hath his Life from Rumours freed;
Whose Conscience is his strong retreat;
[15] Whose State can neither Flatterers feed,
Nor Ruine make Oppressors great;

Who God doth late and early pray
More of his Grace than Gifts to lend;
And entertains the harmless day
[20] With a Religious Book, or Friend!

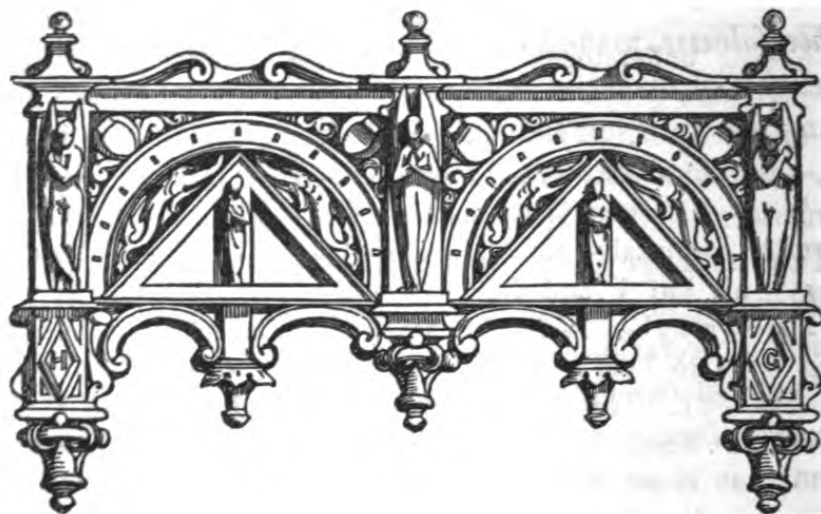
This man is freed from servile [b]ands
Of hope to rise, or fear to fall:—
Lord of himself, though not of Lands,
And having nothing, yet hath all.

H. WOTTON.

[VARIATIONS. 1. 'or taught'—B C E F.—4. 'And silly truth his highest skill'—A D. It is 'highest skill' also in B C E F.—5. 'Master'—E.—7. 'Untied to the world with care'—A. 'with care' also in B C E F, and in E F the line begins, 'Not ty'd unto'—. 8. All the copies but Rel. Wotton. have 'vulgar breath'—, but they vary in the commencement of the line. Thus; 'Of princes grace'—A C. 'Of Princes Loue'—B. 'Of princes ear'—E F.—In C, the third stanza is omitted altogether; and in A B E F, the third and fourth stanzas are transposed. In D, the same transposition was intended; but lines 7, 8, 13, and 14 are accidentally omitted.—9. 'Who envieth none whome chance'—A B. 'whom' also in F. In D, the line runs, 'Whoe envieth not that shame'—. 10. The punctuation and reading are adopted from the other copies, except that A D F have 'Or vice;' and D,

‘*and neuer*’— In Rel. Wotton. it stands thus:—‘Nor Vice hath ever understood;’— 11. ‘How *swordes give sleighter wounds than prayse*’—A. ‘How *desperate* woundes are giuen *with* prayse’—B. ‘*That with*’—D E. ‘*with*’ also in F.— 12. ‘*Not rules*’—E.—13. ‘*humors*’—A E. ‘*rumour*’—B. ‘*humor*’—C. The text is doubtless right. The words were frequently confused.—15. ‘*fauours doth not*’—C.—16. ‘*accusers great*’—all but F and Rel. Wotton.—17. ‘Who late & early doth God pray’—C.—18. ‘to *send*’—B C D. ‘His *graces* more then gifts to lend’—E.—20. ‘*well-chosen* book’—all but Rel. Wotton.—21. ‘This man is *free* from servile bandes’—A B C D. ‘*free band*’—E. It is ‘bands’ in Rel. Wotton. 1651 and 1654; but in ed. 1672 is misprinted ‘hands’—. 23. ‘though’ omitted in B.—‘*land*’—E.]





IX.

ON A BANK AS I SAT A FISHING.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE SPRING.

[THIS piece is inserted in Walton's Angler, (pp. 60, 61, ed. 1655,) with some introductory remarks, which I shall quote at length. "My next and last example shall be that undervaluer of money,* the late Provost of *Eton Colledg*, Sir *Henry Wotton*, (a man with whom I have often fish'd and convers'd) a man whose forraign Employments in the service of this *Nation*, and whose *experience, learning, wit,* and

* See Walton's Lives, pp. 159, 177, ed. 1796. A curious anecdote to the same effect occurs in Walton's Letter to Fulman about John Hales (Fulman's MSS. C. C. C. Oxford, vol. xii. fol. 80):—"he [Hales] was not good at any continuance to get or saue mony for him selfe; yet he vnder-toke to doe it for his freind S^r H: Wotton, who was a neclecter of mony, and Mr Ha. told me he had got 300*l.* together at the time of his deth, a some to which S^r H. had long beine a stranger, and wood euer haue beine if he had manag'd his owne mony-buissines: it was hapily got together to bury him, and inable him to doe some offices of honor, and Justice, and gratitude, and charitie."—Wotton's saying about Angling is more briefly given in his Life; p. 164.

cheerfulness, made his company to be esteemed one of the delights of mankind ; this man,—whose very approbation of Angling were sufficient to convince any modest Censurer of it,—this man was also a most dear lover, and a frequent practicer of the Art of Angling ; of which he would say, 'Twas an Employment for his idle time, which was [then] not idly spent ; for angling was, after tedious Study, A rest to his mind, a cheerer of his spirits, a diversion of sadness, a calmer of unquiet thoughts, a Moderator of passions, a procurer of contentedness ; and, that it begot habits of peace and patience in those that profest and practic'd it. [Indeed, my friend, you will find angling to be like the vertue of Humility, which has a calmness of spirit, and a world of other blessings attending upon it.]*—Sir, This was the saying of that Learned man ; and I do easily believe that *peace*, and *patience*, and a *calme content* did cohabit in the cheerful heart of Sir *Henry Wotton*, because I know, that when hee was beyond seventy yeares of age, hee made this discription of a part of the present pleasure that possest him, as he sate quietly in a Summers evening on a bank a fishing ; it is a description of the Spring, which, because it glides as soft and sweetly from his pen, as that River does now by which it was then made, I shall repeat [it] unto you." After reciting the Poem, Piscator adds, "These were the thoughts that then possest the undisturbed mind of Sir *Henry Wotton*." From this passage we can ascertain the date of the piece with sufficient exactness ; for Wotton died in his seventy-second year. Mr. Dyce is therefore correct when he says, that it "was probably composed during his later years ;" but the extracts from Walton's Life of him, and from the Epistle Dedicatory before the Complete Angler, on

* The words within brackets are added from the third edit. of the Angler, where, a little above, we have 'a *diverter* of sadness,' and towards the end of the quotation, 'as that river does *at this time*'—. The extract is printed from the second ed. (1655.)

which he founds his opinion, might perhaps have been dispensed with, when we had this decisive evidence in the *Complete Angler itself*.

The Variations are from three copies; A=that in the Complete Angler, as above: B=MS. Rawl. Poet. 147, p. 47. C=Archbishop Sancroft's MS. (Tann. 465, fol. 61, v^o.) In both the MSS. it is entitled, "On the Spring," and signed "Sr H. Wotton."]



AND now all Nature seem'd in Love;
The lusty Sap began to move;
New Juice did stir th' embracing Vines,
And Birds had drawn their Valentines;

[5] The jealous Trout, that low did lie,
Rose at a well-dissembled Flie:
There stood my Friend,* with patient Skill,
Attending of his trembling Quill.

Already were the Eves possest
[10] With the swift Pilgrims daubed nest:
The Groves already did rejoyce
In Philomel's triumphing voice.

The showres were short, the weather mild,
The Morning fresh, the Evening smil'd.

[15] Jone takes her neat-rub'd Pale, and now
She trips to milk the Sand-red Cow;
Where, for some sturdy foot-ball Swain,
Jone strokes a Sillabub or twain.

The Fields and Gardens were beset
[20] With Tulip, Crocus, Violet:

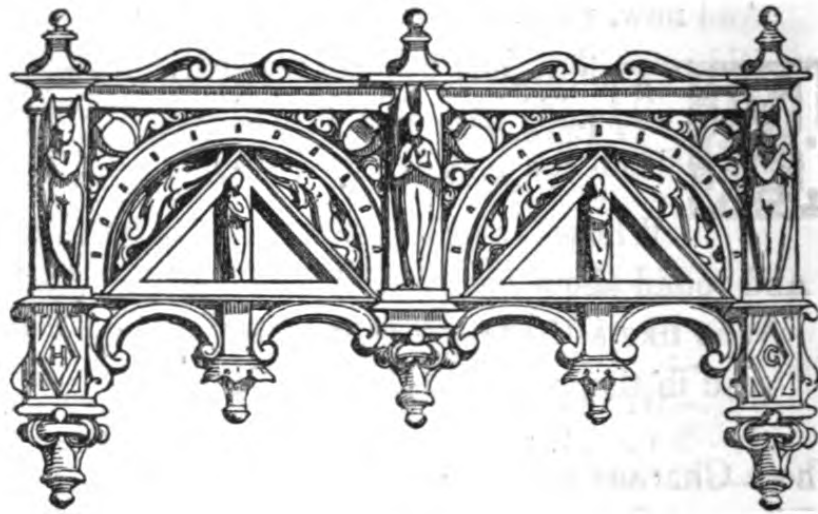
* The biographers of Izaak Walton are doubtless right in treating this as a reference to him. Zouch, p. xiii. ed. 1796. Nicolas, pp. xxxv. 79.

And now, though late, the modest Rose
 Did more than half a blush disclose.
 Thus all look'd gay, all full of chear,
 To welcom the New-livery'd year.

H. W.

[VARIATIONS. 1. 'This day dame Nature'—A.—3. 'Fresh juice'—A.—7. 'Or else my Friend'—B C.—8. 'Did early watch the'—B C.—11. 'Already did the groue'—B C.—13. 'the ayre was mild'—B C.—14. 'The mornes were sweet, the meadows smil'd'—B C.—16. 'Sanded'—B. 'Sandied'—C.—18. 'She stroakes'—B C.—19. 'Both feild and garden'—B C.—20. 'With Crocus, Tulip'—B. 'Tulips'—A.—23. 'looks gay, and'—A. 'was gay'—B C.]





X.

A TRANSLATION OF THE CIV. PSALM
TO THE ORIGINAL SENSE.

[IN the letter in which Sir Henry Wotton announced to the King that he had taken Deacon's Orders (1627), he says, "if I can produce nothing else for the use of Church and State, yet it shall be comfort enough to the little remnant of my life, *to compose some Hymns* unto his endless glory, who hath called me (for which his Name be ever blessed), though late to his Service, yet early to the knowledge of his truth, and sense of his mercy." (Rel. Wotton. p. 329, ed. 1672.) As N^o. XIII. was written before that time, during one of his Venetian Embassies, this Psalm, and the Hymn written during sickness, (N^o. XIV.) are the only results of this design which we possess.

Lord Aston, who has inserted the translation among his "Select Psalms in Verse," (1811, p. 185,) calls it "the finest specimen" he has "met with of sacred poetry among our earlier authors."]



MY Soul, exalt the Lord with Hymns of Praise:

O Lord, my God, how boundless is Thy
 might! [Glorious Rays,

Whose Throne of State is cloath'd with
 And round about hast robe'd Thy self with Light:
 Who like a Curtain hast the Heavens display'd,
 And in the watry Roofs thy Chambers laid:

Whose Chariots are the thickned Clouds above;
 Who walk'st upon the winged winds below;
 At whose Command the Airy Spirits move,
 And fiery meteors their obedience show;
 Who on his* Base the Earth didst firmly found,
 And mad'st the deep to circumvest it round.

The Waves that rise would drown the highest Hill,
 But at thy Check they flie, and when they hear
 Thy thundering Voice, they post to do thy Will,
 And bound their furies in their proper Sphere;
 Where surging Floods and valing Ebbs can tell,
 That none beyond thy Marks must sink or swell.

Who hath dispos'd, but thou, the winding way
 Where Springs down from the steepy crags do beat,
 At which both foster'd Beasts their Thirsts allay,
 And the wild Asses come to quench their heat;
 Where Birds resort, and, in their kind, thy praise
 Among the Branches chant in warbling lays?

* So eds. 1651 and 1654. In ed. 1672, 'this'—.

The Mounts are watred from thy dwelling place ;
 The Barns and Meads are fill'd for Man and Beast ;
 Wine glads the Heart, and Oyl adorns the Face,
 And bread the staff whereon our strength doth rest ;
 Nor shrubs alone feel thy sufficeing hand,
 But even the Cedars that so proudly stand.

So have the Fowls their sundry seats to breed ;
 The ranging Stork in stately Beeches dwells ;
 The climbing Goats on Hills securely feed ;
 The mining Coneys shroud in rocky Cells :
 Nor can the Heavenly Lights their course forget,
 The Moon her turns, or Sun his times to set.

Thou mak'st the Night to over-vail the Day :
 Then savage Beasts creep from the silent Wood ;
 Then Lions Whelps lie roaring for their Prey,
 And at thy powerful Hand demand their Food ;
 Who when at Morn they all recouch again,
 Then toying Man till Eve pursues his pain.

O Lord, when on thy various works we look,
 How richly furnish'd is the Earth we tread !
 Where, in the fair Contents of Nature's Book,
 We may the Wonders of thy Wisdom read :
 Nor Earth alone, but lo ! the Sea so wide,
 Where, great and small, a world of Creatures glide.

There go* the Ships that furrow out their way ;
 Yea, there of Whales enormous sights we see,

* So eds. 1651 and 1654. In ed. 1672, it is misprinted, ' There go to the Ships—'.

Which yet have scope among the rest to play,
And all do wait for their support on Thee ;
Who hast assign'd each thing his proper food,
And in due season dost dispence Thy good.

They gather when Thy gifts thou dost divide ;
Their stores abound, if Thou thy hand enlarge ;
Confus'd they are, when Thou thy beams dost hide ;
In dust resolv'd, if Thou their breath discharge ;
Again, when Thou of Life renew'st the seeds,
The withered Fields revest their chearful weeds.

Be ever gloried here Thy Sovereign Name,
That thou may'st smile on all which thou hast made ;
Whose frown alone can shake this earthly frame,
And at whose touch the Hills in smoak shall vade !
For me, may (while I breath) both harp and voice
In sweet indictment of thy Hymns rejoyce !

Let Sinners fail, let all Profaneness cease ;—
His Praise (my Soul) His Praise shall be thy Peace.
H. WOTTON.*



XI.

TEARS AT THE GRAVE OF SIR ALBERTUS MORTON

(WHO WAS BURIED AT SOUTHAMPTON)

WEPT BY SIR H. WOTTON.

[SIR ALBERTUS MORTON was Wotton's nephew, and had been his Secretary at Venice. He was frequently employed by King James on foreign affairs,—was knighted by him Sept. 29: 1617: and died Secretary of State in November, 1625 (as Wood correctly states), “in the vernality (as I may term it),” says his uncle, “of his employments and Fortunes under the best King and Master of the World.”* Sir Henry never mentions him without expressing his affectionate regard for him;† and though Walton has inserted the following extract in his Life of Wotton, I need offer no

* Wood's A. O. ii. 523-4. Rel. Wotton. p. 477. Administration was granted to his widow in Dec. 1625. She was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Apsley, of Thakeham, Sussex; was married Jan. 13: 1624: and died S. P. 1627, which gives the date of Wotton's Epitaph on her.—Morton's relationship to Wotton is stated at length in the Introd. to this vol.

† See an account of an accident that befell Sir Albertus in 1613: Rel. Wotton. 417, 421, 425, and compare ib. 443, 552.

apology for repeating it here :—“ Here [i. e. at Redgrave] when I had been almost a Fortnight in the midst of much Contentment, I received knowledge of Sir Albertus Morton’s departure out of this World, who was dearer unto me than mine own being in it. What a wound it is to my Heart, you will easily believe: But his undisputable Will must be done, and unrepiningly received by his own Creatures, who is the Lord of all Nature, and of all Fortune, when he taketh now one, and then another, till the expected day wherein it shall please him to Dissolve the whole, and to wrap up even the Heaven it self as a Scroul of Parchment. This is the last Philosophy that we must study upon the Earth; let us now, that yet remain, while our Glasses shall run by the dropping away of Friends, re-inforce our Love to one another; which of all Vertues, both Spiritual and Moral, hath the highest privilege, because Death it self shall not end it.”*

The Variations are from a copy of the Poem inserted in Walton’s Life of Wotton (=A), † and from MS. Rawl. Poet. 147, p. 107. (=B.)]



SILENCE (in truth) would speak my sorrow
best,
For deepest wounds can least their feelings
tell;

Yet let me borrow from mine own unrest
But time to bid him, whom I loved, farewell.

[5] O my unhappy Lines! you that before
Have serv’d my Youth to vent some wanton cries,

* Rel. Wotton, 322. Letter to Nic. Pey, dated 1626 in ed. 1672, no doubt by mistake. There is no date in the two earlier eds. Walton has varied it a little in the Life.

† All that portion of the Life which concerns Morton and Bedel, was first inserted in ed. 1654. It will be seen that the copy printed in that year differs from the one given in 1672.

And now, congeal'd with grief, can scarce implore
Strength to accent,—Here my Albertus lies!

This is the sable Stone,—this is the Cave
[10] And Womb of Earth that doth his Corps embrace;
While others sing his praise, let me engrave
These bleeding Numbers to adorn the place.

Here will I paint the Characters of wo;
Here will I pay my tribute to the Dead;
[15] And here my faithful Tears in showres shall flow,
To humanize the Flints whereon I tread.

Where, though I mourn my matchless loss alone,
And none between my Weakness judge and me,
Yet even these gentle Walls allow my moan,
[20] Whose doleful Echoes to my Plaints agree.

But is he gone? and live I Rhyming here,
As if some Muse would listen to my Lay,
When all distun'd sit wai[l]ing for their Dear,
And bathe the Banks where he was wont to play?

[25] Dwell thou in endless Light, discharged Soul,
Freed now from Natures and from Fortunes trust;
While on this fluent Globe my Glass shall roul,
And run the rest of my remaining dust.

H. W.

[VARIATIONS. 1. 'will speak my sorrows'—B.—4. 'A time'—
A. 'loue'—B.—9. 'that Sable stone'—A. 'and y^{is} y^e caue'—

B.—14. 'Here I will pay'—A. ed. 1654.—16. 'on which'—A.—19. 'pensive walls'—A.—23. All the old copies edited by Walton have the unmeaning misprint, 'waiting'—, which Mr. Dyce corrected on conjecture; and it is 'wailing' in B.—24. 'they were wont'—B.—25. 'Dwell then in endless light, thou freed soul'—A. ed. 1654. 'Dwell then in endless Bliss with happy Souls'—ib. ed. 1672. The line is imperfect in B.—26. 'Discharg'd from'—A B.—27. 'Whil'st on this fluid globe my glass shall roul'—A. ed. 1654. 'Whil'st on this fluid Globe my Hour-glass rowls'—ib. ed. 1672. 'or glasses rowle'—B.—28. 'And runs the rest'—A. ed. 1672. 'or remaining'—B. The sign, in the two earlier editions of Rel. Wotton. is "H. WOTTON."]





XII.

VPON THE DEATH OF SIR ALBERT.
MORTON'S WIFE.

[If it were not certain that Wotton often affects a kind of reserve about his own productions, the following postscript to one of his letters to John Dinely (dated Nov. 13 : 1628 :) would be rather perplexing :—“ If the Queen [of Bohemia] have not heard the Epitaph of Albertus Morton and his Lady, it is worth her hearing, for the passionate plainness.” Then follows the couplet,—marked “ *Authoris Incerti.*” (Rel. Wotton. p. 560.)

In Philipot's edit. of Camden's Remaines, it is given with a singular difference :—“ Vpon two Lovers who, being espoused, dyed both before they were married.” It commences, “ *She first*”—&c. (p. 406, ed. 1657.) In Restituta, iv. 353, it is cited from Picke's Festum Voluptatis, 1639, with the title, “ One that dyed with griefe a few dayes after her husband.”—The signature in the first. ed. of Rel. Wotton. is “ H. WOTTON ;” in the second, “ HEN. WOTTON.”]

HE first deceas'd ; She for a little tri'd
To live without him, lik'd it not, and di'd.

H. W.



XIII.

THIS HYMN

WAS MADE BY SIR H. WOTTON, WHEN HE WAS AN
 AMBASSADOR AT VENICE, IN THE TIME
 OF A GREAT SICKNESS THERE.

