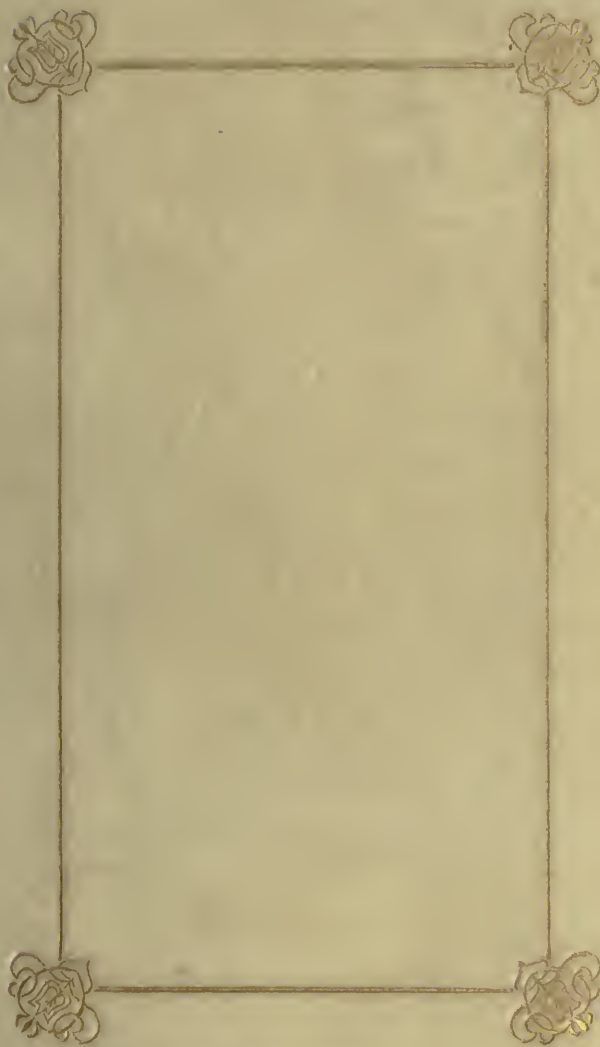


931x  
pa  
1599  
1905

UC-NRLF

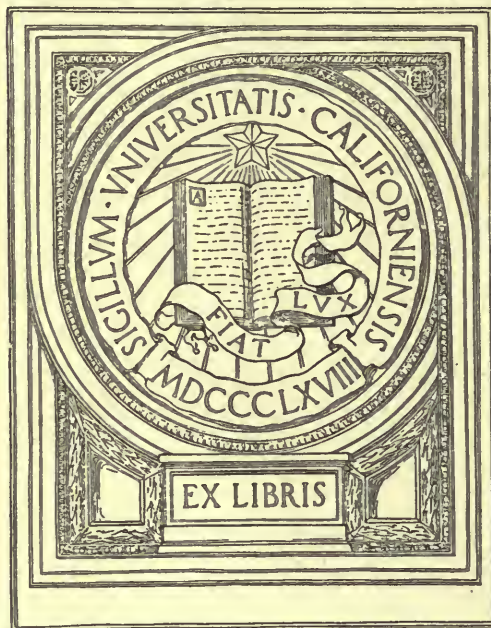


⌘C 25 555



YE 18943

GIFT OF  
A. F. Morrison



931X  
pa  
1599

1905 Case 3



Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2008 with funding from  
Microsoft Corporation





THE PASSIONATE PILGRIM

BY JOHN RUSKIN

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

1850

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

# THE PASSIONATE PILGRIM

BY JOHN RUSKIN  
1599

FACSIMILE



UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

575

THE PASSIONATE PILGRIM

LONDON

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY  
OF OXFORD

FACSIMILE



*Shakespeare, William. Passionate Pilgrim.*

# THE PASSIONATE PILGRIM

BEING A REPRODUCTION IN FACSIMILE OF

THE FIRST EDITION

1599

FROM THE COPY IN THE CHRISTIE MILLER LIBRARY  
AT BRITWELL

WITH INTRODUCTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

BY

SIDNEY LEE



OXFORD: AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

MDCCCCV

# THE PASSIONATE PILGRIM

WITH A REPRODUCTION IN FACSIMILE OF

THE FIRST EDITION

1599

GIFT OF

FROM THE GIFT OF THE CHRISTIE MILNER LIBRARY

A. F. MORRISON

PRINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD

PHOTOGRAPHS AND LETTERPRESS

BY HORACE HART, M.A.

PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
LIBRARY



OXFORD: AT THE CLarendon PRESS

MCCCXX

# CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION TO <i>THE PASSIONATE PILGRIM</i> —	
I. The History of the Publication . . . . .	7
II. 'Private' manuscript Sources . . . . .	14
III. The Contents of the Miscellany . . . . .	20
IV. The Editions of 1612 and 1640 . . . . .	45
V. A Census of Copies . . . . .	53
ILLUSTRATIVE TITLE-PAGES—	
The edition of 1612 with Shakespeare's name . . . . .	55
The edition of 1612 without Shakespeare's name . . . . .	55
FACSIMILE OF THE EDITION OF 1599	

# CONTENTS

Page	
	INTRODUCTION TO THE PUBLISHERS' PREFACE—
7	I. The History of the Publisher
14	II. The Publisher's Business
20	III. The Publisher's Office
27	IV. The Publisher's Relations with the Author
32	V. A Case of Copyright
	PUBLISHERS' PREFACE—
33	The edition of 1812 with annotations
37	The edition of 1814 with annotations
	PREFACE OF THE EDITOR OF 1812

THE *Passionate Pilgrim* is a collection of fourteen lyrical pieces, with an appendix of six pieces of identical character which are introduced by the separate title: 'SONNETS To sundry notes of Musicke.'<sup>1</sup> The twenty pieces are of varied poetic merit.<sup>2</sup> Many have a touch of that 'happy valiancy' of rhythm and sentiment which is characteristic of the Elizabethan temper, but very few betray that union of simple feeling with verbal melody which is essential to lyrical perfection. Several are little more than pleasant jingles describing phases of the tender passion with a whimsical artificiality. The poems are in varied metres. Nine take the form of regular sonnets or quatorzains; five are in the

General  
character-  
istics.

<sup>1</sup> The word 'sonnet' is here used in the common sense of 'song'. The musical composer, William Byrd, published in 1587 his *Psalms, Sonets, and Songs of Sadness and Pietie*; but though he tells the reader that if he be disposed 'to bee merrie, heere are Sonets', and heads a section of the book 'Sonets and Pastorales', no poem bearing any relation to the sonnet form is included. No 'quatorzain' is included in the Appendix to *The Passionate Pilgrim*, of which the title may be paraphrased as 'Songs set to various airs'. The 'sundry notes of Musicke' are only extant in the case of two poems; but it may be inferred that, before publication, all the six 'Sonnets' were 'set' by contemporary composers. Oldys's guess, that John and Thomas Morley were the composers, is unconfirmed. Indirect evidence supports the conjecture that a lost edition of the *Sonnets* supplied the music. A poetic miscellany—'Strange Histories' by Thomas Deloney—of like character to *The Passionate Pilgrim* and with similar typographical ornaments, has at the head of each piece in the 1602 edition (unique copy at Britwell) a line of musical notes, which is absent from other known editions. Again, of the poetic collection entitled 'The Teares or Lamentations of a Sorrowfull Soule, by Sir William Leighton' two editions are known—one (1613) giving the words only, and another (1614) adding the music.

<sup>2</sup> The total is usually given as twenty-one, but the pieces commonly numbered fourteen and fifteen form a single poem and are printed together in the 1640 edition of Shakespeare's *Poems*, under the single heading 'Loath to depart'. J. P. Collier's proposal to divide the last piece also into two has been wisely ignored by recent editors. In the original editions the separate pieces were not numbered. Malone, in his reprint of *The Passionate Pilgrim* in his *Supplement* (1780), was the first editor to introduce a consecutive numerical notation.

common six-line stanza which Shakespeare employed in his *Venus and Adonis*; two are in seven-syllabled riming couplets; one is in four-lined stanzas alternately rimed; and three are in less regular metres, which were specially adapted for musical accompaniment.

Internal and external evidence alike confute the assertion of the title-page that all the contents of the volume were by Shakespeare. No more than five poems can be ascribed with confidence to his pen. Of the remaining fifteen, five were assigned without controversy to other hands in Shakespeare's lifetime; two were published elsewhere anonymously; and eight, although of uncertain authorship, lack all signs of Shakespeare's workmanship. A study of the facts attending the volume's publication shows, moreover, that it was not designed by Shakespeare, and that in its production he had no hand.

*The Passionate Pilgrim* owed its origin to the speculative boldness of the publisher, William Jaggard, who, according to the title-page, caused the book to be printed. Jaggard deserves respectful mention by the student of Shakespeare in virtue of the prominent part he took in the publication of the First Folio Edition of Shakespeare's Plays in 1623. He was at the head of the syndicate of stationers who defrayed the cost of that noble undertaking, and at his press the great volume was printed. The enterprise of the First Folio was the closing episode in Jaggard's career. It belonged to the zenith of his prosperity. He died at the moment that the work was completed.<sup>1</sup> *The Passionate Pilgrim* was a somewhat insolent tribute paid by Jaggard to Shakespeare's reputation

<sup>1</sup> Mr. William Jaggard, of Liverpool, who is engaged on a full biography of his namesake, kindly informs me that the Elizabethan publisher's will was dated March 28, 1623, and proved on November 17 following.

four and twenty years earlier. The publisher had just then begun business for himself, and his prospects were still insecure.

Every detail in the history of the enterprise pertinently illustrates the unscrupulous methods which the customs of the trade encouraged the Elizabethan publisher to pursue. But it is erroneous to assume that it was reckoned by any extensive public opinion of the day personally discreditable in Jaggard to publish under Shakespeare's name work for which the poet was not responsible. In all that he did Jaggard was justified by precedent, and he secured the countenance and active co-operation of an eminent member of the Stationers' Company, whose character was deemed irreproachable.

William Jaggard, who was Shakespeare's junior by some five years, having been born in 1569, enjoyed a good preliminary training as a publisher. His father, John Jaggard, citizen and barber-surgeon of London, died in William's boyhood, and he and a brother, John, both apprenticed themselves on the same day, September 29, 1584, to two highly reputable printers and publishers, each of whom was in a large way of business and owned as many as three presses.<sup>1</sup> Henry Denham, William's master, twice Under-Warden of the Stationers' Company, lived at the sign of the Star in Paternoster Row. John's master was the veteran Richard Tottel, twice Master of the Stationers' Company, who won lasting fame at the outset of his career by his production in 1557 of that first anthology of English verse which is commonly known as *Tottel's Miscellany*.<sup>2</sup> Tottel's

Jaggard's  
early career.

<sup>1</sup> For the details and dates in the career of Jaggard and his brother I am indebted to Mr. Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*.

<sup>2</sup> The full title of this volume, of which *The Passionate Pilgrim* was a descendant, ran:—'Songes and Sonettes, written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Howard, late Earle of Surrey, and other. Apud Richardum Tottel, 1557.' The book reached an eighth edition in 1587.

place of business was at the sign of the Hand and Star in Fleet Street, within Temple Bar, between the two Temple gates, and there his young apprentice helped him in 1587 to prepare an eighth edition of his popular anthology.

In due course the brothers were admitted freemen of the Company, William on December 6, 1591, and John next year, on August 7, 1592. They were thus fully qualified to play their part in the history of English publishing, when Shakespeare was winning his earliest laurels.

John's career only indirectly concerns us here. He became assistant to his old master Tottel, and in 1597, four years after Tottel's death, was established in Tottel's well-seasoned house of business, the Hand and Star in Fleet Street. Though he did not acquire Tottel's printing-presses, and never printed for himself, he rapidly made a name as a publisher and bookseller. Among his publications were two editions of Fairfax's great translation of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, and the third, fourth, and fifth editions of Bacon's *Essays* (1606, 1612, 1613). He entered the livery of his Company July 3, 1602, and acted as Warden in 1619 and 1620.

William, whose rise was less rapid, was a rougher-tempered man than his brother, and never obtained office in his Company. He began business on his own account in 1594, acquiring premises, which have no ascertainable history, at the east end of the churchyard at St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, in Fleet Street. There, for eleven years, he published books on a limited scale. He owned no printing-press, and his operations were restricted. But in 1605 his position completely changed. He acquired a preponderating interest, which he soon converted into a sole interest, in the old-established printing business of James Roberts, in the Barbican. Thenceforth his fortunes were not in doubt. Between 1605 and 1623, the year of his death, he

John  
Jaggard, suc-  
cessor to  
Richard  
Tottel.

William  
Jaggard's  
early strug-  
gle, 1594-  
1605.

His  
prosperous  
years,  
1605-23.



carried on one of the largest printing businesses in London, and produced and published many imposing folios besides the First Folio of Shakespeare's Plays. In 1611 he became printer to the City of London; in 1613 he purchased from his partner Roberts the right of printing 'the players' bills' or theatrical programmes; and in 1618 he issued 'A catologue of such English Bookes as lately haue bene and now are in Printing for Publication', which he promised to continue half-yearly. The reputation of his press for typographical accuracy was never high, but he violently denounced any authors who were bold enough to complain of its defects.

The year 1599, during which Jaggard produced *The Passionate Pilgrim*, was long anterior to the prosperous period of his life, which opened in 1605 with the control of Roberts' press. Before 1599 he would seem to have published not more than two or three books. The first extant book, on the title-page of which his name figures, was a sermon preached by John Dove at St. Paul's Cross, Nov. 3, 1594, which came out before the close of that year. The title-page stated that it was printed 'by P. S. [i. e. Peter Short] for W. Jaggard'. Next year there was issued a new edition of the pedestrian verse of William Hunnis called *Hunnies Recreations*. The imprint was the same, with the addition of Jaggard's address in Fleet Street.

His first publications.

The Stationers' Company granted no licence for the publication of either of these books, and in fact Jaggard obtained only one licence from the Company before the end of the sixteenth century. On January 23, 1597-8, he was duly authorized by the Company to publish an embroidery pattern book, called *The true perfection of Cuttworkes*, of which no copy has been met with.

Jaggard was no slave of legal formalities. It was the exception rather than the rule for him to seek a licence

for the publication of a book. Though he published several books in the interval, he did not seek a second licence until March 16, 1603, when he obtained one for a work appropriately called *The Anatomie of Sinne*. He faced the risk of punishment for his defiance of the law, and, when a penalty was exacted, paid it without demur.<sup>1</sup>

His two undertakings in 1599.

No extant book which bears Jaggard's name came out during the three years 1596, 1597, and 1598. In 1599 two volumes appeared with the intimation on the title-page that they were 'printed for W. Jaggard'.<sup>2</sup> In neither case was the Stationers' Company made officially cognizant of Jaggard's operations. Of these two volumes, one was Thomas Hill's *Schoole of Skil*, an astronomical treatise in black letter, which was stated to be 'printed for W. Jaggard' at the press of T. Judson. The other was *The Passionate Pilgrim*, the imprint of which declared that it was 'Printed for W. Jaggard, and are to be sold by W. Leake at the *Greyhound* in Paules Churchyard'.

William Leake's co-operation.

