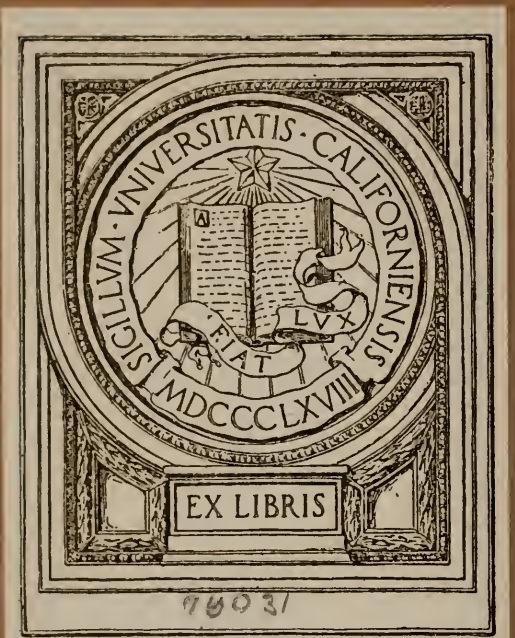

AN

INTRODUCTION

TO

MICHAEL DRAYTON.

BY

OLIVER ELTON, B.A.

(Lecturer on English Literature, Owens College, Manchester.)

MANCHESTER:
J. E. CORNISH.
1895.

MICHAEL DRAYTON, *æt.* 65.

From the Portrait in the Dulwich Gallery

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"That Panegyrist of my native earth, who has gone over her soil, in his *Poly-Olbion*, with the fidelity of a herald, and the painful love of a son; who has not left a rivulet so narrow that it may be stept over, without honourable mention, and has animated hills and streams with life and passion beyond the dreams of old mythology."—CHARLES LAMB.

PRINTED FOR THE SPENSER SOCIETY.
1895.

PRINTED BY CHARLES E. SIMMS
MANCHESTER.

CORRIGENDA.

On p. 6, l. 11, and p. 7, l. 13, *for* "elder" *read* "younger," and alter table on p. 6 (note) accordingly. Drayton's words in Ecl. 8 (1606) correct that table, which is from Harl. Soc. *Publ.*, xii. 67.

On p. 8, l. 5 from end, *for* "Sir John . . . . . translator," *read* "John, Lord Harington of Exton."

On p. 62, l. 2 from end, *for* "Chalmer's" *read* "Chalmers'."

TO

M. E. S.

THIS TRIFLE

IN RECOLLECTION OF DRAYTON'S COUNTRYSIDE.

CONTENTS.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THREE works have much shortened the journey to the original authorities (which have been here given where it is possible) for the annals of Michael Drayton. They are (1) COLLIER's edition, published for the Roxburghe Club in 1846, of some of the poet's writings; above all his Introduction. (2) The article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* by Mr. A. H. BULLEN, who has also kindly given me some information privately. No such expert in Elizabethan lore, I have only undertaken this work because Mr. BULLEN's other engagements have prevented him from giving his leisure to this one. (3) The article by the Rev. F. G. FLEAY in his *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama.* My footnotes contest as rash several of Mr. FLEAY's inferences; but the value of his labours at our old poetry needs no witness.

Drayton has hitherto been, so far as any one knew, much in Melchisedek's position—parentless. With some pains I have succeeded in evoking a row of respectable

shadows who may plausibly claim kindred with him. They are mere names; some little further glamour thrown about the profession of butchering, if it was really in Drayton's paternal line, is the chief result. Less shadowy and more human is his connexion, now somewhat more clearly brought out than before, with the houses of Goodere and Rainsford. For aid over the genealogy, I have cordially to thank J. Challenor Smith, Esq., of the Probate Registry, Somerset House, who put time and knowledge at the service of a stranger; and also the Rev. G. Frazer Matthews, Vicar of Mancetter, who copied a number of entries from his registers. For information about the Rainsford family and memorial I am much indebted to Mrs. and Miss Annesley, of Clifford Chambers. The Council of Dulwich College have most kindly given leave to reproduce the picture and signature of Drayton that will be found on the frontispiece and opposite page 27; and the past and present Librarians, G. Stretton, Esq., and P. Hope, Esq., have given advice and help in the same matter. Thanks are also due to G. N. Richardson, Esq., of Oriel, and C. H. Firth, Esq., of Balliol, for copying the lines in the Bodleian ascribed to Drayton: and, for other services, to Prof. J. S. Mackenzie of Cardiff, and the Rev. T. P. Wadley of Naunton Vicarage, Pershore, and E. Gordon Duff, Esq., Rylands Librarian. The Rev. E.

M. Beaumont and other gentlemen of Coventry have helped greatly in the search, still fruitless, for the date of Anne Goodere's birth.

Drayton's constant changes of his text have been, though but slightly, dealt with in appendices. Study of his talent is sometimes embarrassed by the great number of editions issued in his lifetime, and often embodying his revisions. To throw some light on this matter an attempt at a Bibliography has been added. R. L. Graves, Esq., of the British Museum, has much increased its value by copying titles of several original editions (not in the Museum) from the library of Britwell Court, with the kind approval of the owner, Mr. Christie Miller.

Since the above was written, and most of the sheets worked off, my friend Mr. E. K. Chambers, of the Education Office, has been good enough to send me, besides other information, some interesting extracts which he was at the pains to copy from the official transcript of the will of Sir Henry Goodere the Elder, dated 26 January, 1595, and proved 6 May (see p. 6). Space compels an abridgement. Provision is made as to the funeral that the executors "will do nothing pompous and unnecessary, nor detract anything seemly and convenient." After some arrangements for paying debts, testator bequeaths "to my said daughter Anne Goodiere for and towards her preferment in marriage the sum of

£1,500," while £40 is to be paid her yearly until the estate is wound up. The executors are "my well-beloved brother William Goodiere, my well-beloved daughter Anne Goodiere, my well-beloved friend Richard Lee, my loved friend and kinsman Thomas Goodiere gent." Other bequests follow to Frances and the young Sir Henry. Besides the paternal care for Anne, this will proves the presence of Drayton at Polesworth in 1595, for he is the first-named of the four witnesses. The reference to the transcript in Somerset House is "P.C.C. Book Scott (1595) fol. 9."

O. E.

The Owens College,
Manchester,
March, 1895.

MICHAEL DRAYTON.

I.—1563-1593.

My native country then, which so brave spirits hast bred,
if there be virtue yet remaining in thy earth,
or any good of thine thou breathd'st into my birth,
accept it as thine own, while now I sing of thee,
of all thy later brood th' unworthiest though I be.

Poly-Olbion, Song 13.

MICHAEL DRAYTON, or Draiton, was born at Hartshill, near Atherstone,[1] Warwickshire, in 1563. The first evidence for the time and place of his birth is found upon the frontispiece to his poems published in 1613, his fiftieth year. Round the portrait, engraved by Hole,[2] runs the legend: *Effigies Michaelis Drayton, armigeri poetæ clariss. ætat. suæ L. A. Chr.* CIↃDCXIII. Latin doggrel follows to the effect that he was cradled at Hartshill, a hamlet of Warwickshire, until then obscure:

Lux, Hareshulla, tibi, Warwici villa, tenebris
ante tuas cunas obsita prima fuit.
Arma, viros, veneres, patriam, modulamine, dixti:
te patriæ resonant arma, viri, veneres.

This notice, coming fifty years after the birthdate, is confirmed

[1] Fuller, *Worthies*, ed. 1840, iii. 285, wrongly names Atherstone as the birthplace; also Aubrey.

[2] On this and other portraits, see p. 33.

by general tradition, but by little else. The old registers concerning Hartshill, entered until quite lately at the parent village of Mancetter, and still preserved there, do not begin till 1576. The following is some fresh evidence for the parentage of Drayton, which is still only a likely conjecture.

That Michael Drayton had a brother Edmund, who administered his estate in 1632 (see p. 51), is the solitary fact that we know directly about his kindred. Now an Edmund Drayton, as appears from the Mancetter registers, was baptized February, 1579, buried 12 December, 1644, and was the son of William Drayton. It is highly probable that this Edmund—the only one in the record—was Michael's brother, and thus that William was Michael's father. Of William, then, we further find that he had other children, as follow: Elizabeth, baptized April, 1576, whose name is the first entry in the book; Edward, baptized 1580; Susannah, buried September, 1586; Ralph, buried 1641. (The last is uncertain, as Ralph may be the son of another William, buried 1642, who is too old to be Michael's father.) William, father of Edmund, was buried 15 October, 1622. His will, the last chance, it would seem, of further information, cannot be found.[1] We know, however, something of William's own parentage. He had brothers John, Christopher, Thomas, Edward, and Hugh, all living at Atherstone, Mancetter, or Hartshill, in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The baptismal register of Mancetter is much taken up with announcements of their offspring. They were all sons of one Christopher Drayton,[2] of Atherstone, butcher, whose will is dated 1555–6, and of Margerie his wife. Aubrey[3] has been derided for saying that the poet's father was a butcher, yet he was but one generation out; perhaps not even that, since William may well have followed Christopher's trade. These details, which are new, give us, if the two Edmunds are the same, a certain inkling of Drayton's

[1] Either in the Somerset House, Lichfield, or Worcester indexes.

[2] Communication from Mr. J. C. Smith, of Somerset House. See App. G, "Family Tree."

