

D. S. S. M. ...  
with the kind regards  
T. N. Brushfield

RALEGHANA.

PART VI.

“THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD,” BY SIR WALTER RALEGH.

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL STUDY.

BY

T. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.D., F.S.A.

(Read at Teignmouth, July, 1904.)

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[Reprinted from the Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art. 1904.—xxxvi. pp. 181-218.]



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*The true and lively portraiture  
 of the Honourable and learned Knight  
 S<sup>r</sup>. Walter Raleigh.*

AMORE ET VIRTUTE

The coat of arms features a shield divided into four quarters. The top-left quarter is a plain field. The top-right quarter contains a castle tower. The bottom-left quarter contains a chevron with three towers. The bottom-right quarter contains a chevron with three castles. Above the shield is a helmet with a crest of a hand holding a sword. The shield is surrounded by decorative scrollwork.



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[“How memorable an instance hath our age yielded us, of an eminent person, to whose encagement we are beholden, besides many philosophical experiments, for that noble History of the World, which is now in our hands. The Court had his youthful and freer times; the Tower, his later age: the Tower reformed the Court in him; and produced those worthy monuments of art and industry, which we should have in vain expected from his freedom and jollity. It is observed, that shining wood, when it is kept within doors, loseth its light. It is otherwise with this and many other active wits, which had never shined so much, if not for their closeness.”—“The Balm of Gilead: or, Comforts for the Distressed,” in *Collected Works* of Bishop Hall, viii. (1808), 162.]

At the Plympton meeting of this Association, held in 1887, the author read a paper on *The History of the World*, written by Sir W. Raleigh when a prisoner in the Tower (1603-1616).<sup>1</sup> It included an account of its history and progress; in what part of the Tower it was written; the literary assistance received from friends; particulars as to its publication; an inquiry into the assertion that some of the MSS. were destroyed, etc. None of the topics treated of in that paper are discussed in the present one, with a single exception, viz. the attempted suppression of the work, much additional light having been discovered on this point during the last few years.

The main object of the present paper is to give a detailed bibliographical description of its various editions and issues, noting their various differences, their contents, and an

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. D. A.*, xix. 389-418.

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account of their respective peculiarities; also to describe the various engraved portraits of Sir Walter that have served to illustrate the successive issues.

Our earliest definite knowledge of such a work having been undertaken is thus recorded in the *Registers of the Stationers' Company* as the licence for publication:—

“(1611) 15<sup>to</sup> Aprilis Walter Burre Entred for his Copy vnder th' [h]andes of master Doctor OVERALL Deane of Paules and Th'wardens, A booke called *The history of the world* written by Sir WALTER RAWLEIGHE . . .vj<sup>d</sup>.”<sup>1</sup>

This shows the following entry in the *Life of T. Hariot*, by H. Stevens (1900), to be incorrect: “For obvious reasons [it] was not entered at Stationers' Hall” (125).

According to Camden,<sup>2</sup> the *History* was issued to the public on March 29th, 1614,<sup>3</sup> and this accords with the year (1614) figured at the base of the allegorical frontispiece, as well as in the colophon; and yet it is possible the publication was delayed until the commencement of 1615. From this time till 1687, a period of seventy-two years, a series of ten folio editions, bearing a close resemblance to each other, were published, the following comprising the whole of those known at the present date as having been issued in their respective years: 1614, 1617 (1), 1617 (2), 1621, 1628, 1634, 1652, 1666, 1671, 1677, and 1678. Of the first edition, and probably of others, there were several distinct issues, varying from each other more or less. Some other years are mentioned by W. Oldys<sup>4</sup> additional to those just noted, all of which appear to belong to the latter, with a single exception, viz. one “in 1661, printed for Robert White,” but no copy of this has yet been discovered.

Was any serious attempt made to suppress the work?<sup>5</sup> The answer in the affirmative was, for a long period, almost wholly based on the following paragraph, transcribed from a letter from John Chamberlain to Sir D. Carleton, dated January 5th, 1614–15:—

“Sir Walter Raleigh's booke is called in, by the Kinges commaundment, for diuers exceptions, but specially for beeing too

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Arber, iii. 457.

<sup>2</sup> *Epistolae* (1691), App. 9.

<sup>3</sup> H. Stevens affirms it took place in April of that year, “just before the meeting of Parliament,” and “appeared anonymously” (125).

<sup>4</sup> “Life of Raleigh,” in *Works* (1829), i. 449. This is the work always quoted from under the name “W. Oldys,” except where otherwise expressed.

<sup>5</sup> It has been deemed necessary to repeat some portions of the previous paper on this point.

sawcie in censuring princes. I heare he takes yt much to hart, for he thought he had won his spurres and pleased the king extraordinarilie.”<sup>1</sup>

That the *History* was the work “called in” is shown by the circumstance of no other work of Raleigh’s having been printed during the lifetime of James. This is corroborated by the following passage in an anonymous pamphlet published in 1656, entitled, *Observations on [Sir W.] Sanderson’s History of James*, etc. :—

“at its first publication it was forbid ; and particularly for some passages in it which offended the Spaniard ; as also for being too plain with the faults of princes in his preface.”<sup>2</sup>

This preface contains a long detailed list of the numerous crimes of the Kings of England, from the time of the Norman Conquest to that of Henry VIII. ; as well as of the Spanish monarchy ; together with a statement of the retribution that followed. When we remember that James’ opinion of a regal monarchy was that “Kings be not bound to giue Account of their Actions to any but God alone,”<sup>3</sup> we cannot wonder at his strong disapproval of such passages as the following in Raleigh’s work :—

“Who hath not observed what labour, practice, peril, bloodshed, and cruelty, the kings and princes of the world have undergone, exercised, taken on them, and committed, to make themselves and their issues masters of the world.”

“Kings live in the world, and not above it.”

“Oh, by what plots, by what forswearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures, poisonings, and under what reasons of state and politic subtilty, have these forenamed kings, both strangers and of our own nation, pulled the vengeance of God upon themselves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent ministers.”

Although Gardiner<sup>4</sup> declared the “order for the suppression” was directed against Raleigh’s *Prerogative of Parliaments*, he gives no authority for it, and it is entirely unsupported by any kind of evidence.

Up to the year 1891, when Stebbing published his *Life of Raleigh*, no additional facts had been gleaned to corroborate Chamberlain’s statement. That author remarked, not un-

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.*, James I., lxxx. No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 9, 10. Quoted by Oldys, 462.

<sup>3</sup> Opening lines of the *Declaration* issued by his command immediately after the execution of Raleigh in 1618.

<sup>4</sup> *History of England*, ii. (1883), 271-2.

reasonably, "it is almost incredible that so extreme an act of prerogative, carried out against so remarkable a work, should have been suffered to pass without popular protests" (281). But in the Stuart period it was somewhat dangerous for a protest of any kind to be made. The same author continues: "the readiest explanation is that Chamberlain, in his haste to give his correspondent early information, reported to him a rumour, and perhaps a threat, upon which James happily had not the hardihood to act" (281). That Raleigh's *History* was the one to which the royal command applied has, since 1891, been finally proved by the researches of Professor Arber. The fifth volume of the *Registers of the Stationers' Company*, edited by him (1894), includes the transcript of a number of "Illustrative Documents," amongst which is the following:—

"Precept from His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury [George Abbot] to the Stationers' Company, 1614.

*"To my very Loving friends the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers.*

"After my hartie commendaçons I haue received expresse directions from his Ma<sup>tie</sup> that the booke latelie published by Sr Walter Rawleigh, nowe prisoner in the Tower, should be suppressed, and not suffered for hereafter to be sould. This is therefore to require in His Ma<sup>ties</sup> name that prntely you repaire unto the printer of the said booke, as also unto all other Station<sup>rs</sup> and bookesellers which haue any of them in their custodie, and that you doe take them in and wth all convenient speed that may bee cause them to be brought to me or to the Lo. M<sup>r</sup> of London. And this shalbe yo<sup>r</sup> sufficient warrant in that behalf.

"ffrom Lambeth the 22<sup>th</sup> of December, 1614,

"Yo<sup>r</sup> very loving ffreinde,

"G. CANT." (V. lxxvij.).

Edwards,<sup>1</sup> in error, affirms the "command was given" on January 5th, 1615, the date of Chamberlain's letter. The book "latelie published," and in the hands of booksellers, could only apply to the *History*, as no other work by Raleigh (already noted), and when a "prisoner in the Tower," was printed in the reign of James. Although the command was stringent and imperative, it apparently made no great impression on the distribution of copies to the public; perchance it rather had the effect of increasing the sale, considering, as will be presently pointed out, that there were

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Raleigh* (1868), i. 550-1.



more issues of the first edition than of any other. That great laxity sometimes occurred in carrying out commands of this nature is thus commented upon by J. A. Farrer: "James's proclamations were not always attended to (by one, for instance, he prohibited hunting); and Roger Coke says that the books being out, 'the proclamation could not call them in, but only served to make them more taken notice of.'" <sup>1</sup>

In my former paper I suggested that, in lieu of suppression, a compromise was probably agreed upon, by the elimination of the printed title-page, so as to render the work anonymous; and its absence in the first two editions seemed to bear this out. Stebbing (281) points out the difficulties attending the enforcement of a royal order for the book to be called in, as it had been for some time in circulation; but the discovery of the *de facto* order rather adds to than diminishes the difficulty of assigning any reason for the absent title-page. This is further enhanced by the circumstance (if Camden's statement be correct) that its publication took place in March, 1614, as the attempted suppression is dated nine months later.<sup>2</sup>

#### A. TEXT OF "HISTORY," 1614-1687.

We now pass on to the principal subject of this paper.

The editions of the *History of the World*, 1614-1687, form a distinct series, and are alike in their main features and general arrangements. Their respective issues contain many variations; a few of importance, but the majority of a minor character; all of value in assisting to determine the particular edition, especially in mutilated copies. The following comprises a brief summary of their contents.

1. *Allegorical Frontispiece*. "Ren. Elstracke sculpsit." Across the centre is the title, "*The History of the World*," and at the base, "At London Printed for Walter Bvrre. 1614."<sup>3</sup> This date remained unchanged in all the editions up to and inclusive of that of 1634, from which year to 1677 there is substituted for the original inscription the

<sup>1</sup> *Books Condemned to be Burnt* (1892), 57. Francis Osborne (1593-1659) published his *Advice to a Son* in 1656-8. In the latter year the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford ordered the booksellers to sell no more copies of it; "but this direction caused the *Advice*, according to Wood, 'to sell the better.'" (D. N. B., xlii. 286.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *N. and Q.*, 8th S., v. 441-2.