[THE confusion which has been introduced into the history of the minor poetry composed during the reigns of Elizabeth and her successor, by the anxiety of certain persons to make Raleigh answerable for all the fugitive pieces of his day, meets us before we get beyond the limits of Sir Henry Wotton's best authenticated productions; though in this case the claim has been tacitly abandoned. "There is a poem," said Sir Egerton Brydges in 1800, "which, among the MSS. of the British Museum, is said to have been written by Sir Walter Raleigh *just before he died.*" Here, then, is the beginning of our troubles. "It seems to partake so much of the sublime spirit of his character, that (although it has been printed before in the *Topographer*, i. 425; and also in a very imperfect manner among Sir Henry Wotton's Remains) I cannot refrain from inserting it here." We are therefore at once presented with a mangled copy of this piece of Wotton's, under the title, "Sir Walter Raleigh, in the un-

quiet rest of his last sickness."* This very title is sufficient to put an end to the theory which is so strangely founded on it; and when a Collection of Poems was issued thirteen years afterwards from the Lee Priory Press, under the name of Sir Walter Raleigh, no notice was taken of the discovery. We are still left, however, without any explanation of Sir Egerton's notion of a "very imperfect" copy; for it will be seen, from the Variations, that the text which he has printed, besides the omission of a whole stanza, is inferior to that of Rel. Wotton. in almost every instance where they differ.

If Walton copied the title to this piece exactly, it could not be written till after 1604; and the character of the Poem would justify us in affixing a much later date. But Wotton had been more than once at Venice during his early travels.† He was three times sent Ambassador to Venice, and spent nearly fourteen years there in these different Legations.‡]



ETERNAL Mover, whose diffused Glory,
To shew our groveling Reason what thou
art,
Unfolds it self in Clouds of Natures story,
Where Man, thy proudest Creature, acts his part;

* Brydges' edit. of Phillips's *Theatr. Poet. Angl.* p. 308. It should be observed that the writer in the *Topographer* (probably Brydges himself) believed it to be a newly discovered Poem; and knew nothing of Rel. Wotton.

† See Walton's *Lives*, p. 135, ed. 1796, Rel. Wotton. 651, 702. In a letter from the tutor of Francis Davison to Secretary Davison, dated Venice, Jan. 22: 1595: he says, "Neither would I wish that you should be deceived any longer in *Mr. Wo*: and some others, who report they have lived in these parts for a hundred marks by the year." Nicolas's ed. of Davison's *Poet. Rhaps.* p. viii. The editor conjectures that this was the future Sir Henry; and it is worth remarking, that a hundred marks a year was the very sum left him in his father's will. (Walton, p. 127.) The same sum, however, was bequeathed to the other younger sons of Thomas Wotton.

‡ Rel. Wotton. p. 249. Walton's *Lives*, pp. 154, 158, &c.

[5] Whom yet, (alas) I know not why, we call
The Worlds contracted sum, the little all ;

For what are we but lumps of walking clay ?
Why should we swell ? whence should our spirits
rise ?

Are not bruit Beasts as strong, and Birds as gay, —
[10] Trees longer liv'd, and creeping things as wise ?
Only our souls were left an inward light,
To feel our weakness, and confess thy might.

Thou, then, our strength, Father of life and death,
To whom our thanks, our vows, our selves we owe,
[15] From me, thy tenant of this fading breath,
Accept those lines, which from thy goodness flow ;
And thou, that wert thy Regal Prophet's Muse,
Do not thy Praise in weaker strains refuse.

Let these poor Notes ascend unto thy Throne,
[20] Where Majesty doth sit with Mercy Crown'd,
Where my Redeemer lives, in whom alone
The errours of my wandring life are drown'd ;
Where all the Quire of Heaven resound the same,
That only Thine, Thine is the saving Name.

[25] Well, then, my Soul, joy in the midst of Pain ;
Thy Christ, that conquer'd Hell, shall from above
With greater triumph yet return again,
And conquer his own Justice with his Love ;
Commanding Earth and Seas to render those
[30] Unto his Bliss, for whom he paid his Woes.

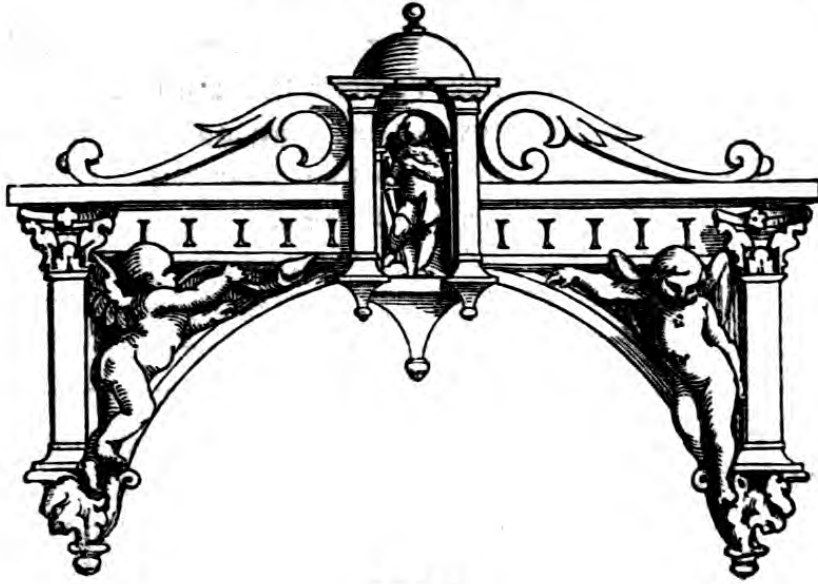
Now have I done ; now are my thoughts at peace ;
 And now my Joyes are stronger than my grief :
 I feel those Comforts, that shall never cease,
 Future in Hope, but present in Belief :

[35] Thy words are true, thy promises are just,
 And thou wilt find thy dearly bought in Dust.

H. WOTTON.

[VARIATIONS in the copy printed by Sir E. Brydges. 3. '*In-folds*'—'*restless story*'—. 4. '*the proudest*'—. 6. '*The world's contracted sun*'—. 8. '*What are our vaunts?*'—. 11. '*receive more inward light*'—. The third stanza is omitted altogether.— 19. '*pure notes*'—. 24. '*That none but thine*'—. 25. '*Therefore, my soul*'—. 26. '*That Christ*'—. 31. '*joys at peace*'—. 34. '*Future in hopes, but present in relief*'—. 36. '*And thou wilt know thy marked flock in dust*'—. In Rel. Wotton. ed. 1651 and 1654, line 11 is, '*Only our Souls was left an inward Light*'—. The signature is varied in all three editions; "*HEN. WOTTON.*" ed. 1651. "*H. W.*" ed. 1654.]





XIV.

A HYMN TO MY GOD,

IN A NIGHT OF MY LATE SICKNESS.

[INTRODUCED by Mr. Campbell (Specimens, p. 158, second ed.) with the following title and remark: "A Meditation. From Sanscroft's Collection. (Mr. Malone, from whose handwriting I copy this, says, 'not, I think, printed.')" This is a singular oversight; for the verses are in every edit. of Rel. Wotton.; and though they are arranged among the letters, they immediately precede the "Poems" in the first edition, and in the second and third, only a few pages intervene. They had been reprinted in Biogr. Brit. (vi. 4351), in Zouch's edit. of Walton's Lives (p. 187, ed. 1796), and elsewhere.

They were enclosed in the following letter to Izaak Walton:

"*My Worthy Friend,*

"Since I last saw you, I have been confined to my Chamber by a quotidian Fever,—I thank God, of more contumacy than malignity. It had once left me, as I thought;

but it was only to fetch more company, returning with a surcrew of those splenetick Vapours that are called Hypochondriacal; of which, most say, the Cure is good Company; and I desire no better Physician than your self. I have in one of those fits endeavoured to make it more easie by composing a short Hymn: and since I have apparelled my best Thoughts so lightly as in Verse, I hope I shall be pardoned a second vanity, if I communicate it with such a Friend as your self; to whom I wish a chearful Spirit, and a thankful heart to value it, as one of the greatest Blessings of our good God; in whose dear love I leave you, remaining

Your poor Friend to serve you,
H. WOTTON."

This letter has no date; and the one which precedes it in Rel. Wotton. could not be written till after Feb. 6: 1638-9:* but I think there is a little evidence to shew that the letter containing the verses was written nearly a year before that time; for the expressions in the following extract so closely resemble those quoted above, that they can scarcely relate to any other poem; "I send you a few poor Lines, *which my pains did beget*: I pray keep them under your own favorable Judgment, and impart them tenderly to others; for I fear that even *the best of our thoughts may be vainly clothed.*" (Rel. Wotton. p. 376.) This other letter is undated, like the former; but Wotton observes in it, that Sir Thomas Roe was "to take his leave on Sunday next at Court," in order to go to Hamburgh; and Garrard mentions his departure in a letter dated May 10: 1638: (Strafforde Letters, ii. 167.)

The Variations are from four copies of the piece; viz. A =Sancroft's,—MS. Tann. 465. p. 137.—B=MS. Rawl. Poet. 147. p. 101.—C=MS. Ashm. 38. N^o. 172.—D=

* See Nicolas's Life of Walton, p. xiii. and Biogr. Not. of Bp. Henry King, 1843, p. xxxii.

Campbell's copy, as above. It will be seen, that Malone's transcript does not exactly agree with any of the MSS. The title which he gives it is taken from the Rawl. MS.]

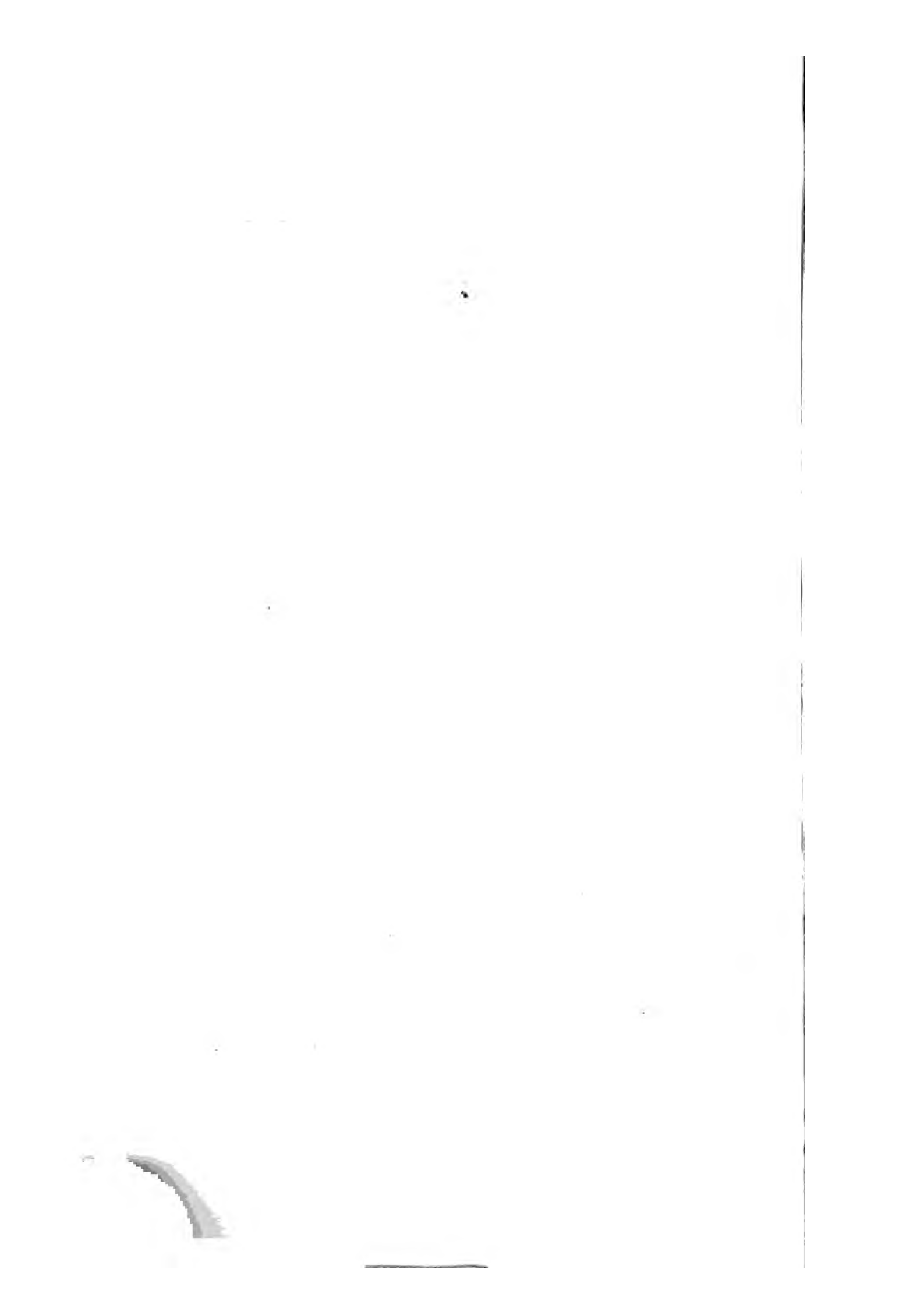
OH thou great Power! in whom I move,
For whom I Live, to whom I Die,
Behold me through thy beams of Love,
Whilst on this Couch of Tears I lie;

[5] And cleanse my sordid Soul within
By thy Christs Blood, the Bath of Sin.

No hallowed Oyls, no grains I need,
No Rags of Saints, no purging Fire;
One Rosie drop from David's Seed
[10] Was Worlds of Seas to quench thine Ire.
O precious Ransome! which once paid,
That *Consummatum est* was said;

And said by him that said no more,
But seal'd it with his Sacred Breath :
[15] Thou, then, that hast dispong'd my Score,
And dying wast the Death of Death,
Be to me now, on Thee I call,
My Life, my Strength, my Joy, my All!
H. WOTTON.

[VARIATIONS.—1. 'wee move'—A B C D.—2. 'By whom wee live, to whom wee die'—A B C D.—4. 'While in'—A C.—7. 'no gums I need'—D.—8. 'No new-borne drams of'—B D.—13. 'who said no more'—A C.—15. 'w^{ch} hast'—A. 'who hast'—C. 'that hast *dispurged our score*'—D. 'our score' also in A B C.—16. 'wert'—A B C D.—17. 'Bee now, while on thy name wee call'—A C. So also B D, except 'whilst on'—18. 'Our life, our Strength, our Joy, our All.'—A B C D.]





PART II.

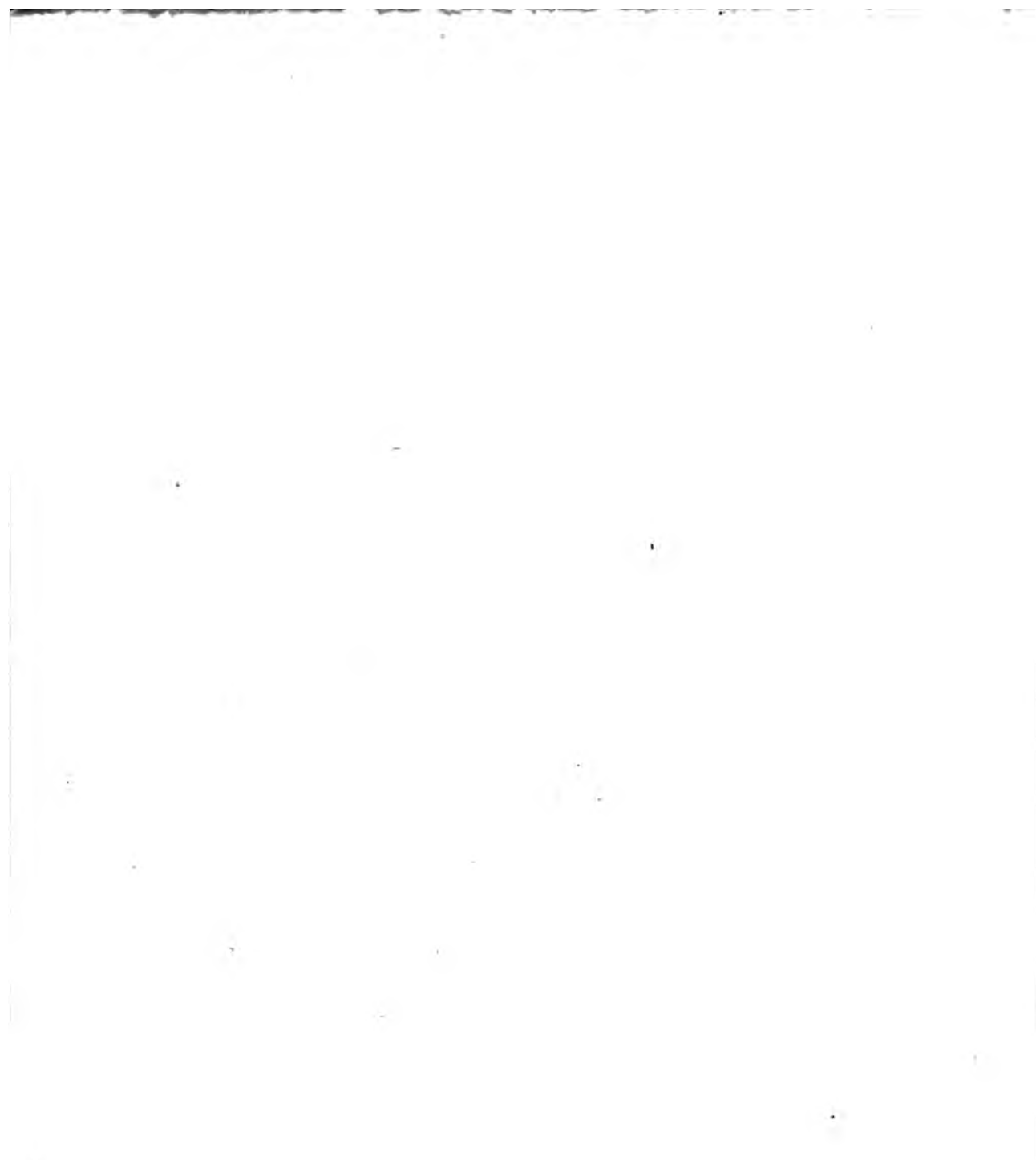
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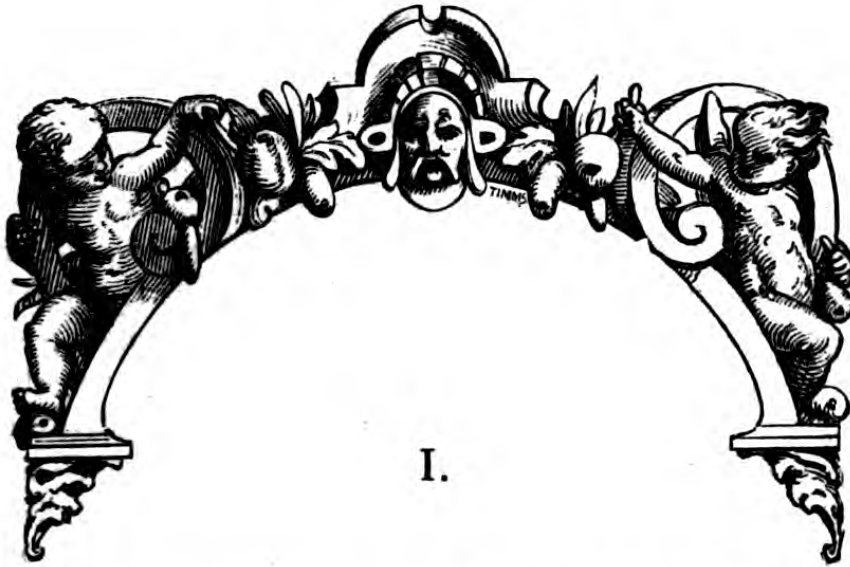
FOUND AMONG THE PAPERS OF
SIR HENRY WOTTON.

FROM RELIQUIÆ WOTTONIANÆ,

ED. 1685.







A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY'S RECREATIONS.

[THIS piece is introduced in Walton's *Complete Angler* (pp. 348-350. ed. 1655) with the following preface:—"When you have pledged me, I will repeat the Verses which I promised you; it is a copy printed amongst Sir *Henry Wottons Verses*, and doubtlesse made either by him, or by a lover of Angling: Come, Master, now drink a glasse to me, and then I will pledge you, and fall to my repetition; it is a description of such Country recreations as I have enjoyed since I had the happinesse to fall into your company." When the "repetition" is concluded, Piscator says, "Trust me (Scholer) I thank you heartily for these Verses; they be choicely good, and doubtlesse made by a lover of Angling." Mr. Ellis, therefore, inserts part of them in his *Collection* under the name of Sir Henry Wotton (ii. 365).