William Leake's association with the venture guaranteed it against official censure. He was a prominent and respected member of the Stationers' Company. He had joined the livery the year before, and subsequently became assistant (1604) and Master (1618). Before associating himself with Jaggard's venture of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, he had given notable proof of interest in Shakespeare's work. On June 25, 1596, he had acquired the copyright of *Venus and Adonis* from John

<sup>1</sup> On October 23, 1600, William Jaggard and a kindred spirit, Ralph Blower, were fined by the Stationers' Company 6s. 8d. for 'printing without license and contrary to order a little booke of Sir Anthony Sherley's Travels', and all 'the said books so printed' were forfeited by the Company. The offenders were threatened with imprisonment in default of compliance with the judgement, but Jaggard cheerfully paid his share of the fine on Sept. 7, 1601, and purged his offence. Cf. Arber, ii. 831, 833.

<sup>2</sup> The preposition 'for' in the imprint of Elizabethan books usually precedes the name of the proprietor of the copyright.

Harrison, who had bought it from its first holder, Richard Field, three years before. Leake retained his property in Shakespeare's earliest printed book for nearly twenty-one years. His first edition of *Venus and Adonis* appeared in 1599, in the same year as the first edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, and on the title-pages of both volumes figured his address—'the Greyhound in Paules Churchyard.'<sup>1</sup> Thus in 1599, a year after Leake was clothed with the livery of his Company, two newly printed volumes, which were identified with Shakespeare's name and fame, adorned for the first time the shelves of his shop in St. Paul's Churchyard.

The unnamed printer of *The Passionate Pilgrim* was doubtless Peter Short, who had printed for Jaggard the only volume of verse which he is known to have undertaken previously, viz. *Hunnies Recreations*, in 1595. Short also printed for Jaggard his first book, Dove's *Sermon*, in 1594. Short's printing office was at 'the Star on Bread Street Hill, near to the end of Old Fish St.'; his business was a large one and many volumes of verse came from his press. Not only had he printed recently the work of the poets Spenser and Daniel, but he had produced for Leake the two editions of *Venus and Adonis* which appeared respectively in 1599 and 1602, as well as Harrison's edition of Shakespeare's *Lucrece* in 1598. More than one song-book, with the literary contents of which *The Passionate Pilgrim* had close affinity, also came from his press—one in the same year as Jaggard's miscellany, viz. '*Ayres for four Voyces* composed by Michael Cavendish'.<sup>2</sup>

Peter Short,  
printer.

The typographical quality of the first edition of Jaggard's

<sup>1</sup> These premises enjoyed a traditional fame. They had been long in John Harrison's occupation, until at the close of 1596 Leake took them over; he remained there till 1602.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Peter Short, Printer, and his Marks*, by Silvanus P. Thompson, F.R.S. (Bibliograph. Soc.), 1898.

Typographi-  
cal defects  
and charac-  
teristics.

miscellany is not high. Misprints abound. Numerous lines are as they stand barely intelligible. Such defects were mainly due to imperfections in the 'copy', but they bear witness, too, to hasty composition and to carelessness on the part of the press corrector. Few of the irregularities are beyond the ingenuity of a conscientious overseer to remove. In Poem IX, the second line of the sonnet is omitted. There is only one catchword in the whole volume, viz. 'Lord', at the foot of B 8 (recto). Capitals within the line are not very common, but are employed most capriciously. In Sonnet IV, three of the fourteen lines begin with small letters instead of capitals. At V, l. 7, 'eases' rimes with 'there'. Spelling eccentricities which are scarcely to be differentiated from misprints, include—II, l. 12, 'ghesse' for 'guess'; V, l. 1, 'deawy' for 'dewy'; XIII, l. 10, 'symant' for 'cement'; XIV, l. 15, 'scite' for 'cite'; 'scence' for 'sense' (the word 'sense' is correctly spelt VIII, l. 6); l. 19, 'ditte' for 'ditty'; XVII, l. 4, 'nenying' for 'renying'; l. 8, 'a nay' for 'annoy'; l. 12, 'wowen' for 'women'; XVIII, l. 34, 'prease' for 'press'; l. 51, 'th' are' for 'the ear'. The volume was a small octavo and the meagre dimensions of the 'copy' led the printer to set the type on only one side of the leaf in the case of twenty-five of the twenty-eight leaves of text. At the top and bottom of each page of text is an ornamental device of ordinary pattern—no uncommon feature in small volumes of verse of the period.

## II

Jaggard's  
precedents

THE part that Jaggard played throughout the enterprise followed abundant precedents. It was common practice for publishers to issue, under a general title of their own devising, scattered pieces of poetry of varied origin. His brother's master, Tottel, had inaugurated the custom in 1557,

and *Tottel's Miscellany* had a numerous progeny. Nor was Jaggard the only publisher arbitrarily to assign the whole of a miscellaneous anthology to some one popular pen.

Opportunities for gathering material for such anthologies abounded. Printed books, for example, novels and plays, which were interspersed with songs, could always be raided with impunity. But it was from manuscript sources that the anthological publishers sought their most attractive wares. Short poems circulated very freely in manuscript copies through Elizabethan England. An author would offer a friend or patron a poetic effusion in his own handwriting. Fashion led the recipient to multiply transcripts at will as gifts for other worshippers of the Muses. There were amateurs who collected these flying leaves in albums or commonplace books.<sup>1</sup> The author exerted no definable right over his work after the MS. left his hand. His name was frequently omitted from the transcript. A publisher, in search of 'copy', recognized no obligation to consult the writer of unprinted verse before he sent it to press. It might be to his interest to enlist the aid of an amateur collector in extending his collections, and to him he might be ready to make some acknowledgement. But the author's claim to mention was usually disregarded altogether. As often as not, both collector and publisher were in ignorance of the name of the author of unsigned poems which

Manuscript  
verse.

<sup>1</sup> Numerous manuscript collections of verse, which were formed by amateurs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are extant in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and in private hands. Mr. Henry Huth printed for private circulation in 1870 interesting specimens of such collections in private hands, in the volume entitled *Inedited Poetical Miscellanies, 1584-1700*. Some Elizabethans seem to have collected with an eye to business, and to have deliberately handed their collections over to publishers for some unknown consideration. Such an one was John Bodenham, to whom the publishers of *England's Helicon* (1600), *Belvedere* (1600), and other miscellanies of the time, acknowledged indebtedness. Bodenham was hailed in a preliminary sonnet before *Belvedere* as 'First causer and collector of these flowers'.

fell into their hands. In that contingency, the publisher deemed it within his right to append in print what signature he chose.<sup>1</sup>

Evidence of  
other pub-  
lishers of  
anthologies.

Jaggard's fraudulent methods of work as an anthologist are capable of almost endless illustration. A venture of the year in which Jaggard became a freeman of the Stationers' Company precisely anticipates Jaggard's conduct in printing in a single volume 'small poems' by various pens, which were 'dispersed abroad in sundrie hands'; and in attributing them all on the title-page to one author who was only responsible for a few of them. A well-known stationer, Richard Jones, issued in 1591 an anthology which he called *Brittons Bowre of Delights*. Jones represented this volume to be a collection of lyrics by Nicholas Breton, a poet who was just coming into fame. The poet had no hand in the publication, and was piqued to discover on perusing it that it was a miscellany of poems by many hands, in which the publisher had included two or three of his own composition from scattered manuscript copies. Next year, in the prefatory note of his *Pilgrimage to Paradise*, Breton stated the facts thus:—'Gentlemen, there hath beene of late printed by one Richarde Ioanes, a printer, a booke of english verses, entituled *Bretons bowre of delights*: I protest it was donne altogether without my consent or knowledge, and many thinges of other mens mingled with a few of mine, for except *Amoris Lachrimae*: an epitaphe vpon Sir Phillip Sydney, and one or two other toies, which I know not how he vnhappily came by. I have no part of any of thē: and so I beseech yee assuredly beleeeue.' But the author wasted his protest on the desert air. He had no means of redress.

*Brittons  
Bowre of  
Delights,*  
1591.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wither's *Scholars Purgatory* (c. 1625), p. 121: 'If he [i.e. the Stationer] gett any written Cobby into his powre, likely to be vendible, whether the Author be willing or no, he will publish it; And it shall be contriued and named alsoe, according to his owne pleasure: which is the reason, so many good Bookes come forth imperfect, and with foolish titles.'

The publisher Jones was indifferent to the complaint, and in 1594 he exposed the poet Breton to the like indignity for a second time. Very early in that year Jones published, with the licence of his Company, a new miscellany which he called '*The Arbor of Amorous Devices . . . by N. B. Gent.*' In a preliminary epistle *To the Gentlemen Readers*, he boldly called attention to the fact that 'this pleasant Arbor for Gentlemen' was 'many mens workes, excellent Poets, and most, not the meanest in estate and degree'. Jones' new miscellany consisted of thirty short poems. Breton was only responsible for six or seven of them, yet the title-page ascribed all of them to him.<sup>1</sup>

Two volumes of the utmost literary interest, which were also issued in 1591, illustrate how readily poetic manuscripts fell, without the knowledge of the author or his friends, into a publisher's clutches. Firstly, in that year, Thomas Newman, a stationer of small account, discovering that Sidney's sonnets were 'spread abroad in written copies', put them into print on his own initiative, together with an appendix of 'sundry other rare Sonnets', which he ascribed to divers anonymous 'noblemen and gentry'. Samuel Daniel, the poet, soon discovered to his dismay that Newman, without giving him any hint of his intention, had made free in the

Sidney's  
Sonnets,  
1591.

<sup>1</sup> Of each of these miscellanies assigned to Breton only single copies are now known to be extant; they are even rarer than *The Passionate Pilgrim*. A unique copy of the *Bower* is at Britwell, and a unique copy of the *Arbor* (defective and without title-page) is in the Capell collection at Trinity College, Cambridge. Another example of the assignment by an adventurous publisher of a collection of miscellaneous poems to a single author, whereas the contents of the volume were from many pens, is offered by the second edition of Constable's *Diana*, issued by James Roberts in 1594. The printer, Richard Smith, distributed twenty-one genuine sonnets by Constable, which he had brought out in a separate and authentic volume in 1592, through a collection of seventy-five sonnets, of which fifty-four were by 'other honourable and learned personages'. Eight of the supplementary poems, which the publisher Smith connected with Constable's name, were justly claimed for Sir Philip Sidney in the authorized collection of his works in 1598.

appendix with written copies of twenty-three sonnets by himself which had not been in print before; they appeared anonymously in Newman's volume.

Spenser's  
*Complaints*,  
1591.

Secondly, in 1591, William Ponsonby published a little collection of Spenser's verse, in a volume on which he and not the author bestowed the title of *Complaints*. In an address 'To the gentle Reader' Ponsonby announced that he had 'endeavour'd by all good means . . . to get into his handes such smale Poemes of the same Authors as he heard were disperst abroad in sundrie hands and not easie to bee come by by himselfe, some of them having been diverslie imbeziled and purloyned from him since his departure Oversea'. The printer expressed the hope that *Complaints* might be the forerunner of a second collection of 'some other Pamphlets looselie scattered abroad', for which he was still searching.

Publishers' habit of wrongly giving authors' names.

Further illustration of various points in Jaggard's procedure may be derived from yet two other poetic anthologies, which came out a year later than *The Passionate Pilgrim*, viz. *England's Helicon*, an admirable collection of Elizabethan lyrics, four of which also find a place in Jaggard's volume; and *Belvedere, or the Garden of the Muses*, an ample miscellany of elegant extracts. In the address to the reader prefixed to *England's Helicon* reference is made to the grievance that another man's name was often put in such works to an author's poems, but the wrong done was treated by the publisher of *England's Helicon* as negligible.<sup>1</sup>

The *Belvedere* anthology indicates the superior

<sup>1</sup> To the complaint of stationers, that their copies 'were robbed' and their copyright ignored by these collections, the compiler of *England's Helicon* makes answer that no harm can be done by quotation when the name of the author is appended to the extract, and the most eminent poets are represented in the miscellany. As the author's name was usually either omitted or given wrongly, the apologist for Jaggardian methods offers very cold comfort.



importance which the publishers attached to 'private', or unpublished pieces, above 'extant', or pieces which were already in print. The compiler of *Belvedere* claims credit for having derived his material not merely from printed books, but from '*private poems, sonnets, ditties and other witty conceits . . . according as they could be obtained by sight or favour of copying*'. In the case of Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Marlowe, Barnfield, and many other living authors whom he named, he had drawn not merely 'from many of their extant (i. e. published) workes', but from '*some kept in private*'. Of five recently dead authors he stated he had 'perused' not only their 'divers extant labours' but '*many more held back from publishing*'.

Publishers' thirst for 'private poems'.

In christening his volume, Jaggard illustrated the habit which George Wither had in mind when he wrote of the stationer that 'he oftentimes giues bookes such names as in his opinion will make them saleable, when there is little or nothing in the whole volume sutable to such a tyle'.<sup>1</sup> The title which Jaggard devised has no precise parallel, but it does not travel very far from the beaten track. The ordinary names which were bestowed on poetic miscellanies of the day were variants of a somewhat different formula, as may be deduced from the examples 'Bower of Delights', 'Handful of Pleasant Delights', and 'Arbor of Amorous Devices'. *The Affectionate Shepheard*, a collection of poems by Richard Barnfield, which appeared in 1594, approaches Jaggard's designation more nearly than that of any preceding extant volume of verse.<sup>2</sup>

The name of Jaggard's miscellany.

<sup>1</sup> *Scholars Purgatory* (c. 1625), p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> The similitude is not quite complete. Although Barnfield's book includes many detached pieces, the title of the whole applies particularly to the opening and longest poem of the volume. Jaggard's general title does not apply to any individual item of the book's contents.

Jaggard used the word 'passionate' in the affected sense of 'amorous'.<sup>1</sup> 'Passionate' in that signification was a conventional epithet of 'shepherd' and 'poet' in pastoral poetry. Two poems in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, which also appear in *England's Helicon*, were ascribed in the later anthology to 'The Passionate Shepherd'. Biron's verses from *Love's Labour's Lost* were headed 'The Passionate Shepherd's Song', while Marlowe's poem 'Come, live with me' was headed 'The Passionate Shepherd to his Love'. A poetaster, Thomas Powell, entitled a volume of verse in 1601, *The Passionate Poet*, and described himself in the preface as the creature of 'passion'. In 1604 Nicholas Breton christened a miscellany of love-poems 'The Passionate Shepheard'; and named the concluding section 'Sundry Sweet Sonnets and *Passionated* Poems.' It was Jaggard's manifest intention to attract through the title those interested in amorous verse.<sup>2</sup>

### III

Shake-  
speare's posi-  
tion in 1599.

IN 1599 Shakespeare was nearing the height of his fame. He had just produced the two parts of *Henry IV* in which

<sup>1</sup> A detached love poem was often called 'a passion'. Thomas Watson gave his *Ἐκατομπαθία* (1582), a well-known collection of love-poetry, the alternative title of 'Passionate Centurie of Love', and the work was described in the preliminary pages as 'this Booke of Passionate Sonnetes', while each poem was called a 'passion'. Cf. the title of the appendix to the love poem *Alcilia* (1595): 'The Sonnets following were written by the Author, after he began to decline from his Passionate Affection.'