<sup>3</sup> A reduced facsimile of it will be found in *Trans. D. A.*, xix. (1887) 408.

names of the publishers, with the year of publication. Up to the last-named date, the plate had been occasionally retouched with the graver, but in the last of the series, 1687, the plate was re-engraved in a very unsatisfactory manner, and its lower part, containing the date, etc., in previous copies, was cut away altogether.

2. *Explanatory verses* of the frontispiece, headed "The Minde of the Front." Generally occupies a separate leaf, but is occasionally found printed on the back of the frontispiece. Is believed to be the work of Ben Jonson, but differs somewhat from the version in his works.<sup>1</sup>

3. *Printed title-page.* The first two editions (1614–17) are destitute of any, but it is present in the remainder. Those of 1666–1687 are rubricated. The dates of publication from 1614 to 1634 inclusive are recorded in the colophon; to be found on the leaf after the index in the issues of 1614 and 1617 (1); and on its last page up to 1634, from which date it was discontinued. The year is noted on the frontispiece only of the volume of 1652, on the frontispiece and title-page from 1666 to 1677, and on the title-page alone in the last edition (1687).

4. *Portrait.* Included in all copies on and after that of 1617 (2). Up to the edition of 1652 inclusive it was printed on the title-page, but after that date it occupied a separate sheet.

5. *Maps.* Each issue contains eight double-paged maps and plans, dispersed through the work, having the paging they serve to illustrate engraved at their upper corners. As the number of leaves varies in some of the editions, the page numbers on the maps are altered accordingly. Six of the numbers bear no engraver's name, but the fourth has "Guli: Hole sculp:" and the fifth "W. H. sc.", at their respective bases.<sup>2</sup>

6. *The Preface, Table of Contents, Chronological Tables, and Index* remain unchanged in form throughout the series, and beyond being reset, show as a rule no important variations.<sup>3</sup> In the main text the references to other works are contained in the marginalia; in which, also, excepting in the editions of 1666 to 1687, every tenth line is figured.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Works*, ed. Gifford (1875), viii. 370.

<sup>2</sup> A short memoir of him (*sub* "William Hole or Holle") and of his works will be found in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* (1876), iii. 150, but the maps in Raleigh's *History* are not mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> There are, however, some serious omissions in the Table of Contents in some of the volumes.

The following comparative table exhibits the paging, etc., in each edition.

TABLE. FOLIO EDITIONS OF THE "HISTORY OF THE WORLD," 1614-1736.

Years.	Preface (leaves).	Contents (leaves).	History (paging).	History (columns).	Chronological Tables (leaves).	Index (2 parts, double columns) (leaves.)	Colophon.	Size of type-paging ("form") (inches).
1614	20	20	1-651 1-776	Single	14	16	Yes	$10\frac{1}{2}-\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{3}{4}-\frac{1}{2}$
1617 (1)	20	20	1-651 1-776	Single	14	16	Yes	$10\frac{1}{2}-\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{3}{4}-\frac{1}{2}$
1617 (2)	16	14	1-555 1-669	Single	14	13	Yes	$11\frac{3}{8}-\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}-\frac{7}{8}$
1621	16	14	1-555 1-669	Single	14	13	Yes	$11\frac{3}{8}-\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}-\frac{7}{8}$
1628	16	14	1-555 1-669	Single	14	13	Yes	$11\frac{3}{8}-\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}-\frac{7}{8}$
1634	16	14	1-555 1-669	Single	14	13	Yes	$11\frac{3}{8}-\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}-\frac{7}{8}$
1652	16	14	1-555 1-669	Single	14	13	No	$11\frac{3}{8}-\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}-\frac{7}{8}$
1666	16	13	1-1143	Double	14	13	No	$11\frac{1}{2}-\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$
1671	16	13	1-1143	Double	14	13	No	$11\frac{1}{2}-\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$
1677	11	11	1-660 557-885	Double	14	9	No	$12\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$
1687	{ pp. j.-xxxij. 16	12	1-813	Double	14	8	No	$12\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$
1736	{ pp. j.-xxxij. 16	12	1-817	Double	14	{ 10 (1 part)	No	$12\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$

To complete the list of folio editions, that of 1736 has been added to the list.

As some difficulty is experienced in ascertaining the actual sizes of the leaves in the series, it has been thought preferable to give the dimensions of the spaces occupied by the type alone (I believe the technical name is "form"); but these are not always uniform, even in the same volume. The column in the table shows a more or less gradual tendency to increase in the "form." The two last (1677 and 1687) greatly exceed the dimensions of the others. They also differ in having an additional section of *The Life of Raleigh*.

Owing to a more complete knowledge of the various editions of the work—copies of all are in the author's possession—several important errors in his *Bibliography of Raleigh*, and in his paper on the same subject printed in the *Transactions of the Library Association* of January, 1885, have been rectified in the present article.

The *History* portion extends from the Creation to the end of the second Macedonian War, and is divided into five books,

and each of these into chapters and sections. The books vary exceedingly in length, the longest (5th) occupying 466 pages, and the shortest (4th) only 150. The entire work is, according to the headline on each page, only "the first part" of the projected one, "implying," to use Raleigh's concluding lines, "a Second and Third Volume; which I also intended, and haue hewne out," but mainly owing to the death of Prince Henry, "to whom they were directed," were never completed.<sup>1</sup>

We now turn to a consideration and description of the various editions of the work, in the series from 1614 to 1687, with a notice of their peculiarities, bibliographical and otherwise.

#### 1. Edition of 1614.

It possesses neither a printed title-page nor a portrait, and is virtually an anonymous work, the author's name being nowhere mentioned. An unpagged leaf after the Index contains a list of errata, with a colophon on its verso as follows:—

"LONDON

Printed by *William Stansby* for *Walter Burre*, and are  
to be sold at his Shop in Paules Church-  
yard at the signe of the Crane.

1614."

Over this is the printer's device, with ornaments above and below it.

Of this edition there are known at least three separate issues, each differentiated from the others by some well-marked variations, all of which are almost entirely confined to the text of the *History* portion. As it is necessary to describe each, it will be convenient to allude to them as I., II., and III. respectively; and also to state that less difference exists between II. and III. than between them and I.

Each division of the work has an ornamental headpiece; those of the Chronological Tables and Index consist of ordinary printer's ornaments, but the remainder are of elaborate arabesque patterns,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. in depth. Every chapter and section (but not the sub-sections) commences with a block letter; of these the largest ( $2\frac{1}{4}$  in. square) are restricted to the first chapter in each book; one is floreated, and the others have mythological figures, three of them being struck from the same block.

<sup>1</sup> An excellent description of the work, with a résumé of its principal contents, will be found in Edwards' *Life of Raleigh* (1868), i. 516-55. The *Life of Raleigh*, by C. Whitehead (1854), contains a woodcut facsimile of the allegorical frontispiece, and an extensive series of "Selections" from Raleigh's great work (pp. 191-276. Cf. *Trans. D. A.*, xxv. (1893) 106-9).



*Signatures. Frontispiece and Verses*, 2 ls. *Preface*, A—E, in fours. *History and Chron. Tables*, B (no A)—Z, in sixes; Aa—Zz, in sixes; Aaa—lii, in sixes; Kkk, 4 ls.; Aaaa—Zzzz, in sixes; Aaaaa—Zzzzz, in sixes; Aaaaaa—Tttttt in sixes; Vuuuuu—Yyyyyy, in fours. *Index*, Aaaaaa [a], Bbbbbbb, 6 ls., Ccccccc, 4 ls. *Errata and Colophon*, 1 leaf.

a. 1614. No. I issue. No difficulty is experienced in selecting this as the earliest of the three issues yet discovered, owing to some important passages in it which vary considerably from the entries in II. and III., and from those in all subsequent editions.

a. 1614. No. I. issue.

1614. Nos. II. and III. issues, and all subsequent editions.

Bk. I., p. 62, l. 3.

“two shickles of gold.”

“1700 shickles of gold.”

Bk. II., p. 511, Heading.

“Of the great alteration falling out in the tenne Tribes during the reigne of ASA; with a coniecture of the causes hindring the reunion of Israel with Iuda, which might haue beene effected by these troubles.”

Terminates at “ASA.”

Bk. IV., p. 157, Heading.

“The First Part of the Historie of the World: in-treating of the Times from the raigne of PHILIP of *Macedon*, to the *Conquest of that Kingdome by the ROMANS.*”

After “*Macedon*,” read “to the *establishing of that Kingdome, in the race of ANTI-GONUS.*”

Bk. V., p. 396, l. 16, etc.

“A nation in *Portugale* called the *Vettones* (or as *Liuius* saith, at *Castrum Altum*, in the midway betweene *Saguntum* and new *Carthage*) fighting valiantly he (*Amilcar*) was slaine.”

“a Nation in *Portugale* called the *Vettones* (defending himsele a long time with an admirable resolution) hee (*Amilcar*) was inuironed and slaine.”

Bk. V., p. 717, ll. 47–9.

“Vnhappie Captaines, and happie Clarkes, with what labour and perill doth the one attaine to beggerie, and what Places and goodly Estates doe the other obtaine by keeping themselues warme.”

Substituted passage.

“As for the *L. Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Bertie L. Willoughbie* of *Eresby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Estates.”

Bk. 2, pp. 339, 387; and Bk. 4, p. 276, are wrongly numbered; and Bk. 2, pp. 491-2, are in duplicate.

b. 1614. No. II. issue. Compared with No. I., the following are the principal variations:—

Different catch-words. In Bk. 2, pp. 539, 556, “enough,” and “decei-,” are respectively represented in I. by “to,” and by “deceiu-”. At p. 511 of the same Bk. “fortune” is substituted for “on” in the latter, the former (II.) having an extra line of type, owing to the shortened heading of the chapter, already referred to.

There are nine additional corrections of words not included in the list of “errata,” and of some not noted in that list, as “Eden” (Bk. 1., p. 36) for “Keden.” Also two of importance in Bk. 5, p. 375, l. 27; p. 727, l. 26; “They must,” and “Towne reuolted,” being corrected to “they will,” and “Towne rebelled.”

There is an increase in the number of marginal references, e.g. “Pliny, l. 5, c. 8,” in Bk. 1, p. 61; and on the next page, “Steuch. Eugub. in Gen. c. 2.” Among the additions may be specially mentioned, “non etiam praeferens,” in Bk. 4, p. 199, l. 14; and the addition of “Knollys,” and “Danuers,” to the list of proper names in Bk. 5, p. 718, l. 16.