Sir Egerton Brydges gives them the first place in his edition of the *Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*, with the note:—

“Errors will seem to strike the hasty Critic in the commencement of this Collection, for *A Description of the Country's Recreations* has been generally printed as Sir Henry Wotton's. But it is clearly distinguished from Wotton's own in the ‘*Reliquiæ* ;’ and though it is marked by the deep moral cast of that eloquent and instructive writer, it is not unbecoming the vigorous mind, the worldly experience, and the severe disappointments of Raleigh.”* That is to say, Raleigh *might* have written it, therefore he *did* write it ;—an argument which will scarcely stand. Yet Sir Egerton gives no other evidence, except the signature *Ignoto* in Rel. Wotton.,—evidence, however, which he thought so conclusive, that he claims for Raleigh all the other pieces in Rel. Wotton. which are marked in the same way. Now even if this word *Ignoto* were admitted to be a “slight designation of” Raleigh's “property” (as Ellis calls it) in the earlier Miscellanies,—an admission against which I have a few objections to urge elsewhere,—it is certainly none when Izaak Walton uses it, or we should have found Raleigh's name, not Wotton's, in the passage which I have cited above. It is evident, that Walton placed the piece among the doubtful poems when he edited Rel. Wotton., because he had no *positive* proof that Wotton wrote it ; but it is equally evident that he knew nothing of any other claimant, from the expressions he used about it when he wrote the Angler. If *he* could not establish Wotton's claim, of course *we* cannot ; but Wotton certainly ought to have the benefit of his editor's hesitation on the subject.

The Variations are from the copy in the Complete Angler (marked W.) and from one which is printed anonymously in Clifford's Tixall Poetry (pp. 297-300) with the title, “*Rusticatio Religiosi in Vacantiis*” (marked T.)]

* Hence it is retained in the Oxford ed. of Raleigh's Works, viii. 697, from which Mr. Tytler has taken it, and supplied it with a running commentary, fitted to Raleigh's circumstances. Life of Ral. p. 198, ed. 1840.



QUIVERING fears, Heart-tearing cares,
 Anxious sighs, Untimely tears,
 Fly, fly to Courts!
 Fly to fond worldlings sports,

[5] Where strain'd Sardonical smiles are [g]losing
 still,
 And grief is forc'd to laugh against her will;
 Where mirth's but mummery,
 And sorrows only real be!

Fly from our Country pastimes! fly,
 [10] Sad troop of human misery!
 Come, serene looks,
 Clear as the Chrystal brooks,
 Or the pure azur'd Heaven, that smiles to see
 The rich attendance of our poverty!

[15] Peace, and a secure mind,
 (Which all men seek,) we only find.

Abused Mortals! did you know
 Where Joy, Hearts ease, and comforts grow,
 You'd scorn proud towers,
 [20] And seek them in these bowers,
 Where winds sometimes our woods perhaps may
 shake,
 But blustering care could never tempest make,
 Nor murmurs e're come nigh us,
 Saving of Fountains that glide by us.

- [25] Here's no fantastick Mask, nor dance,
 But of our Kids, that frisk and prance :
 Nor wars are seen,
 Unless upon the green
 Two harmless Lambs are butting one the other ;
 [30] Which done, both bleating run, each to his Mother:
 And wounds are never found,
 Save what the Plow-share gives the
 ground.

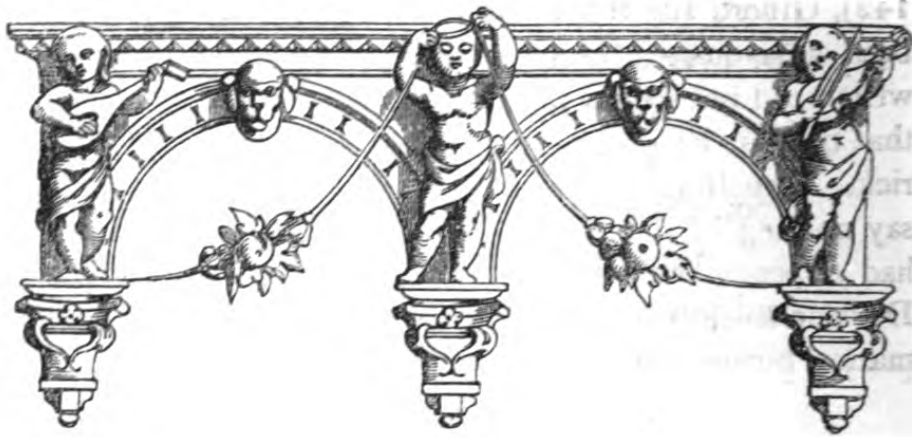
- Here are no false entrapping baits,
 To hasten too too* hasty fates ;
 [35] Unless it be
 The fond Credulity
 Of silly fish, which, worldling-like, still look
 Upon the Bait, but never on the Hook :
 Nor envy, unless among
 [40] The Birds, for prize of their sweet song.

- Go ! let the diving Negro seek
 For Gemms hid in some forlorn creek ;
 We all Pearls scorn,
 Save what the dewy morn
 [45] Congeals upon each little spire of grass,
 Which careless Shepherds beat down as they
 And Gold ne're here appears, [pass ;
 Save what the yellow Ceres bears.

* On this expression, see Halliwell's note on the old 3 Hen. vi. p. 196, and Shakesp. Soc. Papers, i. 39—43. Mr. H. would print it as one word, "too-too."

Blest, silent Groves! O may ye be
 [50] For ever Mirth's best Nursery!
 May pure contents
 For ever pitch their Tents
 Upon these Downs, these Meads, these Rocks,
 these Mountains, [tains!
 And peace still slumber by these purling Foun-
 [55] Which we may every year
 Find when we come a fishing here.
 IGNOTO.

[VARIATIONS.—3. In Rel. Wotton. 1654 and 1672, 'Fly, fly to the Courts.' It is as I have given it in ed. 1651, and in the other copies.—4. 'Fly to find worldly harts'—T.—5. 'closing' ed. 1672. It is 'glosing' in eds. 1651 and 1654, and in the other copies.—6. 'his will'—T.—7. 'Where mirth is but'—T.—9. 'pastime'—T.—10. 'troops'—W. and T.—11. 'serened'—T.—12. 'these cristall'—T.—13. 'azure'—T.—14. 'on our'—W.—22. 'can never'—T.—24. 'which glide'—T.—25. 'or dance'—T.—31. 'Nor wounds are ever found'—T.—33. 'false' om. W.—37. 'worldlings like'—T.—38. 'and never'—T.—40. 'for price of'—W. 'for praise of'—T.—42. 'hid' om. T.—43. 'We pearles do scorne'—T.—45. 'little' om. T.—48. 'But what'—T.—49. 'Sweet silent . . . you be'—T. 'you be' also in W.—50. 'blest nursery'—T.—53. 'Upon these meads, these downs'—T.—56. 'Meet when'—W. ed. 3.—'to sojourn here'—T.]



II.

IMITATIO HORATIANÆ ODES


IX. DONEC GRATUS ERAM TIBI. LIB. III.

A DIALOGUE BETWIXT GOD AND THE SOUL.

[INSERTED among Sir Walter Raleigh's Poems, in the Lee Priory edition, pp. 6, 7, on the evidence of the signature *Ignoto*; and with the following remark: "This *Dialogue betwixt God and the Soul* stands on the authority of Isaac Walton, as Editor of the '*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*.' Its absurdity needs not be pointed out." (p. 65.) The Oxford editors of Raleigh's Works have rejected it in their reprint of the Lee Priory Collection, and in so doing, they were certainly correct. It is, however, the only instance in which they have exercised this discretion, which might have been employed in other cases also with advantage. The "absurdity" of the piece, great as it is, is not so obvious as its irreverence; and we have no right to talk of Izaak Walton's "authority," unless we can prove that he regarded *Ignoto* as a signature peculiar to Sir Walter Raleigh.

On a translation of this ode by Ben Jonson (Works, ix.

142), Gifford has this note: "This little piece has always been a favourite. Granger, whose knowledge of our old writers did not extend much beyond their portraits, tells us,* that the first English version of this Ode was made by Herrick. The *Hesperides* were not published till 1648, and to say nothing of the translation before us, a dozen, perhaps, had appeared before that period. I have one by Francis Davison as early as 1608, but neither is this the first:—the matter, however, is of no great moment."]

Soul.  HILST my Souls eye beheld no
light,
But what stream'd from thy gra-
cious sight,
To me the Worlds greatest King
Seem'd but some little vulgar thing.

[5] *God.* Whil'st thou prov'dst pure, and that in thee
I could Glass all my Deity ;
How glad did I from Heaven depart,
To find a Lodging in thy Heart !

[10] *S.* Now Fame and Greatness bear the sway ;
('Tis they that hold my Prisons Key :)
For whom my Soul would die, might she
Leave them her Immortality.

* *Viz.* Biogr. Hist. ii. 309, 4th ed. But Gifford states Granger's mistake too strongly ; for he speaks very doubtfully about it ; and though Herrick's *Hesperides* were not published till 1648, this Dialogue is expressly said to have been "Translated anno 1627." p. 76. Davison's Translation is in the *Poet. Rhaps.* p. 94, ed. Nicolas.

G. I, and some few pure Souls conspire,
 And burn both in a mutual Fire,
 [15] For whom I'll die* once more, ere they
 Should miss of Heavens eternal day.

S. But, Lord, what if I turn again,
 And, with an Adamantine Chain,
 Lock me to thee? What if I chase
 [20] The World away to give thee place?

G. Then, though these Souls, in whom I joy,
 Are Seraphims,—Thou but a toy,
 A Foolish Toy,—yet once more I
 Would with thee live, and for thee die.

IGNOTO.

* 'I'd dy'—eds. 1651 and 1654, and Brydges, 'I'd die.'—In ed. 1672, the title is, 'Imitatio Horatiana Odes 9'—&c. In line 21, 'those souls'—ed. 1651. In line 4, 'a little'—Brydges.



III.

DOCTOR B. OF TEARS.

[THE full name of the writer is preserved in an old MS. Collection belonging to Mr. J. P. Collier, with the loan of which he favoured me some time since. The piece is there entitled, "Doc. *Brooke* of Teares."—Dr. Samuel Brooke, the intimate friend of Dr. Donne, was the son of a Yorkshire merchant, and was entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1596. He took the degree of M. A. in 1604, that of B. D. in 1607, and that of D. D. in 1615. In 1612, he was made Divinity Professor of Gresham College, and was afterwards in succession Rector of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, Master of Trinity, and Archdeacon of Coventry. This last preferment he held only for a few months, and died in September, 1631.* I believe he has not generally been recognized as an *English* poet, though some of his contemporaries have left allusions which would have led us to look

* See Ward's *Lives of the Gresham Professors*, in Bliss's ed. of Wood's *Fasti*, i. 401, and in Zouch's *Walton*, pp. 35, 36, ed. 1796: where much more will be found about him.

for more copious remains than this short poem, which has hitherto been all but anonymous. Thus Donne speaks of "seeing in" him "bright sparkes of Poetry," and Crashaw calls him a *Brooke*

" Whose Banks the Muses dwelt upon,
More then their own Helicon."*

A *Latin* pastoral, of which he was the author, (and I think it was not his only performance of that kind,) was acted before King James at Cambridge on Friday, March 10: 1614-5: and was afterwards printed. Its full title is given in the note.† Chamberlain says that it was "excellently written, and as well acted;" and that it "gave great contentment, as well to the King as to the rest."‡

His brother, Christopher Brooke, who was Donne's "chamber-fellow," and who shared, like Dr. Brooke, in the troubles arising from Donne's hasty marriage, has been already mentioned in connection with Serjeant Hoskins (p. 7), and was far more celebrated for English Poetry, in which he was frequently the coadjutor of William Browne.§

* Donne's Poems, p. 98, ed. 1633. (I presume the initials "M. S. B." refer to Mr. Samuel Brooke. The piece was evidently written when they were both young, and before Donne became a Protestant.) Crashaw's Poems, p. 95, ed. 1670. Crashaw's Elegy is copied in Archbishop Sancroft's Collection, MS. Tann. 465. fol. 65. v^o. which contains also a Latin Epitaph on Dr. Brooke. fol. 27.

† "Melanthe, Fabula pastoralis, acta cum Jacobvs Magnæ Brit. Franc. & Hiberniæ Rex, Cantabrigiam suam nuper inviseret, ibidemq; Musarum. atque animi gratiâ dies quinque commoraretur. Egervnt Alvmni Coll. San. et Individvæ Trinitatis, Cantabrigiæ. Excudebat Cantrellvs Legge. Mart. 27. 1615." A copy in the Bodleian (Rawl. 4to. 253) has an imperfect list of the original actors, supposed to be in the handwriting of the author.

‡ See Hawkins's ed. of Ruggle's *Ignoramus*, p. xxx. and Ward, as above.

§ Wood mentions his Elegy on Henry, Prince of Wales, 1613; his Eclogues, dedicated to William Browne, 1614, and some scattered pieces, to which Dr. Bliss has made important additions. Wood's *Fasti*, i. 403. An Epithalamium, which bears his signature, is the last piece contained in England's Helicon. There are two Elegies by "C. B." in Cheetham MS. (Manchester) 8012, pp. 154, 155.

The Shakespeare Society has recently republished a curious Poem, entitled, "The Ghost of Richard the Third," 1614, which has his initials at the end of the Dedication. Mr. Collier was at one time inclined to ascribe it to Charles Best; but he has since altered his opinion, at the suggestion of Mr. Rodd, and, like Mr. Dyce, appears to believe that its real author was Christopher Brooke.*

The piece now before us was inserted among the Poems of Pembroke and Rudyard, 1660, with the title, "Benj. Ruder of Tears" (p. 46); but the authority of the MS. copy, and of the initials in Rel. Wotton. is sufficient to set his claim aside.

The variations marked C. are from Mr. Collier's MS. and those marked R. from Rudyard's Poems. It will be seen that they supply one line which is required by the form of the stanza, but which is omitted in every edition of Rel. Wotton.]

1.



WHO would have thought there could have bin

Such joy in Tears wept for our Sin?

Mine Eyes have seen, my heart hath
proved

The most and best of earthly joys;

[5] The sweets of love, and being loved;

Masks, Feasts, and Plays, and such like Toys:

Yet this one Tear, which now doth fall,

In true Delight exceeds them all.

* Collier's Life of Shakespeare, p. ccxvi. Preface to reprint of "The Ghost of Rich. III." p. xiv. and Dyce's Remarks on Gifford's Jonson, p. 297.—The Bodleian copy of this volume is said to be unique; and even Park, who was intimately acquainted with these old books, had never seen it. (Note on Warton's H. E. P. iii. 235, ed. 1840.) Dr. Donne has addressed more than one poem to Christopher Brooke. See his Poems, pp. 56, 97 ed. 1633.

2. Indeed mine Eyes at first let in
 [10] Those Guests that did these woes begin ;
 Therefore mine Eyes in Tears and Grief
 Are justly drown'd ; but that those Tears
 Should Comfort bring, is past belief.
 Oh God ! in this thy Grace appears,
 [15] Thou that mak'st light from darkness spring,
 Mak'st joyes to weep, and sorrow[s] sing.

3. Oh where am I ! what may I think !
 Help, help ! alas, my Heart doth sink :
 Thus lost in Seas of wo,
 [20] Thus laden with my sin,
 Waves of Despair dash in,
 And threat my overthrow.
 What Heart opprest with such a weight
 Can chuse but break, and perish quite ?

[25] 4. Yet, as at Sea in Storms, Men use,
 The Ship to save, the[ir] Goods to lose ;
 So, in this fearful Storm,
 This danger to prevent,
 Before all hope be spent,
 [30] I'll chuse the lesser harm :
 My Tears to seas I will convert,
 And drown my Eyes, to save my Heart.

5. Oh God, my God ! what shall I give
 To thee in thanks ? I am and live
 [35] In thee, and thou didst safe preserve
 My Health, my Fame, my Goods, my Rent ;

Thou makest me eat while others sterve ;
 [And sing, whilst others do lament.]
 Such unto me thy Blessings are,
 [40] As if I were thy only Care.

6. But, oh my God! thou art more kind,
 When I look inward on my mind :
 Thou fillest my Heart with humble joy,
 With Patience, Meekness, fervent love,
 [45] (Which doth all other loves destroy,)
 With faith, (which nothing can remove,)
 And hope assured of Heavens Bliss ;—
 This is my State,—thy Grace is this.

[VARIATIONS. (As those of C. were marked some time since, a few may have been overlooked). 3. 'Mine eye hath seen'—both C. and R.—5. 'The sweet'—both.—12. 'these'—R.—13. 'tis'—both.—16. 'sadness sing'—both.—It is 'sorrows' in Rel. Wotton. eds. 1651-4. In ed. 1672, 'sorrow'—19. 'tost'—R. which appears preferable to the other reading.—22. 'mine'—R.—24. 'Can chuse but sink, and perish streight'—R. 'straight' also in C.—25. 'men choose'—both.—26. 'the'—Rel. Wotton. I follow the copy in R.—29. 'hopes'—R.—32. 'mine eyes'—both.—After the fourth stanza a fresh commencement is made in R. the letter "R." being interposed.—35. 'dost safe'—R.—37. 'whilst'—both.—38. This line occurs in both C. (where 'other doth') and R. but not in Rel. Wotton. The structure of this stanza is the same as that of the first, second, and sixth.—40. 'As though—thine'—both.—44. 'meek and fervent'—both.—45. 'All other loves which doth destroy'—both.]



IV.

BY CHIDICK TYCHBORN,

(BEING YOUNG AND THEN IN THE TOWER)

THE NIGHT BEFORE HIS EXECUTION.

[CHIDIACK TYCHBOURNE, of Southampton, was executed with Ballard and Babington in 1586.* Mr. Collier's MS. contains a copy of these verses, with a reply to them, of which the commencement may be cited here:—

“ AN
ANSWERE TO M^R TICHBORNE
WHO
WAS EXECUTED WTH BABINGTON.

“ Thy flower of youth is with a north wind blasted ;
Thy feast of Joye is an Idea found ;
Thy Corne is shed ; thy vntimely haruest wasted ;
Thy good in ill, thy hope in hurt [is drowned ?]; †

* Mr. D'Israeli, who has devoted to him an Article in his *Curiosities of Literature*, gives these verses from one of the Harl. MSS. and remarks, in the note, that they have, at one time, been assigned to *Raleigh*. Of course he is quite correct in treating this as a mere blunder. (p. 236, ed. 1839.)

† MS. 'as wasted'—the writer's eye having caught the line above.

Darke was thy daye, & shadow was thy Sun;
And, by such lights, thy life vntimely spun.

“Thy tale was nought; thy Oratory told;
Thy fruite is rotten, & thy leaues are gone;
Thy selfe wert young in yeares, in tyme growne old;
The world accountps thee not worth thinking on;” &c.

Copies of Tychbourne's lines are found in numerous MSS.; but some of them agree very nearly with the text here printed (e. g. Mr. Collier's, and one in MS. Ashm. 781, p. 138). I have given the variations from Mr. D'Israeli's copy, (=A.) and from one in MS. Malone 19, p. 44. (=B.) Their titles correspond (except in mere verbal differences) with that printed above. It seems that the first and second stanzas were printed, with considerable alterations, in Este's *Madrigals*, 1604. See *Cens. Lit.* ii. 101, 2nd edit.]

1.



MY prime of Youth is but a Frost of Cares;
My Feast of joy is but a Dish of pain;
My Crop of Corn is but a Field of Tares;
And all my good is but vain hope of gain:
[5] The day is [fled], and yet I saw no Sun;
And now I live, and now my life is done!

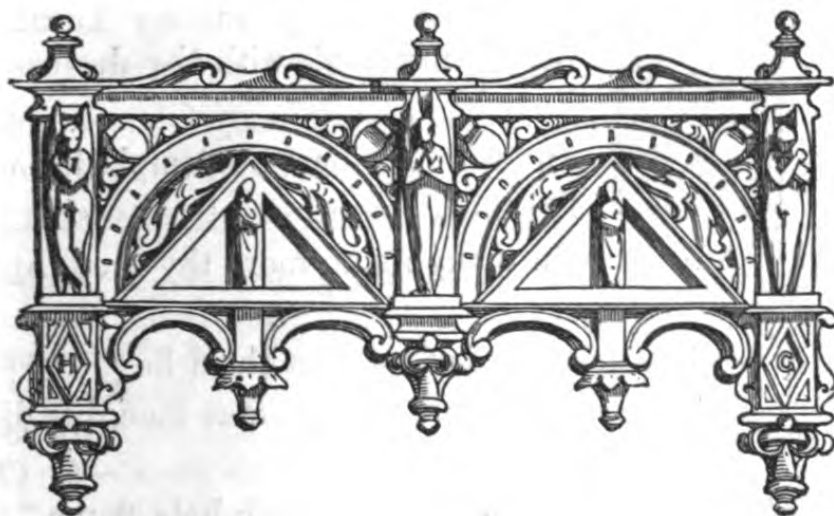
2. The Spring is past, and yet it hath not sprung;
The Fruit is dead, and yet the leaves are green;
My youth is gone, and yet I am but young;
[10] I saw the World, and yet I was not seen:
My Thread is cut, and yet it is not spun;
And now I live, and now my life is done!