<sup>2</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh's familiar verses beginning, 'Give me my scalop shell of quiet', which circulated freely in MS., bore, perhaps with allusion to Jaggard's volume, the title of 'The Passionate Mans Pilgrimage' when they were first published at the end of Scoloker's *Daiphantus*, 1604. In this connexion 'passionate' signifies 'sorrowful', as in Shakespeare's *King John*, ii. i. 544, 'She [i. e. Constance] is sad and passionate at your highness' tent.' Raleigh was author of 'Loues answere', which Jaggard included in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, in No. xix.

Falstaff came into being, and in the previous autumn he had been hailed by the critic Meres as the greatest poet of his era. It was a natural ambition in a speculative publisher to parade Shakespeare's name on the title-page of a conventional anthology. The customs of the trade and the unreadiness or inability of authors to make effective protest rendered the plan easy of accomplishment. Enough of Shakespeare's undoubted work fell, moreover, into Jaggard's hands to give a specious justification to the false assignment.<sup>1</sup>

A year before *The Passionate Pilgrim* appeared, it was announced that poems by Shakespeare were circulating 'in private'. Shakespeare's appreciative critic, Francis Meres, did more than write admiringly in 1598 of Shakespeare's narrative poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, which were accessible in print, and of a dozen plays, which were familiar on the stage to the theatre-goer. He made specific reference to writings by the great poet which were 'held back from publishing' and 'kept in private'. These were vaguely described by Meres as Shakespeare's 'sugred Sonnets among his private friends, etc.' The productions which Meres cloaked under his 'etc.' are not with certainty identified, but two of Shakespeare's 'Sonnets' strayed into Jaggard's net.

Meres' statement of 1598.

There can be no doubt that Jaggard, like his colleagues in trade when designing a miscellany, made it his chief aim to secure 'private poems, sonnets, ditties, and other witty

Jaggard's hunt for 'private' poems.

<sup>1</sup> It was not the first time that Shakespeare suffered such an experience, and the action of other publishers was even less justifiable than Jaggard's. Already in 1595 *The Tragedie of Locrine* was attributed by the publisher, Thomas Creede, on the title-page to 'W. S.', with fraudulent intent. His surname figured on the title-pages of *The Life of Sir John Oldcastle*, 1600, *The London Prodigall*, 1605, *A Yorkshire Tragedie*, 1608, and 'W. S.' again in *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, 1602, and in *The Puritaine*, 1607. With none of these six plays had Shakespeare any concern. The worthless old play about King John was assigned to Shakespeare in revisions of 1611 and 1622.

conceits' by popular authors which had been 'held back from publishing' and 'kept in private'. He depended for access to such treasures 'according as they could be obtained by sight on favour of copying'. 'Extant' work was not excluded from his piratical undertaking. Eight of his pieces were already in print, but it seems probable that even in those cases he had met with the text in stray manuscript copies, and that he mistook them for 'private' instead of 'extant' compositions. There is no question that he was successful in acquiring two of the 'private' pieces by Shakespeare, the existence of which had been publicly vouched for by Meres. Three other poems by Shakespeare, which he included, were already in print, imbedded in a published play. But Jaggard was probably ignorant of the fact, and derived his text of these pieces also from independent transcripts in 'private' hands.<sup>1</sup>

The contents :  
Shakespeare's contributions.

On the opening pages of his volume Jaggard set out two of that collection of Shakespeare's sonnets which was not published until ten years later. The two sonnets are numbered, in the full edition of 1609, CXXXVIII and CXLIV respectively. Jaggard's text differs at many points from that of the later volume. He clearly derived his text from detached copies privately circulating among collectors of verse. Thereby, in spite of his insolent defiance of the author's rights or wishes, he rendered lovers of literature a genuine service.

Nos. I and II (Sonnets cxxxviii and cxliv).

Jaggard seems to have presented an earlier recension of the text than figured in the edition of 1609. The poet's second thoughts do not seem to have been always better than his

<sup>1</sup> Two careful analyses of the contents of *The Passionate Pilgrim* should be mentioned: one, by Mr. Charles Edmonds, is in the Isham Reprints—*The Passionate Pilgrime* from the First Edition, 1870; the other, by Professor Dowden, is in the photo-lithographic facsimile of the First Edition (Shakespeare-Quarto facsimiles, No. 10).

first. The text of the second, at any rate, of Jaggard's sonnets is superior to that in Thorpe's collection. In Jaggard's first sonnet (No. CXXXVIII of 1609) he reads The first sonnet.

Vnskillfull in the worlds false forgeries (l. 4) for  
Vnlearned in the worlds false subtilties.

Jaggard's lines 6-9 run:—

Although I know my yeares be past the best:  
I smiling, credite her false-speaking tounge,  
Outfacing faults in Loue, with loues ill rest.  
But wherefore sayes my loue that she is young?

These lines, if less polished, are somewhat more pointed than the later version:—

Although she knowes my dayes are past the best,  
Simply I credit her false speaking tongue,  
On both sides thus is simple truth suppress:  
But wherefore sayes she not she is uniuert?

Line 11,

O, Loues best habite is a soothing tounge,

became in 1609,

O loues best habit is in seeming trust;

while the concluding couplet—

Therefore Ile lye with Loue, and Loue with me,  
Since that our faults in Loue thus smother'd be;

appeared ten years later in the different but equally ambiguous form:—

Therefore I lye with her, and she with me,  
And in our faults by lyes we flattered be.

Jaggard's second sonnet shows fewer discrepancies with The second sonnet.

that of 1609, and his version is on the whole the better of the two:—

line 8—

[1599] Wooing his purity with her faire pride.

[1609] Wooing his purity with her fowle pride.

line 11—

[1599] For being both to me: both to each friend,

[1609] But being both from me both to each friend,

line 13—

[1599] The truth I shall not know, but liue in doubt.

[1609] Yet this shal I nere know but liue in doubt,

Finally, Jaggard's text knows nothing of the 1609 misprint of 'sight' for 'side' in the important line 6:—

Tempteth my better angel from my side.

Nos. III, V,  
and XVI—  
excerpts  
from Shake-  
speare's  
*Love's*  
*Labour's*  
*Lost*.

The three remaining poems which can be confidently assigned to Shakespeare are all to be found in his play of *Love's Labour's Lost*, which was published in 1598. Other plays of his had been published earlier, but this piece was the first to bear on the title-page Shakespeare's name as author (*By W. Shakespere*). The variations from the text of the play are in all three pieces unimportant and touch single words or inflexions. But such as they are, they suggest that Jaggard again printed stray copies which were circulating 'privately', and did not find the lines in the printed quarto of the play. The distribution of the three excerpts through the miscellany suggests that Jaggard did not know that they all came from the same source. The first excerpt from *Love's Labour's Lost*—No. III—immediately follows Shakespeare's two sonnets. It is Longaville's sonnet to Maria, from Act iv, Sc. 3, ll. 58-71. The variations are as follow:—

No. III.

<i>Love's Labour's Lost</i> (1598)	<i>Passionate Pilgrim</i> (1599)
l. 2. cannot	could not
l. 9. Vows are but breath	My vow was breath
l. 10. which on my earth dost	that on this earth doth
l. 11. Exhalest	Exhale
l. 12. If broken then,	If broken, then
l. 14. To lose an oath	To breake an oath

The second excerpt from *Love's Labour's Lost* stands next No. V. but one to the first. It is Dumain's sonnet to 'most divine Kate' (in lines of six feet), from Act iv, Sc. 2, ll. 100-113. The different readings are:—

<i>Love's Labour's Lost</i> (1598)	<i>Passionate Pilgrim</i> (1599)
l. 2. Ah	O
l. 3. faithful	constant
l. 4. were oaks	like Okes
l. 6. Art would comprehend	Art can comprehend
l. 11. Thy eye Ioues lightning bears	Thine eye Ioues lightning seems
l. 13. O pardon love this wrong	O, do not loue that wrong
l. 14. That sings	To sing

The third excerpt from *Love's Labour's Lost* is Biron's No. XVI. verse-address to Rosaline, in seven-syllable riming couplets (beginning, 'On a day, alack the day'), from Act iv, Sc. 3, ll. 97-116. This poem is the sixteenth in Jaggard's volume, being the second of the appended 'Sonnets To sundry notes of Musicke', and the sole piece by Shakespeare in that portion of Jaggard's volume. The only difference worthy of record between Jaggard's version and the text of the play is the omission from the former of the eighth couplet of the latter, viz. :—

Do not call it sin in me  
That I am forsworn for thee.<sup>1</sup>

Nos. IV, VI,  
IX, and XI.  
The *Venus*  
and *Adonis*  
sonnets.

Jaggard did more than include five genuine poems by Shakespeare in order to vindicate his right to place the great poet's name on the title-page. He introduced four sonnets on the theme of Venus and Adonis, which fill respectively the fourth, sixth, ninth, and eleventh places in his miscellany. Thus Jaggard thought to support the faith of the unwary in Shakespeare's responsibility for the whole of the collection. His partner in the venture, Leake, who owned the copyright of Shakespeare's popular poem, and brought out a new edition of it at the same time as he joined Jaggard in producing his anthology, naturally abetted Jaggard in encouraging the notion that Shakespeare was still at work on a topic which had proved capable of making a very powerful appeal to the Elizabethan public. How great was the importance which Jaggard attached to those portions of the volume which brought the subject of *Venus and Adonis* to the minds of readers, may be gauged from the circumstance that, in a new edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* in 1612, he introduced into the title-page the alternative title: *Certaine Amorous Sonnets betweene Venus and Adonis*. But the poetic temper and phraseology of Jaggard's four poems about Venus and Adonis sufficiently refute the pretensions to Shakespearean authorship which Jaggard, with Leake's connivance, made in their behalf. All of them

<sup>1</sup> This piece was reprinted—for the third time in three years—in *England's Helicon*, in 1600. Jaggard's version was there followed, and it may have been transferred direct from *The Passionate Pilgrim*. It is succeeded in *England's Helicon*, as in Jaggard's miscellany, by 'My flocks feed not'. But the editor of *England's Helicon* bestowed on Biron's verses the new heading 'The Passionate Shepherds Song', and subscribed them with the name 'W. Shakespeare'.



embody reminiscences of Shakespeare's narrative poem, but none show any trace of his workmanship.

All treat of Venus' infatuation for Adonis and of Adonis' bashful rejection of her advances. The insistence on the boyish modesty of Adonis is largely Shakespeare's original interpretation of the classical fable, and the emphasis newly laid upon the point in Jaggard's sonnets seems to indicate the source of their inspiration. No. IX, 'Faire was the morne, when the faire Queene of Love,' develops Venus' warning against the boar-hunt. No. XI, 'Venus with Adonis sitting by her,' works up ll. 97-114 in Shakespeare's poem, where Venus describes how she had been wooed by 'the stern and direful god of war'. In the two other sonnets (Nos. IV and VI) which open the series in Jaggard's volume, hints have been sought outside Shakespeare's poem, but the reference to Adonis in Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* appears to have given the sonneteer his leading cue. No. IV ('Sweet Cytherea sitting by a Brooke') and No. VI ('Scarse had the Sunne dride vp the dewy morne'), in both of which the goddess is called Cytherea and is pictured by a brook, read like glosses on the passage in Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* (Ind. Sc. 2, ll. 52-3), which tells of

Adonis painted by a running brook  
And Cytherea all in sedges hid.

The episode of Adonis bathing, with which the second of these two sonnets deals, is unnoticed in Shakespeare's poem.

Of only two of these four poems is any trace found outside *The Passionate Pilgrim*. An early manuscript copy of No. IX was at one time in Halliwell[-Phillipps]'s possession. It gives a different and very tame version of ll. 2-4. The manuscript reading runs:—

Faire was the morne when the faire Queen of Loue,  
*Hoping to meet Adonis in that place,*  
*Address her early to a certain grooue,*  
*Where he was wont ye savage Beast to chase.*

No. XI and  
 B. Griffin's  
*Fidessa*,  
 1596.

Of No. XI alone ('Venus with Adonis sitting by her') is the authorship determinable beyond doubt. With verbal differences, the sonnet was already included in an ample collection entitled '*Fidessa*. . . . by B. Griffin Gent.', which had been published three years before, in 1596. It filled the third place in Griffin's little array of sixty-two quatorzains. The textual variations again point to Jaggard's dependence for his version on a private transcript. Apart from such differences as 'the warlike god', in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, for 'the wanton god' in *Fidessa*, or 'she clasped Adonis' for 'she clipt Adonis', the two texts entirely disagree in regard to ll. 7-12. Jaggard presents them thus:—

Euen thus (quoth she) the warlike god unlac't me,  
 As if the boy should vse like louing charmes;  
 Euen thus (quoth she) he seized on my lippes,  
 And with her lips on his did act the seizure:  
 And as she fetched breath, away he skips,  
 And would not take her meaning nor her pleasure.

In Griffin's printed volumes of 1596 the passage runs thus:—

But he a wayward boy refusde her offer,  
 And ran away, the beautious Queene neglecting:  
 Showing both folly to abuse her proffer,  
 And all his sex of cowardise detecting.  
 Oh that I had my mistres at that bay,  
 To kisse and clippe me till I ranne away.

It is clear that Jaggard did not know Griffin's work as it was printed in Griffin's published *Fidessa*. Jaggard's text was probably a trial version, which Griffin distributed among private friends, but finally excluded from his collection when

he sent it to press. The three other sonnets on the theme of Venus and Adonis in *The Passionate Pilgrim* have a strong family resemblance to that attributable to Griffin, and may well have been similar experiments of his Muse, which were withheld from the printer and circulated only in private.

Griffin is one of three contemporary poets whom Jaggard may be safely convicted of robbing. He was wise in laying somewhat heavier hands on the work of Richard Barnfield, whose lyric gift was more pleasing than Griffin's. There is no question that two of Jaggard's pieces—No. VIII, the sonnet beginning 'If Musicke and sweet Poetrie agree', and No. XX, the seven-syllable riming couplets at the extreme end of the volume, beginning 'As it fell upon a day'—were from Barnfield's pen. Both were published in 1598 in a poetical tract entitled *Poems: in diuers humours*, which formed the fourth section of a volume bearing the preliminary title, '*The Encomion of Lady Pecunia, or the Praise of Money*, by Richard Barnfield, Graduate in Oxford.' The whole book was published by William Jaggard's brother John, at the Hand and Star in Fleet Street, and there is ground for believing that Jaggard, with his brother's connivance, borrowed in this instance from a printed text.

'Poems in diuers humours' was the last of the four parts of the 'Encomion' and had, like each of the three preceding parts, a separate title-page. It was prefaced by a dedication in three couplets to the author's friend 'Maister Nicholas Blackleech of Grayes Inne'. There the writer described the poems which followed as 'fruits of unriper years'. Barnfield's claim to authorship of the 'Poems in diuers humours' cannot be justly questioned.

The opening piece in Barnfield's tract is headed 'Sonnet I.

Nos. VIII,  
XVII, and  
XX: Con-  
tributions of  
Richard  
Barnfield.

Barnfield's  
*Poems in  
diuers hu-  
mours*,  
1598.

No. VIII.  
Barnfield's  
Sonnet to  
R. L.