Some of the most marked differences consist in whole pages having had their type reset, of which the following are examples:—Bk. 1, pp. 35-6, 61-2; Bk. 2, pp. 511-12, 539-40, 555-6; Bk. 4, pp. 157-8; and Bk. 5, pp. 717-18. The resetting is usually attended with some minor alterations in the punctuation, the spelling, the use of capitals, etc. In two instances the initials have been changed. The remarkable circumstance connected with these examples is, that they all occur on single leaves, the type of the page immediately preceding, as well as of the one that follows, remaining unaltered.

The duplicate pages, as well as those wrongly figured in I., are repeated in II. excepting the one in Bk. 4, p. 276, which is corrected; in the same Bk., p. 153 is in error substituted for 157.

A copy of this issue, in the possession of the writer, has the following inscription on the fly-leaf:—

“This Booke given to Valences Sacheverell Esq<sup>r</sup>  
by Sr Walter Rawleys own Hand In  
the year of our Lord 1614.”

It contains an enormous series of MS. marginal notes.

c. 1614. No. III. issue. The variations noted in II. apply

equally to III., but the latter differs from the other two in several paragraphs. For example, in Bk. 4, p. 215. of I. and II., this sentence: "No more than 4000 foote, and 2000 horse against *Seuthas* the *Thracian* King," is thus modified in III.: "No more than foure thousand foote, and two thousand horse against *Seuthas* their King." Again, in Bk. 5, p. 370, of I. and II. we read: "That they should pay vnto the Romans two thousand and two hundred talents; which make, *after 600 Frenche [sic] crownes to the talent*, thirteen hundred and twentie thousand crownes." In III. the italicised portion is altered to "as the French reckon the talent."

That these three were separate issues of the first edition of the *History* can scarcely be gainsaid, and may be accepted as evidence of its great popularity at the time of its publication—probably increased by the attempted suppression—a popularity which was maintained during the rest of the century. The possibility of a still earlier one than those already recorded is shown by the fact, that although a copy of the same list of errata is contained in each, the corrections made in the text are passed by unnoticed, of which the following transcribed from it are examples:—

- "Bk. 1. p. 152. l. 15. for *triemres* read *triremes*.  
 „ 2. p. 271. l. 18. „ *had. Being being* read *had being. Being*  
 „ 5. p. 727. l. 42. „ *now* read *nor.*"

Now all of these are corrected in No. I. issue. Does not this indicate that one containing these errors must have preceded it?

2. Edition of 1617 (1).

Whatever restrictions were placed on the publication of the first edition, applied equally to this one also, there being no printed title-page, nor any indication of the author's name. As the colophon of each is printed on a separate leaf (the only editions where this is the case), and is frequently absent, some difficulty may be experienced in assigning the proper date to the copy under examination. This is, however, readily determined by referring to the Preface (A 3, line 20 from the top). If it contains the word "fllowing," it belongs to 1614; if "folowing," to 1617 (1). The colophon faces the Index (its verso being blank), and bears a close resemblance to the earlier one, being accompanied with the same printer's device and ornaments. The sole differences consist in the word "Paules" being in italics, and in the date "1617." The entire volume has been re-set

with the same fount of type as its predecessor; and yet the catch-words remain unchanged; so do the signatures with one exception. The only faults discovered in the pagination are similar to those in 1614, No. I. issue, excepting the correction of the wrong figures in Bk. 2, p. 339. Pages 491-2 of Bk. II. remain duplicated.

Of the 130 errata reported in the list in the previous volumes, 98 have in this one been corrected, and 3 in part. Some errors not included in this list have been amended, thus "Hierome," thrice repeated in Bk. 3, p. 21, have in two instances been amended to "Ierome." The heading of Bk. 3, p. 1, is misprinted "Fisrt"; and at p. 154, the headline notes "The second Book," whereas it should be the "Third." It is singular that the phrase, "non etiam praeferens," inserted in Bk. 4, p. 199, l. 14 of II. and III. issues of the preceding edition, is omitted in the present one, nor does it find a place in any of the subsequent volumes.

Although for the most part the same woodcut initials have been employed, their places have been greatly altered. New ones of the largest kind are printed at the commencement of Bks. 1 and 3. There are some changes in the headpieces and printer's ornaments. The concluding lines of Bk. 5, p. 776, have been rearranged. Neither this nor any subsequent edition contains a list of errata.

*Signatures.* Are identical with those of 1614, excepting that the signature-letters on Bk. 3, pp. 3, 5, and on the first p. of the Index, have been corrected.

### 3. Edition of 1617 (2).

This differs in several important respects from its predecessors. Although the third edition, it was the second published in 1617, as thus shown in the colophon:—

"LONDON

Printed by William Iaggard for Walter  
Burre, and are to be sold at his Shop in Paules Church-  
yard at the signe of the Crane.

1617."

Burre continued to be the publisher, but the name of a new printer appears. We are unacquainted with the cause of change, as W. Stansby was living in 1617, and at a subsequent date printed one or more of Ben Jonson's works.

For the first time the volume was supplied with a printed title-page, containing Raleigh's name as the author; and also his portrait. We possess no definite information as to the cause whereby the volume was thus properly completed;



but bearing in mind that Raleigh's release from his Tower imprisonment on March 19th, 1616, was only a conditional one, his full liberty not being accorded him until January 30th, 1617, and that he started on his disastrous voyage to Guiana on August 19th of the same year, we may fairly assume that, now that he was considered a free man, his great work was allowed to be published, bearing his name for the first time as the acknowledged author. The following is a transcript of the title-page:—

"The  
HISTORY OF  
THE WORLD.  
In Five Bookes.

1. Intreating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same from the Creation vnto Abraham.

2. Of the Times from the Birth of Abraham, to the destruction of the Temple of Salomon.

3. From the destruction of Ierusalem, to the time of Philip of Macedon.

4. From the Reigne of Philip of Macedon, to the establishing of that Kingdome, in the Race of Antigonus.

5. From the settled rule of Alexanders successors in the East, vntill the Romans (preuailing ouer all) made Conquest of Asia and Macedon.

By Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight."

Below this, and occupying three fifths of the page, is an engraved portrait<sup>1</sup> of the author, with his name repeated twice.

The entire volume has a new and wholly different type-setting, which, as shown in the Table, occupies a larger space on each page, and the number of printed lines on each is increased from 54 to 58. The whole work contains fewer leaves than its predecessors. The Preface, Contents, and Index are diminished respectively by 4, 6, and 3 leaves; there is no difference in the Chronological Tables; but the *History* text is reduced by upwards of 100 leaves. The first part terminates at the end of Bk. 2, at p. 555; the second commences on its verso, and is unpagged, the proper page commencing on the right-hand leaf. These various differences in the leaves and paging continue in all the editions up to and inclusive of that of 1652.

The Table of Contents contains a serious omission, the compositor having left out all references from Bk. 4, chap. 7,

<sup>1</sup> A description of the various portraits will be found in the latter part of this paper.

to Bk. 5, chap. 1, as well as the title of the latter (signatures b 6, b 6 v<sup>o</sup>). This omission was not rectified in the next three editions. No serious alterations have been discovered in the main text; and as a rule variations are confined to use of capital letters, to the use of italics, and to the spelling, there being a marked tendency to abbreviate words, e.g. "sonne" is replaced by "son." The heading of Bk. 5, p. 261, is erroneously noted as "The First Booke," and this is perpetuated in the volumes of 1621 and 1628. There are numerous mistakes in the headlines; thus in Bk. 1, p. 182, "second" is substituted for "first"; and in Bk. 2, pp. 186, 190, 194, 196, "first," and at p. 378, "fift," for "second." There are some misprints in the sub-titles, e.g. "Cahp" for "Chap" (Bk. 2, p. 181); and "Maceddn" for "Macedon" Bk. 4, p. 130).

In Bk. 2, pp. 181-4 are in duplicate; and several are wrongly numbered in Bk. 5, in addition to a gap of 2 leaves between pp. 510 and 515. Smaller decorated letters head the various books, chapters, etc. Some of the headpieces require notice. Those of the Preface, Contents, and of each book, excepting the first, are printed from the same block, and represent a central figure, like a squatting Indian god, at which two naked demi-figures are directing their arrows; dogs occupy the lower and rabbits the upper corners, all being surrounded with arabesque work. (The headpiece of Bk. 4 of the first edition is of similar design but from a different block.) These ornaments were used by W. Jaggard in other volumes printed by or for him, such as H. Crooke's *Description of the Body of Man*, published in 1616. Mr. A. Wallis informs the author that the same fount of type was used in this edition of Raleigh's *History* as was employed in the first folio of Shakespeare's works, issued "at the charges of W. Jaggard" and others in 1623, and printed by Jaggard's son, Isaac.<sup>1</sup>

*Signatures.* *Frontispiece, Verses, and Title*, 3 ls. *Preface*, A B, 6 ls. each; C, 4 ls. *Contents*, a, 6 ls.; b, 8 ls. *History*, B (replaces A on first leaf only) to S, in sixes; T, Y, 4 ls. each; Aa—Vv, in sixes; Aaa—Vvv, in sixes; Aaaa—Vvvv, in sixes; Aaaaa—Zzzzz, in sixes. *Table and Index*, ¶ and ¶¶, 6 ls. each; \*, 6 ls.; \*\*, 7 ls.<sup>2</sup>

The volume is noteworthy for containing the first and only engraved portrait of Raleigh that was published during

<sup>1</sup> The former is termed by Sidney Lee "a well-known pirate publisher," *Life of Shakespeare* (1899), 143.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Collections and Notes*, by W. C. Hazlitt (1876), 350.

his lifetime, and also for being the last edition that could have been revised by him. It is the rarest of the series.

4. Edition of 1621.

All the remarks included in the account of the previous edition apply equally to the present one, as (except in the colophon being dated 1621) no variation or difference has been discovered. In the *Life of T. Hariot*, by W. Stevens, is this paragraph: "The second edition of 1621 was the first with Raleigh's name," an evident error, as the one under notice is the fourth edition, and the second containing Raleigh's name as author.

*Signatures.* Identical with those of 1617 (2).

5. Edition of 1628.

The colophon on the last leaf of the Index runs thus:—

"LONDON

Printed for *H. Lownes, G. Latham, and R. Young.*

Anno Domini 1628."

The death of the original publisher, Walter Burre, in 1621, occasioned a great change in the proprietorship. The following extracts from the *Registers of the Stationers' Company* (ed. Prof. Arber) will explain how the property was conveyed to Burre's successors, and they point out the singular succession of members of the Lownes family prior to the publication in 1628:—

"13<sup>o</sup> Decembris 1622.