[3] *Lives*, ed. 1813, vol. ii. p. 335.

origin and quality.[1] His family, it would appear, were of the well-to-do trading class, of good estimation, who migrated from Atherstone to Hartshill, where their children swarmed, overran, and settled. They may conceivably have gone back to some branch of the noble family of Draytons, supposed to be extinct in the fifteenth century,[2] but it is far likelier, as Burton, who knew our poet, states, that they took their origin and name from Fenny Drayton in Leicestershire, one of the many villages that have the name in a compound form.[3] And, though they had kindred at Atherstone, who, as we have seen, aimed at, or verged on, gentility, and left a pedigree,[1] it was probably chance, or the brightness of his parts, that caused Michael Drayton, while a little boy, to be picked out and made a man of, by a family of gentlefolk in the same countryside. It is to his rearing by the Gooderes that he refers in *The Owl*, 1604, when he calls himself "nobly bred and well allied"; and not, as some have thought, to high descent.

[1] The College of Heralds tells us nothing of Michael, not even recording any grant of the arms (see p. 28) which he assumed at some unknown date. In the *Visitation of Warwickshire*, 1683, preserved there in *MS.*, a pedigree is given of *another* William Drayton, of Atherstone (died 1642), who had among his descendants two Harrington Draytons, father and son. Michael was a client of the house of Har(r)ington (see p. 8). Now this William D. of Atherstone married a Mary or Alice Grey. Hunter, *MS. Chorus Vatum*, vol. i., s.v. "Grey," names a rare book *Panthea*, an elegy on Elizabeth Grey, who is in it said "by her sister Mrs. Mary Drayton to be allied to the prince of English poets, Michael Drayton, Esq." This only shows, what the name would show by itself, that William of Atherstone and William of Hartshill were kin, but it brings us no nearer to Michael. I only name all this to save others from straying up the same blind alleys.

[2] Halstead's *Succinct Genealogies*, p. 73. The Harleian Society's genealogies also mark the extinction of the male line.

[3] Burton, *Description of Leicestershire*, ed. 1777, p. 85. "This place [Fenny Drayton] gave the name to the progenitors of that ingenious Poet, Michael Drayton, Esq., my near countryman and old acquaintance; who, though those Transalpines account us Transmontani, rude and barbarous . . . yet may compare either with their old Dante, Petrarch, or Boccace, or their Neoterick Marinella. . . . But why should I go about to commend him whose own works and worthiness have sufficiently proved to the world?"

Drayton's country (as a fantast might say) befits his utterance, —rather pedestrian, seldom of the rarest greatness, but often near it—and lies a little off the most enchanted parts of Warwickshire, away from the dells and waters of Shakspere; it stands at a certain height, but near the plain. The quarry village of Hartshill, on the north-eastern edge of the shire, climbs the last and steepest ripple of that quietly-rolling land, just before it drops into the Leicestershire levels. Behind it, up to the crest of the ridge, hangs a deep wood, damasked in July with splashes of foxglove-bloom, and on the top is Oldbury, part of the old *Manduessedum* of the Romans, and entrenched by them with a circle of ditch that now encompasses a Georgian house. Downwards on the east is a wide flat, with Charnwood in the distance; and south-easterly is the road to Nuneaton and Coventry, whose patroness Godiva was to Drayton but a "type" of Anne Goodere, born in that city. In Hartshill itself, which is high enough to be saved from any pollution by the pillared smoke of factories, is still pointed out, by old inhabitants, "Drayton's cottage." It rests (1894) amidst a plot of roses and lilies, clean and trimly kept by a genial Quaker couple. The myth connecting it with the poet can be traced back some fifty years. In the middle of the last century it was used as a tiny meeting-house, and the owner possesses a map of 1748, where it is marked as a "Chappel."

Polesworth, then usually spelt Powlsworth, the only other spot ascertainably allied with Drayton's youth, lies some miles off in a valley on the side of Atherstone away from Hartshill. It now consists chiefly of a street of ruddy-roofed black and white cottages, with the church and adjoining vicarage. Under the bridge crawls Drayton's river, the Ancor, as if in its sleep, like one of his own sluggish alexandrines. It is navigable by boats upwards and downwards for some distance, and winds among thick reeds, meadow-sweet, and willows, into the Tame:

> His Tamworth at the last, he in his way doth win:
> there playing him awhile, till Ancor should come in,

which, trifling 'twixt her banks, observing state, so slow,
as though into her arms she scorned herself to throw.

The vicarage of Polesworth, now owned by the Chetwynd family, stands on the ground of the old nunnery, which, on being dissolved in 1545, was sold to the family of the Gooderes. The auditorium, or as some say the refectory, of the nuns, was turned into the great hall, and is now the large room of the vicarage, spaciously lit and panelled, with the ancient tracery on the fire-place fined away but still visible. It must have been by this hearthstone that Drayton sat and listened to the harper. Long after, he says of his own odes: —

They may become John Hewes his lyre,
which oft at Polesworth by the fire
hath made us gravely merry.

Who knows but that this Mr. Hewes hummed to his own accompaniment those rough dactyls of the old folk-ballad *Agincourt, Agincourt*, which assuredly gallop through Drayton's own monumental war-chant?

Polesworth Hall must have been Drayton's head-quarters during boyhood and early youth. There is a charming passage in the *Epistle to Reynolds*, 1627, relating his boyish bent. He was a page, scarce ten, a mere pigmy. Wondering "in his small self" what "strange kind of men these poets were," he climbed on his tutor's knee, crying "O my dear master! cannot you then make me a poet?" The tutor smiled, and they fell to reading verse. Besides Virgil's *Eclogues*, they read "honest Mantuan," the Carmelite Baptista of Mantua, whose railing Latin "pastorals" were still in fashion, in part perhaps as a text-book against hireling shepherds.[1] We hear nothing more than this of Drayton's childhood or book-learning. The usual outfit in

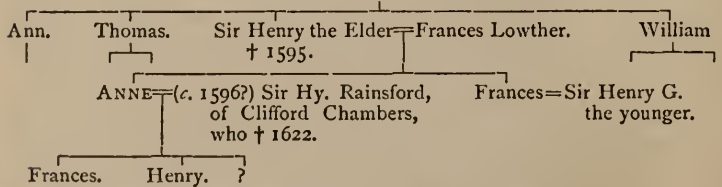
[1] O moral Mantuan! live thy verses long!
Honour attend thee, and thy reverend song!
The Owl, 1604.

Horace, Ovid, and Seneca,[1] may be conjectured. It is little proof of his knowing Greek that in the preface to the *Odes* he talks of Anacreon and Pindar with a certain familiarity. But, as his first book will show, he studied the songs, at any rate, of the Old Testament. We cannot put a date to any of these studies, nor to the limits of his dependence on Polesworth Hall; but he tells us himself what he owed to its masters.

The head of the household, when Drayton was a child, was Sir Henry Goodere the elder.[2] His younger daughter, Frances, married her first cousin, Sir Henry Goodere the younger, Donne's intimate correspondent; the elder daughter was ANNE. Of all these we hear afterwards through Drayton. By 1597 the elder Sir Henry was dead: and in that year, dedicating one of the *Heroicall Epistles* (Isabel to Richard) to the Earl of Bedford, the poet paid his thanks to the memory of his patron, "that learn'd and accomplished gentleman Sir Henry Goodere, not long since deceased, whose I was whilst he was, whose patience pleased to bear with the imperfections of my heedless and unstayed youth. That excellent and matchless gentleman was the first cherisher of my muse, which had been by his death left a poor orphan to the world, had he not before bequeathed it to that lady" (the Countess of Bedford). In the

[1] Are you the man that studied Seneca,
Pliny's most learned letters?
Epistle to the Lady L. S., 1627.

[2] Sir Francis Goodere of Polesworth.



From *Visitation of Warwickshire*, 1619, Harleian Soc. *Publ.*, xii. 67; and the Rainsford monument in Clifford Chambers Church, which states, however, that Anne had three sons. The male line of Goodere is said to have lasted till this century. See *Gent. Mag.*, 1825, ii. 136, and Hunter, *MS. Chorus Vatum*, vol. iii., s.v. "Rainsford," and my Prefatory Note, *supra*.

same volume is a dedication (of the *Epistle* of Lady Jane Grey) to Lady Frances Goodere; "the love and duty I bare unto your father whilst he lived, now after his decease is to you hereditary." He adds that he has witnessed the education of this lady "ever from your cradle." Lastly, the *Epistle* of Mary to Suffolk is dedicated to Sir Henry the younger: and another tribute is paid "to the happy and generous family of the Gooderes, to which I confess myself beholding to for the best part of my education." It may be judged from all this that Drayton was taken quite young by the Gooderes to be civilised. He never forgot them; and to one of them he came to bear something more than gratitude. The only inmate of Polesworth Hall whom he never names in his dedications is Anne Goodere, the eldest daughter, of less than his own age. The evidence of her identity with the "Idea" whom he celebrated may be deferred till we touch on his sonnets, since no details of the early acquaintance are known, and since Drayton, if his word is to be taken, did not "lose his wit" on her account till 1591 or 1593; perhaps because they had been brought up together.[1]

All these early years of his life are obscure. It is unknown how long he was at Polesworth: it is unknown if he went to an university. A couplet printed by Sir Aston Cokain twenty years after Drayton's death, cannot, despite the versifier's pious regard, and his connexion with Pooley Hall at Polesworth, outweigh the silence of all other records;[2] and what knowledge

[1] "'Tis nine years now since first I lost my wit." This line occurs in the sonnet "To Lunacie," first printed in 1602 ed. of the *Heroicall Epistles* (Bibl. No. 11E): unless it was in the 1600 ed., which I have failed to see. The sonnet is numbered ninth in the 1605 ed. (SPENSER SOCIETY reprint.)