To his friend Maister R. L. in praise of Musique and Poetrie'. This is the eighth poem of *The Passionate Pilgrim*. The texts are identical, though in Barnfield's publication capitals are more freely used than in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, while the proper names are in italics and not in roman letters as in the later volume.<sup>1</sup>

'R. L.,' to whom Barnfield addressed the sonnet, is doubtless Richard Linche, author of a collection of sonnets called *Diella* which appeared in 1596. John Dowland, to whom Barnfield refers in line 5 of his sonnet, was the famous lutenist and musical composer, who had published a year before a valuable volume in folio, called 'The First Book of Songes, and Ayres of foure partes with Tablature for the Lute' (printed by Peter Short). The compliment to Spenser in lines 7-8 is repeated in Barnfield's volume in the next poem but one, a piece which is entitled 'A Remembraunce of some English Poets' and opens with the line: 'Live Spenser ever in thy *Fairy Queene*.' Already, in 1595, Barnfield had proved his admiration for Spenser by publishing a poem in the Spenserian stanza, called 'Cynthia', which he described in his preface as 'the first imitation of the verse of that excellent Poet Maister

<sup>1</sup> In a reprint of Barnfield's volume under the abbreviated title 'Lady Pecunia', in 1605, only two of the eight 'poems in diuers humours' were included. Among the omitted pieces were the two poems which figured in *The Passionate Pilgrim*. From this omission of the two pseudo-Shakespearean pieces Collier argued that Barnfield was not their author; that the claim to them advanced in behalf of Shakespeare by the compiler of *The Passionate Pilgrim* was justifiable, and that they were dropped by Barnfield in 1605, in deference to an imaginary protest on the part of the compiler of Jaggard's miscellany. Collier ignored the fact that not the two pseudo-Shakespearean pieces alone, but four other of the original eight 'poems in diuers humours' were excluded from the new edition of Barnfield's volume. So wholesale an exclusion undermines Collier's theory, apart from the internal evidence of poetic quality, which entirely negatives Shakespeare's responsibility for the two pieces in question. Cf. Collier's *Bibliographical Account*, i. 57-8; Grosart's Introduction to Barnfield's *Poems* (Roxburghe Club), pp. xxv seq.

Spenser in his *Fayrie Queene*'. In the last line of Barnfield's sonnet, the words 'One knight loves both' (i. e. Dowland and Spenser) refer to Sir George Carey, who in 1596 succeeded his father as second Baron Hunsdon. To Sir George, Dowland dedicated his *First Book of Ayres* in 1597, and his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe, was a friend and patroness of Spenser, who dedicated to her his 'Muioptmos' (1590) by way of acknowledging her 'great bounty' to him as well as the tie of kindred between them.

The fourth item in Barnfield's 'Poems' of 1598 was headed 'An ode'. This is the concluding poem (No. XX), filling the last four pages, of *The Passionate Pilgrim* of 1599. The reproduction in the later volume is again verbatim, save for the substitution of roman letters for a few italics. Although Jaggard here employed a printed text, a private transcript of Barnfield's Ode seems to have strayed into circulation, and that was printed for the first time in *England's Helicon*. There we find a greatly abbreviated version of Barnfield's Ode. The last thirty lines, which figure in both Barnfield's *Poems* and in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, are omitted, and after the twenty-sixth line there is introduced a concluding couplet which is not found in either of the preceding volumes. These two lines run:

Even so, poor bird like thee,  
None alive will pity me.

Of the twenty-six lines, which appear in all three books, the text in *England's Helicon* varies little from that in the other collections. *England's Helicon* in line 22 reads 'Ruthless beasts they will not cheer you', instead of 'Ruthless Beares', &c., as in both the earlier printed versions.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There was a crude sort of justice in the attribution of Barnfield's verse to another. Thoroughly well read in contemporary poetry, Barnfield had

No. XX.  
Barnfield's  
Ode.

No. XVII.

There is a likelihood that much else in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, besides the two poems which he included in his printed collection of poems, were by Barnfield. At any rate, the seventeenth poem in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 'My flocks feed not,' may be confidently set to his credit. In three twelve-line stanzas it had appeared anonymously with minor differences of text in 'Madrigals to 3, 4, 5, and 6 voyces' by the musical composer Thomas Weelkes, which was printed and published by Thomas Este (or East), in 1597. In no instance did Weelkes give the name of the author whose words he set to music. 'My flocks feed not' again appeared in *England's Helicon* (1600) with the new title 'The Unknown Shepherd's Complaint'. It was immediately

already shown himself an unblushing plagiarist. His popular ode beginning 'As it fell upon a day' secretly levies heavy loans on a poem by a little-known versifier, Francis Sabie. In his 'Pan his Pipe: conteyning three pastorall Eglogues in Englyshe hexameter; with other delightfull verses' (London. Imprinted by Richard Jones, 1595, 4to) Sabie opens his volume thus:—

It was the moneth of May,  
 All the fields now looked gay,  
 Little Robin finely sang,  
 With sweet notes each green wood rang;  
 Philomene, forgetfull then  
 Of her rape by Tereus done,  
 In most rare and joyfull wise  
 Sent her notes unto the skies:

• • • • •  
 Fish from chrystall waves did rise  
 After gnats and little flies:  
 Little lambs did leape and play  
 By their dams in medowes gay:

Barnfield was also a silent debtor to Shakespeare, and in two of his earlier works—*The Affectionate Shepheard* (1594) and his narrative poem *Cassandra* (1595)—not merely adopted the common six-line stanza of *Venus and Adonis*, but borrowed many expressions and turns of phrase both from that poem and from Shakespeare's *Lucrece*, as well as apparently from some of Shakespeare's sonnets, which were as yet unpublished and were only circulating in private transcripts.

followed in that anthology by the first half (twenty-six lines out of fifty-six of Barnfield's fully accredited 'Ode'—'As it fell upon a day'), which bore the heading 'Another of *the same* shepherds'. Though the editor of *England's Helicon* appended to the fragment of Barnfield's 'Ode' the signature 'Ignoto', the authorship of those verses is not in doubt. 'The same shepherd' is Barnfield, and there is no valid ground for rejecting the attribution to his pen of the preceding poem, 'My flocks feed not.'

It seems unlikely that Jaggard drew the 'copy' of 'My flocks feed not' directly from Weelkes' volume. Apart from three misprints and minor differences in spelling for which Jaggard's printer may be held responsible (e.g. 'nenying' for 'renying', l. 4; 'wowen' for 'women', l. 12; 'blacke' for 'backe', l. 28), there are textual discrepancies between his and Weelkes' versions which suggest that Jaggard employed 'copy' other than that which Weelkes followed. In neither volume are the words carefully printed, and the sense is in both texts difficult to follow. At the end of the first stanza (ll. 11-12), Weelkes reads:—

The text in  
Weelkes'  
Madrigals,  
1597.

For now I see inconstancie  
More in women then *in many men to be*:

Jaggard reads:—

For now I see, inconstancy,  
More in wowen [i. e. women] then *in men remaine*.

Here the rime with 'dame', though not good, is improved by Jaggard.

In the second stanza, ll. 10-11 appear in Weelkes thus:—

With howling *noyse* to see my dolfull plight;  
How sighes resound through *barcklesse* ground.

Jaggard reads:—

In howling *wise*, to see my dolefull plight,  
How sighes resound through *hartles* ground.

In the third stanza Jaggard's text differs from that of Weelkes in nearly every line. For example:—

line 2, Weelkes: Lowde bells ring not cherefully;  
Jaggard: Greene plants bring not forth their die.

line 4, Weelkes: Nimphes backcreping  
Jaggard: Nimphes blacke [i. e. backe] peeping.

line 9, Weelkes: Farewell, sweet lasse, the like nere was.  
Jaggard: Farewell sweet loue thy like nere was.

line 12, Weelkes: Other help for him I know ther's none.  
Jaggard: Other helpe for him I see that there is none.

In *England's  
Helicon.*

The text of this poem in *England's Helicon* follows closely that of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, and was doubtless taken from the latter volume direct or from the same manuscript. Misprints are corrected. The only textual change of importance is in the last stanza, line 10, where 'woe' is replaced by 'moane' for the sake of the rime with 'none' in the concluding line.

The text of  
Harl. MS.  
6910.

The poem was clearly very popular, and was constantly copied in 'private' commonplace books. A transcript of it in a contemporary script in the British Museum, Harleian MS. 6910, fol. 156 *b*, without author's name, supplies many readings which differ from the printed versions. These variations are often improvements and probably present the verse in the form that it left the writer's hand. For example, in Stanza 1, l. 6, the four lines read in the manuscript:—

All my merry Jiggs are *cleane* forgot  
All *my layes of Love* are lost God wot  
Where my *joyes were firmly linkt* by love  
There *annoyes are placst* without remove.



This makes far better sense than Jaggard's:—

All my merry Iigges are *quite* forgot,  
 All *my Ladies loue* is lost (god wot)  
 Where *her faith was firmly fixt in loue*,  
 There *a nay is plac't* without remoue.

So again in Stanza 2, ll. 9-10, the manuscript reading:—

*My sighes so deepe, doth cause him to weepe*  
*With houling noyse to wayle my woeful plight.*

is superior to Jaggard's:—

*With sighes so deepe, procures to weepe,*  
*In howling wise, to see my dolefull plight.*

In the following line the MS. is probably right in reading 'through Arcadia grounds' for 'through hartles' or 'harcklesse' of the printed copies. In Stanza 3, l. 4, 'nymphs looke peeping' is better than any of the printed readings (i. e. 'back creeping', 'blacke peeping', or 'backe peeping'). Finally, in l. 7,

Alle our evening sportes from greenes are fled

is more pictorial than:—

All our euening sport from vs is fled.<sup>1</sup>

Shakespeare's tutor in tragedy, Marlowe, may be safely credited with the authorship of the familiar lyric 'Come live with me and be my love', which is the nineteenth piece in the miscellany, and stands fifth in the appendix of 'Sonnets To sundry notes of Musicke'. It is in four alternately riming stanzas. To it is appended a single stanza of like metre, entitled 'Loues answere'; this stanza has been assigned on good grounds to Sir Walter Raleigh.

The four stanzas of the substantive poem reappear in

<sup>1</sup> The last four lines are omitted from the Harleian MS.

No. XIX.  
 Marlowe's  
 lyric.

*England's Helicon*, with the addition of two stanzas in the fourth and sixth places, and the whole is signed 'Chr. Marlow'. The presence of these two new stanzas, and the slight variations between the two texts at other points<sup>1</sup>, indicate that different manuscripts were employed by the two compilers, and that the editor of *England's Helicon* did not borrow direct from *The Passionate Pilgrim*.<sup>2</sup>

Survival of  
the tune.

As in the case of the poem 'My flocks feed not', the air to

<sup>1</sup> For example, the two lines 1 and 20 in *England's Helicon* both open with the words 'Come liue with me', instead of with 'Liue with me' (line 1) or 'Then liue with me' (line 16), as in *The Passionate Pilgrim*.

<sup>2</sup> The lyric enjoyed great popularity in Shakespeare's day. Marlowe somewhat derisively quotes two lines in his *Jew of Malta*, where Ithamore addresses Bellamine:—

Thou in those groves, by Dis above,  
Shalt live with me and be my love.

Shakespeare also introduces a stanza into the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, iii. 1. 17-29, where Sir Hugh Evans hums over the last two lines of the second stanza and the first two of the third. Sir Hugh sings:—

To shallow rivers to whose falls  
Melodious birds sing madrigals.  
There will we make our beds of roses  
And a thousand fragrant posies.

There were numerous imitations of the song. One, entitled 'Another of the nature', in *England's Helicon* begins:—

Come live with me and be my deare  
And we will revill all the yeare,  
In plaines and groves, on hills and dales  
Where fragrant ayre breeds sweetest gales.

Another by Dr. Donne was called 'The Bait', and opens thus:—

Come liue with me and be my love  
And we will some new pleasures prove  
Of golden sands and crystal brooks  
With silken lines and silver hooks.

Cf. Donne's *Poems*, 1635, p. 39.

In his *Poste with a packet of Mad Letters*, 1637, 4to, Nicholas Breton attests the continuance of the piece's popularity:—'You shall heare the old song that you were wont to like well of, sung by the black browes with the cherrie-cheeke, under the side of the pide-cowe: "Come, live with me, and be my love": you know the rest, and so I rest.'

which the lyric was sung was very popular and still survives. A contemporary manuscript version, found by Sir John Hawkins, is given in Johnson and Steevens' edition of Shakespeare (ed. 1793, vol. iii, p. 402). A ballad, entitled 'Queen Elinor', which is printed in a contemporary anthology, *Strange Histories, or Songes and Sonets* (assigned to the ballad writer Thomas Deloney), has the heading 'To the tune of come live with me and be my love', and the air is given in the 1602 edition of the work now at Britwell.<sup>1</sup> One of the 'Lessons for the Lyra Viole' in a music-book of the day, Corkine's *Second booke of Ayres*, 1612, has, as its heading, the first line of the song; only the musical notes follow (G 2 recto-H recto).

The four-line stanza which follows 'Come live with me' in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, and is called by Jaggard 'Loues answere', also reappears in *England's Helicon*. It is printed there with a single textual variation: *England's Helicon* reads in line 1 'If *all* the world', instead of 'If *that* the world'; but there are added five new stanzas and the whole is entitled 'The Nymphs Reply to the Shepherd'. In the printed type the initials 'S. W. R.' (i.e. 'Sir Walter Raleigh') are attached, but these letters were pasted over with a blank slip of paper in most published copies of *England's Helicon*, perhaps in deference to some exceptional protest on Sir Walter's part to the unauthorized inclusion of the piece in the anthology.

Raleigh's  
'Answer'.

To this pair of poems further interest attaches from their quotation (with some original additions) by Izaak

Walton's  
quotations.

<sup>1</sup> The 1607 edition, which the Percy Society reprinted, mentions the tune (p. 28) without the musical notation. Several contemporary ballads in the Roxburghe Collection are described as written 'To the Tune of Live with me' (cf. Roxburghe Collection, ed. Chappell, i. 162-3, 205). Marlowe's lyric (in six stanzas) appeared as a broadside, headed 'A most Excellent Ditty of the Lover's promises to his beloved To a sweet new Tune called Live with me & be my Love', together with Raleigh's reply under the title 'The Ladies prudent Answer to her Love To the same Tune' (ibid. ii. 3).

Walton in the second chapter of his *Compleat Angler* (1653, pp. 66-7). Walton heads the first song 'The Milkmaid's Song' and describes it as 'that smooth song which was made by Kit Marlowe now at least 50 years ago'. Walton's version resembles that in *England's Helicon*, but to the six stanzas which figure there he added in the second (not in the first) edition of his *Compleat Angler* a seventh of his own invention.

The 'Answer', which Walton also cited in his *Compleat Angler*, he drew from *England's Helicon*, and gave it the new title 'The Milkmaid's Mother's Answer'. In the second edition of his *Compleat Angler* he added as in the former case a seventh stanza. Of the second poem Walton wrote that it 'was made by Sir Walter Raleigh in his younger days'. The two pieces, Walton adds, 'were old-fashioned poetry, but choicely good'.

No. XII.