Master mathew Lownes George Latham.	Assigned ouer vn to them by Mistris Burre and Consent of a courte holden this Daie, All her estate in the booke or Coppie called <i>The Historie of the World.</i> written by Sir WALTER RAWLEIGH. . . . vj <sup>d</sup> ." (IV. 87.)
---	---

"10 Aprilis 1627.

Thomas Lownes	Entred vnto him for his Copies by Consent of a full Court holden this day all the estate right title and Interest which Mathew Lownes his father deceased had in the Copies hereafter mencioned, saveing to euery man and euerye of their rightes to them or anye of them. . . . xiiij <sup>s</sup> " (IV. 176).
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Then follows a list of thirty-nine works, one being thus entered:—

"His parte of *the History of the world* by Sir WALTER RAWLEIGH." (IV. 176.)

“30 Majj 1627

Master Humphry Assigned ouer vnto them by Thomas Lownes  
 Lownes and by Consent of a full Court all the estate  
 Robert Younge right and Interest which he hath or had in the  
 Copies hereafter mencioned . . . xij<sup>q</sup>.”

A subjoined list of twenty-three works contains:—

“his parte of *the History of the world* by Sir  
 WALTER RAWLEIGH.” (IV. 180.)

The entire work has a new type-setting, although at first sight it is not readily recognised, owing to the paging, catch-words, and signatures of the body of the volume being apparently unchanged. Even the duplicate pp. 181–4 of Bk. 2, and the gap between pp. 510 and 515 of Bk. 5 continue, as well as the omission in the Table of Contents. Several pp. in Bk. 5 are wrongly numbered. There are many minor alterations, *e.g.* “Historie” replaces “History” on the title-page; there are different headpieces to the various divisions from those of the previous issue; and fewer decorated initial letters, and those of a new type. A few words have been altered, thus, “than” and “obscuring,” Bk. 1, pp. 1, 177, are substituted for “then” and “obscure,” while at the end of Bks. 2 and 3 “Libri” is printed for “Liberis.” The Preface to the Chronological Tables is printed in unusually small type. Of the six errors noted in the headlines of the 1617 (2) edition, three are corrected. The sub-title of Bk. 5, p. 261, termed “The First Book,” by mistake for the “Fifth,” has been already noticed as occurring also in the two previous issues.

*Signatures. Frontispiece, Verses, Title, Preface, Contents, and History,* same as 1617 (2). *Chron. Tables and Index* (a), (a a), 6 ls. each; \*, 6 ls.; \*\*, 8 ls.

6. Edition of 1634.

The colophon ceases after this edition. It is printed on the last page of the Index as follows:—

“LONDON,

Printed for *G. Latham* and *R. Young*.

M.DC.XXXIV.”

The title-page is similar to that of 1628, but the impression of the portrait upon it is exceedingly faint, from the plate being much worn. In the *British Museum Catalogue* (1884), iii. 1284, the following note is added to the entry of this issue: “The title-page of the edition of 1614 is prefixed to



this copy." This is somewhat misleading; it refers to the engraved frontispiece, which bears the date 1614 from the first to the present edition, the colophon alone recording the actual year of publication. Type re-set, with many literal alterations, more especially in the uses of the letters *u* and *v*; thus, in the opening words of the Preface in the 1628 volume, "How vnfit and how vnworthy a choice" become in the present one "How unfit and unworthy a choice." "The Minde of the \*Front," although generally printed on a separate leaf, is sometimes found on the verso of the frontispiece.

Headpieces of a new design (of one pattern only) are at the beginning of each book; but that at the head of the Preface, like the one in the previous volume, is from the block that, as already noted, was identified with the publications of W. Jaggard. The ornamental initials are of smaller size, and are confined to the chapter headings, the smaller ones being omitted altogether. In Bk. 5, pp. 645-6 are figured in error 649-50. In the same Bk., pp. 513-16 are absent; pp. 181-4, in Bk. 2, remain duplicated; and the serious omission in the Table of Contents is unrectified. There is an increase in the wrong paging of Bk. 5.

*Signatures.* Same as those of 1628.

The following curious statement occurs in the "Memoir of Sir W. Raleigh," by S. G. Drake (1862), p. 7:—"The labored life of Raleigh prefixed to the *History of the World*, published separately in the lifetime of the Knight." As shown in the accompanying footnote, his copy was evidently that of the edition of 1634:—

"According to the frontispiece, this edition of the *History of the World* was printed in 1614, while the life prefixed records the beheading of the author, in 1618. And then by the colophon the work was printed in 1624. This collation is given to show how publishers sometimes lead us astray, however careful we intend to be."

Oldys, it is true, mentions with respect to the issues of 1617 and 1628, "perhaps there is one between them" (I. 449); but he obviously refers to that of 1621, and not to one of 1624.

Drake relies on the frontispiece for demonstrating 1614 as the year of publication, whereas it has already been proved that the date on the frontispiece was unchanged during the successive editions from 1614 to 1634 inclusive, while the correct date was always noted in the colophon. The *Life of*

*Raleigh*, to which he adverts, was written by J. Shirley, and was published for the first time in 1677. Separate issues of this *Life* were sold by booksellers, and were frequently added to any copy, irrespective of its date. (One such is in the possession of the author.) No copy of the year 1624 has yet been identified in England, and most probably Drake made a slight error when he examined the colophon. This explanation will, it is hoped, be sufficient to exonerate the publishers from blame.

#### 7. Edition of 1652.

In this the most important alteration is the omission of the colophon; and the transference of the date of publication, with the names of the publishers, to the base of the frontispiece, the erasure of the original date, 1614, which had remained unchanged until this year (1652), having first been made. So that for the first time, excepting in that of 1614, the frontispiece bears the proper date when published. The imprint runs thus:—

“London printed for Sam : Cartwright at y<sup>e</sup> hand & Bible  
in Ducke lane R : Best at Graies Inn Gate & J. Place  
at Furnivalls Inn gate in Holborne. 1652.”

The following appears in another issue of the same edition:—

“London printed for R : Best Jo. Place & Sam : Cartwright  
and are to be sould at Graies Inn and Furnivalls Inn gates  
in Holborne & at the hand and Bible in Duck lane. 1652.”

Probably each publisher had his own name placed first in those copies sold by him; although at present none has yet been recorded with the name of J. Place in that position. The text has an entirely new setting of type, and exhibits many alterations in the word-spelling; and although the paging is identical with four of its predecessors, many of the catch-words are different, owing to some of the lines being rearranged: this is also the case in the Preface. The headpieces are different, and there are fewer block initials. The title-page is unchanged, excepting that the portrait has been re-engraved. The singular omission in the list of “Contents,” remarked upon in all the editions from that of 1617(2), is continued in the present one, and is attended with a remarkable circumstance. In one of the author’s copies an attempt has been made to rectify this omission by the insertion of two leaves, of a different colour and quality from those of the other portions of the same work. On these

are printed, not only the missing chapters, but also, and in duplicate, the 5th and 6th of Bk. 4, and the 2nd and 3rd of Bk. 5. The result is to increase the number of leaves of the "Contents" to 16. The duplicate pp. 181-4 in Bk. 2, and the gap between pp. 510 and 515 of Bk. 5 have not been rectified: in the latter seven pages are incorrectly numbered. Bk. 3 still commences on the verso of Bk. 2, p. 555, but it is figured 1, in addition to the same number noted on the right-hand page. Bks. 3 and 4 contain several errors in the headlines. A copy of this edition is thus erroneously described in *Catalogue of the Huth Library* (1880), iv. 1218: "An undescribed edition, probably the second."

*Signatures.* The Chronological Tables and Index are similar to those of 1628; all the rest are like those of 1617 (2).

8. Edition of 1666.

Contains several changes of much importance. The Frontispiece has this inscription at its base:—

"LONDON Printed for R: White I: Place & G: Dawes.  
1666."

In this the third 6 seems to have replaced some other figure; and this is corroborated by the copy in the British Museum being dated 1665.

The portrait is relegated to a separate leaf; and the printed title-page is rubricated, is in much larger type, and although containing the same amount of information as those that preceded it, yet extends to the whole page above the following imprint:—

"LONDON,  
Printed for *Robert White, John Place, and George Dawes*; and  
are to be sold by *Thomas Rookes* at the *Lamb* and *Ink-bottle*  
at the East-end of *St. Pauls*,  
M DCLX VI."

The copy in the British Museum has the following variation:—

"LONDON,  
Printed for *Robert White, John Place, and George Dawes*; and  
are to be sold by *John Place*, at his Shop at *Furnivals-Inn Gate*  
in *Holborn*.  
M DCLX VI."

The whole work has been re-set, and, as pointed out in the Table, the space occupied by the type is larger than in the previous volumes. The letterpress of the Preface remains

in single column, but the remainder consists of double ones. The paging is continuous to the end of the *History* (1-1143); the volume has upwards of 40 leaves less than any of its predecessors; and there are fewer headpieces and block initials, the latter being less elaborated. The Table of Contents is reduced to 13 leaves; and the marginal numbers on each page of the *History*, showing every tenth line, have been omitted.

The altered form of the text has led to a different series of printer's errors. In the Contents the omission noticed in several of the previous editions has been rectified, but the Fifth Book is termed the "Fourth"; and the headlines on pp. 636, 646, and 766 refer to the wrong books. Then pp. 936, 949-52, and 974-5, are figured erroneously; pp. 953-4 are in duplicate; and pp. 753-4 and 949-50 are absent.

Oldys (449) mentions an edition published "in 1656, printed by Robert White, &c. another in 1661, printed for Robert White, &c." The former is probably intended for the present edition, but that of 1661 is so far unknown.

*Signatures.* *Frontispiece, Verses, Title, and Portrait*, 4 ls. *Preface*, A—D, in fours. *Contents*, a, 1 lf., b—d, in fours. *History, Table, and Index*, A—Z, Aa—Zz, Aaa—Zzz, Aaaa—Zzzz, Aaaaa—Zzzzz, Aaaaaa—Zzzzzz, Aaaaaaa—Zzzzzzz, all in fours.

#### 9. Edition of 1671.

The title-page (rubricated) bears the following imprint:—

"LONDON,

Printed for *George Dawes*, and are to be sold at his Shop over against *Lincolns-Inne Gate* in *Chancery-Lane*, MDCLXXI."

With this exception, no difference from that of the previous edition can be discovered; that is to say, it appears to be a re-issue of the latter with a new title-page.

In all the copies yet examined by the author the frontispiece bears the date 1666. Oldys (449) reports one of this date; and in Allibone's *Dictionary* one of 1670 is mentioned, probably an error for 1671.