[2] *Small Poems of Divers Sorts*, 1658, p. 11:

> Oxford, our other academy . . .
> Here smooth-tongued Drayton was inspired by
> Mnemosyne's manifold progeny.

Cokain, *ib.* p. 66, laments Drayton's death.

Mr. Fleay, *Biog. Chron.*, i. 145, states, without furnishing any evidence, that Drayton was "sent to a university, most likely to Cambridge, at Sir Henry Goodere's expense."

of the classics is shown by the poet of *Endimion and Phoebe* he might well have got for himself. It is equally uncertain when he made for London: but he was there by 1591.[1]

Something may be gleaned about his means of support at, or just before, his first arrival. His career, like that of so many poets, was a series of honourable dependences. The Gooderes, the Haringtons, the Astons, the Rainsfords, the Cliffords, fostered him in turn; and here, before passing to his writings, may be told in advance what is known of his alliance with the houses of Harington and Bedford. Sir Henry Goodere must have seen that Drayton would not always dream by the Ancor, but was bound to drift to London, and that once there he must have a patron; and that to a patron the mixture of poverty, a high temper, and genius as yet strictly latent, was a poor testimonial. Goodere did not command in London the needful position; but he left his young friend to the care of a family which gave him subsistence, courage, and repute, during the galling years when he was forced to climb. In those days the patroness could throw out a rope, and let down provisions, while the poet cut his foothold up the rock.

Drayton's allusions, whether to Lady Anne Harington, wife of Sir John Harington the eccentric and translator, or to her daughter Lucy, afterwards Countess of Bedford, or to the Earl of Bedford, Lucy's husband, range from 1594 to 1605, with one doubtful interruption, and occur most thickly before 1598. The first, in 1594, refers with some explicitness to the "sweet golden showers" of cash assistance rendered by the Countess;[2] and in

[1] Dedication of *The Harmony of the Church*, 1591, to Lady Jane Devereux, sister-in-law of the Earl of Essex. On this letter Mr. Collier built a figment that Michael might have been a page in the Earl's service. It is nothing to his purpose, though interesting, that a poem in the *Camden Miscellany* shows Essex to have been popularly called "Robin." Drayton doubtless hinted at Essex's fall in the passage, afterwards dropped, of the third eclogue of 1594, where Robin is said to have "gone to his roost." (See "Robin," App. B. *infra.*)

[2] *Endimion and Phoebe*, prefatory sonnet, often repeated later. *The Legend of Matilda* was dedicated to the Countess in the same year.

1596 "Brave Bedford," for so the lady is termed, is saluted as the anchor of his "tempest-beaten state," and the source and subject of his "steel-out-during rymes;" [1] while in the *Heroicall Epistles*, 1597, each member of the house receives a dedication. In the letter to the Earl, quoted above, the poet represents his alliance as of old standing, and states, as we have seen, that he was "first bequeathed to" the service of the Countess by Sir Henry Goodere.—And here may be noticed by anticipation the theory held by some writers that Drayton became, for causes unknown, furiously estranged, at least for a time, from the Countess of Bedford. The evidence quoted is two-fold. (1) In 1603 came out the *Barons' Wars*, which was the *Mortimeriados* of nine years earlier wholly recast. All the compliments to the Countess, including the opening stanzas and other allusions, are expunged, Sir Walter Aston's name being substituted as patron. (2) In the *Poemes Lyrick and Pastorall*, 1606, where the pastorals of 1593 are remodelled, the eighth, formerly sixth, contains a new passage reviling a certain Selena in terms, which, were they addressed to any real woman, would be brutal even if just. Selena had promised to raise the estate of Rowland (Drayton), but, breaking faith, has allied herself with a certain base Cerberon. Therefore, cries the poet, "let age sit soon and ugly on her brow," and let no one strew flowers on her forgotten grave, let her be remembered no more in rhyme. Cerberon is not identified; but it is said that this language must refer to Lady Bedford, and that Drayton, splenetic perhaps at supplies being withheld in favour of some new client, dealt her this low buffet in verse. I do not profess to interpret the passage, but the first piece of evidence is naught. For the sonnet beginning "Great Lady, essence of my chiefest good," already published in 1598 and 1599, was reprinted both in 1603 *and in* 1605. The withdrawal, therefore, in 1603, of some compliments addressed to the lady can scarcely be due to a pique felt in

[1] *Legend of Robert.*

that year.[1] The witness for the supposed breach thus reduces itself to the tirade against Selena. It would then follow that between 1605 and April 19, 1606, when the new pastorals were entered, Drayton ceased to think the Countess the essence of his chiefest good, forgot all his gratitude, and wrote these fierce and irreparable Spenserian verses. This is possible in theory; but the charge is so serious, and so unlike all else that is known of a man tenacious in his friendships, that much firmer evidence than this is wanted to commend it. There is absolutely nothing in its favour except these obscure lines themselves, supplied without key or sequel, and withdrawn in the revision of 1619. Probably, we can but say that about the end of the century Drayton's gratitude to the Haringtons and Russells was for past rather than continued favours; for after 1597 we find him living upon his work for the theatre, seemingly without patron. It is now time to go back and begin his literary biography.

The first short chapter may be said to last till his thirtieth year, 1593. His youthful rubbish, probably voluminous, has not all perished. As early as 1587 he may have written the elegy on Sidney (†1586), under the name of Elphin, printed in 1593, though never afterwards, in the fourth of his eclogues. But the scrap of evidence adduced for this supposition is not conclusive;[2] and the first of Drayton's publications is *The Harmonie of the Church*, 1591, a sorry product enough for the 28th year of one who was soon to be a poet. It falls into the crowd of paraphrases. The

[1] Mr. Fleay, *Biog. Chron.*, i. 153, is in error, if he refers to this sonnet, in saying that "it was permanently withdrawn in the 1602, October 2 ed." (See SPENSER SOCIETY reprint of the 1605 *Poems*, p. 410.)

[2] In *Notes and Queries*, Fourth Series, vol. xii. p. 442, Mr. Brinsley Nicholson quoted two lines from N[athaniel?] B[axter?]'s *Sir Philip Sidney's Ourania*, 1606:

O noble Drayton! well didst thou rehearse
our damages in dryrie sable verse.

This certainly refers to Drayton's eclogue, since the name Elfin is quoted later in the piece. But the inference of Mr. Nicholson and others, that this eclogue was written about 1587, does not follow. It may well be later. Spenser's *Astrophel*, for instance, came out long after Sidney's death.—There is also a reference in *Ourania* to Drayton's *Owl*.

songs of Deborah, Judith, and others, are metrified into the jogging distich of fourteen syllables which the band of Tottel had patented, Warner had improved, but Chapman had not yet redeemed. Truthfulness to the text warms the transcript of the *Song of Songs* into somewhat more fervid colour than the rest. This, it has been suggested, may have been the quality that attracted the nostrils of the puritan censors; and there is little else to account for the doom of a book so innocent and so tedious. In the Stationers' Registers for 1591 Mr. Collier found an entry proving that the edition was seized by order,[1] and given over to a Mr. Bishop for destruction; although forty copies were saved by express rule of Whitgift, and kept in Lambeth. None survive there now, and only one copy of the first edition, preserved in the British Museum, seems known. Why the seizure was made, and why Whitgift interposed, and why, in 1610, the author thought his paraphrase worth a reprint,[2] is now obscure. Drayton brought out nothing good before he was thirty.

II.—1593-1603.

From 1593 to 1597 he brought out too much. Except for the *Heroicall Epistles*, in which he struck out a new tune, he practised voluminously until the reign of James in the current kinds of pastoral, sonnet, legend, narrative chronicle, and "Italianated" classical myth. During this period his attraction lies in the fulness with which he appropriates, and his delighted

[1] "Whereas all the seised books, mentioned in the last accoumpte before this, were sould this yere to Mr. Byshop. Be it remembered that fortye of them, being Harmonies of the Churche, rated at ij^{s} le peece, were had from him by warrante of my lordes grace of Canterburie, and remayne at Lambithe with Mr. Doctor cosen; and for some other of the saide bookes, the said Mr. Bishop hath paid iij^{li}, as appeareth in the charge of this accoumpte, and the residue remayne in the Hall to th' use of Yarrette James." (Quoted by Collier, pp. xi-xii.)

[2] For full titles here and elsewhere see Bibliography.

if not wholly original power in uttering, the great Elizabethan thoughts and ardours; and, further, in the frankness with which he submits to the influence exerted upon the whole verse of that decade, notably by Sidney, in a less degree by Daniel, above all by Spenser. The *Sonnets* and *Legends* respectively show the hand of the first two writers, but the presence of Spenser is constant and deeper, reaching far beyond some imitation pastorals. Allusions to his master are found at intervals in Drayton's work for the next thirty-five years.[1] And if the fruit of this loyalty, filial rather than servile, appears somewhat in that "smoothness" and "golden-mouthed" quality which his own age singled out in Drayton, it appears yet more in his escape from the bad styles then current—the tricks of Sidney or of Lyly—from the peril of which few poets outside the drama, save Spenser, could as yet deliver him. And some of Spenser's characteristic spirit, too, he exhales fitfully; in especial, when at his best, he has that proud conception of the poetic vocation, as opposed to the chaotic brute aims of the world, which became in a manner the badge of a caste, numbering professors so different as Jonson, Chapman, and Marston. Poets, says Drayton, are—

> Those rare Promethei, fetching fire from heaven,
> to whom the functions of the gods are given,
> raising frail dust with their redoubled flame,
> mounted with hymns upon the wings of fame.
>
> *The Owl.*

There is no nobler spirit in our verse; and the ethical temper on which it is founded, proceeding in part from the new study of Seneca, Plutarch, and Juvenal, in part from the high personal pride of the time, calls for a special study.