The lyric 'Crabbed age and youth', which fills the twelfth place in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, obtained little less popularity in Elizabethan England than 'Come live with me and be my love'. It was probably in print before Jaggard designed his miscellany. It forms with textual variations the first two stanzas of a long lyric of over one hundred lines in Deloney's *Garland of Good Will*. That anthology, which was of the normal type, was, according to Nashe's *Have with you to Saffron-Walden*, in existence in 1595.<sup>1</sup> But no earlier edition than that of 1604 is now extant. The *Garland of Good Will* was repeatedly reissued during the seventeenth century, and the song 'Crabbed age and youth'

<sup>1</sup> Nashe wrote in 1595 (cf. his *Works*, ed. McKerrow, iii. 84): 'Euen as Thomas Deloney the Balletting Silke-weauer hath rime enough for all myracles, & wit to make a *Garland of good will*.' Deloney died in 1600. Thomas Pavier, the publisher, received on March 1, 1602, an assignment of the copy-right 'uppon condicon that yt be no others mans copie'; cf. Arber, iii. 202. Nevertheless Edward White published the edition of 1604.

was reprinted with frequent alterations and additions. Jaggard's version was again drawn from a 'private' copy other than that used by Deloney in any extant edition. Jaggard's text is here the better. Line 4 in Jaggard's text, 'Youth like summer braue, Age like winter bare,' is omitted by Deloney. In line 6 Jaggard reads 'Youth is nimble' for Deloney's 'Youth is wild', and in line 10 'my loue is young' for Deloney's 'my lord is young'. 'Crabbed age and youth' was set to music early, but the original air has not survived.<sup>1</sup>

'It was a Lording's daughter,' a ballad or song for music, No. XV. opens the appended 'Sonnets To sundry notes of Musicke', and fills the fifteenth place in the miscellany. Nothing has been discovered respecting it. It narrates the struggle of a man of arms (an Englishman) with a tutor or man of learning for the hand of 'a Lording's daughter', with the result that 'art with armes contending was victor of the day'. It is in the vein of Deloney's ballads and may possibly be from his somewhat halting pen.

The remaining five poems, numbered respectively VII, X, XIII, XIV, XVIII, are all in six-lined stanzas, the metre of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*. They occupy ten of the thirty-one printed pages of the volume, and confirm the impression given by the four 'Venus and Adonis' sonnets, that Jaggard and Leake were anxious to bring their venture into close touch with Shakespeare's earliest poem. The metre is

Nos. VII,  
X, XIII,  
XIV, and  
XVIII.  
(Poems in  
six-lined  
stanzas).

<sup>1</sup> Dramatists make frequent reference to the song. William Rowley notes in his play *A Match at Midnight* (1633), how 'the Widdow and my sister sung both one song, and what was't but *Crabbed age and youth cannot live together*?' (Act v, Sc. 1 (4to), Sign. I 2, back). John Ford imitated the song in his *Fancies* (Act iv, Sc. 1) in the lines:—

Crabbed age and youth  
Cannot jump together;  
One is like good luck,  
T'other like foul weather.

The piece was included in Percy's *Reliques* (ed. Wheatley, i. 237).

not peculiarly Shakespearean. It is constantly met with not merely in contemporary narrative poetry, but in ballads and lyrics of the popular anthologies, as well as in 'words' for madrigals and part-songs in song-books.<sup>1</sup> But Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* was the most notable example of its employment within Jaggard's and Leake's experience.

None of Jaggard's five poems in six-lined stanzas are met with in print elsewhere. All are pitched in a more or less amorous key, and treat without much individuality of the tritest themes of the Elizabethan lyricist.

No. VII ('Fair is my loue') is an indictment of a beautiful mistress's fickleness; No. X ('Sweet rose, faire flower') is an elegy on the premature death of a fair friend; No. XIII ('Beauty is but a vaine and doubtful good') is a lament on the evanescence of beauty; No. XIV ('Good night, good rest') is a lover's meditation at night and dawn; No. XVIII ('When as thine eye hath chose the dame') is an ironical lecture on the art of wooing. The sentiment and phraseology of each of these poems can be paralleled as easily as the metre. Greene, who wrote many songs in the six-line stanza, anticipates Jaggard's seventh and thirteenth poems in two lyrics which are inserted in two of his romances, respectively *Perimedes the Blacke-Smith* (1588) and *Alcida, Greenes Metamorphosis* (licensed for the press 1588). A song in the former romance begins with the same words as Jaggard's poem No. VII, viz. 'Fair is my loue', and continues in a like strain:—

Faire is my loue for Aprill is her face,  
Hir louely brests September claimes his part,  
And lordly July in her eyes takes place,

<sup>1</sup> In John Farmer's *First set of English Madrigals*, which appeared in 1599 at the same time as Jaggard's volume, twelve of the seventeen numbers, and in Weelkes' *Madrigals in six parts*, which came out a year later, seven of the ten numbers, are in six-line stanza.

But colde December dwelleth in her heart ;  
 Blest be the months, that sets my thoughts on fire,  
 Accurst that Month that hindreth my desire.<sup>1</sup>

In Greene's second tract, *Alcida*, the verses beginning :—

Beauty is vaine, accounted but a flowre,  
 Whose painted hiew fades with the summer sunne.<sup>2</sup>

adumbrate Jaggard's thirteenth poem :—

Beauty is but a vaine and doubtful good . . .  
 A flower that dies when first it 'gins to bud.<sup>3</sup>

Again, the ironical advice to the wooer, which constitutes Jaggard's poem XVIII, is little more than a repetition of passages in two poems in the six-lined stanza, which were already in print.

<sup>1</sup> Greene's Works, ed. Grosart, vii. 90.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* ix. 87.

<sup>3</sup> There are endless Elizabethan poems in the six-lined stanza which are in sentiment and phrase as well as metre hardly distinguishable from this effort of *The Passionate Pilgrim*. The stanza numbered xxxiii in the 'Sonnets' appended to J. C.'s *Alcilia*, which appeared in 1595, runs :—

Though thou be fair, think Beauty but a blast!  
 A morning's dew! a shadow quickly gone!  
 A painted flower, whose colour will not last!  
 Time steals away, when least we think thereon.  
 Most precious time! too wastefully expended;  
 Of which alone the sparing is commended.

Cf. the sonnet attributed to Surrey in *Tottel's Miscellany* (p. 10), headed 'The frailtie and hurtfulness of beautie', which opens :—

Brittle beautie, that nature made so fraile,  
 Wherof the gift is small, and short the season.

In Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody* (1602) was first printed 'An invective against love', which contains the stanza :—

Beauty the flower so fresh, so fair, so gay,  
 So sweet to smell, so soft to touch and taste,  
 As seems it should endure, by right, for aye,  
 And never be with any storm defaced;  
 But when the baleful southern wind doth blow,  
 Gone is the glory which it erst did show.

Davison assigns this poem to the unidentified contributor 'A. W.', and it was appropriated by the publisher of the second edition of *England's Helicon* (1614).

In 'Willobie his Auisa' (1594), canto 44, one 'W. S.' is represented as giving in the same metre identical counsel to a love-lorn friend 'H. W.':—

Apply her still with dyuers thinges  
 (For giftes the wysest will deceave)  
 Sometymes with gold, sometymes with ringes,  
 No tyme nor fit occasion leaue,  
 Though coy at first she seeme and wiede,  
 These toyes in tyme will make her yielde.

The poem in *The Passionate Pilgrim* varies little:—

And to her will frame all thy waies,  
 Spare not to spend, and chiefly there,  
 Where thy desert may merit praise  
 By ringing in thy Ladies eare,  
 The strongest castle, tower and towne,  
 The golden bullet beats it downe.<sup>1</sup>

A contem-  
 porary MS. of  
 No. XVIII.

These five poems were certainly derived by Jaggard from 'private' manuscripts, and doubtless many transcripts were in existence in his day in unpublished poetical collections. Only one of these lyrics (No. XVIII) has survived in a contemporary 'copy', but the variations from Jaggard's version are numerous enough to show that he used another and less satisfactory manuscript. Before 1790 Dr. Samuel Lysons lent a contemporary manuscript poetic miscellany, containing a different version, to Malone, who in his edition of 1790 adopted many of its readings. At the sale of Benjamin

<sup>1</sup> 'A Sonnet' (in seven stanzas of six ten-syllabled lines) in the anthology known as Deloney's *Strange Histories or Song of Sonettes* (probably published in 1595, although no earlier edition than that of 1602 is extant) deals in much the same temper with the same topic:—

Next, shew thyself that thou hast gone to schoole,  
 Commende her wit although she be a foole.  
 Speake in her prayse, for women they be proud;  
 Looke what she sayes for trothe must be aloude.  
 If she be sad, look thou as sad as shee;  
 But if that she be glad, then joy with merry glee.



Heywood Bright's library in 1884, the MS. passed to Halliwell, who gave in his Folio Shakespeare, vol. xvi, p. 466, a facsimile of the 'very early MS. copy of this poem with many variations'. Halliwell dated the compilation of the poetical miscellany 'some years before the appearance of *The Passionate Pilgrim*'. In the MS., stanzas 3 and 4 change places with stanzas 5 and 6.

For Jaggard's unintelligible l. 4,  
 As well as fancy (*partyall might*),  
 the MS. reads: As well as fancy, *partial like*.

In line 12 of the MS.,  
 And set *thy* person forth to *sell*  
 is an improvement on Jaggard's

And set *her* person forth to *sale*.

In l. 14 the MS. reads:—  
 Her cloudy lookes will *clear ere* night  
 for Jaggard's

Her cloudy lookes will *calme yer* night.

In ll. 43-6 the MS. gives:—  
 Think, women love to *match* with men,  
 And *not to live so like a saint*:  
 Here is no heaven; *they holy then*  
 Begin, when age doth them attaint.

Jaggard's less satisfactory version runs:—  
 Thinke Women still to *strive* with men,  
 To *sinne and neuer for to saint*,  
 There is no heauen (*by holy then*)  
 When *time with* age shall them attaint.

Finally, in line 51 the MS. reads:—  
 She will not stick to ringe my eare

and Jaggard reads:—

She will not stick to round me on th' are.

No. XIII.  
Suppositi-  
tious MS.

The poem No. XIII ('Beauty is but a vaine') was printed in 1750 in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xx, p. 521, under the title 'Beauty's Value by Wm. Shakespeare. From a corrected MS.' This was reprinted with what was claimed to be greater accuracy in the same periodical ten years later (vol. xxx, p. 39). The variations are not important, and have a too pronouncedly eighteenth-century flavour to establish their pretension to greater antiquity. In line 7, where Jaggard reads:—

*And as goods lost, are seld or never found.*

the *Gentleman's Magazine* manuscript reads:—

As goods *when* lost are *wond'rous* seldom found.

To improve the rhymes 'refresh' and 'redress' (at the end of lines 8 and 10 respectively), the 'corrected' manuscript reads awkwardly 'excite' in the first case and 'unite' in the second. There can be little question that search must be made elsewhere for any contemporary illustration of this poem of Jaggard's miscellany.

Theory of  
Barnfield's  
authorship  
of the poems  
in six-line  
stanzas.

The authorship of these five poems, which Jaggard first printed from manuscript, can in the present state of the evidence be matter for conjecture only. It is very possible that they are from Barnfield's pen. Barnfield was a voluminous writer, and not all his verse found its way to the printing-press. Much of it circulated in manuscript only, and is still extant in that medium.<sup>1</sup> It is probable, moreover,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Grosart printed in full, in his edition of Barnfield's *Poems* for the Roxburgh Club, a 'manuscript' commonplace book bearing Barnfield's autograph, which was in the library of Sir Charles Isham of Lamport Hall. The volume contained some previously unprinted poems from Barnfield's pen together with transcripts of others' work. The first page gives, without indication of its

that much of it was entrusted to William Jaggard's brother John, who printed an ample but by no means exhaustive selection from it in 1598. Barnfield's imitative habit of mind rendered the six-lined stanza, which Shakespeare had glorified in his *Venus and Adonis*, a favourite instrument, and the internal quality of the many six-line stanzas in *The Passionate Pilgrim* justifies the theory that Barnfield was their author, at any rate of those of them that are in a serious vein.

## IV

IT may be assumed, although the indications are obscure, that despite its equivocal claims to respectful notice, Jaggard's venture met with success. There is small doubt that the compiler of the popular anthology called *England's Helicon*, which appeared next year, was influenced by the example of the publisher of *The Passionate Pilgrim*. The former printed four of Jaggard's 'Sonnets To sundry notes of Musicke', viz. XVI, 'On a day, alack the day', from *Love's Labour's Lost*; XVII, Barnfield's 'My flocks feed not'; XIX, Marlowe's lyric with the reply; XX, Barnfield's 'As it fell upon a day'. Although the editor of *England's Helicon* depended in most cases on different transcripts, the coincidence of his choice and the order which he followed in introducing these four pieces to his reader can hardly be regarded as fortuitous.

Popularity  
of Jaggard's  
miscellany.

No copy of a second edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* is extant, and there is no clue to the date of its issue.<sup>1</sup> The poet Drummond of Hawthornden noted that he read the book in 1606, possibly in a second edition. A third edition source, a Latin quotation from Ovid's *Fasti*, ii. 771-4, which describes Tarquin's admiration of Lucrece's beauty. Shakespeare's poem of *Lucrece* no doubt suggested to Barnfield the transcription of these lines.

The lost  
second  
edition.

The third  
edition.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 48, *infra*.

was undertaken by the unabashed Jaggard in 1612, when his prosperity was secure and he had become his own printer.

Jaggard's  
additions to  
the text.

Exceptional interest attaches to the issue of the third edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* in 1612. The volume was now printed at William Jaggard's own press, which he had controlled only since 1605. Jaggard in this reissue bettered his earlier instruction. He enlarged the text to more than twice its original length by the addition of two somewhat long narrative poems in which Shakespeare had no hand. The third edition, in fact, grossly exaggerated the offence of the first in assigning to Shakespeare work by other hands. The additions to the third edition were from *Troia Britanica*, a collection of poetry by a well-known writer, Thomas Heywood. That volume Jaggard had himself published in 1609, contrary, as would appear, to the wish of the author. Heywood proved less complaisant than those whose name and rights were ignored in the first edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim*.

Heywood's  
*Troia  
Britanica*  
1609.

Jaggard obtained the licence for the publication of Heywood's *Troia Britanica* on December 5, 1608, on somewhat peculiar conditions. The entry in the Stationers' Company's Register described the work, without mention of Heywood's name, as 'A booke called *Brytans Troye*', and the exceptional provision was added 'that yf any question or trouble growe hereof. Then he [i. e. Jaggard] shall answere and discharge yt at his owne losse and costes'.<sup>1</sup> When the book duly appeared, Heywood did not question Jaggard's right to publish it, and no strictly legal 'question or trouble' seems to have 'grown thereof'. But Heywood bitterly complained of Jaggard's typographical carelessness. He requested Jaggard to insert a list of 'the infinite faults escaped'. But Jaggard was obdurate and insolently retorted (according to Heywood's statement) that

<sup>1</sup> Arber, iii. 397.