#### 10. Edition of 1677.

The title-page is rubricated, and has at the base:—

"LONDON,

Printed for *Robert White, T. Basset, J. Wright, R. Chiswell, G. Dawes, and T. Sawbridge.* 1677."



It is similar to that of 1666, excepting in the heading, "History" for "Historie"; and "Solomon" replaces "Salomon" in all the preceding issues.

Many copies contain the following addition to the above title, situated just below the author's name:—

"Whereunto is added in this Edition, the  
Life and Trial of the Author."

This seems to imply the insertion of the *Life* to have been an afterthought. The imprint on the frontispiece of the latter runs thus:—

"LONDON Printed for *R. White, Tho. Basset, Jo. Wright, Ric. Chiswell, Geo. Dawes, & Tho. Sawdribge* [sic]  
1676."

The *Life* was apparently supplied to all copies of this issue, and is placed directly after the title-page. It consists of 24 leaves, and is nominally paged 1-54, but pp. 45-50 are absent, without any intermission in the text. The "Arraignment" is in single, the rest being in double columns; all in much larger type than the rest of the work, the royal order to allow Raleigh to make the second voyage to Guiana being in black-letter. No author's name is appended to it, but on the authority of Wood<sup>1</sup> it is generally attributed to John Shirley (1648-1679). A revised edition was published the same year in 8vo form.

The Preface and Contents are reduced to 11 leaves each, and the Index to 9, the smallest number in the whole series. The portrait occupies a separate leaf. The general appearance of the text is similar to that of 1666, but the type space is much larger (as shown in the Table), so that the number of leaves is diminished. The paging seems to run continuously from 1 to 885, but these figures, as a cursory examination will show, are misleading, each book having been paged independently of the others, as exhibited in the following list:—

First Book	.	pages	1-125 (v <sup>o</sup> blank).
Second	„	„	129-376.
Third	„	„	393-480.
Fourth	„	„	569-660.
Fifth	„	„	577-885 (v <sup>o</sup> blank).

Notwithstanding pp. 577-660 are in duplicate, there is an excess of 24 beyond the number (885) noted on the last leaf. The headpieces and initial letters are smaller in number and

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Ox.*, ed. Bliss, iii. 1221.

of a poorer kind. The printer's errors are remarkably few, and the only wrong paging discovered is in Bk. 5, where p. 652 is in mistake figured 660. Oldys (449) records an edition of 1678, probably intended for this one.

*Signatures.* *Frontispiece, Verses, Title, Portrait*, 4 ls. *Life*, B (no A) to E, in fours; F 6 ls. *History*, A—Z, Aa—Zz, Aaa—Zzz, Aaaa—Uuuu, Aaaaa—Ttttt, in fours. *Tables and Index*, \* 6 ls.; \*\*—\*\*\*\*\* in fours.

#### 11. Edition of 1687.

The title-page (rubricated) is similar to the last, including a notice of "the Life and Tryal," the sole alteration being in the imprint.

"LONDON,

Printed for *Tho. Basset, Ric. Chiswell, Benj. Tooke, Tho. Passenger, Geo. Dawes, Tho. Sawbridge, M. Wotton, and G. Conyers.* 1687."

The Frontispiece has been re-engraved (very unsatisfactorily), and has been mutilated by the entire removal of the lower portion, which in former issues contained the date, and from 1652 the names of the publishers. The portrait, on a separate leaf, has also been re-engraved, and spoilt. The Preface is in Roman type, in all the other editions being in italic; is extended to 16 leaves, and is the only paged example (j—xxxij). The Table of Contents has an extra leaf, but the index has one less than its predecessor. The *Life* (the revised version) is placed immediately before the *History*, and has a separate title-page:—

"The / LIFE / of the / valiant and learned / Sir Walter Raleigh,  
Knight. / with his / TRYAL / at / WINCHESTER. / The  
Third Edition. /

LONDON,

Printed for George Dawes, and Richard Tonson within Grays-Inn-Gate next Grays-inn-Lane, MDCLXXXVII."

Only two publishers' names are given on the latter; one, G. Dawes, is included in the list on the general title-page, and the other is not (R. Tonson). It is in double columns throughout, has its own paging, (1)-(41), and the royal mandate is in black-letter. The text of the *History* is in double columns, and is paged from 1-813, but their continuity is broken in a curious manner: after 368 the numbers are restricted, from 369 to 382, to one side of each leaf, *i.e.* as folios; the last four being in brackets [379]-[382], but *after* [382] the proper paging re-commences with 379, and continues so to the end. The cause of this is a singular one.

By some extraordinary oversight, the fourteen folios seem to have been omitted, and were inserted subsequently, after being numbered in the irregular manner just described. This is testified to by the fact of their possessing special signatures: thus, while 368 terminates with Zz in fours, Aaa commences at 379. On the other hand, the interpolated portion has these signatures, [Aaa], [Bbb], in fours, and [Ccc] 6 ls. "The Oath and Covenants," etc., Bk. 5, pp. 709-10, is printed in unusually large type, is the tallest of the series, the type space averaging half an inch beyond that of 1667. The decorative head-pieces and initials are few in number; and the volume is more free from printer's errors than any other edition.

*Signatures.* *Frontispiece, Verses, Title, and Portrait*, 4 ls. *Preface and Contents*, a—g, in fours. *History, Tables, and Index*, A—Z, Aa—Zz, in fours; [Aaa], [Bbb], 4 ls. each; [Ccc] 6 ls., Aaa—Zzz, Aaaa—Zzzz, in fours; Aaaaa—Lllll, in fours; Mmmmm, 6 ls.; Nnnnn, Ooooo, 4 ls. each.

One or two points of interest connected with the foregoing volumes may be alluded to here.

No one can examine the editions in their successive order without being struck with the gradual approximation to the modern form of word-spelling; the latter being established in the 1666 volume. But even then a reversion to the older mode of spelling was not unfrequent. Words were not often changed for others, such as those noted in the volumes of 1614, II., and 1628. Occasional alterations in the mode of spelling are found, of which *Amalechites* is an example (1614, I., Bk. 1, p. 61), rectified in later issues. A change of the terminal *-ie* into *-y*, as from *phrenzie* to *phrenzy* (occasionally the reverse), was made. Although "History" was engraved on the Frontispiece, and was continued through all the series, yet "Historie" was more generally used in the titles of the various books and in the headlines, the modern form of spelling not commencing until the 1687 volume.

Letters now regarded as redundant were gradually eliminated; sometimes from the commencement of a word, thus *Egypt* appears as *Egypt* (1634); occasionally in the middle of one, as *heerein*, *dissability*, changed to *hercin*, *disability* (1617(1)); and frequently at the end, as *sonne*, *warre*, *generall*, *angell*, altered to *son*, *war*, *general*, *angel*. Some words, although abbreviated, have been again altered in modern times, thus *darkenesse* (1614) is shortened to *darkenes* (1617(1)).

One example will suffice in illustration of the omission of the terminal *-e* in many of the words employed during the first half of the seventeenth century. Ben Jonson's explanatory lines of the frontispiece are headed "The Minde of the Front" up to the 1652 volume, but after that date the word is always printed "Mind."

One of the notable changes in word-spelling occurs in the altered employment of the letters *u* and *v*. Thus in the early editions the following words will be found on the first page of the Preface: *vnfit*, *vndertake*, *haue covered ouer*; but from 1634 onwards they are always printed *unfit*, *undertake*, *haue covered over*.<sup>1</sup>

Until the 1628 edition Bk. 5 was invariably printed "fift," but in the issue of that year "fifth" began to be substituted, and in the 1666 volume the old form had disappeared.

The important alterations in the text of the issues II. and III. of the edition of 1614, that have already been described, were evidently made by the author; but the other numerous errors and omissions were those committed in the printing-office. The copy used by the printers must have been one of the preceding volumes. This is shown in part by the paging of all the editions from 1617 (2) to 1652 inclusive (excepting the one of 1621), and as recorded in the Table, being identical; and by the catch-words being almost unchanged throughout. Also by the serious omission in the Table of Contents during the same issues.

Moreover the work was carried out by several hands, each having his own portion of text to set up; in this way the duplicated pages may be accounted for. It is proved by the remarkable arbitrary paging at the beginning of each book of the 1687 volume. Variations in spelling in the same volume were due to the same cause. All this testifies to the absence of anything like the supervision, which is effected at the present day, in every printing establishment, by means of a Reader.

#### B. TEXT OF "HISTORY," 1736.

##### 12. Edition of 1736.

This, the last of the folio editions, differs from the series already described in several respects, *e.g.* in the absence of the allegorical frontispiece and its attendant verses; in containing a new portrait of Sir W. Raleigh; and his Life by a new author (W. Oldys); and also a list of authors

<sup>1</sup> Cf. remarks *ante*, under "Edition of 1634."

cited in the *History*. The following is a copy of the title-page (rubricated):—

“The / HISTORY / of the / WORLD, / in five Books. / By Sir WALTER RALEGH. / The Eleventh Edition, printed from a Copy revis'd by Himself. / To which is Prefix'd, / The LIFE of the AUTHOR, / newly compil'd, / From Materials more ample and authentick than have yet been publish'd; / By Mr. OLDYS. / Also his TRIAL, with sole Additions: / together with / A new and more copious INDEX to the whole WORK. / In Two Volumes. / Volume I. [Volume II.] /

LONDON: Printed for G. Conyers, J. J. and P. Knapton, D. Midwinter, A. Bettesworth, and C. Hitch, B. Sprint, R. Robinson, B. Motte, J. Walthoe, A. Ward, J. Clarke, S. Birt, T. Wotton, T. Longman, H. Whitridge, H. Lintot, and J. and R. Tonson. M D C C X X X V I.”

The large array of booksellers' names appears to indicate the formation of a syndicate to publish this edition; and is apparently corroborated by the following statement of W. J. Thoms in his *Memoir of W. Oldys* (1862):—

“The London booksellers, having decided on publishing a new edition of Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, enlisted the services of Oldys to see it through the press. . . . The life makes 282 pages, and from the authorities quoted in the numerous notes must have been a task of considerable labour and research. . . . While engaged on this great work, Oldys was permitted to consult the valuable library of Sir Hans Sloane.” (xiii., xiv.)

A portrait engraved by Vertue and dated 1735 faces the title; and Oldys (449) erroneously records this as the date of publication.