The series of nine pastorals which appeared in 1593 was entitled *Idea, the Shepherds Garland, fashioned in Nine Eglogs.* A tenth "Eglog" was added in the edition of 1606 (reprinted by the SPENSER SOCIETY). In this re-issue much was changed and

[1] See s.v. "Colin," in App. B.

amplified, and much that is common or extravagant disappeared.[1] The chief additions are in the eighth eclogue already quoted (sixth in 1593 version), where a mass of obscure personal allegory is inwrought.[2]

There is, further, the new ninth eclogue containing the daffodil song, of far finer quality than Drayton had shown in 1593. His power of pure singing grew late and slow. In the earlier volume he did much by following close upon the *Calendar*. From the shepherd dialect that spoils that poem, from the habit, traceable perhaps first to Petrarch's Latin pastorals, of prudently obscure invective against foes in church or state, he turns away. But, after Spenser, he uses the pastoral in one of its most primitive extensions, for panegyric; the third eclogue containing an ode to the queen that may well compare with *April*. And in other traditions he acquiesces. A shepherd of skill, neglected by the world and by a harsh lady, he yet meditates a higher strain, like Colin in *October;* his "simple reed Shall with a far more glorious rage infuse." And if the boast was kept by the *Faerie Queene*, it was kept also by the *Heroicall Epistles*, by the *Poly-Olbion*, and by the *Ballad of Agincourt*. Other themes, some of them striking back to the Sicilian roots of the pastoral,[3] such as the rustic singing match, some of them modern and adventitious, such as the contest of youth and age, Drayton copes with conscientiously. He prefers the ten-syllabled line, helping Spenser to beat out its shape and beauty

[1] See App. A, *Changes in Eclogues*.

[2] Besides the Selena episode there are allusions to Idea (see p. 19), and to Mirtilla, Palmeo, and Thirsis, for whom I incline to accept Mr. Fleay's identification with the Beaumonts, Elizabeth, John, and Francis. (*Biog. Chron.*, i. 147.) That Olcon, whom Drayton had praised, who had forsaken him and verse, and who (*Shep. Sirena*, 1627) jealously persecutes Drayton his superior, is Sir John Davies, I see no proof, either in the omission of Davies' name from *Ep. to Reynolds*, or in anything else. Many names are thus omitted. But Olcon is certainly some real poet as yet unidentified. (See App. B.)

[3] See O. Reissert's article in the *Anglia*, ix. 205, for the best treatment of the origins of the *Calendar*. Also O. Sommer, *Erster Versuch über die englische Hirtendichtung*, Marburg, 1888.

in stanzas of five or six; and in these measures he not only commands the strenuous style:

> no fatal dreads, nor fruitless vain desires,
> low caps and court'sies to a painted wall,
> nor heaping rotten sticks on needless fires,
> ambitious ways to climb, or fears to fall,
> nor things so base do I affect at all:

but his verse also springs into tenderness and colour:

> Shepherd, farewell, the skies begin to lower:
> yon pitchy cloud that hangeth in the west
> shews us ere long that we shall have a shower:
> come, let us home, for so I think it best,
> for to their cotes our flocks are gone to rest.

To the pastoral, taken more lightly, Drayton was to return in his old age; the *Muses' Elizium* is in a strain of Caroline lyric, less highly pitched, but more rhythmically magical.

Certainly those eclogues, like much that Drayton did in these years, are helpless enough at times in their broken grammar and halting melody; and this is true, too, of the *Legends* to which he next betook himself. For he assisted in prolonging a mediæval form that might well be thought to have had its day. Monks and preachers had turned to account the dreary images, truly classical in origin, but harped upon out of all measure when the great body of thought into which they fitted was forgotten, of the whims of Fortune's wheel and the falls of the mighty. But the poets, in their inveterately secular way, apt to elude the devout application, had made a kind of bastard epic, most portentously exemplified in Lydgate's *Falls of Princes*, and in a later day by the *Mirror for Magistrates;* the first edition of which had come in 1559, but a new and enlarged one as late as 1587.[1] Long before, Chaucer himself had twice begun something of the sort; but, both in the *Monk's Tale* and in the *Legend of*

[1] See Fleay, *Biog. Chron.*, i. 17, Excursus on the *Mirror*.

Good Women, he had, what with his humour, what with his artist's horror of the impossible in literature, wearied of the plan; seeing, doubtless, what two centuries later his floundering successors were still failing to see, that a chain-gang of the illustrious unhappy, banded only by *sævitia Fortunæ*, was a subject capable of impressive passages, but, being without change, end, or beginning, unfit for art. Yet this was the subject that the penmen who accumulated the *Mirror* were reviving in the public service, at a season when the new patriotism assured them readers, and the new chronicle—not yet history—gave them matter. And the fashion was still fresh when the last decade of the century began; so that Daniel, and Drayton after him, fell to making solemn compositions in this style, often a little abortive. Warner's *Albion's England*, 1586, is an earlier, plainer, equally patriotic treatment of history, largely mythical. But Warner wrote more for the people, and had no literary "regrets," though he also made Legends: and the term *Legend* usually implied a pathetic or tragical treatment of a subject drawn from English history since the Conquest. Mr. Fleay has made it clear,[1] that the *Legends* form a kind of little affluent to the *Mirror* and the chronicle play; and the whole body of historic narrative verse must be regarded as a defeated rival of the chronicle play, equally popular perhaps for a while, but in true achievement far behind it. Daniel's[2] *Complaint of Rosamond*, the first poem of this kind possessing any savour since Sackville's, was entered in 1592. Drayton's *Legend of Piers Gaveston* appeared in 1593. In Marlowe's *Edward the Second*, entered July of the same year, the tale of Isabel, Mortimer, Gaveston, and Edward, was cast once for all into clear and enduring form. Yet Drayton returned to the subject with blind

[1] See the striking list in Fleay, *Biog. Chron.*, i. 141–2, of the poems and plays written about this time on kindred subjects from the Chronicles.

[2] Daniel is named with regard in *Endimion and Phoebe* as "the sweet Musæus" and "glorious Delia's muse;" and in the Sonnets (2nd to the Reader) of 1605. This would dispose of that theory of Drayton's jealousy which is built upon his cool judgment in the *Ep. to Reynolds*, 1627. (See App. B, "Musæus.")

fascination both in his *Mortimeriados* and his *Heroicall Epistles*. The competition was idle; and the incident figures the whole destiny of the historic "epic" in its race for life with the historic play.

Yet the *Legends* more than promise a poet. Gaveston's ghost, indeed, prosing in sextains after the approved fashion, is too circumstantial; and the catastrophe is absurdly hurried over. *Matilda*, whose narrative is told not without pathos, is fuller of the lines and sallies which we are wont to call Shaksperean, some especially recalling the Shakspere of the opening sonnets, where he cries out to his friend the Elizabethan text of the obligation that the beautiful are under, not to die without leaving children. But by far the most poetical of the *Legends* (not excluding the later and tamer one on *Cromwell*[1]) is that of *Robert, Duke of Normandy*, 1596. The story runs obscure and sluggish as a canal; but no verse written afterwards in English is so mediæval as the preliminary "flyting" between the two great personifications, Fame and Fortune, who had spread their dark wings over so much poetic homilising. Drayton, as this passage alone would prove, had his share of the inherited melancholy of du Bellay and Spenser, so deep, in spite of being so literary. The lines, which follow so closely a passage in the *House of Fame*, are not quite the latest traced upon its walls before it came into the hands of Pope, the eminent eighteenth century restorer.[2]

Before working the historical vein further, Drayton paid his dues to Italianate taste, and to the vogue of Ovid. *Hero and Leander*, published 1598, was entered after the murder of its author in 1593; it was doubtless soon in private circulation, if not previously; and it was common for the young poets, Shakspere, Beaumont, and others, to introduce themselves

[1] "Cromwell" is the Earl of Essex. See *Bibliography* (No. 21) for dates and titles. The second edition is much altered. There is a curious introduction in it of Pierce the Plowman, and of a passage from the *Vision*. Langland had been revived, as is well known, by the reformers as an early authority against corrupt Papists. Selden also often quotes him in his illustrations to the *Poly-Olbion*.

[2] See Milton, *In Quintum Novembris; Samson*, 971.

by such exercises, usually bearing a double mythological title; often echoing, too, those cadences of Marlowe, which he had bestowed upon the couplet; and touching it, sometimes, with his delicate tracery of image. Seldom did they reach the clear glow, the form that remains so pure in its richness, of the dead genius; seldom did they shun the dalliance with words and the blurring of images, then nearly universal, but so specially fatal to a love-story drawn from the lucid ancient fountains. Drayton also made his effort; it is worthy, and not only for its theme, of rescue by some enthusiast from the darkness of a rare edition. *Endimion and Phoebe, Idea's Latmus*, entered in 1595, must have come out in the same year, though it bears no date. For Thomas Lodge, so well-known to the author as to be nicknamed by him in the piece under the anagram of Goldey, refers to it in a fragile work of his called a *Fig for Momus*, 1595; naming especially some Pythagorean jargon of "nines and threes" with which Drayton unhappily tarnished his bright and silvery love-story. There is in fact in the poem too much pedantry, too much desire to show information. Platonic abstractions, which have passed through Spenser's *Four Hymns*, interrupt the tale. But Marlowe's influence—it was his special privilege—could sway and for a moment purify a talent widely unlike his own, such as that of his continuator Chapman, or of Drayton.