‘hee would not publish his owne disworkemanship, but rather let his owne fault lye upon the neck of the author’.<sup>1</sup>

Three years later, in 1612, Jaggard inflicted on Heywood the further indignity of filching from *Troia Britanica* translations in verse of two of Ovid’s Epistles, which were first published in that volume. He added them to the third edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, all the contents of which Jaggard continued to assign on the title-page to Shakespeare’s pen. Heywood was in no temper to suffer this new injury at Jaggard’s hands in silence. In an address to another printer, Nicholas Okes, who published for him his prose *Apology for Actors*, in 1612 (soon after the appearance of the third edition of Jaggard’s ‘Passionate Pilgrim’), Heywood not only exposed Jaggard’s misconduct, but claimed to have interested Shakespeare in the matter. His protest was issued (he declared) in the great dramatist’s name as well as in his own. Heywood’s words run: ‘Here, likewise, I must necessarily insert a manifest injury done me in that worke [i. e. *Troia Britanica*] by taking the two epistles of Paris to Helen, and Helen to Paris, and printing them in a lesse volume (i. e. *The Passionate Pilgrim* of 1612) under the name of another, [i. e. Shakespeare], which may put the world in opinion I might steale them from him, and hee, to doe himselfe right, hath since published them in his owne name: but, as I must acknowledge my lines not worth his [i. e. Shakespeare’s] patronage under whom he [i. e. Jaggard] hath publisht them, so the author, I know, much offended with M. Jaggard that altogether unknowne to him presumed to make so bold with his name.’

Jaggard was not, as we have seen<sup>2</sup>, the only publisher who had made ‘so bold with’ Shakespeare’s name as to put it

Shake-  
speare’s  
alleged pro-  
test.

<sup>1</sup> Heywood’s *Apology for Actors*, 1612, Sh. Soc. 1841, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 21, note 1.

to books in which he had no hand. But it was characteristic of Shakespeare to ignore the wrongs which Jaggard and Jaggard's colleagues in trade were in the habit of doing himself and other authors. Heywood's statement offers the only extant evidence that Shakespeare deigned to notice the nefarious practices in which the state of the law of copyright enabled Jaggard and his like to indulge with impunity. But Heywood's exposure was not without effect. Jaggard stayed the issue of the volume with the statement on the title-page that all the contents were 'By W. Shakespeare'. He cancelled that title-page and inserted in unsold copies a new one from which Shakespeare's name was expunged. No name was suffered to take the vacant place.

The text of  
1612.

Save for the expansion of the simple title of *The Passionate Pilgrim* for mercantile purposes by the addition of the words 'or Certaine Amorous Sonnets betweene Venus and Adonis' and a notification of the inclusion of the translation of Ovid's Epistles, with a change of imprint and date, the old text reappeared in 1612 with very small alteration. The spelling and punctuation were slightly improved (cf. I. 4, 'Spirit' for 'sperite'; XIV. 19, 'ditty' for 'ditte'; 27, 'each' for 'ech'; XVIII. 14, 18, 'ere' for 'yer'; 20, 'thee' for 'the'). But not all the misprints were removed. One or two new ones were introduced (cf. VIII. 7, 'Spencer' for 'Spenser'). The greater number of the pages were left blank as before.<sup>1</sup>

The reprint  
of 1640.

Once again *The Passionate Pilgrim* was reprinted in the seventeenth century, just twenty-four years after Shakespeare's death. The 'Poems: Written by Wil. Shake-speare. Gent.' of 1640 contains not merely Shakespeare's Sonnets in a different order from that followed in the previous edition of 1609, but scattered through these rearranged Sonnets are all

<sup>1</sup> See p. 14, *supra*.

the pieces in the 1612 edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, including Heywood's *Epistles*, and there are further poems by other pens. The poems of *The Passionate Pilgrim* are mingled with the sonnets and miscellaneous poems most capriciously. Each item is given a distinguishing title.<sup>1</sup>

*The Passionate Pilgrim* was not published again during the seventeenth century. In 1709 it was reprinted from the first edition of 1599 by Bernard Lintott in his 'A Collection of Poems, viz. I. Venus and Adonis; II. The Rape of Lucrece; III. The Passionate Pilgrim; IV. Sonnets to Sundry Notes of Musick by Mr. William Shakespeare'. In this volume *The Passionate Pilgrim* and the 'Sonnets to

Lintott's  
reprint of  
1709.

<sup>1</sup> The three opening sonnets of Jaggard's miscellany, which appear in the 1640 volume in Jaggard's order and in Jaggard's text, are preceded by thirty-one of Shakespeare's sonnets of 1609. The first is headed 'False beleafe', the second 'A Temptation', and the third 'Fast and loose'. After three more of the sonnets of 1609, there come poems 4 and 5 of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, headed respectively 'A sweet provocation' and 'A constant vow'. These are separated by four more sonnets from Jaggard's poems 6 and 7, which are headed respectively 'Cruell Deceit' and 'The unconstant Lover'. Three more sonnets introduce consecutively Jaggard's Nos. 8 and 9, called respectively 'Friendly concord' and 'Inhumanitie'. After a set of five sonnets come from *The Passionate Pilgrim* Nos. 11, 'Foolish disdaine'; 12, 'Ancient Antipathy'; and 13, 'Beauties valuation'. Two sonnets intervene before No. 10 of Jaggard's series is reached under the title of 'Love's Losse'. Another five sonnets of 1609 appear before Jaggard's No. 14, 'Loath to depart', and yet nine sonnets more before his Nos. 15, 'A Duel'; 16, 'Love-sicke'; 17, 'Love's labour's lost'; and 18, 'Wholesome counsell'. Seventeen sonnets of 1609 cut these off from No. 20, 'As it fell upon a day,' which is called 'Sympathizing love'. The remaining poem, No. 19, of Jaggard's volume (Marlowe's lyric) is separated altogether from its companions by the insertion of sixty-four sonnets; of *The Tale of Cephalus and Procris*; of two more of Shakespeare's sonnets; of five poems by another hand; of *A Lover's Complaint*, and of Heywood's two 'Epistles'. Jaggard's poem, No. 19, is then printed under the title of 'The Passionate Shepheard to his love', as in *England's Helicon*; the text follows that anthology and fills twenty-four lines; the reply follows also in the amplified text of *England's Helicon*, and is succeeded by a poem in imitation of Marlowe from the same source. The remaining twenty-two poems of the volume of 1640 have no concern with *The Passionate Pilgrim*.

Sundry Notes' were each introduced by a separate title-page, of which the imprint ran: 'London, Printed in the year 1599.' In the preliminary 'Advertisement' Lintott wrote: 'The Remains of Mr. William Shakespeare call'd *The Passionate Pilgrime* & Sonnets to Sundry Notes of Musick (at the end of this collection) came into my hands in a little stitch'd Book, printed at *London* for *W. Faggard* in the year 1599.' Lintott's 'Collection' was reissued next year, with the addition of a second volume supplying a reprint of the original 1609 edition of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* and *A Lover's Complaint*. The new title-page was curiously inaccurate as to the date of the first edition of Shakespeare's narrative poems and of *The Passionate Pilgrim*. The words ran: 'A Collection of Poems in Two Volumes: being all The miscellanies of Mr. William Shakespeare, which were Publish'd by himself in the year 1609, and now correctly Printed from these Editions.' There were at least two impressions of this 'Collection in Two Volumes'. In one of these impressions *The Passionate Pilgrim* and 'Sonnets to Sundry Notes' bore the correct date of 1599. In another impression, the title-pages were reprinted with the date changed to 1609. There is no ground for assuming that Lintott knew of an edition, belonging to that year, of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, or of the appended 'Sonnets to Sundry Notes'. The date was invented to agree with that of the first edition of the *Sonnets*.

Gildon's  
reprint of  
1710.

Another collection of Shakespeare's poems followed independently in 1710. This edition formed an unauthorized 'Seventh' or supplementary volume to Rowe's more or less critical edition of Shakespeare's Plays of 1709. This supplement was undertaken by Edmund Curll, the notorious printer-publisher, with the editorial assistance of Charles Gildon. Rowe's publisher, Jacob Tonson, had



no hand in the venture. The contents included, besides *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, miscalled 'Tarquin and Lucrece', the whole of the Poems of 1640, with its clumsy commingling of the *Sonnets*, *The Passionate Pilgrim*, *A Lover's Complaint*, and generous extracts from the work of Heywood and others. Gildon bestowed on this part of his volume (pp. 111-256) the alternative titles of 'His [i.e. Shakespeare's] Miscellany Poems' or 'Poems on Several Occasions'. In a critical essay on Shakespeare's poems (p. 449) he taunted Lintott's 'wise editor' with the 'absurd incoherency' of his very accurate reprint of *The Passionate Pilgrim*. The censorious Gildon, ignorant of the existence of the original editions of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, denounced Lintott for throwing 'into a heap without any distinction', 'a medley of Shakespeare's [verses] tho' they are on several and different subjects.' A factitious value attached in Gildon's eyes to the capricious order which was allotted to the contents of *The Passionate Pilgrim* in the 1640 edition of Shakespeare's *Poems*, and to the separate titles which were there bestowed on the scattered items.

Gildon's editorial procedure was followed in five succeeding reissues of Shakespeare's *Poems* which were undertaken during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century. *The Passionate Pilgrim* was published with the *Sonnets* and the usual mass of irrelevant verse, in the collection of the poems 'revised by Dr. Sewell', which formed a seventh volume supplementary to Pope's edition of the plays in 1725; in a concluding seventh volume of an edition of Shakespeare's Plays which appeared in Dublin in 16mo in 1771; in the concluding ninth volume of 'Bell's Edition of Shakespeare's Plays' (London, 1774, 12°), as well as in two independent publications: 'Poems on several occasions by

Later  
eighteenth-  
century  
reprints of  
the 1640  
edition.

Shakespeare' (London, without date, 1760? 12°) and 'Poems written by Mr. William Shakespeare' (London, 1778, 8°). No notice was taken of any of Shakespeare's poems in the editions of his plays by Theobald, Hanmer, Johnson, Warburton, and Steevens (1778). *The Passionate Pilgrim* was not restored to its independence till Malone edited Shakespeare's poems in 1780 in his 'Supplement' to the 1778 edition of Shakespeare's Plays, where *The Passionate Pilgrim* fills pp. 709-36.<sup>1</sup> Malone omitted the two sonnets by Shakespeare and the nineteenth poem on the ground that that piece was by Marlowe; he added two pieces which were not in the original edition—the two stanzas of the song:

Take, oh! take those lips away

(of which the first stanza in *Measure for Measure* is alone by Shakespeare, the second being by Fletcher) and the enigmatic poem on *The Phoenix and Turtle*, which was assigned to Shakespeare in Chester's 'Loves Martyr', 1601. Both these pieces had been included in the *Poems* of 1640 and the many reissues of that volume. Of the eighteen pieces which Malone printed from the original edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* he remarked: 'Most of these little pieces bear the strongest marks of the hand of Shakespeare,' though he admitted the possibility that one or two 'might have crept in that were

<sup>1</sup> At page iv of his Advertisement in Vol. i Malone wrote:—'Though near a century and a half has elapsed since the death of Shakespeare, it is somewhat extraordinary, that none of his various editors should have attempted to separate his genuine poetical compositions from the spurious performances with which they have been so long intermixed, or taken the trouble to compare them with the earliest editions. Shortly after his death, a very incorrect impression of his poems was issued out, which in every subsequent edition has been implicitly followed.' Dr. Richard Farmer first pointed out in his 'Essay on Shakespeare's Learning' (1766) that Heywood and not Shakespeare was the translator of Ovid's Epistles and of 'all the other translations which have been printed in the modern editions of the Poems of Shakespeare'.

not the production 'of our author'. In most of the editions of Shakespeare subsequent to the appearance of Malone's 'Supplement' *The Passionate Pilgrim* has been accorded an independent place at the end of the poems.

## V

*The Passionate Pilgrim* reached three editions. Of the second no copy is known, and of the first and third only two in each instance are traceable. Of these four copies, two are in public libraries and two are in private hands. All are in England.

Census  
of copies.

The first edition was issued in very small octavo. The signatures run A-D 8 in eights. Only A, A 3, A 4, B, B 3, C, D are noted. The leaves number thirty-two. There is no pagination. The first leaf, in the middle of which appears the signature A, and the last leaf, which is unsigned, are blank. A curious feature of the book is the circumstance that of the twenty-eight leaves which contain the text, twenty-five bear type on one side—the front side—only. The three concluding leaves, D 5, D 6, D 7, alone have type on both sides. On C 3 appears a second title:—SONNETS | To sundry notes of Musicke. | AT LONDON | Printed for W. Iaggard, and are | to be sold by W. Leake, at the Grey-hound in Paules Churchyard. | 1599. | As in many other small books of poetry of the period, each page of print has two linear ornaments—one above and another below the type.

FIRST  
EDITION,  
1599.  
Description.

Of the two extant copies of the first edition of 1599, one is in the Capell collection at Trinity College, Cambridge, and the other in the Christie Miller Library at Britwell.

The Capell copy measures  $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$ . Its state is somewhat dirty, and the date on the second title-page has been

No. I.  
The Capell  
copy, 1599.

FIRST  
EDITION,  
1599.

cut off by the binder. With it is bound up the 1620 edition of *Venus and Adonis*, which it follows. There is an old MS. note at the end of the book running, 'Not quite perfect, see 4 or 5 leaves back: so it cost me but 3 Halfpence.' This copy, which once belonged to 'Honest Tom Martin' of Palgrave, the historian of Thetford (1697-1771), has his autograph signature. It was reproduced in photo-lithography in 1883 in the Shakspeare-Quarto facsimiles, No. 10, with an introduction by Professor Dowden.

No. II.  
The Brit-  
well copy,  
1599.

The Britwell copy was purchased in 1895 by Mr. Wakefield Christie Miller (died three years later) from Sir Charles Isham, Bart., of Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire. This copy was discovered by Mr. Charles Edmonds in an upper lumber-room at Lamport Hall in September, 1867. It is bound in a vellum cover, probably of contemporary date, between two other poetical tracts, viz. :—William Leake's 1599 edition of *Venus and Adonis*, of which no other copy is known, and an undated edition of '*The Epigrammes and Elegies by I. D. and C. M.*' (i. e. Sir John Davies and Christopher Marlowe). This copy measures  $4\frac{5}{8}'' \times 3\frac{1}{8}''$  and is in very clean condition. It is here reproduced in photographic facsimile for the first time by kind permission of Mrs. Christie Miller. A typed reproduction edited by Mr. Charles Edmonds was published in a limited edition of 131 copies, together with the two tracts with which it is bound up, in 1870.

THIRD  
EDITION,  
1612.

The third edition is enlarged to sixty-four leaves by the unwarranted addition of Heywood's rendering of two of Ovid's Epistles. The title runs:—THE | PASSIONATE | PILGRIME. | OR | *Certaine Amorous Sonnets,* | *betweene Venus and Adonis,* | *newly corrected and aug-mented.* | *By W. Shakspeare.* | The third Edition. | Where-unto is newly ad-ded two Loue-Epistles, the first | from *Paris to Hellen,* and | *Hellens* answere backe | againe to *Paris.* | Printed by W. Iaggard. | 1612. |

The text of *The Passionate Pilgrim* was set up again with small alteration. Rather more italic type was used in the new composition. The signatures of the enlarged volume ran from A-H 8 in eights. The first and last leaves were blank,

THE  
PASSIONATE  
PILGRIME.