Then follows, and with a separate title-page, “The LIFE of Sir WALTER RALEGH. By William Oldys, Gent.” The *Life* occupies pp. iij.–ccxxxij, and is printed in single column. The *Trial* has a separate heading, is in double columns, and has pp. ccxxvij.–ccl. This is succeeded by a list of 660 “Authors cited in this *History*,” 4 ls. Preface, pp. j.–xxxij. Contents, 12 ls. The *History* is in double columns; and the notes, which in previous editions occupied the margins, are now made foot-notes. Although each volume has its own title-page, the page-numbers are continuous. Vol. I. includes Bks. 1 and 2, pp. 3–370; Vol. II. contains Bks. 3, 4, and 5, pp. 371–817. Chronological Tables, 14 ls. Index (single column), 10 ls.

The eight maps were newly engraved by Eman. Bowen (whose name appears on four of them), and are facsimiles



of the former ones. The decorated initials are few, but there are new headpieces to all the various portions of the work. That which is at the commencement of Bk. 1 has evidently been specially designed for the edition; and consists of an extended ornament having in its oval centre a half-length portrait of the author, with his right hand (holding a baton) resting on a globe, and his left on a table. In its main features it greatly resembles the portrait by S. Pass, first printed on the title-page of the 1617(2) edition. In addition to the ordinary signatures, each sheet of the *History* is numbered consecutively at the bottom left-hand corner; but the numbers (1-52) are somewhat irregular, one (50) is absent, and the number of leaves in a sheet varies a good deal. Some of the foot-notes in the former editions are wanting in the present one. At the close of Bk. 4 is the note, "The End of the Fourth Volume," whereas the word *Book* is used at the close of the other divisions except Bk. 5, which is destitute of any.

On the title-page this is termed the eleventh edition. It is affirmed by Wood<sup>1</sup> to be the "best edition, on every account," and this has been accepted as correct by many writers.<sup>2</sup> But the editor of the *Works of Raleigh*, published in 1829, remarks in the prefatory "Advertisement," that his original intention was to reprint the 1736 edition, but he ultimately rejected it, on finding "that not only Oldys had made several arbitrary and unnecessary alterations, but that the printer had executed his task with considerable carelessness and inaccuracy; in some chapters having left out entire passages, and in others disfigured them by partial omissions or alterations, which either weakened or destroyed the sense." Twenty-one striking examples of these inaccuracies, taken from the first three books, are quoted, and "their number might be easily augmented"; then follows the statement that the edition of 1614 was the one selected; and on collation the third issue of that year is proved to have been the one employed, as it contains the amended passages of the two previous ones.

*Signatures.* *Title and Portrait*, 2 ls. *Life*, 2 ls., q—cccc, in twos. *Trial and Authors*, eeee—iiii, in twos, 1 lf. *Preface and Contents*, a—o, in twos. *History, Tables, and Index*, A—Z, Aa—Zz, Aaa—Zzz, Aaaa—Zzzz, 5A—5Z, 6A—6Z, 7A—7Z, 8A—8Z, 9A—9Z, 10A—10H, all in twos.

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Ox.*, ed. Bliss, ii. 240.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cayley, *Life of Raleigh* (1806), ii. 183; Allibone, *Dict.* (1878), ii. 1728.

It is here necessary to direct attention to an issue of the work, imperfect as to its proper contents, the only other difference from the edition of 1736 consisting in its title-page (of which the following is a transcript), containing not only a false date, but also a spurious statement as to the edition. Here is a copy of the title-page (rubricated):—

“The / HISTORY / of the / WORLD, / in / five Books. / By  
Sir WALTER RALEGH, Kt. / The Seventh Edition, printed  
from the Edition publish'd in the Author's / Life-time, and re-  
vis'd by Himself. / To which is added, / The LIFE of the  
AUTHOR, / newly compil'd, / From Materials more ample and  
authentick than have yet been publish'd; / Also his TRIAL, with  
considerable Additions: / together with / A new and more copious  
Index to the whole Work. /

LONDON: Printed for J. J. and P. Knapton, G. Conyers, R. Knaplock, D. Midwinter and A. Ward, A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, J. Tonson, B. Sprint, J. Osborn and T. Longman, R. Robinson, B. Motte, J. Walthoe *Junior*, J. Wilford, J. Clarke, T. Wotton, and H. Lintot. MDCCXXXIII.”

That the original publication took place in 1736, we have the testimony of the title-page; the portrait in it dated 1735; and the following personal statement of Oldys, recorded in a letter to Sir Hans Sloane, dated September 29th, 1735, requesting to borrow “*News of Sir Walter Raleigh, etc.*, printed 4°, 1618,” and which, he remarks, “is now, that I am arrived (through above forty sheets) at the last two years of his Life, immediately wanting.”<sup>1</sup> Excepting the title-page, all the sheets it contains are those of the issue of 1736; but the made-up volume is destitute of a Preface, of an Index, and of the Chronological Tables, with the exception of the single-leaf Address “to the Reader.” Two such copies have fallen into the possession of the writer. Surely it was a shallow device to attempt to mislead the public into the belief of the edition being a new one: otherwise, why was it antedated three years (1733), and termed the “seventh” edition, instead of the “eleventh,” as it really was? Were all the publishers, whose names are given, aware of its being a spurious publication? The names of S. Bird, H. Whitridge, and R. Tonson are absent from it, although included in the 1736 list; while those of R. Knaplock and J. Wilford are added to it.

<sup>1</sup> *Memoir of W. Oldys*, by W. J. Thoms (1862), xiv.

## C. ENUMERATION OF LATER EDITIONS, ABRIDGMENTS, ETC.

To complete the Bibliography of Raleigh's *History*, there is now subjoined a brief enumeration of all other volumes, containing reprints of the entire work, abridgments, continuations, etc.

## I. Other editions of complete work.

1. "The History of the World. In five Books. . . . By Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight. A new edition, revised and corrected." Edinburgh. 1820. 6 vols. 8vo.

The *History* is contained in vols. 1-5, and a portion of 6.

2. "The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt. now first collected." Oxford. 1829. 8 vols.

The *History* occupies the whole of vols. 2-7. 8vo. Is stated in one of the reviews to have been suggested "by the late Earl of Liverpool."

## II. Abridgments.

3. "The Marrow of Historie, or an Epitome of all Historical Passages from the Creation, to the end of the last Macedonian War. First set out at large by Sir Walter Rawleigh, and now Abbreviated by A.R. [Alexander Ross]." London. 1620. 16mo. Portrait.

4. "An Abridgment of Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World." London. 1698. 8vo. Portrait.

No author's name, but in the Preface, signed "Laurence Echard," is a statement that he received a copy of an Abridgment from "an Ingenious and Judicious Friend," and that after many corrections and alterations he printed it. This was followed by other editions in 1700 and 1702, with this addition on the title-page:—"Publish'd by Phillip Raleigh, Esquire, the only Grandson to Sir Walter."

## III. Continuations.

5. "The History of the World: The Second Part, in Six Books: Being a Continuation of the famous History of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight: . . . By Alexander Ross." Signed "Rosse" at the end of the Epistle Dedicatory, as well as of the Preface. London. 1652. fo.

6. "The General History of the World, being an Abridgment of Sir Walter Raleigh. With a Continuation from the Best Historians to the Present Times." London. 1708. Vols. 4. Portrait. No author's name.

The Abridgment forms vol. 1. For the most part it is similar to that published in 1698, with some of the chapters

greatly extended. Vols. 2-4 are wholly devoted to the "Continuation," which terminates at 1708, and is unlike that of A. Ross (5).

IV. Criticisms.

7. "Som [sic] Animadversions and Observations upon Sr Walter Raleigh's Historie of the World. Wherein his mistakes are noted, and som doubtful passages cleered. By Alexander Ross." London. 1653. 16mo.

A. R. also wrote "Animadversions upon Mr Hobbs his LEVIATHAN." London. 1653. 16mo. Neither work appears to have been thought much of.

V. Notices of intended works.

8. The *Derby Mercury* of December 28th, 1732, contains the following announcement:—

"News from the Republick of Letters.  
Just Published,

Proposals for printing Weekly, four Sheets for Six-pence, of Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World: to which will be added, a more perfect Account of his Life and Travels than heretofore published."

Extended inquiries have failed to ascertain whether this work was ever published; nor has a copy of the prospectus been discovered. For this notice the writer is indebted to Mr. A. Wallis.

9. Prospectus:—

"London, March 1st, 1793. On Saturday, the 30th of March inst. will be published, Price 1s. Number I. of a new Work, To be continued Weekly, and completed in Eighty Numbers, under the Title of

THE REVOLUTIONS of the WORLD;

or the Ancient and Modern History of Nations, from the Earliest Period of Authentic Record to the Present Time:

On the Plan of the Great Raleigh."

(Soliloquy from "The Tragedy of Sir W. Raleigh," by Dr. Sewell. Act V. scene 2: "Raleigh . . . with the History of the World before him.") [London] Printed for J. BEW, No. 28, Paternoster-Row.<sup>1</sup>

Never published.

<sup>1</sup> An additional heading might be made of one work being substituted for another; e.g. a short time ago I received a catalogue of second-hand books, containing this entry: "Raleigh Sir W. Historie of the World. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 2 vols. in one, with title pages. Page 395 of vol. 2 absent. Islip. 1601." It turned out to be a copy of Pliny's *Historie of the World*, tr. by P. Holland. "London, Printed by Adam Islip. 1601."

## D. PORTRAITS.

I. Editions of 1617 (2) to 1687.

1. Edition of 1617 (2).

No portrait was published in either of the first two editions (1614, 1617 (1)); the earliest to contain one being the third (the second issued in 1617), printed on the title-page (absent from the previous volumes), and as the name of the author was repeated thrice upon it, the work lost its anonymous character.

The portrait,  $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$  in., occupies nearly three-fifths of the lower part of the page, the entire plate measuring  $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$  in. It is a half-length, in an oval, enclosed in a square frame, and represents a middle-aged man, with a placid, nearly full face, the eyes being directed towards the spectator. The moustache is of moderate size, with turned-up ends; the beard trimmed to a point; short, narrow whiskers; high forehead; head uncovered and with short, curly hair.

The body is habited in a closely fitted doublet richly worked; over this is a gorget (of metal?), with its lower border adorned with a row of circular ornaments like coins. A rich lace ruff of four folds encircles the neck, and is tied in front. The right hand (has a lace wristband) grasps a short, straight staff, and rests on a globe, whereon is depicted a ship and some land marked "Guian[a]." The left hand is not shown. A white band, bearing the following inscription, surrounds the portrait:—

"VERA EFFIGIES CLARISS<sup>mi</sup> VIRI DOM<sup>ni</sup> GUAL-  
THERI RALEGH EQV: AUR., etc."