3. I sought my Death, and found it in my Womb;
I looked for Life, and saw it was a shade;

[15] I trod the Earth, and knew it was my Tomb ;
 And now I die, and now I am but made :
 The Glass is full, and now my Glass is run ;
 And now I live, and now my Life is done !

[VARIATIONS.—2. ‘*ioyes*’—B.—4. ‘*goodes*’—A.—5. ‘*fled*’—A. (So also Mr. Collier’s MS. and MS. Ashm.) In Rel. Wott. and B. ‘*past*’—which occurs directly afterwards.—7. ‘*My Spring*’—A. ‘*My tale was heard, & yet it was not told*’—B.—8. ‘*My fruite is falne, & yet my leaues are greene*’—B.—9. ‘*My youth is spent, & yet I am not old*’—B. ‘*My youth is past*’—A. (The readings of B. in this stanza seem to be supported by the “*Answer*” quoted above.)—13. ‘*for death*’—A. ‘*the wombe*’—A B.—14. ‘*and yet it was*’—A.—15. ‘*I trade the ground*’—A.—16. ‘*I was but made*’—B.—17. ‘*My glasse is full*’—B. ‘*and yet*’—A.]






V.

[THIS piece, again, is claimed for Raleigh by Sir Egerton Brydges, on the authority of the signature. He remarks,—“If we admit this to be Raleigh’s, what shall we say to the foul charge of Atheism, or even Deism, which has been made against him? The second and third stanzas are vigorous and sublime.” Fortunately, we have better evidence than this to prove that the charge against Raleigh was hasty and unjust. The piece is retained in the Oxford edition of his works (viii. 707); and received by Mr. Tytler with implicit confidence. “It was probably about the same time,” he tells us,—referring generally to the period of his long imprisonment,—“that this fine hymn was composed.....Making allowance for their occasional quaintness, the fault not of the writer but of the age, there are few who will not in these small pieces recognise that fiery stamp which marks the true gold of the imagination from its counterfeit.” (Life of Raleigh, p. 287, ed. 1840.)

There is a copy of it, without a signature, in Mr. Collier’s MS., but as the variations appeared to be generally for the worse, I did not mark them.]

1.  ISE, oh my Soul, with thy desires to
 Heaven,
 And with Divinest Contemplation use
 Thy time, where times eternity is given,
 And let vain thoughts no more thy thoughts*
 abuse ;
 But down in darkness let them lie ;
 So live thy better, let thy worse thoughts die !
2. And thou, my Soul, inspir'd with holy flame,
 View and review, with most regardful Eye,
 That holy Cross, whence thy Salvation came,
 On which thy Saviour, and thy Sin, did die !
 For in that sacred Object is much pleasure,
 And in that Saviour is my Life, my Treasure.
3. To thee (O Jesu !) I direct my Eye[s] ;
 To thee my hands, to thee my humble Knees ;
 To thee my Heart shall offer Sacrifice ;
 To thee my thoughts, who my thoughts only
 sees :
 To thee my self,—my self and all I give ;
 To thee I die ; to thee I only live !

IGNOTO.

* So all the editions, old and new ; and I have not marked any variation from the MS. But it can scarcely be correct.—Again, the brevity of the fifth line is not countenanced by the form of the other stanzas.—In the first line of the third stanza, the eds. have 'eie' or 'Eye'—which the rhyme would be sufficient to correct ; and in the MS. it is '*myne eyes*'—.



VI.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH,
THE NIGHT BEFORE HIS DEATH.

[“THAT his [Raleigh’s] faith was no less steadfast in the hopes of a resurrection,* we are as convincingly assured by those verses, which, this last night of his life, he probably wrote also here, in the Gatehouse,—they being found there in his Bible; and, according to the most ancient copies I can meet with, penned in these words;” &c. OLDYS.—“Having finished this [viz. ‘An Answer to some things at my Death’] he seems to have drawn up a few additional notes of remembrance, containing heads of the different subjects upon which, if permitted to speak on the scaffold, he meant to address the people; and taking his Bible, he wrote on a blank leaf these few lines:.....It may appear singu-

* He had just been speaking of Raleigh’s Poem called his “Pilgrimage.” See Part III. No. ii. in this vol.

lar to some that we find him so employed at such a moment, but from his early youth Raleigh had been accustomed to throw his feelings into numbers. His last thoughts are solemn and full of immortality; and their poetical dress indicates a rare tranquillity of mind." TYTLER.*

It is satisfactory to meet with at least *one* poem, though a very short one, which can be ascribed to Raleigh without much danger of mistake; but this is the only piece in Rel. Wotton. of which so much can be said with safety. The tradition which assigns it to the night before his execution may in this case be correct. Perhaps it is equally true with regard to the following couplet, which is printed in the various Collections of his Minor writings.

"ON THE SNUFF OF A CANDLE, THE NIGHT BEFORE HE DIED.

Cowards [may] fear to die; but Courage stout,
Rather than live in Snuff, will be put out."

The story of his "Dying Meditation," which is appended to so many other Poems,—some of which he never wrote at all,—seems to have been carelessly transferred to them from one or other of these two short fragments.

The variations are given from three copies, to which many others might have been added; viz.—A=Dr. Birch's copy, Raleigh's Minor Works, ii. 400. (It appears to have been taken from Raleigh's Remains, where the title is, "Sir Walter Raleigh's Verses, Found in his Bible in the Gate-house at Westminster," p. 258, ed. 1661.)—B=Oldys's copy, as above.—C=Chetham MS. 8012, p. 162.]

* Oldys's Life of Ral. p. 556, Oxf. ed. cf. p. 424. Tytler, p. 357, ed. 1840. Tytler found a copy in the state-paper office. p. 356, note.—Brydges mentions one in a Lansd. MS. entitled, "De seipso." Pref. to Browne's Poems, Lee Priory ed. p. 6.—See also D'Israeli's Cur. of Lit. p. 419, ed. 1839. Cayley, ii. 167. Ellis, ii. 224. Raleigh's Works, viii. 729, Oxford ed.—A copy was printed on the last leaf of his Prerog. of Parl. 1628, with the title, "The Authours Epitaph, made by himselfe;" but I believe the lines had been published at a still earlier date.—Another copy is in Winstanley's Worthies, p. 305, 1684.



VEN such is time, that takes on trust
 Our youth, our joyes, our all we have,
 And pays us but with [Earth] and Dust;
 Who, in the dark and silent Grave,

[5] (When we have wandred all our ways,)

Shuts up the story of our days :

But from this Earth, this Grave, this Dust,
 My God shall raise me up, I trust!

W. R.

[VARIATIONS.—1. 'which'—A. 'who'—B. 'in trust'—A B C.—
 2. 'our age'—C. 'and all'—A B C.—3. 'with Age and Dust'
 —Rel. Wotton. 'nought but Age'—A. 'with earth and dust'—B
 C. The reading 'age' is found also in several of the copies men-
 tioned in the note on the preceding page; but the seventh line
 clearly proves that it is erroneous.—4. 'Which in'—A. 'Who in
 the silence of the graue'—C.—6. 'Shut vp the glory'—C.—7.
 'And from which Grave and Earth and Dust'—A. 'But from
 that earth, that grave, and dust'—B. 'And from that earth, graue,
 and dust'—C. 'The Lord shall'—A B C. So Oxford edit., Win-
 stanley, Prerog. Parl., &c. 'The Lord will'—Tytler.]



VII.

THE WORLD.

[IN the first edit. of Rel. Wotton., these lines were signed *Ignoto*, which was altered in ed. 1654 to *Fra. L^d Bacon*,—the signature retained in ed. 1672. There can be no reasonable doubt that Bacon wrote them; but his claim cannot have been generally known, since his name is usually an after-insertion in the MS. copies, as well as in Rel. Wotton.* The most conclusive evidence is that of Thomas Farnaby, who printed them in his *Florilegium*, in 1629, (pp. 8—10) with a Greek translation, immediately after a well-known Epigram that is usually ascribed to Posidippus; and introduced them thus;—“Huc elegantem *V. CL. Domini Verulamij παρωδιαν* adjicere adlubuit.”† They were repeated

* Thus in MS. Rawl. Poet. 117, fol. 161, they were first entitled “The Bubble, by *R. W.*” (those seem to be the letters) and the words, “by y^e L^d Bacon,” were added afterwards.—In MS. Ashm. 38, p. 2, the first title was, “On Mans Mortalitie, by *Doctor Donn*,” altered to “*Sr Fran. Bacon*.”—In Mr. Pickering’s MS. fol. 87. they have the signature, “*Henry Harrington*,” but the name of “L^d Verulam viscount[*t*] St Albans,” is added in a later hand. Title, “Vppon y^e miserie of Man.”

† Mr. Dyce, with less accuracy than usual, says, “The celebrated copy of verses beginning ‘The world’s a bubble’ has been attributed by *Farnaby* and others to *Wotton*,—on what authority, does not appear,” &c. (Preface

in the same form in the edit. of 1650. To this copy reference is made by Aubrey, who calls them "excellent verses of his *Lo^{ps.}*."*

That Bacon's occasional recreations in Poetry were not overlooked in the succeeding age, may be gathered from a letter of Waller's, which was prefixed to the first edit. of his Poems (1645), and which was probably genuine, though the publication was unauthorized;—"Not but that I may defend the attempt I have made upon Poetrie, by the examples (not to trouble you with Historie) of many wise and worthie persons of our own times; as Sir Philip Sidney, *Sir Fra. Bacon,*" &c. His metrical version of a few Psalms, which he published in 1625, with a dedication to George Herbert, may be found among his works. Park has printed a short poem (partly in imitation of Horace) which he found among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum, with the title, "Verses made by Mr. Fra. Bacon;" † and in the long letter addressed to the Earl of Devonshire, in which Bacon defends his conduct towards Lord Essex, he says that ("though I profess not to be a Poet,") he had "prepared a *Sonnet*, directly tending to draw on Her Majesty's reconcilment to my Lord."

The last line of this piece, as it stands in all the copies but that of Rel. Wotton. occurs in precisely the same words among the Poems of Bp. Henry King (p. 23, ed. 1843);—

to Wotton's Poems.) Zouch mentions that it is printed as Wotton's in Cibber's Lives of the Poets (ed. of Walton, p. 510, 1796); but he quotes Farnaby correctly. Park says that it is reprinted in Fawkes and Woty;—and in the New Foundling Hosp. for Wit.

* Letters from the Bodleian, ii. 224. Farnaby's text was reprinted in the "Poemata" of H. Birchedus (Birkhead) in 1656, with the title, "An Ode against Mans Life." He added "A Parode in praise of Humane Life," and subjoined Latin, as well as Greek, translations of both,—taking the Greek version of Bacon's lines from Farnaby, who had been his teacher (pp. 86—94).

† Edit. of Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, ii. 217. There is another copy of them in Chetham MS. (Manchester) 8012, p. 79.

“ At least with that Greek Sage still make us cry,
Not to be born, or, being born, to dy.”

King gives his marginal quotation in Latin ; and I do not know from which of the many Greek writers who have the saying he meant to cite it;* but it was a common proverb in his day. Bodenham has it in the “ Garden of the Muses” (p. 214, ed. 1610);—

“ Better not be, then† being, soone to die.”

The Variations are taken from Farnaby (=A),—MS. Rawl. P. 117 (=B),—and Mr. Pickering’s MS. (=C).—Those of the Ashmole MS. and of Mr. Collier’s MS. (where the poem is transcribed) are either too inaccurate or too trifling to need mention.]



HE World’s a bubble, and the life of man
Less than a span ;—

In his Conception wretched, from the womb,
So to the Tomb ;—

[5] [C]urst from his Cradle, and brought up to years
With Cares and Fears.

Who then to frail Mortality shall trust,
But limns on Water, or but writes in Dust.

Yet, whil’st with sorrow here we live opprest,
[10] What life is best ?

* See the parallel passages in Grotius on Eccles. iv. 3, and Dav. in Cic. Tusc. D. i. 48. The origin of the phrase was ascribed by Aristotle to Silenus, who bestowed it on his captor, King Midas. In that curious farrago of undigested information, Heywood’s “ Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels,” we find both this proverb and its opposite, pp. 1[4]5, 384.—The Epigram of Posidippus was translated into English verse by Sir John Beaumont, and into Latin by Buchanan, Grotius, and several others.

† The word stands for either “ then” or “ than.” I understand it here in the former sense.

Courts are but only superficial Schools,
To dandle Fools :

The rural part is turned into a Den
Of savage Men :

[15] And where's a City from foul vice so free,
But may be term'd the worst of all the three?

Domestick Cares afflict the Husband's bed,
Or pain[s] his Head :

Those that live single, take it for a curse,
[20] Or do things worse :
These would have Children :—those that have
them, [m]one,
Or wish them gone :
What is it, then, to have, or have no Wife,
But single thraldom, or a double strife?

[25] Our own Affections still at home to please,
Is a Disease :

To cross the Seas to any foreign soil,
Peril and toil :

Wars with their noise affright us; when they cease,
[30] We're worse in peace :
What then remains, but that we still should cry
For being born, and, being born, to die?

FRA. LORD BACON.

[VARIATIONS.—5. Rel. Wotton. and B. 'Nurst'—. It is 'Curst' in A C. In MS. Ashm. 'Crost'—. 'the cradle'—A.—6. 'care'—C.—7. 'doth trust'—B.—8. 'But limmes the water'—A B C. 'and doth wright'—B.—9. 'Yet since'—A. 'Yet while'—C.

'Yet whilst wee *wretched* line *wth* cares opprest'—B.—11. 'bee but'—B. 'only' omitted in B C.—13. 'parts are'—A C. '*parts bee*'—B. 'to a Denn'—C.—15. 'from *all* vice'—A C. 'that Citty'—B.—16. 'May *not* be called'—B.—17. 'afflicts'—B C. and Rel. Wotton. eds. 1651-4.—18. In Rel. Wotton. ed. 1672, it is '*pain*'—; but the word 'Cares' in the preceding line would lead us to expect the plural; and 'pains' is found in A B C. as well as in Rel. Wotton. eds. 1651-4.—19. 'They that'—C.—21. 'Some would'—A B. 'Some *wish* for children, *they*^{y^t} haue them, moane'—C. 'mone' also in A B.—In Rel. Wotton. and MS. Ashm. '*none*.'—24. 'double *life*'—C.—26. 'That's a'—B.—27. '*sea*'—A.—28. '*perills*'—A.—29. '*affrights*'—C. and 'us' omitted.—31. 'but *mortall* men may crye'—B.—32. 'Not to be borne, or being borne to dye'—A B C. Birkhead has an odd note on the line, pointing out that the author should have said, 'Not to *have been* borne' &c. Perhaps Walton thought so too, and therefore altered it.]





VIII.

DE MORTE.

[The signature *Ignoto* has, of course, brought this piece also into the editions of Sir Walter Raleigh's Poems (Lee Priory ed. p. 18. Oxford ed. viii. 704). Brydges remarks;—"These lines are quaint; but contain a powerful compression of thought. Unfortunately, they recall to us Shakespeare's celebrated passage on the same subject." (p. 66.) In this case, as in those already mentioned, we must have better evidence before Raleigh's claim can be allowed. Mr. Freeman thought them "decidedly in *Wotton's* style." (p. 257.)

A similar piece is ascribed to Raleigh in Mr. Pickering's MS. (fol. 113, v^o.) which it may be right to quote, although it has been in print before; *—

“What is our Life? the play of passion;—
 Our mirth,—the Musick of Diuision;—
 O' Mothers wombes the Tyreing houses be,
 Where we are drest for liues short comedie;
 The Earth y^e Stage,—Heauen the Spectator is,—
 Who sits and veiues, whosoere doth Act amiss;
 The graues, which hyde vs from y^e scorching Sunn,

* It is imperfectly printed in Cens. Lit. ii. 103, second ed., from Gibbons's "First set of Madrigals and Mottets," &c. 1612.

Are like drawne Curtaines [when†] y^e play is done;
 Thus playeing post wee to o^r latest rest;
 And then we die in earnest, not in Jest.
 S^r W: R:”

The authority of a single MS. is scarcely sufficient to prove that Raleigh wrote these lines ; but it is at least more weighty evidence than the word *Ignoto*.]



MAN'S Life's a Tragedy:—his Mother's
 Womb

(From which he enters) is the tiring Room;
 This spacious Earth the Theater ; and the

Stage

That Countrey which he lives in :—Passions, Rage,
 Folly, and Vice are Actors :—The first cry
 The Prologue to th' ensuing Tragedy :
 The former Act consisteth of dumb shows ;
 The second, he to more Perfection grows ;
 I' th' third he is a Man, and doth begin
 To nurture vice, and act the deeds of sin ;
 I' th' fourth declines ; I' th' fifth, Diseases clog
 And trouble him :—then Death's his Epilogue.

IGNOTO.

† So the copy in Cens. Lit.—In MS. '*till*.'—The curtains were formerly suspended from an iron rod, and opened in the centre. They were therefore drawn *apart* for the performance, and drawn *together* at its close.



IX.

EPIGRAM.

IF breath were made for every man to buy,
The poor Man could not live,—rich would not die.





X.

JOHN HOSKINS TO HIS LITTLE CHILD
BENJAMIN FROM THE TOWER.

[INSERTED for the first time in ed. 1672.—Hoskins wrote his advice in a Latin couplet, as well as in these English lines; and the two are sometimes found together;—

“AD FILIOLUM SUUM BENIAMIN.

Dum puer es, vanæ nescisq; incommoda vocis,
Vincula da linguæ, vel tibi lingua dabit.”*

His imprisonment, which has been alluded to above (pp. 6, 8,) was caused by a violent speech against the Scots, which he delivered in the short Parliament of 1614. From Wotton’s account of the affair, we should conclude that he fully

* From Mr. Pickering’s MS. fol. 151, and MS. Malone, 19, p. 141, both with the English,—which occurs without the Latin in MS. Rawl. Poet. 117. The variations in these copies of the English verses (marked A B C in the order in which they have been named) are so considerable, as to shew that Hoskins gave out different *editions* of them. The second line of the Latin is quoted, as written by Hoskins, in one of Howell’s Letters.—In MS. Mal. 19, there is another Latin couplet, which “Mr Hoskins wrott in the Windowe when he came out of the Tower,” p. 140. The son of Hoskins who is most frequently mentioned was called *Benedict*, or *Bennet*.

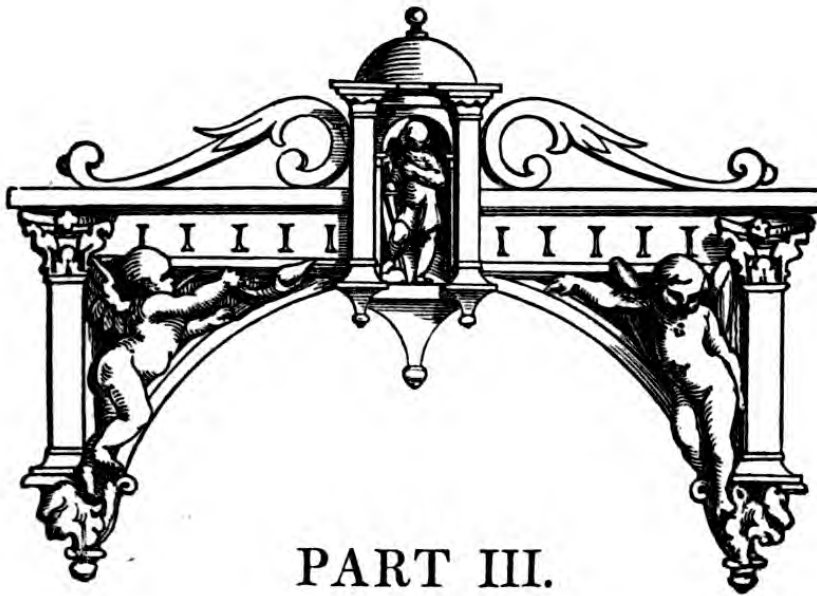
deserved his punishment; and we have Raleigh's authority (as well as his own) for adding, that it led to his hearty repentance.†]



WEET Benjamin, since thou art young,
And hast not yet the use of Tongue,
Make it thy slave, while thou art free;
Imprison it, lest it do thee.