> She laid Endimion on a grassy bed,
> with summer's arras richly overspread,
> where, from her sacred mansion next above,
> she might descend and sport her with her love:
> which thirty years the shepherd safely kept,
> who in her bosom soft and soundly slept.
> Yet as a dream he thought the time not long,
> remaining ever beautiful and young:
> and what in vision there to him befell,
> my weary Muse some other time shall tell.

This is nearer the manner of the master than much of the *Endymion* of Keats. But the promise to pursue the story

was kept in a strange and ungainly fashion. *Endimion and Phoebe* was never reprinted whole by the author: but, in the volume of 1606 (*Odes and Eglogs*), appeared a nondescript work called *The Man in the Moon*, much less worth preserving than the older piece, many lines of which are woven into it. It is full of ill-cohering fancies. Diana, the moon-goddess, equipped with her arrows and her beauty, dissolves during the tale into the figure of the moon itself, with spots, man, influence upon tides, and all: and hence arises an opening for the regular declamation on the fickleness of an evil world. The poem properly falls among Drayton's attempts at satire.

The close of *Endimion and Phoebe* celebrates, bravely enough, the dwelling of Idea, which we know to be Polesworth Hall:

> Let stormy winter never touch the clime,
> but let it flourish as in April's prime:
> let sullen night that soil ne'er overcloud,
> but in thy presence let the earth be proud.

In the year before, 1594, had been published *Idea's Mirrour, Amours in Quatorzains*. This was the first sheaf of sonnets, fifty-three in number, addressed to Idea. From first to last, during the next quarter of a century, Drayton printed about as many again, ever adding, rejecting, and re-burnishing, not always for the better.[1]

It must be remembered that in 1594 he had been influenced by only one great sonneteer; for to Surrey, Barnes, or Lodge he owed little; so that he did as much as any man to secure the sonnet in the form, invented long before himself and Shakspere, but now commonly called the Shaksperean. There is no need to repeat how, through certain intervening rhythms of Sidney and others, the Italian stanza, so carefully poised just after its rigid octave, and shrinking from the clang of the final couplet, passed into the measure possessing such magnificent rights of its own, where that very couplet crowns three quatrains of independent rhyme: so that the whole poem, its centre shifted now far forwards, was

[1] See App. C, *Changes in Sonnets*, for some details; and Bibliog. No. 6.

tuned as under no other metrical scheme it could be to the loud Elizabethan chord of pride or desire or defiance:

> And though this earthly body fade and die,
> my soul shall mount upon Eternity . . .
> Then, sweet Despair, awhile hold up thy head,
> or all my hope for sorrow shall be dead.

Drayton wrote this; and, despite fits of flatness and untimely "chorography," he often wrote like it. There is no mistaking the strain of *Astrophell;* the very promise to be no "pickpurse of another's wit" is itself verbally borrowed from the great confessional poet; in whose wake Drayton tries to follow with full sail, not so much when he alludes to the *Arcadia*,[1] as when he speaks about his own repute, or his poetic practice, or when he utters the pride of rejection, or the old Catullan counsel to his mistress to enjoy while she is not yet past it.[2]

Nor, as I have hinted, is Idea so purely a shadow to us as the mistresses of Shakspere and other contemporaries. The proof that she was the same person as Anne Goodere, in whose house Drayton was brought up, is conclusive, and can be best given in the words of Mr. Fleay.[3] "In Eclogue viii." of the 1606 volume "two sisters are mentioned, the eldest, Panape, who is sick in Arden, by the river Ankor; the younger, Idea, who lives by the Meene, a mountain in Cotswold. . . . In the *Hymn to his Lady's Birthplace* . . . we are told that Idea was born in Mich Parke, a street in Coventry, on 4th Aug., that Godiva 'was but her type.' . . . From *Poly-Olbion*, Song xiii., it appears that the lady by whom Coventry was to be made so great was Anne Goodere; that *An*-cor prophesies her Christian name and *God*-iva half her surname." We are glad that something more is known of

[1] *Amour* 51 (1594).

[2] Sonnet to Cooke, 1594, &c.: and *Amour* 28, No. 42 in 1605 ed.; where also see No. 9.

[3] Stated fully, *Biog. Chronicle*, i. 146. Fleay's independent inquiries happened to be partly anticipated by Joseph Hunter, *Chorus Vatum*, *MS.* 24, 489, s.v. "Sir Henry Rainsford" (see p. 6, note 2).

Anne personally. It is pleasing to learn, on the testimony of her own doctor, the son-in-law of Shakspere,[1] that she was "beautiful, and of a gallant structure of body," when in the 28th year of her age.

As we have seen, Drayton, if the arithmetic of a sonnet is to be trusted, dates his devotion to her from about 1592, when he was leaving or had left for London; and, in the Eclogues of the following year, celebrates her. Had he said no more, his gallantry might be purely literary: for a counterpart, real or manufactured, to Spenser's Rosalind was a necessity in a pastoral book of the kind; and there is no note of passion in it. But, in the *Amours* of 1594, though much, as in *Astrophell and Stella*, is merely verbal, the fancy, like Sidney's, has become serious. Many of the sonnets, though they lack the strength of some of those he added later, show Drayton singing in earnest. Rejected, he is galled and wrung as no mere book-amorist could be. About two years later, *c.* 1595, Anne Goodere married Sir Henry Rainsford,[2] of Clifford Chambers in Gloucestershire, a mile or so from Stratford upon Avon. Rainsford was afterwards to be Drayton's cherished and hospitable friend: but his marriage with Anne Goodere would be the natural occasion for one of the most famous and insuperable of all personal poems, "Since

[1] John Hall, *Select Observations of English Bodies*, tr. 1657 by Cooke, Obs. 48, p. 203. This was Hall's case-book, with list of cures, written in Latin. He cured her, then Lady Rainsford, of some pains after childbirth. This notice proves she was married before the age of 27; the monument suggests that she was married about 1596: in which case she was probably some years younger than Drayton. John Hall, *ib.*, p. 26, at some date unmentioned, also cured Drayton himself, "an excellent English poet, labouring of a tertian."

[2] See genealogy, and account of the monument to Sir Henry in Clifford Church, quoted on p. 6. According to it, Rainsford was born in 1576; died 1622. I can find no record of the age of Anne, her death not being in the Clifford registers; but she was married to Sir Henry 27 years, and as she outlived him (see p. 45) this would put the date of the marriage about 1595 or 1596. The young Sir Henry Goodere, her brother-in-law and cousin, who put up the monument, was the correspondent of Donne, and subject of Jonson's *Forest*, Nos. 85 and 86.

The Polesworth registers are only extant from 1635; those at Coventry also begin too late.

there's no help, come let us kiss and part."[1] This was not published till 1619, but there is nothing very improbable in its having been kept private for many years. The history of this love can be not unfairly conjectured. For nearly a quarter of a century after the marriage of the lady, sonnets, some merely gallant, some fervent, were written and published, by Drayton in her honour. The evidence given above, especially the passage from the *Poly-Olbion*, forbids us to suppose that "Idea" became a mere label for offerings really intended to many loves. In 1605, the wooer repeats his vow: "I am still inviolate to you:" and the sonnet bearing the same date, "An evil spirit, your beauty haunts me still," has a startlingly Shaksperian ring and climax. It is therefore likely that Drayton had, for long after her marriage, a passionate regard for Lady Rainsford. But the feeling, we may judge from other poems, finally weakened, or rose, into a friendship, which spoke often in terms of mere compliment, but lasted nevertheless. The "Hymn to his Lady's Birthplace," first published in 1627, though undated, bears the stamp of his riper, more ingenious and delicate, handiwork; it may well be as late as the age of Charles. The "elegies" "On his Lady's not coming to Town," and on her husband, neither of which are early, will be named hereafter. There is no record of Drayton ever having married.[2] I now return to his early writings.

In 1594, the *Contention of the Two Houses of York and Lancaster* was being acted; and, as Mr. Fleay points out, Daniel's

[1] I do not follow the difficulty of some scholars in accepting this sonnet as Drayton's. It is certainly among the sovereign ones of English or any verse, and might seem to be out of the reach of the author of some of the dismal geographical *Amours*. But it is not out of the reach of the author of sonnet No. 37 [ed. 1605], "Dear, why should you," or No. 44, "Whilst thus my pen" or of that "To the Lady L. S." No English poet of considerable rank was ever less equal than Drayton, except Wordsworth; they both lie at the mercy of the wind of the spirit.

[2] Gayton, *Pleasant Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 150, says, indeed: "Our nation also hath its poets and they their wives. To pass the bards . . . My father Ben begot sons and daughters; so did Spenser, Drayton, Shakspere, and many others." As Mr. Bullen, to whom this reference is due, remarks, Gayton is "no very sure guide."