Above this, in the centre, is a grotesque head, with a fish's body on either side. The upper spandrils contain representations of primitive weapons: in the left lower one is a shell with a grotesque face engraved upon it; while that in the right exhibits a chart partly unrolled, with "Cadi[z]" and "Hisp." marked upon it. "Sim. Pass sculp." is on the left base, and "Comp. Holland exc." on the right. Below the portrait is this inscription:—

"The true and lively portraiture  
of the honourable and learned Knight  
Sr Walter Raleigh."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Another of Sir Walter Raleigh," by Simon Pass, is recorded in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* (1876), iii. 145-6. This, in Granger's *Biographical History of England* (1824), ii. 140, is stated to have contained the inscription, "Fortunam ex aliis." The writer has been unable to meet with a copy of it.



Occupying the middle of this is a coat-of-arms of sixteen quarterings, with helmet, mantle, and, above it, the motto, "AMORE ET VIRTUTE." It is certain that this inscription had replaced another and earlier one; and although the latter had been in great part erased, yet some well-marked traces of it remain in evidence. It is singular that William Oldys is the only author who has mentioned it:—

"By the visible erasement of a long inscription that was at the bottom, for substitution of that which is more brief, the plate should seem to have been graved before that year [1617]; but by the truncheon<sup>1</sup> in his hand, not till he had his command as general for his last expedition: yet, being probably taken from some authentic painting, it lay most ready to be copied, when any print was wanting for lesser works" (355).

The greater portion of the word "portrait" is plainly visible immediately above "true and," the second and third words of the present lettering. There are plain evidences of the former inscription having consisted of six lines, extending from about  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. below the portrait to within  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. at the bottom of the plate. The four lower lines commence near the left margin of the latter. All were continuous from left to right, without the interruption of a coat-of-arms. (At least, there is no present indication of any such coat. The lines are easily discerned in the original engraving, but in the photo-print are scarcely visible.) The suggestion may seem to be futile, but as the first two are shorter than the others, may not these have been devoted to a short account of Sir Walter, and the remaining four to some metrical lines, a practice fairly frequent at that period?

The suggestion of Oldys, that it was "probably taken from some authentic painting," is unlikely, and certainly up to the present time no trace of any has yet been discovered. A literary friend alludes to the possibility of the engraving having been published separately by Compton Holland, prior to its being employed by W. Burre on the title-page of Raleigh's work; and the circumstance of "exc." being appended to his name appears to favour this supposition, as he was a printseller of repute in his day. Of him Horace Walpole remarks: "sometimes the vender of prints, sometimes takes them off, excudit, and once at least engraved himself."<sup>2</sup> But its clear, unworn, and vivid impression militates strongly in favour of its first publication having been

<sup>1</sup> But this truncheon is also shown in some Raleigh portraits of the Elizabethan period. *Vide* Plates 4 and 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Anecdotes of Painting*, etc. (1876), iii. 136.

in the third edition (1617) of the *History*. This agrees with the opinion of Oldys, that it was not "graved . . . till he [Raleigh] had his command as general for his last expedition" to Guiana (355).

Another supposition is, that the portrait was not originally intended for Raleigh, and its employment in the latter's work necessitated the erasure of the original inscription. Tiffin mentions several instances where the portrait of one person was substituted for that of another; but he adds, "a more pernicious sort of alteration . . . consists only of a change of title or inscription of the print."<sup>1</sup>

A sufficient answer to this is the fact that Raleigh's portrait in the third (1617) edition of his *History* is the only engraved one of him that is known to have been published during his lifetime; and it is certain he would not assent to the substitution of some other portrait for his own wherewith to decorate the great work of his prison labours. What the wording of the original inscription may have been is unknown; but that it recorded the name of the author is borne out by the fact of the word "portrait," that has only been partly erased, and also by the band surrounding the "vera effigies" exhibiting no signs of any previous lettering. Further corroboration is shown by the words "Guian[a]" and "Cadi[z]," engraved respectively on the globe and on the scroll, which could not apply to any other person in the year of publication.

The cause of the inscription being erased is a matter of conjecture. It probably contained some open or covert allusion to his long confinement, or to some other matter connected with his life-history, which was disallowed by the censor, who prevented its publication until another legend had been substituted for it.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Editions of 1621-1634 (Plate 1).

The impressions were taken from the same untouched plate, so that they gradually became very faint, those of 1634 being exceedingly so.

<sup>1</sup> *Gossip about Portraits* (1886), 169. The *Catalogue of Pictures in Woburn Abbey*, by G. Scharf (1877), 12-14, contains the description of a portrait of the Rev. T. Wilson, Dean of Durham (1523-81), which is erroneously attributed in the works of Houbraken and Lodge to Sir Nicholas Bacon. An oil painting in Sherborne Castle, Dorsetshire, is labelled "St. Walter Rawleigh," whereas it is certainly a portrait of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who died in 1588. *Vide N. & Q.*, 10th s., i. 403-4.

<sup>2</sup> Oldys (355) mentions having seen a copy of it in H. Holland's *Basilogia*; but neither in this nor in the *Heroologia Anglica* was a portrait of Raleigh included in the original publication, so that the one seen by Oldys must have been an insertion.



From the "History of the World," folio, 1652.









From the "History of the World," folio, 1687.

## 3. Editions of 1652–1677 (Plate 2).

In the first-named year the plate was re-engraved.<sup>1</sup>

## 4. Edition of 1687 (Plate 3).

The plate was very badly re-engraved, and the great contrast between the original impression of the engraved plate and those of 1652 and of 1687 is very remarkable, as a reference to the accompanying illustrations (Plates 1, 2, and 3) will prove; and it is difficult to believe all three were intended for the same person. A close approximation to the year of publication may be formed from an examination of the portrait alone.

## II. Edition of 1736.

This edition of the *History* introduced for the first time a new portrait of the author (Plate 4) which served as a frontispiece to the work. It measures  $11\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  in., and represents the half-length figure of a man in the prime of life, bare-headed, high forehead, three-quarter face to the right, eyes directed to the spectator, rather bushy hair, moustache, narrow whisker terminating in a short Vandyke beard. An elaborate lace collar encircles the neck. The body and arms are habited in plate armour, that of the former consisting of a peascod-bellied breastplate, below which is a vandyked broad belt studded with jewels. A baldrick, similarly adorned, crosses the chest. The hands are bare, the left resting on the sword-hilt; the right, holding a baton, is placed in front of a globe, on which is inscribed "Mexico," "Trinidad," "Guiana." On a curtain in the upper left-hand corner is a coat displaying the Raleigh arms (five fusils in bend), with crest and mantle. Below, on the left, is a chart of Cadiz Bay, and on the right a chart of the Azores. The centre contains the following inscription:—

"Sir Walter Raleigh K.<sup>nt</sup>  
 Captain of the Queens Guard, Lord Warden  
 of the Stanneries, Lieutenant General of the  
 County of Cornwall, Governor of the  
 Isle of Jersey, &c.  
 Ob<sup>t</sup> 1618."

Beneath this is the motto, "Amore et Virtute," an anchor, skull, an axe, and books. At the base, "From a Picture (in possession of W<sup>m</sup> Elwes Sen<sup>r</sup> Esq<sup>t</sup>) formerly belonging to Lady Elwes, eldest daughter of S<sup>r</sup> Walter, Grandson of S<sup>r</sup> Walter Raleigh." "G. Vertue del. et sculp<sup>t</sup> 1735."

<sup>1</sup> A photo-print of the portrait of 1677 forms the frontispiece to *Sir Walter Raleigh and his Colony in America*, by the Rev. I. N. Tarbox, D.D. (1884).

In his *Life of Raleigh*, Cayley affirms this portrait to be "the finest and most characteristic," and hence he selected it as a frontispiece to his work (ed. 1806, ii. 212). But according to the following passage in the *Diary of W. Oldys*, it was not altogether satisfactory to the latter:—

"1737. Sept. 6. Mr. Vertue . . . shewed me . . . his miniature of Sir Walter Raleigh, in the silver armour [it] has a nearer approach to the beauty of the original than his print before my *Life of him*, which makes the face longer, and less graceful" (Ed. Thoms (1862), 13-14).

The "silver armour" is also mentioned by Oldys in his *Life of Raleigh* (352); but whether it was of pure silver, or was only washed over with that metal to give it a bright, reflecting surface, is doubtful. That the former was sometimes employed is proved by a passage in Grafton's *Chronicle*, in the account of the review of the City forces in 1538 by Henry VIII., when "some" of the warriors, "and especiall certaine Goldsmithes had their breast plates, yea and their whole harnesse of syluer bullion."<sup>1</sup> As Captain of the Guard, Raleigh may have worn armour of this kind, otherwise, as represented in Vertue's engraving, the silver was probably confined to the surface.

Another very similar portrait to the foregoing is in the possession of Lord Sackville at Knole House, Kent, from which (by the kind permission of his lordship) the accompanying photo-print (Plate 5) has been taken. A comparison of the two illustrations (Plates 4 and 5) will show several points of difference. In Vertue's engraving a globe is shown in the left-hand lower corner which is wanting in the other. On the other hand, the latter exhibits a helmet with plume of feathers (decorated with pearls, etc.) on the right side, unrepresented in the engraving of 1736. The curtain of the latter is confined to the left side, whereas the Knole example displays it on either side as the opening of a tent. In each case the Raleigh coat-of-arms appears on the left side.

Although the Knole painting is seen to have its surface (especially in the background) eroded and cracked, the face is so clear and well defined as to create a doubt whether it had not been retouched at a later period. Certain is it that the two differ in details and in general expression. Oldys (352), in his brief account of it as "among the collections of his grace the duke of Dorset, at Knowle in Kent," alludes to it as "another very old draught in the same posture and

<sup>1</sup> Ed. 1809, ii. 466.