[VARIATIONS.—1. 'My little Ben, nowe 'thou'—C. 'whilst'—A. 'while'—B.—2. 'And knowst not yet'—A B.—3, 4. 'Keepe it in thrall, while it is free; Imprison it, or it will thee.'—A B. (except 'whilst'—A.)—'Imprison it, whilst thou art free; Least that, as myne, imprison thee'—C.]

† See Rel. Wotton. pp. 432-4-8, (followed by Wood, Lingard, and others) and Raleigh's Works, viii. 162, 211, Oxford edit.—Sir C. Cornwallis, who was implicated by Hoskins, and imprisoned a few days after him, addressed an Apologetic Letter to the King (preserved among both the Ashm. and Tann. MSS. and printed in Gutch's Collect. Cur. i. 161-7,) in which he seems anxious to deny any connection with him. A similar speech is said to have been delivered by a different person in an earlier Parliament. (See Heylin, Exam. Hist. ii. 71, and Foulis, Hist. Plots, &c. p. 65; but as a reference to Cobbett's Parl. Hist. i. 1097, will prove that part of their account is erroneous, we cannot be certain about the rest.) It is supposed that Wotton sat in the Parliament of 1614 as member for Hastings. (In 1625, he was member for Sandwich.) Hoskins sat for the city of Hereford, as before in 1603, and afterwards in 1628. See Not. Parl. sub annis.



PART III.

P O E M S

FROM VARIOUS SOURCES

CHIEFLY BY

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.







I.

THE LIE.

[BY SIR WALTER RALEIGH.]

[It has been reported, that this poem was written by Raleigh on the night before his execution in 1618;* but unluckily, it was in print ten years before that time, in the second edition of Davison's *Poeticall Rhapsodie*, 1608. The advocates of Raleigh's claim have sometimes fallen back on the position, that perhaps he composed it while he was *expecting* execution in 1603;† but this ground also must be now relin-

* When Dr. Birch inserted it among Raleigh's *Minor Works* in 1751, (ii. 396,) he gave the tradition in a less substantial form:—"This Poem is supposed to be Sir Walter Raleigh's, and *appears* to have been written *some short Time* before his Death." But Dr. Farmer, who has marked Birch's variations in his copy of Davison, adds, "This was written (*I think*) by Sir Walter Rawleigh *y^e Night before He was beheaded.*" These two notes very fairly represent the manner in which the tradition would grow up.

† Percy's *Reliques*, ii. 289, ed. 1765. Nicolas's edit. of Davison, *Biogr.* Not. p. ci.—Malone's note, inserted in his copy of Davison, ed. 1621, in the Bodleian, was evidently written before he obtained the MS. mentioned in the next note. He thought of the earlier portion of Raleigh's long imprisonment.

quished, as there are MS. copies in existence of a still earlier date.* The nature of his first imprisonment puts that out of the question ; and hence it has been generally concluded, that the name appended to the poem is as erroneous as the tradition, and that Raleigh could not be its author.

Those who took the piece as Raleigh's editors have given it seem justified in this conclusion ; for no evidence but the tradition is cited by Birch or Brydges ; and when one part of a story is proved to be false, we are naturally inclined to distrust the whole. But if some independent testimony can be brought forward, of course the falsehood of the legend goes for nothing. Such testimony can certainly be found, though perhaps some may still doubt whether it is quite conclusive ; but before it is adduced, we should enquire whether more satisfactory evidence has been stated in behalf of any other person.

1. Mr. Campbell asks : " Is not the Soul's Errand [thus he entitles the present piece] the same poem with the Soul's Knell, which is always ascribed to RICHARD EDWARDS ?—If so, why has it been inserted in Raleigh's Poems by Sir Egerton Brydges ?"† For this conjecture, we are probably indebted to the partial resemblance of the titles, added to the circumstance, that Gascoigne ridiculed those who fancied, that " the Soulnkil of M. Edwards was written in extremitie of sickness." It would at once supersede the dates of the MSS., for Edwards died in 1566.—But as " the Soulnkil" could scarcely be the title of a poem which contains no reference to knelling, and as false traditions of this nature were ap-

* Malone had a MS. of it dated 1595 (Shakesp. by Boswell, ii. 579); Brydges speaks of one in Brit. Mus. dated 1596 (Lee Priory edit. of Raleigh's Poems, p. 58. Oxford edit. of Raleigh's Works, viii. 725); and Mr. Campbell says, " it can be traced to MS. of a date as early as 1593." (Specimens, p. 57, second ed.)

† Specimens, p. lxvi. note, second ed. But why must Brydges bear all the resentment of Messrs. Campbell and Hallam? He only followed Birch.

pended to almost all the moral pieces of that time, Mr. Campbell's opinion is not likely to meet with general support.

2. A letter of Bishop Percy's is in existence,* from which it appears that Cole had a MS. in which it was assigned to LORD ESSEX. The whole passage relating to this subject is curious; but it is sufficient to say here, that Percy was not willing to admit the claim; and we may safely follow his example.

3. Ritson gives it to FRANCIS DAVISON;† but no argument has hitherto been adduced in his favour, which would not make over to him all the unsigned pieces in the Collection which he formed. Mr. Campbell thought, that in 1593, he would be too young to write it; which is quite true, when the character of the poem is taken into the account; for he was then only about eighteen. But it might be urged, that he was admitted a member of Gray's Inn in that same year, and in the very next year, became confessedly an author.‡ The former reason, however, is sufficient to justify us in setting him aside, as both the modern editors of the Rhapsody have done.

4. Ellis prints the poem under the name of JOSHUA SYLVESTER, because a mutilated copy of it is inserted in the posthumous collection of Sylvester's Workes. "Till a more authorized claimant shall be produced, it is therefore restored to its ancient proprietor."§ To be consistent, however, he

* Nichols's *Illustr. of Lit. Hist. &c.* vi. 562, (where the poem is erroneously called "*the Lyre*.") The letter is dated March 9: 1767: when the second ed. of the *Reliques* was nearly printed off. I wish we had any good reason for presuming, with Percy, that Raleigh "publicly owned" the poem.

† *Bibl. Poet.* p. 308. But the passage is singularly confused, and he gives the piece a title ("The Answer to the Lye") which it neither bore nor could bear. His note in reference to Percy is (if possible) more ill-natured than usual; for Percy named the edits. of 1608 and 1611 in his very earliest editions, (ii. 299, ed. 1765,—ii. 300, ed. 1767,) though it does not appear that he had seen them.

‡ *Nicolas's Life of F. Davison*, prefixed to his ed. of *Poet. Rhaps.* p. iv.

§ *Specimens*, ii. 330, 333, ed. 1811. See *Sylvester's Workes*, p. 652, ed. 1641. Campbell, p. 57, cf. pp. 76, 79.

should have given it as it stands in that volume ; but the absurdity would then have been too manifest ; for, as Mr. Campbell says, “ whoever looks at the folio vol. of Sylvester’s poems, will see that Joshua uses the beautiful original merely as a text, and has the conscience to print* his own stuff in a way that shows it to be interpolated.” Doubtless every one will be of Mr. Campbell’s opinion, supported as it is (though not very decisively) by that of Mr. Hallam.† Headley had asserted that it was “ beyond a doubt not” Sylvester’s, before Ellis wrote at all.‡

5. A copy is found among the Poems of Lord Pembroke and Sir B. Rudyard (1660, p. 104,) with the initial of LORD PEMBROKE at the top. But this copy, like Sylvester’s, is mutilated and imperfect, though not to so shameful a degree ; and the character of the volume is so notorious, that I believe none of those who have had occasion to mention it

* Not so ; but it was bad enough to write it,—if indeed Sylvester was really guilty of it, which may be charitably doubted. He died in 1618 : and in the vol. of 1641, the piece is placed among the “ Posthumi . . . Never till now Imprinted.”—Others have written bad variations on the poem, as may be seen from Percy’s letter, quoted above,—from one of the copies printed by Sir H. Nicolas from the MSS. in Brit. Mus.,—and from that in the Chetham MS. mentioned below. There have been sundry imitations of it in later times, two of which occur in one vol. of “ The New Foundling Hospital for Wit.”

† See Hist. Lit. Cent. XVI. ii. 126, ed. 1843. In a note, Mr. Hallam says, “ Brydges gives it to Raleigh without evidence, and we may add, without probability.”—“ Without evidence,” certainly ; for he has not adduced a particle. That which is quoted above was altogether unknown to him. But why “ without probability” ? Raleigh was 41 years old in 1593, the earliest date to which the poem has been traced ; he had written verses in 1576 ; and as to the subject of the piece, surely it is not necessary that a Christian man should be on the point of dying, before he will fix his thoughts on death. Others have made too much of the internal evidence when they thought it sufficient to prove Raleigh’s title ; but it can scarcely be urged *against* him. Mr. Hallam says, that the poem is “ characterised by strength, condensation, and simplicity ;” and that “ such poems as this could only be written by a man who had seen and thought much.” What is there here to which Raleigh may not answer ?

‡ Select Beauties, &c. ii. 161, ed. 1787.

have attempted to substantiate Lord Pembroke's claim.* Nor would it be possible to do so; for he was not born till 1580. It must, therefore, be resigned with the preceding four. And these, I think, are all the claimants who have been hitherto named.

This negative evidence, however, though necessary, will be insufficient, unless we can produce some positive testimony in Raleigh's favour, which is free from the suspicion felt towards witnesses, of whose statement one part has been shown to be inaccurate. Such the following piece must be allowed to be. It is here printed from an old MS. Miscellany in the Chetham Library at Manchester (8012, p. 107):—

“Go, Eccho of the minde;
 A careles troth protest;
 Make answe^r y^t rude *Rawly*
 No stomack can disgest.

For why? *the lies* discent
 Is over base to tell;
 To vs it came from Italy,—
 To them it came from hell.

What reason proues, confesse;
 What slander saith, denye;
 Let no vntruth wth triumph passe,
 But never giue the lye.

Confesse, in glittering court
 All ar not goulde that shine;
 Yet say one pearle, & much fine gould
 Growes† in y^e Princes minde.

Confesse, y^t many leaues
 Do overgrowe the grounde;
 Yet say wth in the fielde of God
 Good corne is to be founde.

Confesse, som iudge vniust
 The widowes right delay;
 Yet say there ar some Samuels
 That never say her nay.

* Park, Cens. Lit. i. 171, ed. 1815. Nicolas, ed. of Davison, p. 25, note. Hallam, Hist. Lit. &c. iii. 44, ed. 1843.

† Qy. ‘*Glowes*’? And in the next line, qy.—‘that many *weeds*’?

Admitte some man of state
 Do pitch his thoughtes to hie;—
 Is y^t a rule for all the rest,
 Their loyall hartes to trie?
 Your wittes ar in the waine;
 Your autumnne in the bud;
 You argue from p^rticulers;*
 Your reason is not good.
 And still y^t men may see
 Lesse reason to comend you,
 I marvaile most, amongst y^e rest,
 How schooles & artes offende you.
 But whie pursue I thus
 The witlesse wordes of winde?
 The more the crab doth seeke to creepe,
 The more she is behinde.
 In church & comon wealth,
 In court & country both,—
 What,—nothing good, but all [s]o† bad
 That every man doth loath?
 The further y^t you raunge,
 Your errour is the wider;
 The bee sometimes doth hony suck,
 But sure you ar a spider.
 And so my counsaile is,
 For that you want a name,
 To seeke some corner in the darke,
 To hide your self from shame.
 There wrapp the sely flye
 Wth in your spitefull webbe;
 Both church & court may want you well;
 They ar not at such ebbe.
 As quarrels once begun
 Ar not so quickly ended,
 So many faultes may soone be founde,
 But not so soone amended.
 And when you come againe
To giue the worlde the lye,
 I pray you tell them how to liue,
 And teach them how to dye.”

* This technical expression comes in oddly enough. But the whole piece is sad doggrel.

† MS. ‘all to’—. The alteration is required by the next line;—otherwise “*all-to*” meant—altogether,—as in Judges ix. 53.—Or ‘to’ might stand for ‘too’—as in st. 7.

In these verses, three points especially deserve attention ; first, that they assign the disputed Poem to Raleigh *by name* ;* —next, that they were written *when he was still alive*, as is plain from the concluding stanzas ;—and lastly, that they give the reason why it has been found so difficult to discover its true author, for the 13th stanza intimates that “ The Lie” was anonymous, though its writer was not altogether unknown.

But this is not the only answer to the Poem which can be found among contemporary MSS. In one of the Ashmolean MSS. (781, p. 164,) there are two short pieces which clearly bear upon this point; but as they have been printed at length among the Additional Poems in the Oxford edition of Raleigh’s Works, † I need only cite a part of them. The first is entitled “ The Answre to the Lye,” and begins and ends as follows :—

“ Courts Scorne, States disgracing,
Potentates Scoffe, Gover[n]ments defacing
* * * * *
Such is the Songe, such is the Author,
Worthy to be rewarded with a halter.”

Eight lines intervene, which are of the same fashion with the first couplet. So far, we have no name of any kind. The second piece, which follows on the same page, is entitled, “ Erroris Responsio,” and corresponds to the former, thus :—

* The mere variation of the spelling need cause no difficulty. “ *Rawley’s name*,” says Mr. D’Israeli, “ was spelt by himself and by his contemporaries in all sorts of ways.” *Cur. of Lit.* p. 258, ed. 1839. Cf. p. 414, and Malone’s *Shakesp.* by Boswell, ii. 3. It is spelt “ Rauley” in two recent fac-similes of his writing,—viz. in Nicolas’s ed. of Davison, and in Collier’s *Egerton Papers*, *Camd. Soc.* p. 94. He generally wrote it “ Raleigh.”

† They had been mentioned by Oldys, *Life of Ral.* pp. 423-4, *Oxf. ed.* and are inserted in Raleigh’s Works, viii. 735. But they are treated as if Raleigh wrote them both, which is absurd ; and are not in any way connected with “ The Lie,” which makes them useless. The first of them probably gave Ritson his erroneous title.

“ Courts Comender, States maintayner,
Potentates defender, Gover[n]ments gayner

* * * * *
Such is the Author, such is the Songe,
Retorninge the halter, Contemning the wrong.”

Then, at last, we read, “FINIS. S^r WA: RA:”—It is obvious that the first of these is an attack upon the present Poem, and the second a defence of it. It may be very doubtful whether the defence was really written by Raleigh, but the transcriber who assigned it to him evidently thought he had an Author’s right of appearing in behalf of his own production. And here, again, our evidence is not injured by the presence of the tradition, since it must have been believed that he survived the composition of “The Lie” long enough to defend the piece from its maligner.

The Chetham MS. contains also a copy of “The Lie,” without any heading, but with the full signature, “WA: RALEIGH.” (p. 103.) This is a slight addition to our evidence; for though the authority of these old MS. Collections is not generally very high, the compiler of this volume appears to have been sufficiently acquainted with contemporary literature to have the right of offering at least corroborating proof; for he has copied some of Raleigh’s letters, and various poems by Hoskins, Donne, Christopher Brooke(?), *Francis Davison*, and others, which were not printed till long after,—some not till very lately, and (I think) some few not at all.* The date of the MS. cannot fall much later than the time of Raleigh’s death.

* Those of Hoskins and Brooke are alluded to above (pp. 8, 9, 64; see also pp. 74, 77); there are some of Donne’s (without a name) on pp. 95-101; and several of Davison’s Psalms at the end of the volume. As these last are also anonymous, Mr. Halliwell, in his description of the Chetham MSS., merely terms them “a collection of psalms.” He ascribes the volume (which formerly belonged to Dr. Farmer) to “the time of James I.” I do not, however, lay much stress on this signature; first, because the compiler may have taken it from the Reply, though he has spelt it differently; next, because the Poem has an interpolated verse; and lastly, because the transcriber’s ac-

On Raleigh's side, then, (to say no more of this, or any other minor proofs,—such as the name appended in various Collections of later date and no authority,) we have two Answers to the Poem, both written while he was still alive :—in the one, he is expressly mentioned as the Author of “The Lie;”—on the same page which preserves the other, he is connected with it almost as closely, by being represented as undertaking its defence. On the other side, we have five other claimants, whose cases will not bear examination, and the convicted falsehood of a foolish tradition, which would almost have refuted itself.—Those who have more ample opportunities of examining the minor literature of that period than I can command, may probably find much more that bears upon the subject. I have only been anxious to escape the censure which Mr. Campbell passed on those who had previously printed it as Raleigh's, “without a tittle of evidence to show that it was the production of that great man.”

If it be once conceded that Raleigh wrote it, the manner in which the tradition arose will be easily explained. It seems that he really composed one short piece, if not a second, the very night before his execution (see above, p. 74); the rumour of these would soon be spread abroad;—the popular love for prison-verses would give ample encouragement to conjectures on their nature;—and any moral piece which he had previously written, and in which the near approach of death was dwelt on, would be eagerly caught up, and represented as his dying meditation, by those who had neither time nor inclination to be exact in their dates. Hence it happens, that besides those two short pieces, there are no less than four long poems, which have been assigned by various writers to this last period of his life. Two out of

quaintance with contemporary literature, which I have assumed above, might be denied on the ground, that had he known the writers of the pieces just mentioned, he would have named them. I have not been able to examine some other volumes of the same nature which are said to be in that Library.

the four it is unlikely that he ever wrote at all.* Of the other two,—“The Lie,” and “The Pilgrimage,”—he was probably the Author, but certainly not at the time recorded.

The following lines from Breton’s “Melancholike Humours,” 1600, (p. 34, Lee Priory reprint,) deserve insertion, as a parallel to this Poem:—

“Go! bid the world, with all its trash, farewell,
And tell the earth it shall be all but dust!
These wicked wares, that worldlings buy and sell,
The moth will eat, or else the canker rust:
All flesh is grass, and to the grave it must.
This sink of sin is but the way to hell;
Leave it, I say, and bid the world farewell!

“Account of pomp but as a shadow’d power,
And think of friends but as the summer flies;
Esteem of beauty as a fading flower,
And lovers’ fancies but as fabled lies:
Know, that on earth there is no Paradise.
Who sees not heaven is surely spirit-blind,
And like a body that doth lack a mind.”

The Poem is here printed from the fourth edit. of Davison (p. 100), with a few corrections, which are marked by brackets. That copy has been given in the notes to the Lee Priory and Oxford editions, where the text (=A) is taken from Dr. Birch. Percy (=B) also professed to print from Davison, but he has introduced several of the readings of the other copy. So too has Ellis (=C), though more sparingly, as will be seen from the Variations. The two copies which Sir H. Nicolas printed from the Harl. MSS. at the end of his edit. of Davison (=D and E) present many minute variations, which it would have been tedious to give at length. I have therefore selected only a few of them; and have done

* Viz. Wotton’s Hymn made at Venice, above, p. 45, and the “Farewell to the Vanities of the World,” No. III. in this Part.—The note on p. 68 will supply a *fifth* instance.—In what is said above, I have assumed the antiquity of the tradition, (which seems to me very doubtful,) so as to state the case against Raleigh in the strongest way.

the same with the copy in Pembroke (=F). Some readings (=G) have also been selected from the fragments of the original preserved in Sylvester's Parody. The title in Davison is "The Lie," which is retained by Percy:—that of "The Soul's Errand" was taken by Ellis from Sylvester's Works,—the only part of that copy which he preserved; and Mr. Campbell kept it, and argued from it, in spite of his just objections to Sylvester:—the title in Birch, &c. is "The Farewell."]



OE, soule, the bodies guest,
 vpon a thanklesse arrant;
 Feare not to touch the best;—
 the truth shall be thy warrant :

[5] Goe, since I needs must dye,
 and giue the world the lye.

Say to the Court, it glowes,
 and shines like rotten wood;
 Say to the Church, it shewes
 [10] whats good, and doth no good:
 If Church and Court reply,
 then giue them both the lye.

Tell Potentates, they liue,
 acting by others action;
 [15] Not loued, vnlesse they giue,—
 not strong, but by [a faction]:
 If Potentates reply,
 giue Potentates the lye.

Tell men of high condition,
 [20] that mannage the estate,

Their purpose is ambition,
 their practise onely hate :
 And if they once reply,
 then giue them all the lye.

[25] Tell them that braue it most,
 they beg for more by spending,
 Who, in their greatest cost,
 [seek] nothing but commending :
 And if they make reply,
 [30] then giue them all the lie.

Tell zeale it wants deuotion ;
 tell loue it is but lust ;
 Tell time it [is] but motion ;
 tell flesh it is but dust :
 [35] And wish them not reply,
 for thou must giue the lie.

Tell age it daily wasteth ;
 tell honour how it alters ;
 Tell beauty how she blasteth ;
 tell fauour how it falters :
 [40] And as they shall reply,
 giue euery one the lye.

Tell wit how much it wrangles
 in tickle points of nicenesse ;
 [45] Tell wisdom she entangles
 her selfe in ouer wisenesse :
 And when they do reply,
 straight giue them both the lie.