History of the Civil Wars was entered in the same year, and bears traces of being written in rivalry with the play. Drayton, once more following zealously after Daniel, accomplished also a long epic founded on the chronicles. *Mortimeriados*, published in 1596, was first written in the seven-line stanza of Chaucer's *Troilus* and Spenser's *Hymns*. No poem of Drayton's was more sedulously filed. In 1603 it appeared wholly remodelled as *The Barons' Wars*. The substitution of compliments to Sir W. Aston for those to the Countess of Bedford has been discussed already. But, besides a mass of textual alterations, the measure of seven lines (*ababbcc*) is expanded into the *ottava rima* (*abababcc*) by the addition of a line after the fourth.[1] Moreover, the change that came over Drayton's poetical interests between 1596 and 1603 is strikingly reflected. In preface upon the metre he explains that, instead of the rhyme royal, he now chose "Ariosto's stanza" because "it is of all others the most complete and the best proportioned . . . hath in it *majesty, perfection, and solidity*." Nothing better could be said of the measure of the *Orlando Furioso;* but the speaker did not know the whole of the scope it receives in that poem itself. He succeeds best in solemn, apostrophic passages, or set pictures; he has no suppleness, no humour. On the whole the new version is more dignified than the old. Most of the classical tags and crude strokes of *Mortimeriados* disappear. But the writer has also left some of his youth behind him, he has passed from the land of Marlowe and Spenser[2] into that of Daniel and the Histories of Shakspere;

[1] For table of Drayton's metres see Fleay, *Biog. Chron.*, i. 7-9: but I cannot find "tests" in it.

[2] He omits, for instance, these Spenserian lines:

> Down, lesser lights! the glorious sun doth climb;
> his joyful rising is the world's proud morn;
> now is he got betwixt the wings of time,
> and with the tide of fortune forwards borne.
> good stars assist his greatness to suborn,
> who have decreed his reigning for a while.
> All laugh on him, on whom the heavens do smile.

The same inclination to leave the phrasing of Spenser behind appears in the successive editions of the Sonnets. (See App. D, *Changes in Epic of Mortimer.*)

which indeed he must have carefully read.[1] And he seems to feel that the staple of an historical poem should be grave, gnomic, perhaps a little dull; and one of the few and fortunate remnants of his earlier freshness is visible in the final interview, full of perfume and misty colour of luxury, and of invading bloodshed, between Mortimer and Isabel. Others are the half-Virgilian, half-Spenserian pictures of Mischief creeping into the bosom of the king (*Barons' Wars*, ii. 5); the dreams of the king in his prison (v. 43); the gracious picture of the nymphs (vi. 38); and the simile of the fleet-winged haggard stooping among the mallards (vi. 64). But Drayton is no great narrator, much as he narrated. He does not state an action clearly, or make it move. He intersperses tableaux with reflections. He has a commemorative, invocative gift; and he has energy, imagery, nobility, height. But this is to anticipate; for by the time he wrote *The Barons' Wars*, he had long carried to their height his powers of lyrical monologue in the most popular of all his poems. *England's Heroicall Epistles* came out in 1597, but may have been circulated some years earlier.[2] They were more sounding, more telling, better calculated to his public than anything Drayton had yet written; they fixed his popularity, and deserved to fix it. With their repeated editions, they were the Macaulay's *Lays* of that day, lacking power to last as a whole, sometimes undeniably flashing into reality, ever fluent and adroit, now and then splendid, in their

[1] See *Mort.*, ed. Collier, p. 254: "As when we see the spring-begetting sun In heaven's black night-gown covered from the night." In *Barons' Wars*, 1603, not only is the night-gown omitted, but the lines are remodelled with what is, to my ear, a reminiscence of Prince Henry's famous speech in Henry IV., i. 2, end (1598). There is also an allusion to *Lucrece* in the earlier edition of *Matilda;* and for recollections of *Mids. N. Dream* see *Nymphidia.*

[2] I accept the view (though not all the reasons) of Todd, Prof. Minto, and Mr. Fleay, that the Aëtion named in Spenser's *Colin Clout*, published 1595, is Drayton: "Whose Muse, full of high thoughts' invention, Doth like himself heroically sound." See Fleay, *Guide to Chaucer and Spenser*, pp. 93-5. The *Address to the Reader* begins, "Seeing these Epistles are *now* to the world made public."

versing. Drayton, who "professed himself a pupil" of the poet of the *Heroides*, enlarged and reproduced his model, in the patriotic interest, with variations. The characters, both heroine and companion hero—are drawn from the same field as the *Legends* and the *Mirror* and the *History* plays; and of this whole school of verse the *Epistles* are certainly the best fruit. They are rich in lyrical declamation, not unlike that found in certain parts of Shakspere's earlier chronicle plays. And, like Shakspere, Drayton owed in this matter much to Marlowe; the style of Marlowe's couplet, as in *Endimion and Phoebe*, is often audible. But the most distinct feature in the *Epistles* is the modernness, for the year 1597, of hundreds of their couplets. "Waller was smooth"; but Drayton, like Spenser, was smooth before him; and who does not hear, in verse like this, the overture to the rhetoric that was to rule a whole tradition of our heroics down to the death of Crabbe?[1]

> And is one beauty thought so great a thing
> to mitigate the sorrows of a king?
> Barred of that choice the vulgar often prove,
> have we than they less privilege in love?
> Is it a king, the woful widow hears?
> Is it a king dries up the orphan's tears?
> Is it a king regards the client's cry?
> Gives life by law to him condemned to die?

Another quality, too, a few of the *Epistles—Henry to Rosamond*, *Humphrey to Elinor*—eminently show, which contemporary admirers marked. "The Author is termed in Fitzgeoffrey's *Drake*, golden-mouthed, for the purity and preciousness of his phrase." Meres, who thus speaks in his *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, is the fullest witness to Drayton's repute. He names him, in

[1] This is expressed in the eighteenth century way, in reference to his later work, by the unknown writer of the *Historical Essay* before the 1748 ed. of Drayton. The *Shepherd's Sirena*, &c., he says, "fully refute the notion that the harmony of numbers in English poesy was unknown till Waller stole the secret from Fairfax."

the very best company, as one "by whom the English tongue is mightily enriched," and praises him for his histories, epistles, lyrics, and love-poems. He is also the chief, but by no means the only, witness to character. "As Aulus Persius Flaccus was reported among all writers to be of an honest disposition and upright conversation, so Michael Drayton, *quem toties honoris causa nomino*, among scholars, soldiers, poets, and all sorts of people, is held for a man of virtuous and well-governed carriage, which is almost miraculous among good wits of this declining and corrupt time." So Fuller, long after, says, "He was a pious poet, his conscience having always the command of his fancy, very temperate in his life, slow of speech, and inoffensive in company." Equally well-known is the testimony in the *Return from Parnassus*, 1600, that he "wants one true note of a poet of our times, and it is this: he cannot swagger it well at a tavern, or domineer at a hot-house" (brothel). We also hear of, what his letters and works confirm, his humanity and good nature. The young Charles Fitzgeoffrey, in the Latin lines preceding his *Affaniæ*, 1601, records that his master did not only not deride his efforts, but even condescended to polish them, *limâ suâ:* and, in the poem to which Meres refers, on Sir Francis Drake, 1596, obviously written on the model of the *Legends*, he speaks of "golden-mouthed Drayton musical" as a disciple of Sidney. Lastly, in a poetical commonplace book, called *England's Parnassus*, 1604, edited by one R. Allot, Drayton's verses, especially the *Epistles*, are quoted nearly 200 times. Upon the publication of the *Epistles*, then, he was probably at the height of his repute, luck, and popularity combined. His "purity and preciousness of phrase," no ill description of his finer work, was the flower of a severe life and a fortunate temper, not yet crossed with uncouth rhetorical rancour against society, or over-tasked by the *Poly-Olbion*.

We wish that he had written less; but the pressure of life soon drove him to produce too much, and the wrong things. His career from 1598 to the end of the reign is obscure. It is only

known that despite his fame he was a theatrical hack, little patronised, poor, and co-operating with fourth-rate men. It is a barren and dejected chapter. Plays were then written as much on the sand as a modern review or leader, and the titles often are saved only by an accident. An anonymous work, *Poems of Divers Humours*,[1] 1598, speaks of Drayton's "well-written tragedies;" but we know little of them beyond their names. About Christmas, 1597, he first seems to have joined one of the needy syndicates dependent upon Henslowe, the entries in whose Diary are the only evidence. Within three months Drayton had assisted in writing sixteen plays, not counting distinct parts. The last of these is dated 14th June, 1600. After sixteen months interval we find him, from October, 1601, till May, 1602, concerned in three plays again for the Admiral's men and Henslowe. He worked during the first period of two years and a half with Chettle, Dekker, Hathway, Monday, and Wilson: and in the later period the very different names of Middleton and Webster occur as his partners. Of all these nineteen pieces in which Drayton took part, only one, *William Longsword*, is known to have been written by him single-handed; and that is lost: while only one, *Sir John Oldcastle*, survives; and that mediocre work he wrote in company with three other men. It is plain from the list of titles, that he had, like the rest, to keep mainly to chronicle pieces,[2]

[1] *Shakspere Allusion-Books*, p. 186.

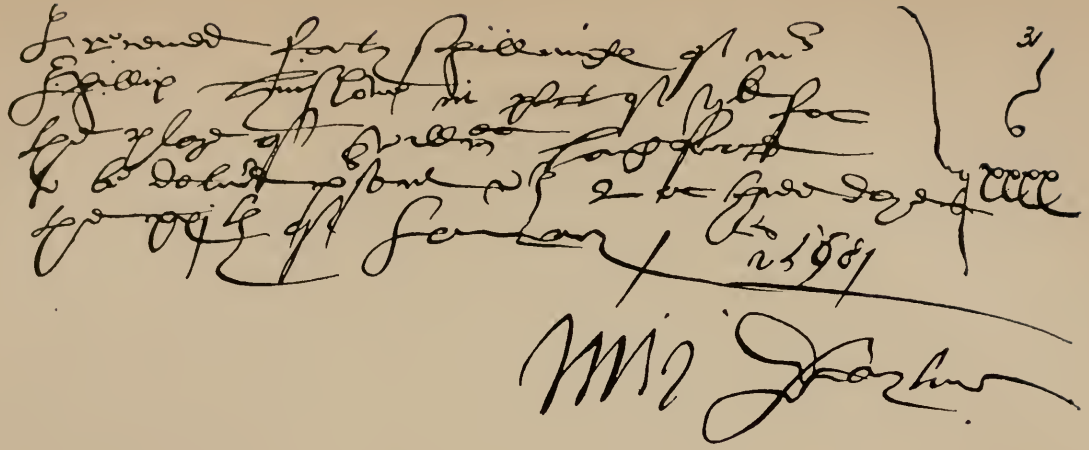
[2] The list of titles may be summarised from Henslowe; and see Fleay, *Biog. Chron.*, i. 157. The five coadjutors are denoted by initials.