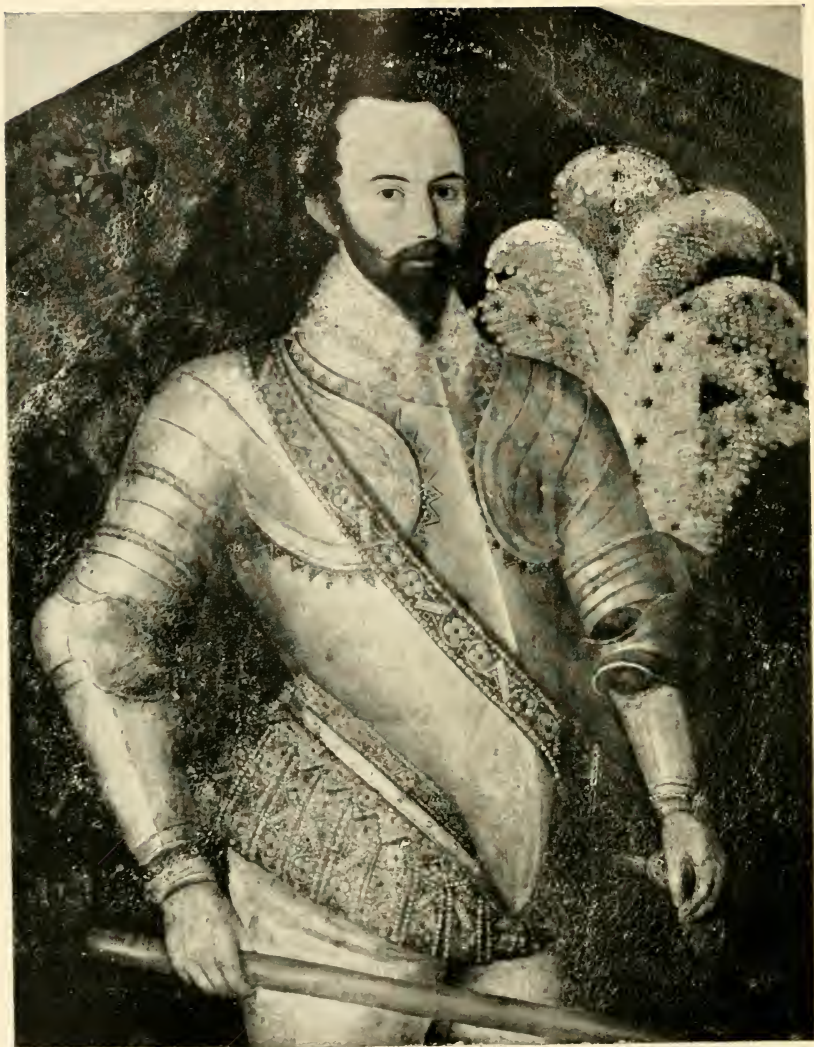


From the "History of the World," folio, 1736.









From a Painting at Knole, Kent.

habit" as the one "in the possession of captain William Elwes"; and adds, it "mentions his government of Jersey." This is of importance, as Raleigh did not receive that appointment till 1600, and the proximate date of the painting is thereby ascertained; but there appears to be no trace of any inscription on the portrait at the present time.<sup>1</sup> Stebbing states that the Knole portrait was the one "from which Vertue's print in Oldys' *Life* probably was engraved";<sup>2</sup> but as Oldys describes them as separate pictures, there seems greater reason to accept his assertion of Vertue's engraving having been copied from the Elwes painting. Whether the work of different artists, or one was a modified replica, is not now known.

### III. Miscellaneous Portraits.

It is noteworthy that, with one exception, all the portraits of Raleigh up to the year 1736, which served as illustrations to works by or relating to him, were copies of those that appeared in the various editions of his *History* between 1617 (2) and 1687; and this Bibliography would scarcely be considered as complete unless they were enumerated. It may be convenient to commence the list with the exceptional one, especially as it was the earliest in the field.<sup>3</sup>

1. "Sir Walter Raleigh's INSTRVCTIONS to his Sonne: and to Posterity." 1630. 32mo.

Portrait,  $3\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$  in. (Plate 6), half-length. Head and face to the right, with neck ruff, similar to the *History*. A closed book in right hand; left not shown. Wears a doublet with lace wristbands, and over it a fur tippet with long ends. Whether this was intended to represent an academic costume is not known; it may, however, be noted that two Chancellors of the Oxford University, viz. Sir J. Fortesque (ob. 1607) and Tho. Sackville (ob. 1608), are represented as wearing gowns with fur edgings. No engraver's name, but the following lines are at the base:—

"Braue Raleigh's outward figure heere you finde :  
But the great worth and sharpenesse of his minde  
No tablet can containe ; no paynter's skill  
Expresse ; seeke that from his owne matchlesse quill."

<sup>1</sup> An engraving of it is given in *Sir Walter's Wife*, by Emile Richings (1903), 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Raleigh* (1891), 28.

<sup>3</sup> The engraved title-page of *The Coasting Pilot*, by John Seller, published circ. 1675, contains six full-length portraits, each about three inches long, one being that of "Sir Walter Rawleigh." All the figures are similar to each other, there being no attempt at accurate likenesses. Another of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. "Tringham Sculp." appeared in some work, not identified at the present time. Neither of these could be included in the number of proper "portraits."

2. "The Life and Death of Mahomet, . . . written by Sr Walter Raleigh K<sup>t</sup>." 1637. 16mo.

Portrait  $4\frac{1}{8} \times 3$  in. A good facsimile of the 1617 (2) one, enclosed in a dome-shaped border. The inscriptions on this and at the base are unchanged. All other accessories are absent. The globe bears no lettering, and there is no engraver's name. On the verso of the portrait is the signature "A 2."

3. "The Prince, or Maxims of State. Written by Sir Walter Rawley." 1642. Sm. 4to.

Portrait oval, half-length,  $5\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$  in., in square frame. Face to the left. No ornaments or accessories of any kind. A fair copy of the 1617 (2) portrait. No lettering on globe, and engraver's name absent.

4. "Judicious and Select Essayes, . . . by Sir Walter Raleigh." 1650. 16mo.

Portrait square,  $3\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$  in. Figure similar to that of 1617 (2), with "Guiana" on globe, and the inscription at the base; but surrounding border and ornaments are absent, as also are the coat-of-arms and motto. A narrow curtain along the upper border, and below it in the left corner a coat-of-arms (five fusils in bend) with weapons; and on the right side a shelf supported by a bracket, and holding five books, labelled respectively, "Hist. of World," "Bible," "Plutarch," "Plinie," "Gallen." At base, "Ro: Vaughan sculp.:"; above, "Tam Marti, Quam Mercurio."

5. "The Marrow of Historie, . . . First set out at large by Sir Walter Rawleigh, And now Abreviated by A. R[oss]." 1650. 16mo.

Portrait square,  $3\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$  in. A badly engraved copy of that in 4, omitting the shelf of books, and the motto above the figure. "Iohn Whittakers sculpsit."

6. "Sir Walter Raleigh's Sceptick;" and "Remains," 1651-1702. 32mo and 16mo.

Portrait square,  $3\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$  in. A reduced copy of 4, but the books are not lettered, and the inscription is thus modified: "The Ho<sup>ble</sup> and learned Knight Sr Walter Raleigh." The face has a rather jovial expression. "Ro: Vaughan sculp." The plate, from being employed in so many editions of the work, as well as in several of the sections published separately, became much worn, the impression in the issue of 1669 being very faint. A new plate was engraved for the 1675 and subsequent editions, a copy of the earlier one, except that the face has a different expression, and there is no engraver's name.





Walter Raleigh's outward figure heere you finde:  
But the great worth and sharpnesse of his minde  
No tablet can containe; no paynters skill  
Expresse; seeke that from his owne mathelesse quill

From "Instructions to his Sonne," 1632.





7. "England's Worthies . . . By William Winstanley, Gent." 1660. Sm. 8vo.

The frontispiece exhibits forty-seven heads of persons described in the work. One of these (No. 30) is the head of "S<sup>r</sup> W. R[aleigh]," taken from the portrait of 1617 (2), with the face looking to the left.

8. "The Marrow of History." 1662. Second edition of 5.

Small oval portrait in decorated frame,  $4\frac{3}{8} \times 3$  in. Coat-of-arms in centre of base, and below it the inscription, "S<sup>r</sup> Walter Raleigh K<sup>t</sup> Ob: 1618 AEtat: 66." Whether it first appeared in this edition is uncertain, but it is found in other volumes of various dates.

9. "An Introduction to a Breviary of the History of England . . . Written by Sr. Walter Raleigh, Kt." 1693. 16mo.

Portrait square,  $5 \times 3\frac{1}{8}$  in., a copy of that of 1617 (2), with lettered globe. In upper left-hand corner is an oval portrait of "K. Willi. Conq." In the right one a shield with arms (two lions *passant guardant*) overlying a shelf of books (unlettered), below which is an oval shield with crossed weapons. (The shield is evidently intended to contain the Raleigh arms, but has seven fusils in bend instead of five.) Above is the motto, "Tam Marti, Quam Mercurio"; and at the base, "The true Effigies of y<sup>e</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Walter Rawleigh Knight." "F. H. Van Hove. sculp."

10. "An Abridgment of Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World." 1698, 1700, 1702, each in one volume; 1708, in four volumes. 8vo.

Portrait in each edition,  $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$  in. A poor facsimile of that of 1617 (2), with the figure and ornaments less elaborated, and the globe unlettered. The legend surrounding the figure is in English: "THE EFFIGIES OF THE HONORABLE AND LEARNED KNIGHT S<sup>r</sup> WALTER RALEGH." Below is the following couplet:—

"Times Witness Herald of Antiquity  
The Light of Truth & Life of Memory."

"London Printed for Mat: Gillyflower at the Spread Eagle in Westminster Hall." This imprint is on the plate of the first two editions, but is absent from the others.

11. "Three Discourses of S<sup>r</sup> Walter Raleigh." 1702. 8vo.

Portrait is from the same plate as 9, excepting that the small portrait of "Will: I." has been erased from the left corner, and also the coat-of-arms from the right one, the

bookshelves with books being continued to the upper border. The erasure of the former is well marked.

12. "The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh." 1740. Svo.

The names of author, printer, and publisher are absent. Was probably a pirated edition of Raleigh's *Life* by W. Oldys, prefixed to his edition of the *History* published in 1736. Occupying the frontispiece is a singular portrait of Sir Walter, measuring  $5\frac{3}{16} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$  in., which occupies an oval frame, taken from that of 1617 (2), and represents a much younger man, the face being smooth and unwrinkled, and the hair dark and very like a wig. The ornaments, legends, and globe of the early volumes of the *History* are absent; but the lower part of the plate, containing the inscription, charts, motto, etc., is copied from Vertue's portrait of 1735. In the upper right-hand corner are the Raleigh arms. No engraver's name.

At the present day, when Bibliography is advancing with such rapid strides, it appeared to the writer to be a fitting opportunity to draw attention to a "Bibliographical Study" of Raleigh's great *History*; to include some remarks upon the portraits of the author contained in the various editions of that work. Although it is almost ignored, except as a literary curiosity, by the modern work-day world, it was otherwise the case in the seventeenth century, when, notwithstanding its huge folio form, and published at a time when only a small percentage of the population could read, it was the great popular historical work of that period, no less than ten editions having been printed in seventy-two years (1614-1687).