[50] Tell Phisicke of her boldnesse ;
 tell skill it is pre[t]ension ;
 Tell Charity of coldnesse ;
 tell law it is contention :
 And as they doe reply,
 so giue them still the lye.

[55] Tell fortune of her blindnesse ;
 tell nature of decay ;
 Tell friendship of vnkindnesse ;
 tell Iustice of delay :
 And if they will reply,
 [60] then giue them all the lie.

Tell Arts they haue no soundnesse,
 but vary by esteeming ;
 Tell schooles they want profoundnesse,
 and stand [too] much on seeming :
 [65] If Arts and Schooles reply,
 giue arts and schooles the lye.

Tell Faith its fled the Citie ;
 tell how the countrey erreth ;
 Tell manhood shakes off* pittie ;
 [70] tell vertue least preferre[th] :
 And if they doe reply,
 spare not to giue the lye.

* In a case like this, where the old spelling, ' of'—, though very common, might mislead the reader, it seems improper to retain it.

So, when thou hast, as I
 commanded thee, done blabbing, —
 [75] [Although] to giue the lye
 deserues no lesse than stabbing, —
 Stab at thee he that will,
 no stab th[e] soule can kill.

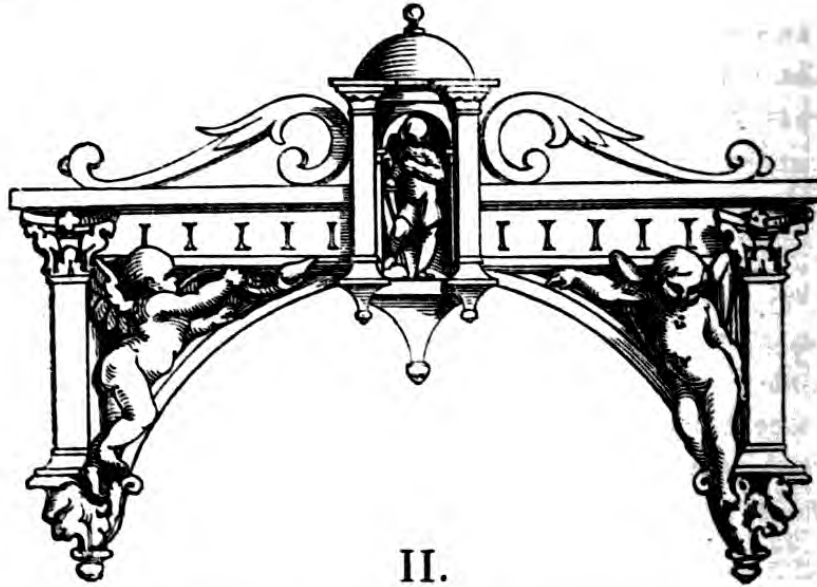
[VARIATIONS.—2. Though Birch printed 'Arrant' (as in Dav. and B, and in D E 'errant') it is modernized in A C to 'errand' (so also F G) which Sir H. Nicolas properly rejects. The rhyme is not uncommon.*—3. 'to teach'—F.—5. 'Goe thou, since I must dye'—G.—'since thou must needs'—F.—6. 'And give them all the lie'—A D. 'And tell them all they lie'—E F.—7. 'Go, tell the Court'—A B C G.—8. 'painted wood'—A.—9. 'Go, tell the Church'—A B C.—10. 'but does no good'—A. (so, nearly, D F G.)—11. 'If Court and Church reply'—A F. (so D, except 'or church')—12. 'Give Court and Church the lie'—A.—13. 'Tell Protestants'—F. (so also in lines 17, 18,—a very curious corruption.)—14. 'but Oh! their actions'—A. 'but others' actions'—E F. It is 'actions' also in B C D. In Dav. and G. 'action.'—16. 'but by their factions'—A B C E F. In Dav. 'but by affection'—and in D, 'but by affections'—. I retain the reading of G, as being nearest to that of Davison.—20. 'That rule affairs of state'—A B C E F. 'That in affairs of state'—D G.—23. 'do reply'—A.—25. 'Tell those'—A E F G.—27. 'And in'—F G.—28. So A B C E F. In Dav. and D, 'Like nothing'—'Seeke but a selfe-commending'—G.—30. 'Spare not to give'—A B.—31. 'it lacks devotion'—A B C.—33. So A B C F. In Dav. and E, 'it meets but motion'—. 'it's but a motion'—D.—39. 'that it blasteth'—A. 'Tell truth how that she blasteth'—D.—40. 'that she falters'—A D F. 'how she falters'—B C.—

* For example, in George Wither's *Speculum Speculativum*, 1660, p. 4.

"For doubtless I may boldly do mine *Errant*
 To Kings and Nations, when I have thy *warrant*."

See also Richardson's *Dict. s. v. Arrand*, where the passage in the text is cited, as from "Sir W. Raleigh. The Lye."

41. 'do reply'—A F.—42. 'Give each of them'—B.—44. 'In fickle points'—A. 'In tricks and points'—F.—46. 'Herself by much preciseness'—D.—47. 'And if'—A B.—48. 'Then give'—A. 'Then straight give'—E. 'So give them all'—F.—50. So A B C. In Dav. and D E, 'prevention'—. In F, 'perversion'—corrected in MS. in Fulman's copy.—53. 'And if they yield reply'—A. ('if' also in F. 'yield' also in B.)—54. 'Then give'—A D.—59. 'if they do'—A E F. 'if they dare'—B.—62. 'by estrayning'—E.—63. 'Tell Scholars lack'—Birch; but 'Tell Schools they lack'—A E.—64. Mispr. in Dav. 'so much'—. In the Lee Priory ed. of Davison, it is 'too much'—and 'so' is marked as a variation in the 3rd and 4th eds.—70. Mispr. in Dav. 'preferred'—. 75. So A B C D. In Dav. and E, 'Because'—. 77. 'Yet stab at thee who will'—A B C. 'who that will'—D and Nicolas.—78. So A B C. 'thy soul'—Dav. and D. 'the soul may'—E.—In E, stanzas 7 and 8 are transposed; one stanza is interpolated after line 36, and a second at the end.—In F, stanzas 5 and 6 are transposed, and the last three stanzas are omitted.—In G, no stanza consists of more than four lines but the first; one is interpolated after the fourth; the sixth is altered; and the remaining seven are altogether omitted, their place being supplied by thirteen quatrains of most wretched doggrel.—Some of the corrections are made in ed. Nicolas, which differs from both the 4th and the L. P. eds. of Davison in one or two other small particulars.]



SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S PILGRIMAGE.

[“THIS is an extraordinary poem; a mixture of sublime ideas and sentiments, with quaint and degrading images. It is said to have been written in the short interval between his sentence and execution.”—BRYDGES.* In another note, Brydges says;—“This poem is too full of far-fetched conceits to suffer us to believe that it was really written the night before Raleigh’s execution. It might have been composed in the contemplation of death in one of the many years between his sentence and execution, during that sad period of cruel and unexampled imprisonment. It contains a mixture of bold and sublime passages, such as the aspiring and indignant soul of Raleigh was likely to utter. The first stanza, in which the imagery drawn from a pilgrim is vividly depicted, fills the mind with a wild interest.”—Mr. Tytler (p. 264, ed. 1840,) supposes, with far more probability, that

* Cf. Oldys, 424, 556. Cayley, ii. 165. D’Israeli, *Cur. Lit.* 420, ed. 1839. A copy in MS. Ashm. 38, No. 70, is entitled, “Verses made by S^r Walter Raleigh the night before hee was beheaded.”

it was written in 1603, in the interval between his condemnation and his respite. Although we are not to give a *literal* meaning to lines 51 and 52, they clearly indicate a certain expectation of a very closely impending execution; and some other lines were evidently written when the indignation roused by Coke's coarse and scurrilous abuse had not yet had time to subside. Raleigh was kept in suspense for at least three weeks after his trial in 1603, during some part of which this piece may have been written.

Some lines in it can scarcely be read without pain; and I would have omitted them, but that I was unwilling to mutilate the Poem. But before we condemn them as irreverent, we should recollect the circumstances under which they were probably composed. At such a period, when the *perspective* through which we view things must be altogether changed, the familiar distinctions between small and great might be easily neglected, as if they were not real, but only relative to us; and a man of bold and ardent spirit, which had not then been broken down by long imprisonment, might give vent, in strange and startling metaphors, to those strong feelings of mingled confidence and indignation, which could find no outlet in more ordinary language.

The Poem is now reprinted from one of the old editions of Raleigh's Remains (1661, p. 256); with a few corrections, which are noted in the Variations, where the original readings are marked A. The same text (without the alterations) was followed in the main by Birch (ii. 398), from whom Brydges took his copy (=B). In the Oxford edition (viii. 723), many "improvements" are introduced from one of the Rawlinson MSS.; but it will be seen that they bear too many marks of *polishing* to be genuine (=C). I have added some other variations from a copy in Mr. Pickering's MS. (fol. 82, =D,) where the title is the same with that here given. The readings of the Ashm. MS. (=E) are only quoted in a few cases, to support an occasional alteration.]



- G**IVE me my Scallop-shell of Quiet ;
 My Staff of Faith to walk upon ;
 My Scrip of Joy, immortall Diet ;
 My Bottle of Salvation ;
- [5] My Gown of Glory (Hopes true gage) ;
 And thus I'll take my *Pilgrimage*.
 Bloud must be my Bodies Balmer,—
 No other Balm will there be given ;
 Whil'st my Soul, like quiet Palmer,
- [10] Travelleth towards the Land of Heaven ;
 Over the silver Mountains,
 Where spring the Nectar Fountains.
 There will I kisse the Bowl of Blisse,
 And drink mine everlasting fill,
- [15] Upon every Milken hill.
 My Soul will be a-drie before,
 But after, it will thirst no more.
 Then by that happy blestfull day,
 More peacefull Pilgrims I shall see,
- [20] That have cast off their rags of clay,
 And walk apparelled fresh like me.
 I'll take them first, to quench their thirst,
 And taste of Nectars suckets,
 At those clear Wells
- [25] Where sweetnesse dwells,
 Drawn up by Saints in Crystal Buckets.
 And when our Bottles and all we
 Are fill'd with immortalitie,
 Then the blessed Paths wee'l travel,
- [30] Strow'd with Rubies thick as gravel,—

- Sealings of Diamonds, Sapphire floors,
 High walls of Coral, & Pearly Bowers.
 From thence to Heavens bribeless Hall,
 Where no corrupted voices brawl;
- [35] No Conscience molten into Gold,
 No forg'd Accuser bought or sold,
 No cause deferr'd, no vain-spent journey,
 For there *CHRIST* is the King's Attorney ;
 Who pleads for all without degrees,
- [40] And he hath Angels, but no Fees :
 And when the grand twelve million Jury
 Of our sins, with direfull fury,
 'Gainst our Souls black Verdicts give,
 Christ pleads his Death, & then we live.
- [45] Be thou my Speaker, taintless Pleader,
 Unblotted Lawyer, true Proceeder !
 Thou giv'st Salvation even for Alms,—
 Not with a bribed Lawyers Palms.
 And this is mine eternal Plea
- [50] To him that made Heaven, Earth, & Sea,
 That, since my flesh must die so soon,
 And want a Head to dine next noon,
 Just at the stroak, when my veins start and spread,
 Set on my Soul an everlasting Head :
- [55] Then am I ready, like a Palmer fit,
 To tread those blest Paths which before I writ.
 Of *Death & Iudgement, Heaven and Hell,*
 Who oft doth think, must needs die wel.

[VARIATIONS.—In B, lines 7, 8, 9, 10 are arranged as 7, 10, 8, 9. In A C D as above.—7. 'Bodies *only* Balmer'—A B D.

'only' omitted in C E.—8. 'will here'—C. 'can there'—D.—9. 'like a quiet'—A B D. 'a' omitted in C E.—10. 'Travels to'—C D.—11. 'Over all the'—C. 12. 'Where do spring those'—C. In A, 'springs'—. 13. Printed as two lines in B, though not in Birch. So also is line 22. The arrangement is justified by that of lines 24, 25: but I have not altered that of A. In C, line 13 is printed thus:—

'And I there will sweetly kiss
The happy bowl of peaceful bliss'—.

It is 'I will' in D.—14. 'my'—D. 'Drinking mine eternal fill'—C.—15. 'Flowing on each milky hill'—C.—Lines 16, 17, 22—26 are omitted in D. In A B, the same seven lines are all placed together, after line 15. In C E they are arranged as above.—18. 'Before that happy'—D. 'In that happy'—C.—21. 'walk' omitted in D.—22. 'to quench my thirst'—A B. 'to slake their thirst'—C E.—23. 'And then taste . . . nectar'—C.—27. 'our bodies'—B. 'Bottle'—D.—29. 'Then those holy paths'—C. 'Then the hilly paths'—D. In A B, 'Then the blessed Parts'—. 31. 'Saphire flowers'—A B. 'and Saphire floares'—D.—35, 36, 37, all begin 'Nor' in D.—36. 'Accusers'—D.—39. 'He pleades'—D.—40. 'And hath . . . but not fees'—D.—41. 'grand twelve'—C. 'twelve grand'—A B D.—42. 'awfull furye'—D.—43. 'Against'—D.—45. The latter part of this line, and all the next, are enclosed in brackets in A B.—47. 'Thou would'st'—A B. 'That giuest'—D.—49. 'my'—D. 'Then this is mine'—C.—51. 'Seeing my flesh'—C.—53. 'Just at the stroke of death, my arms being spread'—C. 'iust at the stroake when my veynes spread'—D.—55. 'So shall I ready'—C.—56. 'Tread those bless'd paths shown in thy holy writ'—C. 'best pathes'—D.—The concluding couplet, which is in A B C, and is quoted by Oldys (p. 556), appears to have been placed here by mistake. It is in none of the three MSS.; and Mr. Tytler has doubtless done well in omitting it. The copy he has printed is taken in other respects from C, except that in line 20, he reads, 'That have doft their rags of clay'—]



III.

A FAREWELL TO THE VANITIES
OF THE WORLD.

[THIS poem, like many others reprinted in this volume, has been ascribed to various writers; and among the rest, both to Wotton and to Raleigh; nor is it easy to decide which account is the most likely to be true. The case appears to stand as follows:—

1. In the earlier editions of the *Complete Angler*, it is intimated, that its author may have been DR. DONNE.—(Piscator is about to recite it, in return for Venator's repetition of the "Description of the Country's Recreations," above, p. 55.) "Come, now drink a glasse to me, and I will requite you with a very good Copie of Verses;—it is a Farewell to the vanities of the World; and, some say, *written by Dr. D.* But let them be writ by whom they will, he that writ them had a brave soul, and must needs be possest with happie thoughts at the time of their composure; and I hope he was an Angler."—"Well, Master," says Venator, "these Verses be worthie to keep a room in every mans memorie." (pp. 350-2, ed. 1655.) With this account

agrees the title of a copy in MS. Ashm. 38. "*Doctor Donns valadiction to the worlde.*"

2. But in the third and succeeding editions of the Angler, the most important clause underwent an alteration; for we now read; "and, some say, *written by* SIR HARRY WOTTON, who, I told you, was an excellent Angler." (p. 251, 3rd edit.) Headley (ii. 24, ed. 1787,) and Campbell (p. 157, second ed.) have therefore printed it as Wotton's, without any sign of doubt; and though we have nothing more than this to shew for it, his claim may very possibly be just.

3. In Sir H. Nicolas's noble reprint of Walton, we find a note upon the poem;—"These verses are also said to have been written by SIR WALTER RALEIGH, when a prisoner in the Tower, shortly before his execution. Walton expresses himself doubtful as to the author." (p. 311.) This tradition, which really seems to *haunt* us, has done Raleigh little service. It has nearly deprived him, as we have seen, of one poem, which I believe he really wrote; and there can be no doubt that it is a mistake in this case also. He *may* have written the piece at some other time; but I do not know on what authority it is ascribed to him at all.

4. A fourth claimant is added from Wit's Interpreter (1671, p. 269,) where the poem is said to be "By SIR KENNELME DIGBY." On this authority, Ellis inserted a part of it in his Collection under Digby's name (iii. 179, ed. 1811).

A singular title is prefixed to an anonymous copy of it in Sancroft's Collection (MS. Tann. 465, fol. 59); "An Hermit in an Arbour, wth a prayer booke in his hand, his foote spurning a globe, thus speaketh." I have given no regular list of variations; for Walton's text (here taken from ed. 1655) is in general far superior to any of the others.]



FAREWELL, ye gilded follies, pleasing
troubles!

Farewell, ye honour'd rags, ye glorious
bubbles!

Fame's but a hollow eccho ; Gold pure clay ;
Honour the darling but of one short day ;
Beautie (th' eyes idol) but a damask'd skin ;
State, but a golden prison, to live in,
And torture free-born minds ; imbroydred Trains
Meerly but pageants for proud swelling veins ;
And Blood, ally'd to Greatnesse, is alone
Inherited, not purchas'd, nor our own :

Fame, Honour, Beauty, State, Train, Blood, and
Birth,

Are but the fading Blossoms of the earth.

I would be great,—but that the Sun doth still
Levell his rayes against the rising hill ;
I would be high,—but see the proudest Oak
Most subject to the rending Thunder-stroak ;
I would be rich,—but see men (too unkind)
Dig in the bowels of the richest mind ;*
I would be wise,—but that I often see
The Fox suspected, whilst the Ass goes free ;
I would be fair,—but see the fair and proud
(Like the bright Sun) oft setting in a cloud ;
I would be poor,—but know the humble grasse

* I. e. mine,—as it is spelt in MS. Sancr. where the line begins, '*Diggs
myst*'—(It was '*man*' in the preceding line). In Wit's Interpr. '*Dig out
the bowels*'—.

Still trampled on by each unworthy Asse :
 Rich, hated ; wise, suspected ; scorn'd, if poor ;
 Great, fear'd ; fair, tempted ; high, still envy'd more :
 I have wish'd all, but now I wish for neither ;
 Great, high, rich, wise, nor fair ;—poor I'll be rather.

Would the world now adopt me for her heir ;
 Would Beauties Queen entitle me the Fair ;
 Fame speak me Fortunes Minion ; could I vie
 Angels* with India ; with a speaking eye
 Command bare heads, bow'd knees, strike Justice dumb,
 As well as blind and lame ; or give a tongue
 To stones by Epitaphs ; be call'd great Master
 In the loose Rhimes of every Poetaster ;
 Could I be more then any man that lives,
 Great, fair, rich, wise, [all in†] Superlatives ;
 Yet I more freely would these gifts resign,
 Then ever Fortune would have made them mine ;
 And hold one minute of this holy leisure
 Beyond the riches of this empty pleasure.

* "An *angel* is a piece of coin, value ten shillings. The words to '*vie angels*' are a metonymy, and signify to *compare wealth*."—HAWKINS;—a very insufficient explanation. His parallel of "*dropping angels*," from the Beggar's Daughter of Bethnal Green (Percy, ii. 165, ed. 1767,) is more to the point. "*To vie*," used as an active verb, meant—to stake, or hazard, —implying an antagonist who could "*revie*" by putting down a larger stake. Hence the expression was transferred from games of chance to various other kinds of contest. (See Gifford's *Jonson*, i. 106.) This meaning seems to have been passing out of general use in the middle of the seventeenth century; for a line of Bp. King's, which stands thus in the MS. copy of his Poems,—"*Vyes Rages with the boyling flood*"—was altered in the edition (1657) to "*Out-vies in rage*," &c. (King's Poems, p. 25, 1843: so also a copy in Tixall Poetry, p. 313). In Wit's Interpreter, the above passage is printed, "*Could I buy Angels*"—a sufficient proof of the inaccuracy of that copy.

† '*in all*'—Complete Angler, eds. 2 and 3,—the only old editions which I have at hand. It is altered in the modern copies.

Welcome, pure thoughts ! welcome, ye silent Groves !
These guests, these courts, my soul most dearly loves :
Now the wing'd people of the skie shall sing
My cheerfull Anthems to the gladsom Spring :
A Pray'r-book now shall be my looking-glasse,
In which I will adore sweet Vertue's face.
Here dwell no hatefull looks, no Palace cares,
**No broken Vows dwell here, nor pale fac'd Fears :*
 Then here I'l sit, and sigh my hot loves folly,**
And learn t' affect an holy melancholy ;
 And if Contentment be a stranger then,
 I'l ne'r look for it, but in heaven, again.

* In Sancroft's MS. these lines run thus ;—

" Here dwell noe heating lones, noe palsy feares,
 Noe short ioyes purchas'd with æternall teares.
 Here will I sitt, & sigh my hott youth's folly," &c.