1597, December. *Mother Redcap*, M.

1598. *Famous Wars of Henry I.*, C. D. *Earl Godwin and his three sons*, two parts, C. D. W. *Piers of Exton*, same. *Black Batman of the North*, part i., same. *Richard Cordelion's Funeral*, C. M. W. *The Madman's Morris*, D. W. *Hannibal and Hermes*, or *Worse Feared than Hurt*, perhaps two parts, D. W. *Piers of Winchester*, D. W. *Chance Medley*, M. D. W. *Civil Wars in France*, three parts, D. *Connan* (corrected by Fleay *Corin*. cf. *Poly-Olbion*, Song I.), *Prince of Cornwall*.

1599. *William Longsword*, receipt signed by Drayton, no partner named. *Sir John Oldcastle*, two parts, first part extant, M. H. W.

1600. *Owen Tudor*, H. M. W. June 3rd, *Fair Constance of Rome*, part i., D. H. M.



I received forty shillings of M[r]
Phillip Hinslowe in part of vi[li] for
the playe of Willm Longsword
to be delvd present[ly] with[in] 2 or three dayes
the xxjth of January 1598.

s
xxxx

Mic. Drayton.

[From Henslowe's *MS. Diary* at Dulwich, p. 31.]

vamped up according to Henslowe's Shylockian policy, rapidly, while the vogue lasted. Of the rest, several are comedies, and one, *Batman*, of the fashionable Newgate species. The entries also show the wretched haste and poverty of the authors, to whom Henslowe through his agent doles out ten or twenty shillings. We find Drayton receiving these sums on loan, doubtless secured upon work yet unwritten.[1] The only signature of the poet known to survive, affixed to a receipt for a loan from Henslowe,[2] is to be seen on the opposite page. And we find him at least on one occasion, taking the lion's share of the pittance (*Godwin*, part ii.); and there is another trace of his having been in some sense the chief, as he was the most gifted, among his earlier colleagues. "Mr. Drayton hath given his word for the book to be done with in one fortnight" is a suggestive entry. But this is a sorry record, which it is idle to fill out by fine conjecture.[3]

1601, October 10th. *Rising of Cardinal Wolsey*, C. M., Smith.

1602, May 29th. *Cæsar's Fall*, M. Middleton, Webster, and others. *Two Harp[i]es*, D. M. Middleton, Webster.

[1] Henslowe, ed. Collier, pp. 124–8. [2] *Ib.*, p. 95.

[3] "In the four years, 1599–1603, during which Drayton continued to write for the stage, he only assisted in producing six plays for Henslowe. It seems probable that during this time he must have been writing also for another company; he had to live, and had lost his patronage from the Bedford family, and certainly produced nothing for the press. Is there any trace left of what he produced for the theatre?" (*Biog. Chron.*, i. 151.) Mr. Fleay states the problem clearly, but his answer is unconvincing. He suggests that Drayton assisted in writing for Shakspere's company at the Globe, and reasons thus: *Oldcastle* was, in some of the first issues, published as by Shakspere; Drayton was one of its four authors. *The Life and Death of Cromwell*, published 1602, and *The London Prodigal*, 1605, were also printed as by Shakspere. *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* was traditionally given to Shakspere, and resembles parts of *Oldcastle* in style. Drayton must have done something from 1599–1602 besides his work for Henslowe. All this is true, but it makes very poor evidence for Drayton's authorship of any but the plays named by Henslowe. The fact that he was one of *four* authors of Oldcastle, makes every inference highly doubtful. The passage quoted (*Biog. Chron.*, i. 161) from *Robert of Normandy*, "So many years," etc., in comparison with *3 Henry VI.*, ii. 5, 31–40, merely shows imitation by Drayton, for which cf. our quotations p. 23. The list, on the contrary, in *Biog. Chron.*, p. 142, throws great light on the whole movement of what may be called historical *belles lettres*, and claims careful study.

III.—1603-1622.

Drayton did not write for the theatre after the accession of James, but came back for good to his proper work. Meres tells us in 1598 that "Michael Drayton is now penning in English verse a poem called *Poly-Olbion:*" and for the materials of this labour, of which we speak hereafter, he must then have spared little enough time to write, travel, or buy books. But by 1603 he had found a new patron in an old friend, Walter Aston (1590–1639) of Tixall in Staffordshire, whose "generous and noble disposition" he had praised six years earlier. The tie was now to be closer; for Aston, on being invested by James with the Knighthood of the Bath, made Drayton one of his "esquires,"[1] a style which henceforth appears conspicuously enough on his title-pages.

Between 1602 and 1607 no less than five works[2] are dedicated to Sir Walter Aston: and in the twelfth song of *Poly-Olbion*, 1612, he speaks of Tixall, "which oft the Muse hath found her safe and sweet retreat." The preface to the poem is yet plainer, and says, memorably enough: "*Whatever is herein that tastes of a free spirit* I thankfully confess it to proceed from the continual bounty of my truly noble friend Sir Walter Aston; which hath given me the best of those hours whose leisure hath effected this which I now publish."

But Aston had to console his friend for the loss of richer hopes, incurred by joining too soon in the stampede for front

[1] Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, i. 127. As was said before, there is no record, in the College of Heralds, of any grant of arms to the poet. He may have assumed them on becoming esquire, and probably invented them. There is a drawing of them in *Harl. MS.* 6140, fol. 45 back: "a Pegasus rampant on a hill, gutty d'eau from Helicon, with a cap of mockery for crest amid sunbeams proper."

[2] See Bibliography, Nos. 14, 16, 19, 20, 21. Collier notes that two of these last are addressed "to the deserving memory of my esteemed patron," who lived till 1639: and suspects some angry irony inspired by a suspension of funds. But the words only promise fame to Aston. Compare *Tixall Poetry*, edited by A. Clifford, Edinb. 1813, appendix. "Sylvia," in Ecl. 4 of 1606, is ingeniously identified by Mr. Fleay as one of the Astons.

places which attended the advent of the literary king. After "the quiet end of that long-living queen," Drayton, who had not, so far as we know, had a farthing from her or a word of encouragement, omitted to cry *La reine est morte*, and confined his lament almost to a single line of verse. But at such times there is supposed to be a threnody, and also a fair interval, before the compliments begin to the living. According to Chettle, his *Gratulatory Poem*, 1603, and his *Pœan Triumphall*, made for the entry into London, were ignored for this reason.

> Think, 'twas a fault to have thy verses seen
> praising the king, ere they had mourned the queen.

At the reception of his eulogies (which may be sufficiently described by a line in one of them, "Panting for breath flies our elaborate song,") Drayton was deeply cut. "I instantly saw all my long-nourished hopes buried alive before my face." Nearly a quarter of a century later, in the *Epistle* to George Sandys, 1627, he confirms Chettle's explanation of his failure.

> It was my fault before all other men
> to suffer shipwreck by my *forward pen*
> when King James entered. . . .
> Yet had not my clear spirit in fortune's scorn
> me above earth and my afflictions borne,
> he, next my God on whom I built my trust
> had left me trodden lower than the dust.

Thus, while Jonson, Daniel, and so many others, were accepted, he was put aside. The poem called *The Owl*, 1604, he asserts in its preface[1] to have been written before this event; but it is full of strain and obscure allegory, behind which we divine an awkward rage ineffectually smouldering. *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, and the *Parliament of Birds*, are in some measure his

[1] "A year is almost past since this small poem was lastly finished: at which time it gave place by my enforcement, undertaking then in the general joy . . . to write a poem gratulatory."

models. The Eagle is the monarch, the Owl, sharp-sighted in the darkness, is the satiric observer of its evil deeds. Attacked by various *obscenæ volucres*, she pleads her case to the Eagle in a long tirade against the lust and jobbing of courts. The poet himself is figured by the ragged and wretched Crane, who laments:

> Weary at length, and trusting to my worth,
> I took my flight into the happy North;
> where, nobly bred as I was well allied,
> I hoped to have my fortune there supplied;
> but, there arrived, disgrace was all my gain. . .
> Other had got for which I long did serve,
> still fed with words, while I with wants did starve.

This is the only evidence for the figment, which has passed into some biographies, and seems to be first named and refuted by Oldys (1750), that the poet was introduced by Aston to James, and sent to Scotland on some unsuccessful public mission. I can throw no fresh light on the allusion, except that he did actually go, or had been, northwards, before 1606: one of the best of his odes being written from the Peak, and praising "Buxton's delicious baths."