OR

*Certaine Amorous Sonnets,*  
betwene Venus and Adoni,  
newly corrected and aug-  
mented.

The third Edition.

Where-unto is newly ad-  
ded two *Loure-Epistles*, the first  
from *Paris to Helles*, and  
*Helles answer* becke  
again to *Paris*.

Printed by W. Iaggard,  
1612.

THE  
PASSIONATE  
PILGRIME.

OR

*Certaine Amorous Sonnets,*  
betwene Venus and Adoni,  
newly corrected and aug-  
mented.

By W. Shakespeere.

The third Edition.

Where-unto is newly ad-  
ded two *Loure-Epistles*, the first  
from *Paris to Helles*, and  
*Helles answer* becke  
again to *Paris*.

Printed by W. Iaggard,  
1612.

THIRD  
EDITION,  
1612.

and there was no pagination. The reprint of *The Passionate Pilgrim* followed the example of the original edition in leaving the *verso* of the leaves blank through the first three sheets A-C. Sheet D was differently treated. The type was set on both sides of the page, with the result that the text ended on the *verso* of D<sub>5</sub>, and did not reach as in the first edition the *verso* of D<sub>7</sub>. The second title reappears on C<sub>3</sub>, with the altered date 1612, thus:—

Sonnets: To sundry Notes of Musicke [scroll device]  
At London Printed by W. Iaggard 1612.

No. III.  
Bodleian  
copy, 1612.

The Bodleian copy, which measures  $4\frac{7}{8}'' \times 3\frac{1}{16}''$ , is in the Malone collection. It is numbered Malone 328, and bears a manuscript note signed 'E. M.' and dated October 22, 1785. Malone there points out that Heywood's translations from Ovid were generally assumed to be by Shakespeare until Dr. Farmer noted their true authorship in 1766. The copy is peculiar in having two title-pages, of which one has the words *By W. Shakespere*, in the central space, and the other is without them. There is no question that Shakespeare's name was removed by the publisher Jaggard, at the request either of Shakespeare or of Heywood, and that the title-page bearing Shakespeare's name was cancelled and another substituted to accompany late impressions of the book. By a happy accident the two titles survive together in Malone's copy. The title which lacks Shakespeare's name is not known to be extant anywhere else.

No. IV.  
The Love-  
day copy,  
1612.

The second copy, which measures  $4\frac{1}{16}'' \times 3\frac{1}{16}''$ , belongs to Mr. John E. T. Loveday of Williamsote, near Banbury. The title-page has in the centre the words *By W. Shakespere*. The existence of this copy was only made known in 1882. It was originally bound in rough calf with five other rare tracts of contemporary date. *The Passionate Pilgrim* occupied the second place. The volume bore on the fly-leaf the words:

'e libris Jac: Merrick  
e. coll. Tr: Oxon

1738'

The inscription is in the handwriting of the former owner,

James Merrick, fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, who made some reputation in his day as a religious poet and classical and biblical scholar. Merrick died in 1769, within three days of his forty-ninth birthday, and left this, with many other scarce and valuable books, to his friend John Loveday of Williamscothe (1711-89), great-grandfather of the present owner. The *Passionate Pilgrim* and the five accompanying tracts have been lately separately bound in morocco and are kept together in a case of the same material.<sup>1</sup>

THIRD  
EDITION,  
1612.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Loveday, who carefully described his copy of *The Passionate Pilgrim* and the rare tracts (originally bound with them) in *Notes and Queries* (Aug. 12, 1882), sixth ser. vol. vi, kindly gave me the opportunity of making a personal examination of them. The accompanying tracts are in the order in which they were originally bound together, as follows:—

1. The Picture of Incest Lively Portraicted in the Historie of Cinyras and Myrrha. By James Gresham. London Printed for R. A. 1626.

3. The Mirror of Martyrs, or the Life and death of that thrice valiant Capitaine, and most godly Martyr Sir John Oldcastle Knight Lord Cobham. Printed by V. S. for William Wood 1601.

4. The Kings Prophecie: or Weeping Joy. Expressed in a Poeme, to the Honor of Englands too great Solemnities. Jos: Hall London: Printed by T. C. for Symon Waterson. Reprinted for Roxburghe Club by Mr. J. E. T. Loveday.

5. Britain's Ida. Written by that Renowned Poet, Edmond Spencer. London: Printed for Thomas Walkley, and are to be sold at his shop at the Eagle and Child in Britaines Bursse. 1628.

6. John Marston's The Scourge of Villanie. Three Bookes of Satyres. Perseus. Nec scompros [*sic*] metuentia carmina, nec thus. At London. Printed by I. R., and are to be sold by John Busbie, in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Crane, 1598.

The last three tracts have linear ornaments at the top and bottom of each page of text, as in *The Passionate Pilgrim*.







A



THE  
PASSIONATE  
PILGRIME.

*By W. Shakespeare.*



AT LONDON  
Printed for W. Iaggard, and are  
to be sold by W. Leake, at the Grey-  
hound in Paules Churchyard.

1599.

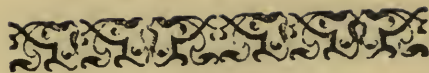




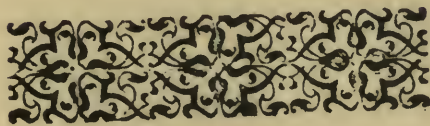
When my Loue sweares that she is made of truth,  
I doe beleeeue her (though I know she lies)  
That she might thinke me some vntutor d youth,  
Vnskilfull in the worlds false forgeries.  
Thus vainly thinking that she thinkes me young,  
Although I know my yeares be past the best:  
I smiling, credite her false speaking tounge,  
Outfacing faults in Loue, with loves ill rest.  
But wherefore sayes my Loue that she is young?  
And wherefore say not I, that I am old?  
O, Loues best habite is a soothing tounge,  
And Age (in Loue) loues not to haue yeares told.  
Therefore lle lye with Loue, and Loue with me,  
Since that our faults in Loue thus snother'd be.





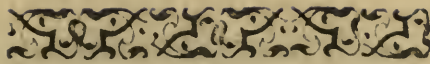


Two Loues I haue, of Comfort, and Despaire,  
That like two Spirits, do suggest me still:  
My better Angell is a Man (right faire)  
My worser spirite a Woman (colour d ill.)  
To winne me soone to hell, my Female euill  
Tempteth my better Angell from my side,  
And would corrupt my Saint to be a Diuell,  
Wooing his purity with her faire pride.  
And whether that my Angell be turnde scend,  
Suspect I may (yet not directly tell:  
For being both to me : both, to each friend,  
I ghesse one Angell in anothers hell:  
The truth I shall not know, but liue in doubt,  
Till my bad Angell fire my good one out.





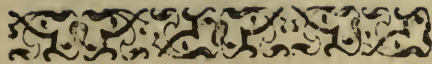




DId not the heauenly Rhetorike of thine eie,  
Gainst whom the world could not hold argumēt,  
Perswade my hart to this false perurie :  
Vowes for thee broke deserue not punishment.  
A woman I forswore : but I will proue  
Thou being a Goddesse, I forswore not thee :  
My vow was earthly, thou a heauenly loue,  
Thy grace being gaude, cures all disgrace in me,  
My vow was breath, and breath a vapor is,  
Then thou faire Sun, that on this earth doth shine,  
Exhale this vapor vow, in thee it is :  
If broken, then it is no fault of mine.  
If by me broke, what toole is not so wise  
To breake an Oath, to win a Paradise :



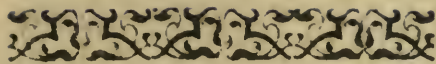




Sweet Cytherea, sitting by a Brooke,  
With young Adonis, lovely, fresh and Greene,  
Did court the Lad with many a lovely looke,  
Such lookes as none could looke but beauties queen,  
She told him stories, to delight his cares :  
She shew'd him fauors, to allure his eye :  
To win his hart, she toucht him here and there,  
Touehes so soft still conquer chastitie.  
But whether vnrripe yeares did want conceit,  
Or he refused to take her figured proffer,  
The tender nibler would not touch the bait,  
But smile, and least, at euery gentle offer :  
Then fell she on her backe, faire queen, & toward  
He rose and ran away, ah foole too froward.



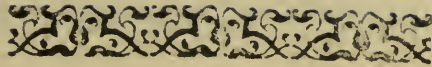




**I**F Loue make me forsworn, how shal I swere to love?  
O, neuer faith could hold, if not to beauty vowed:  
Though to my selte forsworn, to thee Ile constant proue,  
those thoughts to me like Okes, to thee like Osiers bowed,  
Studdy his byas leaues, and makes his booke thine eyes,  
where all thoiē pleasures lue, that Art can comprehend:  
It knowledge be the marke, to know thee shall suffice:  
Wel learned is that tounge that well can thee commend,  
All ignorant that soule, that sees thee without wonder,  
Which is to me some praise, that I thy parts admyre:  
Thine eye loues lightning seems, thy voice his dreadfull  
which (not to anger bent) is musick & sweet fire (thunder  
Celestiall as thou art, O, do not loue that wrong:  
To sing heauens prae, with such an earthly tounge.





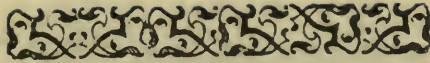


Scarfe had the Sunne dride vp the dewy morne,  
And scarce the heard gone to the hedge for shade:  
When Cytherea (all in Loue torlorne)  
A longing tariance for Adonis made  
Vnder an Olyer growing by a brooke,  
A brooke, where Adon vsde to coole his spleene:  
Hot was the day, the hotter that did looke  
For his approach, that oiten there had beene.  
Anon he comes, and throwes his Mantle by,  
And stood starke naked on the brookes greene brua:  
The Sunne look't on the world with glorious eie,  
Yet not so wistly, as this Queene on him:  
He spying her, bount in (whereas he stood)  
Oh LOVE (quoth she) why was not I a flood









Faire is my loue, but not so faire as fickle,  
Milde as a Doue, but neither true nor trustie,  
Brighter then glasse, and yet as glasse is brittle,  
Softer then waxe, and yet as Iron rusty :  
A Lilly pale, with damaske die to grace her,  
None fairer, nor none falser to deiace her.

Her lips to mine how often hath she ioyned,  
Peruene each laste her othes of true loue swearing,  
How many teles to please me hath she coyned,  
Dreading my loue, the losse whereof still fearing,  
Yet in the mids of all her pure protestings,  
Her faith, her othes, her teares, and all were icastings.

She burnt with loue, as straw with fire flameth,  
She burnt out loue, as soone as straw out burneth:  
She fram'd the loue, and yet she fould the framing,  
She bad loue last, and yet she tell a turning.  
Was this, a louer, or a Letcher whether?  
Bad in the best, though excellent in neither.

B



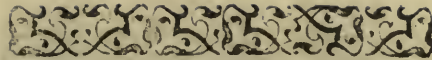
THE [illegible]

[illegible text]

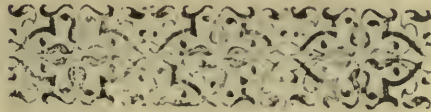
[illegible text]

[illegible text]

[illegible text]



**I**F Musicke and sweet Poetrie agree,  
As they must needs (the Sister and the brother)  
Then must the loue be great twixt thee and me,  
Because thou lou'st the one, and I the other.  
Dowland to thee is deere, whose heavenly touch  
Vpon the Lute, dooth rauish humane sense:  
Spenser to me, whose deepe Conceit is such,  
As passing all conceit, needs no defence.  
Thou lou'st to heare the sweet melodious sound,  
That Phoebus Lute (the Queene of Musicke) makes:  
And I in deepe Delight am chiefly drownd,  
When as him selfe to singing he betakes.  
One God is God of both (as Poets faine)  
Oue Knight loues Both, and both in thee remaine.

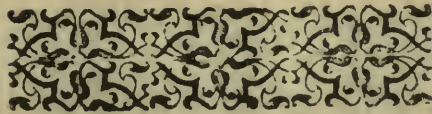






Faire was the morne, when the faire Queene of Ioue,  
Paler for sorrow then her milke white Doue,  
For Adons sake, a youngster proud and wilde,  
Her stand she takes vpon a steepe vp hill.  
Anon Adonis comes with horne and hounds,  
She silly Queene, with more then loues good will,  
Forbad the boy he should not passe those grounds,  
Once (quoth she) did I see a faire sweet youth  
Here in these brakes, deepe wounded with a Boare,  
Deepe in the thigh a spectacle of ruth,  
See in my thigh (quoth she) here was the sore,  
She shewed hers, he saw more wounds then one,  
And blushing fled, and left her all alone.

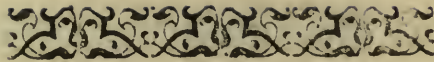
B 3



Handwritten text at the top of the page, possibly a title or header.

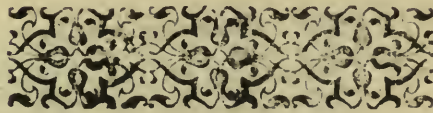
Main body of handwritten text, consisting of several lines of script.

Handwritten text at the bottom of the page, possibly a signature or footer.



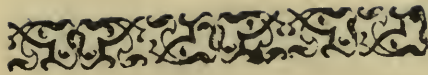
Sweet Rose, faire flower, vntimely pluckt, soon vaded,  
Pluckt in the bud, and vaded in the spring:  
Bright orient pearle, alacke too timely shaded,  
Faire creature kalde too soon by Deaths sharpe sting:  
Like a greene plumbe that hang's vpon a tice:  
And fals (through winde) before the fall should be.

I weepe for thee, and yet no cause I haue,  
For why: thou lets me nothing in thy will.  
And yet thou lets me more then I did craue,  
For why: I craued nothing of thee still:  
O yes (deare friend I pardon craue of thee,  
Thy discontent thou didst bequeath to me.

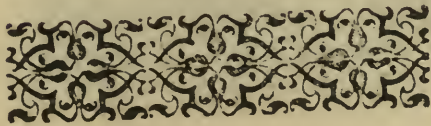




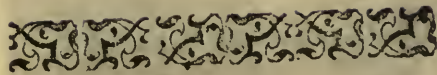




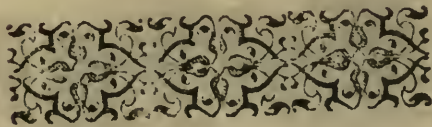
Venus with Adonis sitting by her,  
Vnder a Mirde shade began to wooe him,  
She told the youngling how god Mars did trie her,  
And as he fell to her, she fell to him.  
Euen thus (quoth she) the warlike god embrac't me:  
And then she clipt Adonis in her armes:  
Euen thus (quoth she) the warlike god vnlac't me,  
As if the boy should vse like louing charmes:  
Euen thus (quoth she) he seized on my lippes,  
And with her lips on his did act the seizure:  
And as she fetched breath, away he skips,  
And would nor take her meaning nor her pleasure.  
Ah, that I had my Lady at this bay:  
To kilfe and clip me till I run away.