From this and several other passages, it would seem that the text which Sancroft copied underwent a revisal from the author, before it fell into Walton's hands. In most instances, the changes were for the better ; but perhaps not in this.



IV.

“WATER THY PLANTS WITH GRACE DIVINE.”

[ASCRIBED TO SIR WALTER RALEIGH.]

[FROM MS. Ashm. 781, p. 163. It has been printed before in the Oxford edition of Raleigh's Works, apparently from the same MS. and with the title, “Moral Advice,” viii. 732. I suspect that it was written *against* him, not *by* him.]

WATER thy plants with grace devine, and hope
to live for aye;
Then to thy Sauour Christe incline; in him
make stedfast stay:

Rawe is the reason that doth lye* within an Atheists
head,

Which saith the soule of man doth dye, when that the
boddies dead.

S^r WA: RALEIGH.

* The first and seventh words of this line *might* conceal a secret mark of ownership, like that of Dyer's,—“*Dy er* thou let his name be known,” which, however, did not save that piece from the younger Donne. (See Malone's Shakesp. by Bosw. ii. 220, 581-2.) But *this* vile pun (if it is one) is more likely to have been the work of an enemy. Who would make such an execrable jest on his own name?



V.

A VISION VPON THIS CONCEIPT OF THE
FAERY QUEENE.

[BY SIR WALTER RALEIGH.]

[“ I HAVE been always singularly struck and delighted with the tone, imagery, and expression of this extraordinary sonnet. The author must at this time have been deeply read in works of poetical fancy, and highly imbued with their spirit. Milton had deeply studied this sonnet; for in his compositions of the same class, he has evidently, more than once,* the very rhythm and construction, as well as cast of thought, of this noble, though brief, composition.”—BRYDGES.

The Sonnet was first printed in 1590, at the head of the Commendatory Poems appended to the first three books of Spenser's Faery Queen (p. 596), and immediately after the

* The *chief* instance is in Milton's Sonnet “ On his deceased Wife ” :—

“ Methought I saw my late espoused saint,” &c.

Mr. Todd (Spenser, ii. cxcv.) has mentioned an imitation of Raleigh's Sonnet which was printed as early as 1594. As an account of the intercourse between Raleigh and Spenser is given at length by the biographers of both, it is needless in this case to make any particular references.

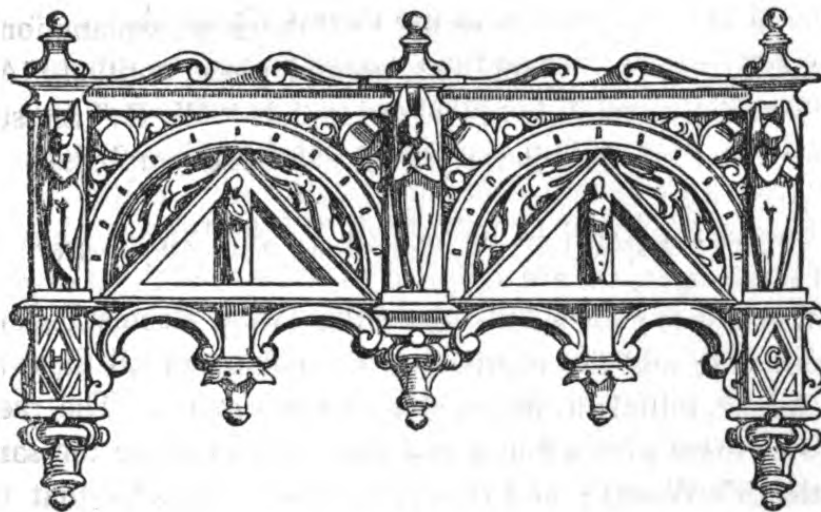
letter which Spenser addressed to Raleigh in explanation of his plan. It is followed by a second piece, entitled "Another of the same," to which the initials "W. R." are subjoined, and which closes with the following couplet:—

"Of me no lines are lou'd, nor letters are of price,
Of all which speak our English tongue, but those of thy deuce."

While it is so difficult to ascertain what Poems Raleigh really wrote, it is fortunate that the noblest of all those ascribed to him can be so well authenticated. The piece from Davison, which is given next, is added for the same reason which induced me to insert this Sonnet,—that the reader may find at least *some* pieces in this volume, of which Raleigh may be regarded as the undisputed author.]



ME thought I saw the graue where *Laura* lay,
Within that Temple, where the vestall flame
Was wont to burne; and passing by that way,
To see that buried dust of liuing fame,
Whose tombe faire loue and fairer vertue kept;
All suddainly I saw the Faery Queene:
At whose approach the soule of *Petrarke* wept;
And from thenceforth, those graces were not seene,
For they this Queene attended: in whose steed
Obliuion laid him downe on *Lauras* herse:
Hereat the hardest stones were seene to bleed,
And grones of buried ghostes the heuens did perse,
Where *Homers* spright did tremble all for grieffe,
And curst th' accesse of that celestiall theife.



VI.

A POESIE TO PROVE AFFECTION IS
NOT LOVE.

[BY SIR WALTER RALEIGH.]

["THE only poem printed in the Rhapsody," says Sir Harris Nicolas, "which was undoubtedly written by Raleigh, is, *A Poesy to prove Affection is not Love.*"* Yet while so many pieces are ascribed to him without any evidence at all, this undoubted poem has not hitherto been admitted into any general Collection of his Works. When Sir Egerton Brydges edited his Poems in 1813, he took no notice of Davison,†—probably because he designed to publish a second volume, which was to include a very large portion of the Poetical Rhapsodie. This intention appears to have been frustrated by the discovery, that Raleigh could not be

* Biogr. Not. prefixed to his edit. of Davison, p. ci. The omission of the initials "W. R." in the fourth edit. of Davison is no argument against his claim; for there is a very general (though not universal) omission of signatures throughout that volume.

† Except that he inserted in a note the copy of "The Lie" which is found in Davison.

proved to be the author of the Poems signed A. W., which Sir Egerton had at one time wished to ascribe to him ; and therefore, instead of the promised second volume of Raleigh, we have only a thin section in the Lee Priory reprint of Davison's Collection, containing eight pieces under the title, "Poems supposed to be written by Sir Walter Raleigh." Of these eight, six are assigned to Raleigh without any certain evidence ; for a seventh ("The Lie"), no evidence was produced ; and the eighth is the one before us, which bore Raleigh's initials in the earlier editions of Davison. Only two of these pieces found insertion in the Oxford edition of Raleigh's Works ; and they did, because they had been included in the former volume of his Poems.—This poem is here reprinted from the fourth edition of Davison, 1621, p. 29.]



ONCEIT, begotten by the eyes,
Is quickly borne, and quickly dies ;
For while it seekes our hearts to haue,
Meane while there reason makes his graue ;

For many things the eyes approue,
Which yet the heart doth seldome loue.

For as the seeds, in spring time sowne,
Die in the ground ere they be growne ;
Such is conceit, whose rooting failes,
As child that in the cradle quales ;
Or else within the mothers wombe
Hath his beginning, and his tombe.

Affection followes Fortunes wheeles,
And soone is shaken from her heeles ;
For following beauty or estate,
Her liking still is turn'd to hate ;

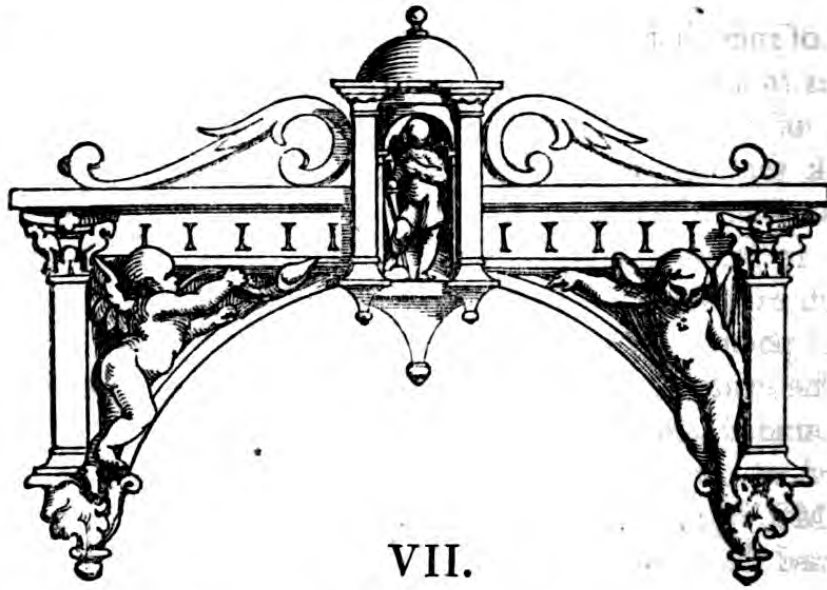
For all affections haue their change,
And fancie onely loues to range.

Desire himselfe runs out of breath,
And getting, doth but gaine his death ;
Desire nor reason hath nor rest,
And blinde doth seldome chuse the best :
Desire attain'd is not desire,
But as the cinders of the fire.

As ships in ports desir'd are drown'd,—
As fruit, once ripe, then fals to ground,—
As flies that seeke for flames are brought
To cinders by the flames they sought ;
So fond desire, when it attaines,
The life expires, the woe remaines.

And yet some Poets faine would proue
Affection to be perfect loue,
And that desire is of that kinde,
No lesse a passion of the minde :
As if wilde beasts and men did seeke
To like, to loue, to chuse alike.

[W. R.]



VII.

“AS YOU CAME FROM THE HOLY LAND.”

[ASCIBED TO SIR WALTER RALEIGH.]

[I CONCLUDE these fragments of Raleigh’s poetry with three of the Miscellaneous pieces which have been ascribed to him ; but whether the evidence is sufficient to prove that he wrote them all, must be left for others to determine. It is at any rate more direct in each case than the signature *Ignoto*.

If he was really the author of them, we should need no further proof of his singular versatility ; for their internal character might have consigned them to three separate centuries. The first might very fairly take its station among the older Ballads. Percy, who spoke of a very modernized edition, thought that it “ must have been written, if not before the dissolution of the monasteries, yet while the remembrance of them was fresh in the minds of the people.” (ii. 92, ed. 1767.)—It is universally conceded that the second ranks among the finest Minor Poems written in the Elizabethan age.—Of the third, Sir Egerton Brydges says, that it “ is a most extraordinary poem ; terse, harmonious, pointed,

full of ingenious turns, and often admirably expressed. *It seems to have anticipated a century in its style.*" The latter part of this will perhaps be admitted by some, who will think that, for this very reason, the former is too laudatory. It is strange that a person who has written so often and so well in praise of simplicity and nature, should have been so much captivated by that witty and graceful, but most artificial poem.

The evidence on which Raleigh's claim to this first piece is founded, goes into a very narrow compass; for I have heard of none but the initials which are appended to it in the MS. from which it is now taken.* It has been previously printed from the same MS. by Dr. Bliss,† who thought that it had never appeared in print before. In this form, it probably had not; but Percy's Reliques contained an altered version of it, which "was communicated to the Editor by the late Mr. Shenstone, as corrected by him from an ancient MS., and supplied with a concluding stanza." That copy begins and ends as follows:—

" As ye came from the holy land
Of 'blessed' Walsingham,
O met you not with my true love
As by the way ye came?

* * * * *

" Such is the love of womankinde,
Or Loves faire name abusde,
Beneathe which many vaine desires
And follyes are excusde.

* Namely, MS. Rawl. Poet. 85, fol. 124. The same MS. contains another piece beginning, "Fayne woulde I, but I dare not"—(fol. 41, vo.) to which the initials "W. R." are subjoined; but they seem to have been added by a later hand. Dr. Bliss printed the first stanza of it. Neither of these was included in the Lee Priory Collection, which was published before Dr. Bliss called attention to them; but they are both given in the Oxford edition of Raleigh's Works (viii. 732-3), with the titles, "False Love and True Love," and "A Lover's Verses." The commencement of the second reminds us of the line which Fuller ascribes to Raleigh, *Worthies of Devon*. p. 261.—I have not thought it necessary to retain the contractions of the MS.

† In his additions to Wood's A. O. ii. 248-9.

“ ‘ But true love is a lasting fire,
 ‘ Which viewless vestals* tend,
 ‘ That burnes for ever in the soule,
 ‘ And knowes nor change nor end.’ ”

Percy makes no mention of Raleigh's claim; nor does it appear to have become generally known.† It seems that there was a series of Ballads on the subject of Pilgrimages to the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham;‡ and if Raleigh contributed this portion of the set,—which, I own, appears to me extremely improbable,—he must of course be supposed to have assumed an archaic tone for the occasion.]



S you came from the holy land
 Of Walsinghame,
 Mett you not with my true loue,
 By the way as you came?§

* “ Sc. Angels.”—PERCY.

† Mr. Dyce, who has occasion to mention both the Ballad and the tune in his edit. of Beaumont and Fletcher (ii. 172, iii. 439), is content in the one case with Weber's reference to Percy, and in the other with Mr. Chappell's account; but as it is not likely that he would overlook the copy printed by Dr. Bliss, his silence must have arisen from distrust in the validity of Raleigh's title. Mr. Chappell reprints the Ballad at length from Percy, without saying anything of Raleigh. (Nat. Engl. Airs, ii. 158. On the same page, he quotes a reference to the tune from an Epitaph on Secretary Cecil, contained in Osborne's Tradit. Mem.,—

“ And sweetly sung *Wulsingham to's Amaryllis*,”—

apparently without knowing that Raleigh is generally regarded as its author. See Raleigh's Works, i. 424, viii. 735, 744. Cayley, ii. 191. Tytler, 303, ed. 1840.)

‡ See Percy, ii. 78, 91, 399, ed. 1767, and Mr. Chappell, l. 1. On the subject of these Pilgrimages, see further The Vision of Piers Ploughman, l. 107, ed. Wright (with note), and the same editor's vol. of Letters on the Suppression of Monast. p. 138.

§ This first stanza is from the margin of the MS. It originally stood thus:—

“ As you went to Walsingam,
 To that holy lande,

How shall I know your trew loue,*
 That haue mett many one,
 As I went to the holy lande,
 That haue come, that haue gone?

She is neyther whyte nor browne,
 Butt as the heauens fayre;
 There is none hathe a forme so deuine,
 In the earth or the ayre.

Such a one did I meet, good Sir,
 Suche an Angelyke face,
 Who lyke a queene, lyke a nymph did appere,
 By her gate, by her grace.

She hath lefte me here all alone,
 All alone, as vnknowne,
 Who somtymes did me lead with her selfe,
 And me loude as her owne.

What's the cause that she leaues you alone,
 And a new waye doth take,
 Who loued you once as her owne,
 And her ioye did you make?

Met you not with my true loue,
 By the waye as you *went*?"

The transcriber seems to have added the other stanza, because he could make nothing of this; but it probably conceals a genuine reading; for if the words in Italics be corrected thus:—‘As you *came from*. . . .*From thatas you came*’—the stanza will correspond with that quoted in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*,—except that the third line there begins ‘*There met you not*’—. It will be seen that Percy’s copy agrees more closely with that in the text.

* The reader will of course remember the fragment sung by Ophelia, which is transferred to “The Friar of Orders Gray.”—Several other Ballads began much as this does. Compare the fragment from Percy’s folio MS. beginning, “Come you not from Newcastle”—in Chappell. ii. 115.

I haue loude her all my youth,
 But no* ould as you see ;
 Loue lykes not the fallyng frute
 From the wythered tree.†

Know that loue is a careless chyld,
 And forgett[s] promysse paste ;
 He is blynde, he is deaff when he lyste,
 And in faythe neuer faste.

His desyre is a dureless contente,
 And a trustless ioye ;
 He is wonn with a world of despayre,
 And is Lost with a toye.

Of women kynde suche indeed is the loue,
 Or the word Loue abused,
 Vnder which, many chydish desyres
 And conceytes are excusde.

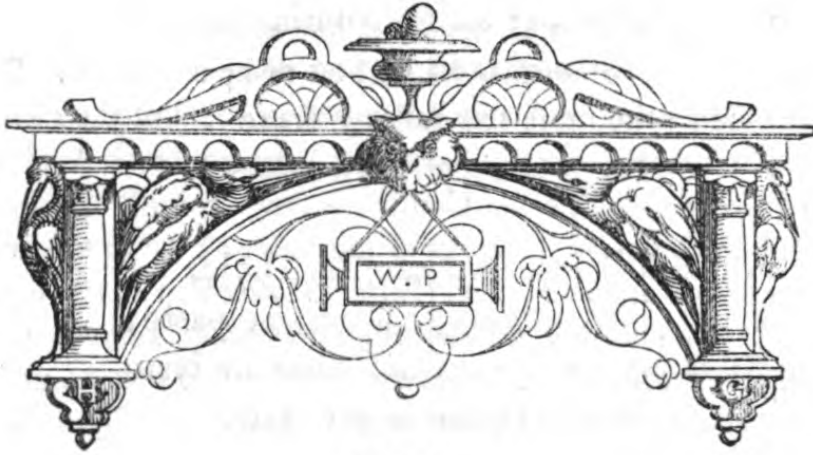
But true Loue is a durable fyre,
 In the mynde euer burnynge ;
 Neuer sycke, neuer ould, neuer dead ;
 From itt selfe neuer turnynge.

FINIS.

S^R W. R.

* "Sic pro now."—BLISS.

† Dr. Bliss quotes a similar remark from Raleigh's *Instructions to his Son* ;—"Let thy time of marriage be in thy young and strong years ; for believe it, ever the young wife betrayeth the old husband, and she that had thee not in thy flower, will despise thee in thy fall." *Remains*, p. 87, 1661. (Works, viii. 560.)



VIII.

“IF ALL THE WORLD AND LOVE WERE
YOUNG.”

[ASCRIED TO SIR WALTER RALEIGH.]

[It is said that the initials W. R. were at first appended to the earliest *complete* copy of these verses (in England's Helicon, 1600); and that the word *Ignoto* was afterwards pasted over the letters.* The same alteration appears to have been made in two other cases in that volume.† This may have

* Ellis, *Specimens*, ii. 215, ed. 1811 (from Steevens's copy of E. H.), and Brydges, reprint of E. H. Pref. p. xiii. Ritson, however, speaks of only two cases altogether in which the substitution had been made. *Bibl. Poet.* pp. 254, 308. If the statement is incorrect with regard to the Reply to Marlow, Raleigh's claim becomes really stronger; for we must then concede that Walton had other reasons for assigning it to him.

† Namely, “The Shepheard's Description of Loue,” and “The Shepheard's Praise of his Sacred Diana,” Repr. of E. H. pp. 90, 111. See the Pref. p. xxvii. Both are in the Lee Priory ed. of Raleigh's Poems, pp. 21, 40, and in the Oxford ed. viii. 706, 716. Nothing, however, is said there of the change of signature; and in Brydges' Notes to Raleigh's Poems, p. 69, he speaks as if it had taken place in only one instance. So in the list of the contents of E. H. in *Cens. Lit.* (i. 148-164, second ed.) where the two pieces just mentioned are numbered 54 and 71, and the Reply to Marlow, 138, the original initials “S. W. R.” are only mentioned in the case of No. 71. (p. 161.) “The Shepheard's Description of Loue” (No. 54) is assigned to Raleigh by Ellis, ii. 221. Cayley, i. 14. Campbell, p. 77, second ed.

been done, as Ritson observes, either because Raleigh was not the author, or because he wished to be concealed. The first would be the more natural explanation; but the second has been more generally adopted, because Izaak Walton, who has inserted in his *Complete Angler* both Marlow's Poem and this Reply, speaks of the latter as "an answer to it which was made by *Sir Walter Raleigh* in his younger daies." The former he describes as "that smooth song which was made by Kit. Marlow now at least fifty yeers ago."* It may be remarked, in passing, that this second hypothesis is scarcely consistent with the notion that *Ignoto* was Raleigh's peculiar signature; though some persons have gladly embraced both, for the sake of widening the range of poems ascribed to him. If ever that word ceased to mean simply *Anonymous*, of course it ceased to be indefinite enough for the purpose of concealment.

As so much reliance is placed in Walton's casual assertion, it should be observed, that the passage is scarcely accurate enough in other respects to warrant such implicit confidence. When the first edition of the *Angler* was published (1653), Marlow had been dead *sixty* years; and at the time of his death, Raleigh, whose "younger daies" are so expressly mentioned, was forty-one years old. This leads us to suspect, that Walton took his date from the title-page of England's *Helicon*; and there is at least one other in-

* Compl. Angl. p. 105, ed. 1655. There are *five* poems altogether which were framed on this model. 1. The original song, ascribed to Marlow. 2. The answer printed above. 3. An imitation, also in Engl. *Helicon*, signed *Ignoto*,—and for that reason given by some to Raleigh (as by Warton, iii. 354, ed. 1840, and Brydges). 4. Another by Donne, *Poems*, p. 190, ed. 1633 (also in the C. A.). 5. Another by Herrick, *Hesperides*, p. 223, 1648.—On the general question, enough may be found in Malone's *Shakesp.* by Boswell, viii. 101-4. Nicolas's ed. of C. A. 116-8. Chappell's *Nat. Engl. Airs*, ii. 138-40. As to Raleigh, see further, Oldys, p. 132. Tytler, pp. 22, 108. Mr. Collier also admits his claim (*Shakesp.* viii. 561, 576); and indeed it is strange that any one could ever think Jaggard's evidence of the smallest moment.

stance, in which he seems to have contented himself, in like manner, with the date of a publication.* If this was the case, we should see good reason for assenting to the opinion of Sir H. Nicolas, that Walton gave the present piece to Raleigh, merely because he "used a copy in which the alteration [of the signature,—from W. R. to *Ignoto*] had not been made." Had he stated that Raleigh wrote the Poem, as the result of his own enquiries on a point of some uncertainty, his authority would have been most weighty; but it is doubtful whether we can build so much upon it, in a case where he seems to have merely acquiesced in the statement which he found before him.

For these reasons; it seems that Raleigh's claim to the Poem is not so certain as some have thought; but after all, I should be sorry to believe that Walton was mistaken. In a case of this kind, the general consent in Raleigh's favour must be allowed due weight. There is a great difference, too, between the mere absence of positive evidence, as in this case, and the existence of contradictory evidence, as in some others.

The Poem is now reprinted from the second edit. of Walton's Angler (p. 110), except that one stanza, which is probably Walton's own, is thrown into a note. The third edit.

* Namely, the case of "Frank Davisons Song, which he made forty years ago." (C. A. p. 165, ed. 1655. It was not so in the first ed.) Sir H. Nicolas supposes that Walton took the date (in round numbers) from the third ed. of Davison, 1611, overlooking those of 1602 and 1608. As this song was by A. W. Walton's remark is one of the evidences tending to identify A. W. with Davison himself. See Nicolas's ed. of C. A. p. 164, and of Davison, pp. cxxvii. 250. The supposition that Walton calculated from the title-pages seems more probable in both cases than that the passages were written some years before the Angler was published. With respect to remarks introduced so incidentally, we should recollect, as a foreign critic judiciously tells us to do in the case of historical narrations, "*Quam sæpe in exponendis, approbandis, et exornandis narrationibus, in figmenta delabibileant homines, quoad nuda facta fide dignissimi.*" (Welcker in Hippon. et Anan. Fragm. p. 16.) All that Walton cared for was the Poem. The date and author's name were matters of comparative indifference.

of the Angler agrees with the second ; but one or two slight variations (A) were afterwards introduced. The copy in England's Helicon (B) is nearly the same, except in regard to the interpolated stanza. It is printed in the notes to the Lee Priory and Oxford editions, where the text (C), which is very different, is taken from Dr. Birch (ii. 394). A copy printed in the Muse's Library (D) in 1741, is a little different from any of these. I have also marked the few variations (E) in the copy printed by Percy (i. 219, ed. 1767).]



F all the world and Love were young,
And truth in every shepherds tongue,
These pretty pleasures might me move
To live with thee and be thy love.

[5] But time drives flocks from field to fold,
When rivers rage and rocks grow cold ;
And *Philomel* becometh dumb ;
The Rest complains of cares to come.

The flowers do fade, and wanton fields
[10] To wayward Winter reckoning yeilds :
A honey tongue, a heart of gall,
Is fancies spring, but sorrows fall.

Thy gowns, thy shooes, thy beds of roses,
Thy cap, thy kirtle, and thy posies,
[15] Soon break, soon wither, soon forgotten,—
In folly ripe, in reason rotten.

Thy belt of straw and ivie buds,
Thy coral clasps and amber studs,—

All these in me no means can move
 [20] To come to thee and be thy Love.*

But could youth last, and love stil breed,—
 Had joyes no date, nor age no need;
 Then those delights my mind might move
 To live with thee and be thy love.

[VARIATIONS. 1. 'If that the World'—E (and so in the Passionate Pilgrim, 1599, where the first stanza only is printed, as if it were Shakespeare's.)—2. 'on every'—C.—3. 'These pleasures might *my passion* move'—C.—The second stanza is altogether omitted in C.—5. 'Time driues *the flocks*'—B D.—7. 'Then Philomel'—A.—8. 'The Rest *complain*'—D (so also Ellis; and of course more correctly. But see below, p. 132, note.) 'And age complains'—A. 'And all complain'—E.—9, 10. So A B, and also E, except 'yield'—In C they stand thus;—

'But fading flowers in every field
 To winter floods their treasures yield;'

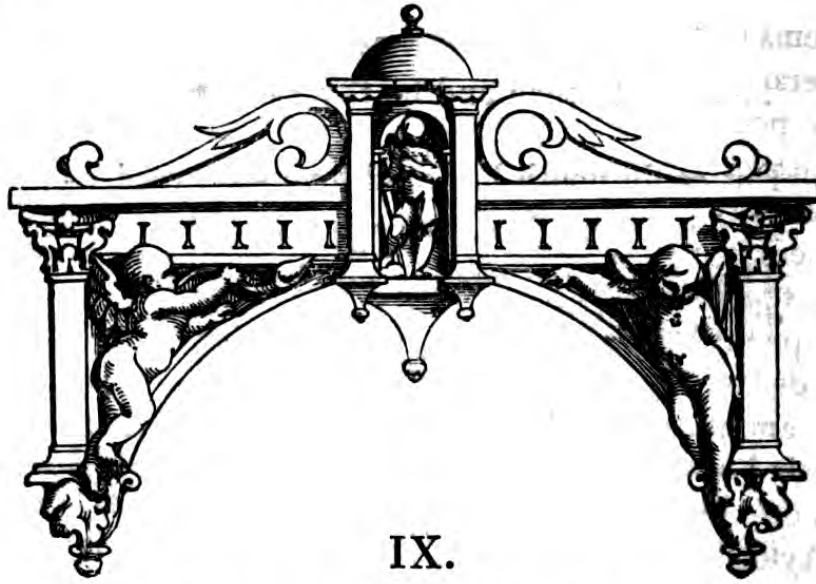
The alteration in D keeps nearer to the text,—and saves the grammar at the cost of the sense;—

'The Flowers do fade *in* wanton Fields;
 The wayward Winter Reckoning yields;'

11. 'A honey'd tongue'—C.—13. 'Thy gown'—C.—15. 'Are all soon *wither'd, broke, forgotten*'—C.—19. 'no Mind can move'—D. 'Can me *with* no *enticements* move'—C.—20. 'To live with thee'—C.—21. 'could Love'—C.—22. 'Joy'—D. 'had Age'—C.—23. 'these'—B D.]

* The following stanza is here inserted in the second edit. of the C. A. It is said to be wanting in the first. Walton has added a similar stanza to Marlow's Poem.

"What should we talk of dainties then,—
 Of better meat then's fit for men?
 These are but vain: that's only good,
 Which God hath blest, and sent for food."



IX.

“PASSIONS ARE LIKENED BEST TO
FLOUDS AND STREAMES.”

[BY SIR WALTER RALEIGH.]

[RALEIGH'S claim to this Poem is supported by so many independent testimonies, that we need not hesitate to regard him as the Author.* Yet there are at least three other claimants:—

1. There is an imperfect copy among LORD PEMBROKE'S

* 1. The copy in the Oxford ed. (viii. 716) is improved from one of the Rawl. MSS. where the piece is entitled “Sir Walter Raleigh to Queene Elizabeth.” (Another instance, by the way, where a right name is coupled with a wrong legend; for they are scarcely such as Raleigh would address to the Queen.)—2. Raleigh's name is said to be appended to a copy in the MS. from which Brydges published some of W. Browne's Poems. See his Pref. p. 6.—3. The initials “S^r W : R.” are subjoined in the MS. followed in the text.—A former possessor of that MS. refers in the margin to Wit's Interpreter, and a “scarce octo. Edit. of R.'s Works.” There are two copies in Wit's Interp. ed. 1671; viz. on p. 146, a very incorrect one, headed, “To his Mistress, by Sir Walter Raleigh;” and on p. 173, a copy without the first stanza, and without a name. The readings of the second copy are better than those of the first.—See also Oldys's Life of Ral. pp. 131-2. Ellis and Campbell reprint it as Raleigh's.

Poems (p. 35). But that volume, as I have had to remark several times before, is of no authority, whenever we possess any positive evidence against it. Yet the piece has been sometimes given as a specimen of Pembroke's poetry.*

2. Mr. P. Cunningham, in his notes to Campbell's *Specimens* (p. 77), mentions that "it has been ascribed *with great probability* to SIR ROBERT AYTON in a MS. and contemporary volume of Ayton's poems once in Mr. Heber's hands." But we have already had too many instances of the errors committed in these old MS. Collections to be satisfied with the authority of one against several, unless it is more definitely authenticated. Even had the volume been in Ayton's own writing (and the contrary is implied), it might have been a mere table-book,—such as it was then very customary to compile.

3. In MS. Ashm. 781 (p. 143), a part of it (without either the first or the last stanza) is signed "LO : WALDEN ;" and in the Index to the volume, the piece is duly entered as "Lo: Waldens Verses." On this authority, Ritson entered the name of Lord Walden (afterwards Earl of Suffolk) in his *Bibl. Poet.* (p. 383) though he had previously asserted that Raleigh wrote "the Silent Lover,"—the title by which this Poem is commonly described (p. 307). Park, who had not seen the MS. and could not obtain a copy of the verses, implicitly followed Ritson's guidance, and therefore devoted an Article to this nobleman in his edit. of Walpole's *Royal*

* E.g. in Park's *Walpole*, ii. 267. Bliss's *Wood*, A. O. ii. 486. Mr. Lodge (*Port. of Illustr. Pers. under Pembroke*) assumes, like Mr. Hallam, that the volume was edited by Dr. Donne himself, and says, "His [Pembroke's] editor, Donne, must have blushed for the miserable homeliness of his own muse when he copied such lines as these—'Wrong not, dear Empress of my heart,' (&c.) or the following, addressed to a lady weeping—'Dry those fair, those crystal eyes,' " &c. Now Donne no more edited the poems than Pembroke wrote them; and the first is Raleigh's, the second, Bp. Henry King's.—Donne's *son*, the true editor, was not given to blushing, either for his father's doings or his own.—See the Introduction to this volume, pp. lxi-lxiii.

and Noble Authors (ii. 222). Here, again, we have one MS. against several,—with the additional objection, that a transcriber, who could not procure a more genuine text, was likely to be equally unsuccessful in discovering the writer's name.

The copy here printed is taken from Mr. Pickering's MS. (fol. 112, v^o.) with the correction of a few errors which were probably due to the transcriber.* It contains nearly all the improvements given in the Oxford edition; and the rest (A) are mentioned among the Variations. B= the Lee Priory text, which is the same that had been printed by Birch (ii. 394), and Cayley (i. 140). It also corresponds with that in the Muse's Library (1737, p. 273). C= the copy in Pembroke. The Variations in the Ashm. MS. and in Wit's Interpreter are very numerous; but they are scarcely worth preserving.]



ASSIONS are likened best to flouds and
streames;

The shallow murmur, but the deepe are
dumbe:

Soe, when affections yeild discourse, it seemes
The bottome is but shallowe whence they come.

[5] They that are rich in wordes, in wordes discover
That they are poore in that which makes a Louer.

* For the sake of exactness, these alterations are mentioned here; for the copy (like that followed in No. II.) is not authoritative enough to require the distinction of brackets.—In line 3, then, the MS. has 'yeilds'—; in 9, 'Which thinking'—; in 11, 'plainte'—; in 12, 'hir beautie'—; in 20, 'repelling'—; in 26, 'Distraction'—; in 35, 'to my' is omitted, and the line left imperfect. (As to the first of these,—'yeilds'—I see no reason why we may not amend the inaccuracy where we can; but in many cases, it may be better to leave it, unless a piece is modernized altogether. Thus in line 8 of the last poem, I have retained the old form, because in line 10, where it occurs again, we cannot mend it without either destroying the rhyme, as Percy does, or making still further alterations.)

Wrong not, sweet Empress of my hearte !
 The merrit of true passion,
 With thinking that he fees noe smart,
 [10] That sues for noe Compassion ;

Since, if my plaintes serue not to approue
 The Conquest of thy beautie,
 It comes not from defect of Loue,
 But from excess of dutie :

[15] Ffor, knoweing that I sue to serue
 A sainte of such perfectione,
 As all desire, but none deserue,
 A place in her Affectione,

I rather choose to wante releife,
 [20] Then venter the revealing :—
 Where Glorie recommends the greife,
 Dispaire distrusts the healinge.

Thus those desires that Ayme too high
 For any Mortall Louer,
 [25] When reason cannot make them dye,
 Discretion doth them couer.

Yet, when discretion doth bereaue
 The playnts that they should vtter,
 Then thy discretion may perceiue
 [30] That Sylence is a Sutor.

Sylence in Loue bewrayes more woe
 Then wordes, though nere soe witty ;

A Beggar that is dumb, you knowe,
 May challenge double pitty ! *

[35] Then wronge not, dearest to my heart !
 My true, though secrett passione ;
 He smarteth most that hydes his smarte,
 And sues for noe Compassion.

S^r W : R :

[VARIATIONS. The first stanza is omitted in C.—5. ‘*must needs discover*’—A B.—6. ‘They are *but* poor’—A B.—7. ‘*sweet mistress*’—A B. ‘*dear Empress*’—C.—8. ‘*merits*’—C.—10. ‘*Who*’—A B.—11. ‘*plaints serve not to prove*’—A. ‘*were not t’approve*’—B. ‘*seem not to prove*’—C.—13. ‘*They come not*’—A.—14. ‘*But fear t’exceed my duty*’—B.—17. ‘*As all Divine*’—C.—22. ‘*disdains the healing*’—B. ‘*destroyes*’—C.—23. ‘*that boil so high*’—B. ‘*climb too high*’—C.—24. ‘*In any*’—B.—26. ‘*Discretion them must cover*’—B.—28. ‘*that I should utter*’—B. ‘*which I*’—C.—29. ‘*Then your*’—A B.—31. In some modern copies, ‘*betrays*’ is substituted for ‘*bewrays*’—but the latter is said to be a more specific word than the former, and to be incapable of the bad sense which ‘*to betray*’ often bears.†—33. ‘*The beggar*’—C.—34. ‘*Deserveth double*’—A.—35. ‘*Then misconceive not, dearest heart*’—A. ‘*dear heart of my heart*’—C.—36. ‘*My love for secret passion*’—B.]

* “This stanza was, by some strange anachronism, current about fifty years ago among the circles of fashion, as the production of the late celebrated Earl of Chesterfield.”—BRYDGES. (“and it is even suspected, he himself was willing to take the credit of” it.—ID. Note on Phillips, p. 316.)

† Cf. Nott’s Surrey, p. 295; Halliwell’s ed. of the old 3 Hen. vi. p. 210.



ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

THE Poems in Parts I. and II. are reprinted from the fourth ed. of Rel. Wotton., that of 1685, compared with the first, 1651, and the second, 1654. As the third ed., which was published in 1672, agrees in paging with the fourth, so far as the same matter is common to both (that is, as far as p. 582), it was too hastily assumed, that ed. 1685 was not a reprint, but merely a re-issue of ed. 1672, with a new title-page, and the addition of the Letters to Lord Zouch at the end. It was, however, a distinct impression; but the few variations are of little consequence, as they are all such as would be due to the printer, not the editor, who died in 1683. In pagination; in such additions as that of Part II. No. x.; in the variations of Part I. No. xi, which are cited from Walton's Life of Wotton; and in the misprints mentioned on p. 37, and on Part II. No. i. line 3; eds. 1672 and 1685 agree. But in the following cases, ed. 1672 agrees with eds. 1651-4, and the readings given as those of ed. 1672 are really those of ed. 1685:—Part I. No. iii. line 8;—No. viii. line 21;—No. x. line 49;—No. xiii. line 11;—Part II. No. i. line 5;—No. ii, in the title, and line 15;—No. iii. line 16;—and No. vii. lines 17, 18. (In this last case, the reading 'pains' was adopted on the supposition that the word was meant for a substantive,—and, as I still think, correctly; but it should be stated, that in Farnaby's Greek version it is treated as a verb.)

P. 13. line 21. The title, "To the Spanish Lady," was probably prefixed by a transcriber, who took the poem for a tribute to the Infanta, written in anticipation of the Spanish match.—The old copies of the piece, —of which there are many beside those mentioned, as in Wit's Recreations, 1640 (Cens. Lit. iii. 32), and in Wit's Interpreter, p. 267, ed. 1671, —were frequently destitute of both title and signature. In the first ed. of the Reliques, Percy said that "The author and date" were "unknown. 'Tis printed," he adds, "from a written copy, which had all the marks of great antiquity." (i. 280.) A copy printed from MS. in the Topographer, i. 421, contains six stanzas, like that in Sancroft's MS.; but one of the additional stanzas is quite different from Sancroft's; and there are numerous variations throughout. The arrangement of the stanzas is also different from that of the other copies.—A writer in Blackwood (March, 1839, p. 312) remarks that "some senseless clippers and coiners of poetry in" Scotland "have recast" it "into an eulogium upon the Scottish Queen Mary."—The same writer conjectures that the "Farewell to the Vanities of the World" (III. iii.) was composed by Izaak Walton himself (p. 313); but his supposed parallel of Chalkhill's Thealma and Clearchus is a mistake. See Nicolas's Life of Walton, p. xcvi.

P. 15. line 20. *read*, "by which means"—

P. 27. These lines have also been applied to Secretary Davison. Lloyd's State Worthies, i. 513, ed. 1766.

P. 44. There is another copy of this couplet in Fuller's Worthies of Essex, p. 340.

P. 64. note § It is worth remarking, that one of the Elegies signed C. B. in the Chetham MS. was written "In obitum . . . Merialis Crompton," &c. The Ghost of Richard III. is dedicated to Sir John Crompton and his Lady.—The Epithalamium, mentioned in the same note, was added in the second ed. of England's Helicon, 1614.

P. 78. I fear the interpretation given to the line which is cited from Bodenham can scarcely be supported.—There is another translation of the Epigram of Posidippus (or, as it is there said, of Crates) in Puttenham's Arte of English Poesie, p. 171, repr.

P. 125. note * In Steevens's copy of England's Helicon, which is now among Malone's books in the Bodleian (No. 278), the signature to the Reply to Marlow (Sign. A a 2) is simply *Ignoto*, and it has never been disturbed. As Ellis distinctly referred to that copy, it is plain that he was mistaken in affirming, that it was in that case pasted over the initials W. R. Raleigh's claim to the poem rests, therefore, on Walton's authority, which, as I have remarked, becomes more important, when we are compelled to resign the hypothesis that he used an unaltered copy of E. H.—The two cases of substitution mentioned in the next note are correctly reported,—except that, in Steevens's copy, the *Ignoto* pasted at the foot of No. 54 (Sign. L 3) completely obliterates the former signature; and we must therefore suppose, that the fact of its being "S. W. R." has been learnt from an examination of other copies. With three other alterations which have been made in that same volume (Sign. H,—O 4,—and P) Raleigh is not in any way concerned.

P. 128. line 8. *read*, "in 1737"—

As I have frequently referred in this vol. to the Collection of poems made by Abp. Sancroft, and known as MS. Tann. 465, I may take this opportunity of remarking, that besides the larger book of extracts, which must always be understood by the references in this vol., there is a smaller collection, also in Sancroft's writing, and belonging to the same parcel; but it is of less value than the other, because the extracts are almost entirely taken from printed books. It was in this smaller bundle of papers (at pp. 34, 60) that Warton found the transcripts of one of Milton's Psalms, and of his Hymn on the Nativity, which he mentioned in the Pref. to his ed. of Milton's Minor Poems (pp. v, vi); and which D'oyly could not find (Life of Sancr. i. 21, n.). But the date which Warton assigns to these transcripts ("about the year 1648") cannot be correct; for in an earlier part of the same MS. Sancroft has copied several poems from Rel. Wotton. ed. 1651, to the pagination of which he refers exactly, even when it is obviously erroneous. (Those poems are Nos. x, xiii, and xiv in Part I, copied on pp. 2, 25; and Nos. ii and iii in Part II, copied on pp. 4, 5.) This may have some influence on the date which I have given on p. 22 (after Warton, as I thought) to the larger MS. It was in the smaller MS. (p. 48) that Malone found the imperfect copy of Alabaster's Sonnets, which is printed in Shakesp. by Bosw. ii. 262, n. There is a perfect copy of them in the larger MS., p. 135.

FINIS.