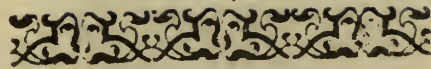




Crabbed age and youth cannot liue together,  
Youth is full of pleafance, Age is full of care,  
Youth like fummer morne, Age like winter weather,  
Youth like fummer braue, Age like winter bare.  
Youth is full of fport, Ages breath is fhort,  
Youth is nimble, Age is lame  
Youth is hot and bo'd, Age is weake and cold,  
Youth is wild, and Age is tame.  
Age I doe abhor thee, Youth I doe adore thee,  
O my loue my loue is young:  
Age I doe defire thee. Oh fweet Shepheard hie thee:  
For me thinks thou ftaiest too long.

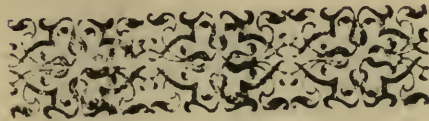




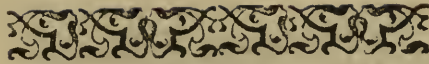


**B**eauty is but a vaine and doubtfull good,  
A shring glosse, that vadeth sodainly,  
A flower that dies, when first it gins to bud,  
A brittle glasse, that s broken preiently.  
A doubtfull good, a glosse, a glasse, a flower,  
Lost, vaded, broken, dead within an houre.

And as goods lost, are seld or neuer found,  
As vaded gosse no rubbing will reifresh:  
As flowers dead, lie withered on the ground,  
As broken glasse no symant can redressic.  
So beauty vlemishit once, for euer lost,  
In spike of phisicke, painung, paine and cost.







Good night, good rest, ah neither be my share,  
She bad good night, that kept my rest away,  
And dast me to a cabben hangde with care:  
To defcant on the doubts of my decay.  
Farewell (quoth she) and come againe to morrow  
Fare well I could not, for I lupt with sorrow.

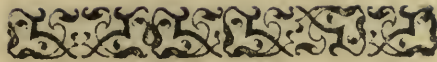
Yet at my parting sweetly did she smile,  
In scorne or friendship, nill I conster whether :  
'Tmay be she ioyd to icast at my exile,  
'Tmay be againe, to make me wander thither.  
Wander ( a word ) for shadowes like my selfe,  
As take the paine but cannot plucke the pelfe.

Lord









Lord how mine eies throw gazes to the East,  
My hart doth charge the watch, the morning rise  
Doth scite each mouing scence from idle rest,  
Not daring trust the oface of mine eies.

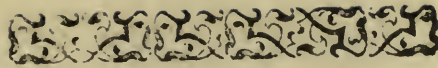
While Philomela sits and sings, I sit and mark,  
And with her layes were tuned like the larke.

For she doth welcome daylight with her ditte,  
And driues away darke dreaming night:  
The night so packt, I post vnto my pretty,  
Hart hath lus hope, and eies their withed sight,  
Sorrow changd to solace, and solace mixt with sorrow,  
For wly, she sight, and bad me come to morrow.

C







Were I with her, the night would pass too soone,  
But now are minutes added to the houres.  
To spite me now, each minute seems an houre,  
Yet not for me, thine sun to succour flowers.  
Pack night, peep day, good day of night now borrow  
Short night to night, and length thy selfe to morrow





# SONNETS

To sundry notes of Musicke.



*AT LONDON*

Printed for W. Iaggard, and are  
to be sold by W. Leake, at the Grey-  
hound in Paules Churchyard.

1599.

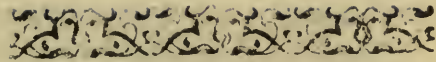
THE UNIVERSITY OF

CHICAGO



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
CHICAGO, ILL.

1913



It was a Lordings daughter, the fairest one of three  
That liked of her maister, as well as well might be,  
Till looking on an Englishman, the fairest that ere could  
Her fancie fell a turning.  
Long was the combat doubtfull, that loue with loue did  
To leaue the maister louelife, or kill the gallant knight  
To put in practise either, alas it was a que  
Vnto the silly damsell.  
But one must be refused, more mickle was the paine,  
That nothing could be vsed, to turne them both to gain  
For of the two the trusty knight was wounded with dill  
Alas she could not helpe it.  
Thus art with armes contending, was victor of the day  
Which by a gift of learning, did beare the maid away,  
Then lullaby the learned man hath got the Lady gay,  
For now my song is ended.





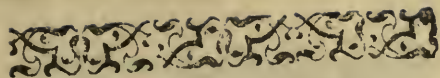




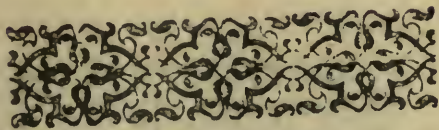
ON a day (alacke the day)  
Loue whose month was euer May  
Spied a blossome passing fair,  
Playing in the wanton ayre,  
Through the veluet leaues the wind  
All vnseene gan passage find,  
That the Louer (sicke to death)  
Witht himselfe the heaüens breath,  
Ayre (quoth he) thy cheekes may blowe  
Ayre, would I might triumph so  
But (alas) my hand hath sworne,  
Nere to plucke thee from thy throne,  
Vow (alacke) for youth vnnect,  
Youth, so apt to pluck a sweet,  
Thou for whome loue would sweare,  
Iuno but an Ethiope were  
And deny himselfe for loue  
Turning moi tail for thy Loue.



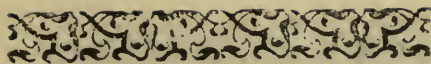




**M**Y flocks feede not, my Ewes breed not,  
My Rams speed not, all is anus:  
Loue is dying, Farkes defying,  
Harts nenyng, causer of this.  
All my merry liggess are quite forgot,  
All my Ladies loue is lost (god wot)  
Where her faith was firmly fixt in loue,  
There a nay is plac't without remoue.  
One silly crosse, wrought all my losse,  
O frowning fortune cursed fickle dame,  
For now I see, inconstancy,  
More in wouen then in men remaine.







In blacke morne I, all feares scorne I,  
Loue hath forlorne me, liuing in thrall:  
Hart is bleeding, all helpe needing,  
O cruell speeding, fraughted with gall.  
My shepheards pipe can sound no deale,  
My weathers bell rings dolefull kneell,  
My curtaile dogge that wont to haue plaid,  
Plaies not at all but seemes afraid.

With sighes so deepe, procures to weepe,  
In howling wise, to see my dolefull plight,  
How sighes resound through hardes ground  
Like a thousand vanquishd men in blodie fight.



# SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

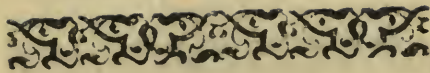
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/15/00 BY 60322 UCBAW/STP

EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE, THIS DOCUMENT  
IS UNCLASSIFIED

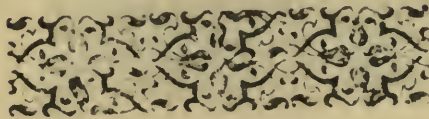
DATE 10/15/00 BY 60322 UCBAW/STP

CONFIDENTIAL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/15/00 BY 60322 UCBAW/STP

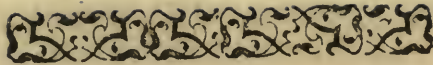


Clare wels spring not, sweete birds sing not,  
Greene plants bring not forth their die,  
Heards stands weeping, flocks all sleeping,  
Nimphes blacke peeping fearefully:  
All our pleasure knowne to vs poore swaines:  
All our merrie meetings on the plaines,  
All our euening sport from vs is tied,  
All our loue is lost, for loue is dead,  
Farewell sweet loue thy like nere was,  
For a sweet content the cause of all my woe,  
Poore Coridon must liue alone,  
Other helpe for him I see that there is none.





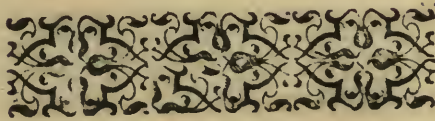




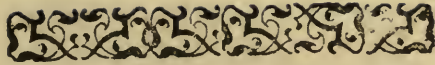
When as thine eye hath chose the Dame,  
And stalde the deare that thou shouldst strike,  
Let reason rule things worthy blame,  
As well as fancy (partyall might)  
Take counsell of some wiser lead,  
Neither too young, nor yet vnwed.

And when thou comst thy tale to tell,  
Smooth not thy young with filed talke;  
Least the some subtil practise smell,  
A Crapple soone can finde a halt,  
But plainly say thou loust her well,  
And set her person forth to sale.

D







What though her frowning browes be bent  
Her cloudy lookes will calme yer night,  
And then too late she will repent,  
That thus dissembled her delight,  
And twice desire yer it be day,  
That which with scorne she put away.

What though she striue to try her strength,  
And ban and braule, and say the nay:  
Her feeble force will yeeld at length,  
When craft hath taught her thus to say:  
Had women beene so strong as men  
In faith you had not had it then.

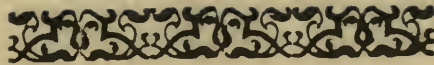


# THE HISTORY OF THE

... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..

... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..

... ..  
... ..  
... ..

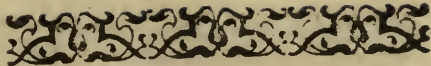


And to her will frame all thy waies,  
Spare not to spend, and chiefly there,  
Where thy desert may merit praise  
By ringing in thy Ladies care,  
The strongest castle, tower and towne,  
The golden bullet beats it downe.

Serue alwaies with assured trust,  
And in thy sute be humble true,  
Vnlesse thy Lady proue vniust,  
Ptease neuer thou to chuse a new:  
When time shall serue, be thou not slacke,  
To proffer though she put thee back.








The wiles and guiles that women worke,  
Dissembled with an outward shew:  
The tricks and toys that in them lurke,  
The Cock that treads the shall not know,  
Haue you not heard it said full oft,  
A Womans nay doth stand for nought.

Thinke Women still to strue with men,  
To sinne and neuer for to faint,  
There is no heauen (by holly then)  
When time with age shall them attain,  
Were kisses all the ioyes in bed,  
One Woman would another wed.

But soft enough, too much I feare,  
Least that my mistresse heare my song,  
She will not sticke to round me on th'are,  
To reach my tounge to be so long:  
Yet will she blush, here be it said,  
To heare her secrets sobewraid.

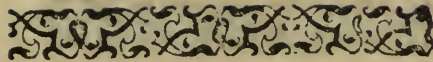


## CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Chapter I	15
Chapter II	35
Chapter III	55
Chapter IV	75
Chapter V	95
Chapter VI	115
Chapter VII	135
Chapter VIII	155
Chapter IX	175
Chapter X	195
Chapter XI	215
Chapter XII	235
Chapter XIII	255
Chapter XIV	275
Chapter XV	295
Chapter XVI	315
Chapter XVII	335
Chapter XVIII	355
Chapter XIX	375
Chapter XX	395
Chapter XXI	415
Chapter XXII	435
Chapter XXIII	455
Chapter XXIV	475
Chapter XXV	495
Chapter XXVI	515
Chapter XXVII	535
Chapter XXVIII	555
Chapter XXIX	575
Chapter XXX	595

THE END OF THE WORLD  
BY  
J. H. B. [unclear]



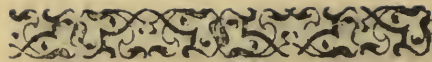


L iue with me and be my Loue,  
And we will all the pleasures proue .  
That hilles and vallies, dales and fields,  
And all the craggy mountaines yeeld.

There will we sit vpon the Rocks,  
And see the Shepheards feed their flocks,  
By shallow Riuers, by whose fials  
Melodious birds sing Madrigals.

There will I make thee a bed of Rofes,  
With a thousand fragrant poses,  
A cap of flowers. and a Kirtle  
Imbordered all with leaues of Mirtle.



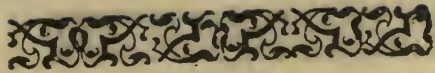


A belt of Straw and Yuyebuds,  
With Corall Clasps and Amber studs,  
And if these pleasures may thee moue,  
Then lue with me, and be my Loue.

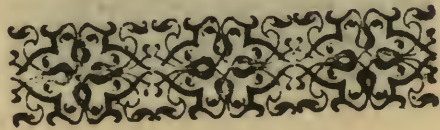
*Loues answer.*

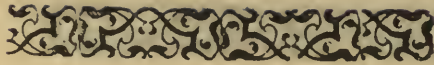
If that the World and Loue were young,  
And truth in euery shepheards tounge,  
These pretty pleasures might me moue,  
To lue with thee and be thy Loue.





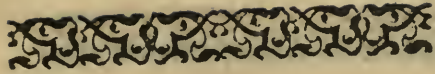
AS it fell vpon a Day,  
In the merry Month of May,  
Sitting in a pleasant shade,  
Which a groue of Myrdes made,  
Beastes did leape, and Birds did sing,  
Trees did grow, and Plants did spring:  
Euery thing did banish mone,  
Saue the Nightingale alone.  
Shee (poore Bird) as all forlorne,  
Leand her breast vp-till a thorne,  
And there sung the dolefullst Ditty,  
That to heare it was great Pitty,  
Fie, fie, fie, now would she cry  
Teru, Teru, by and by:





That to heare her so complaine,  
Scarce I could from teares refraine:  
For her griefes so liuely showne,  
Made me thinke vpon mine owne.  
Ah'thought I)thou mourn'st in vaine,  
None takes pity on thy paine:  
Senselesse Trees, they cannot heare thee,  
Ruthlesse Beares, they will not cheere thee.  
King Pandion, he is dead:  
All thy friends are lapt in Lead.  
All thy fellow Birds doe sing,  
Carelesse of thy sorrowing.





Whilst as fickle Fortune smilde,  
Thou and I, were both beguild.  
Every one that flatters thee,  
Is no friend in miserie:  
Words are easie, like the wind,  
Faithfull friends are hard to find:  
Every man will be thy friend,  
Whilst thou hast wherewith to spend:  
But if store of Crownes be scant,  
No man will supply thy want  
If that one be prodigall,  
Bountifull they will him call:  
And with such-like flattering,  
Pitty but he were a King.





If he be addict to vice,  
Quickly him, they will intice.  
If to Women hee be bent,  
They haue at Commaundement.  
But if Fortune once doe frowne,  
Then farewell his great renowne:  
They that fawnd on him before,  
Vse his company no more.  
Hee that is thy friend indeede;  
Hee will helpe thee in thy neede:  
If thou sorrow, he will weepe:  
If thou wake, hee cannot sleepe:  
Thus of euery grieffe, in hart  
Hee, with thee, doeth beare a part.  
These are certaine signes, to know  
Faithfull friend, from flatt'ring toe.

















M99171

RETURN TO the circulation desk of any  
University of California Library  
or to the

NORTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY  
Bldg. 400, Richmond Field Station  
University of California  
Richmond, CA 94804-4698

ALL BOOKS MAY BE RECALLED AFTER 7 DAYS  
2-month loans may be renewed by calling  
(415) 642-6753

1-year loans may be recharged by bringing books  
to NRLF

Renewals and recharges may be made 4 days  
prior to due date

DUE AS STAMPED BELOW

MAR 26 1992

SENT ON ILL

APR 03 1995

U. C. BERKELEY

JAN 17 2003

LD 2