In 1605 he published the first anthology of all his hitherto published poetry that seemed worth reclaiming. To atone for his facility, he had a sound instinct for thrusting much hastily-begotten verse into silence. Nothing of any worth but *Endimion and Phoebe* was sacrificed. Our Bibliography (No. 19 A) will show what this volume contained, and what reprints of it were speedily called for. His wholly new lyrics he included in a separate book, the *Poemes Lyrick and Pastorall; Odes and Eglogs*, 1606. Both these have been reprinted by the SPENSER SOCIETY. Of the revised "Eglogs" something has been said; but nothing he wrote is more choicely original than the *Odes*. His lyric gift had come late, he was now forty-three; but it was to grow finer and lighter as he lived. At the age of fifty-six, in the volume of 1619, he added seven more odes, containing his

choicest love-poems, and a much strengthened version of the *Ballad of Agincourt*. In the book of 1606 he tells us that he proposed to follow "the inimitable Pindarus," as well as the odes of Anacreon, "the very delicacies of the Grecian Erato, which muse seemed to have been the minion of that Teian old man which composed them." His own odes are to be mixed, the "arguments being amorous, moral, or what else the muse pleaseth." They are really formed more on Horace than on any Greek writer, and are unlike all the pseudo-Pindaric odes written in English afterwards. Neither are they ballads in the real sense. Their rhythm is as alien to the march of the nobler as it is to the slouch of the inferior folk-ballad. But in some of them is the true war-music, as of the harp speeding a vessel that departs with pennons flying to win some new continent of odorous tropic fruits and illimitable gold.

> You brave heroic minds,
> worthy your country's name,
> that honour still pursue,
> go, and subdue,
> whilst loitering hinds
> lurk here at home for shame!

The overture *To Himself and the Harp* vindicates the dignity of verse in the old missionary spirit. The ode *To my Friends the Camber-Britons and their Harp*, usually known as the *Ballad of Agincourt*, is the sincerest, and thus the most infectious, of all literary ballads (though, as we have said, the old popular ditty on the great battle was in Drayton's ears when he wrote). It is the fine flower of old patriot lyric, just as *Henry V.* is of patriot drama, and both are filled with ardour for the same hero. The ode was a favourite of Drayton's, if we may judge by the nicety of the improvements which he made from time to time in its text.[1] In the love-odes, we feel we are in a later day, far from Sidneian flights, nearer the dexterity of compliment or courtship

[1] See Appendix E, *Changes in Agincourt Ballad.*

we associate with Carew or Suckling. The *Horatian Ode* to Savage approaches the favourite exercises of Wotton, Vaughan, and others, on the theme of a disciplined temperate life in the country. In the *Ode to the New Year* there is at least one stanza that might, for its pure ethereal style, have come out of the *Poems and Ballads* of the year 1866. Drayton's lyric phrasing is no longer apt to be rude, heavy and common, but has here at least Swinburnian quality:

> Give her th' Eoan brightness
> winged with that subtle lightness
> that doth transpierce the air:
> the roses of the morning
> the rising heaven adorning
> to mesh with flames of hair.

After 1606 Drayton was almost silent for six years, still accumulating the immense work, which he had begun by 1598. As will appear, the traces of actual travel in the *Poly-Olbion* are dubious. Somewhat he must have gone about, to obtain or see the necessary books. In any case, he had not only Aston to thank for the opportunity of keeping to his task, but was assisted in high quarters. The dedication of the first instalment of *Poly-Olbion*, 1612, is addressed to the prince who was within a year to be cut off. Drayton writes to Henry in a strain of proud gratitude and emergence from the deeps of sick discouragement.

"My soul, which hath seen the extremity of Time and Fortune, cannot yet despair. The influence of so glorious and fortunate a star, may also reflect upon me: which hath power to give me new life, or leave me to die more willingly and contented. My poem is genuine, and first in this kind. It cannot want envy: for, even in the birth, it already finds that. Your gracious acceptance, mighty prince, will lessen it."

By the dedication of 1622 it appears that Charles had continued the bounty of Henry, which "gave me much encouragement to go on with this second part." What obstacles he

encountered in publishing the complete poem, will appear in his letters to Drummond. But, meanwhile, the gift of Henry was more than timely. To a man of Drayton's temper, sensitive to the manner of a gift, and justly taking it more as a pension for desert than an alms, Henry's usage, notoriously considerate to poets, must have counted for more than the money fee. But this grant or annuity of £10, whenever it was begun, coupled with the help of Aston, decisively relieved him from theatrical beggary. The sum was continued after Henry's death, though it does not appear for how long.[1]

In 1613 we first have a glimpse of Drayton's features. He was now fifty: and his portrait engraved by Hole appears before one of the many reprints of the volume of 1605. It shows, markedly enough, the "swarth and melancholy face" of which he himself speaks.[2] A harassed, half-submerged but unbeaten doggedness, a malcontent energy, a temper with which life has gone hard, speak from its lines. The only painted portrait which survives was taken fifteen years later, being dated 1628, when he was 63; it is mellower, and has more of prosperous dignity. The face in both is wide, the forehead somewhat bossy, crowned with laurel[3] in the engraving. The Abbey bust has little expression.

The first eighteen songs of the *Poly-Olbion* appeared in 1612, the other twelve not till 1622, though they were finished before 1619.[4] The exact reprint that this SOCIETY has issued of the

[1] P. Cunningham, *Accounts of Revels*, p. xvii. Among "Anuyties and Pencons" is noted by Sir D. Murray "Mr. Drayton a poett for one yeare xl^li^." The heads of the Household, after the Prince's death in 1612, recommended to the Chancellor of the Exchequer persons "whoe by the comaundement of the late prince w^th^out anie graunte in wrytinge were allowed yerely somes by way of Anuyties or Pencons out of the privie purse of the said late prince: viz., Joshua Silvester a poett xx^li^. Mr. Drayton a poett x^li^, etc." (p. xviii.)

[2] *Legend of Robert*, 1596, stanza 9.

[3] The Dulwich picture, dated 1628, and marked æt. 65, was given by Cartwright the actor; the artist is unknown. A reproduction may be seen as our frontispiece. Oldys, *Biog. Brit.*, 1750, names some other pictures, which are lost: one, "a delicate portrait of him in miniature," said to have been painted by Peter Oliver.

[4] See p. 42, second letter to Drummond.

later edition renders needless any account of the designs, maps, and dedications, or of the introduction by the great Selden, whose notes bristle after each Song of the first volume. But from all these sources, besides the work itself, must be collected the spirit in which it was composed. The truth is that Drayton, Briton as he was, was penetrated with the Renaissance commonplace of the wrack and destruction wrought by Time upon beauty, and power, and noble visible monuments, and the fame of the great. From the *Triumphs* of Petrarch, down to the exercises of du Bellay and Spenser, that sense of the mingled loss and salvage from antiquity, itself so newly re-discovered, had inspired many a lament over the passing of old and glorious things: and sometimes, as in Spenser's *Ruins of Time*, over newer potentates and great houses, which had gone, they also, the way of the old. Something, again, of this spirit, had been applied to English history, real or fancied, by the school—call it the school of Sackville—which we saw Drayton begin with copying. He in turn, after Camden, carries this same inspiration into his task of collecting the sagas of Great Britain. He will fight with Time to save Antiquity, which men are disregarding: and it is his affair, by "world-outwearing rhymes," to stay the oblivion besetting the "delicacies, delights, and rarities" of Albion.

> O Time, what earthly thing with thee itself can trust,
> when thou in thine own course art to thyself unjust?
> Dost thou contract with death and to oblivion give
> thy glories, after them yet shamefully dar'st live? (Song 21.)

> So, when injurious Time such monuments doth lose,
> (As, what so great a work by Time that is not wrackt?),
> we utterly forgo that memorable act:
> but, when we lay it up within the minds of men,
> they leave it their next age; that leaves it hers again.
> (Song 10.)

Alas, the great poem itself has sunk in the stream! its plan, so

grandiose, so much beyond the poetical force of Drayton, or of anybody, to keep up, has doomed it: it is banished to the shelves of students and enthusiasts, who, for the golden veins in its mass of quartz and rubble, may deem it their duty to rescue some attention for it, just as the author wished to do by the antiquities he celebrates.

The precise application of this mood to the nature and monuments of Britain—to her visible past—and even the geographical framework, were of course no invention of the poet's. It has been said that Leland's *Itinerary* suggested his plan; but it would be hard to find in those arid entries much that he has used. Neither could he, with Leland, say, and he does not say, "that there is almost neither cape nor bay, haven, creek, or pier, river or confluence of rivers, breaches, washes, lakes, meres, fenny waters, mountains, valleys, moors, heaths, forests, woods, cities, boroughs, castles, principal manor places, monasteries, colleges, but I have seen them, and in so doing noted a whole world of things very memorable." Drayton did nothing of this sort; his purse perhaps could not have afforded it. And, owing to his peculiar allusive method, and his notable lack of poetical eyesight for the face of nature, it is often uncertain whether he saw what he writes, or copied it, with dignified alterations, from some book. It is thus with his lists of the birds of Lincolnshire (Song 25), or the plants of Kent (Song 18), or of Warwickshire (Song 13). These last, though he is speaking of his own shire, he might have taken from a herbal, with receipts for purges and sauces. The thirteenth Song is an instance of this defect throughout, except in the description of the deer-hunt, which may be from life. But, when he does observe, his style is hard and documentary; it has spirit, but no illumination, as in his verses on the hunting of the hare (Song 23). Shakspere's mis-praised stud-specification of the horse in *Venus and Adonis* is the nearest parallel to Drayton's habitual manner; but Drayton never came to hear the tuneable baying of the Spartan hounds of Theseus. Sometimes, when a graphic touch seems to be surely his

own, we find that it is not. The riding of the hundred ships unseen in Falmouth harbour (Song 5) is taken straight from Camden. And, much as he uses Camden, he often misses his vividness. Camden, crossing the Wharfe upon his cob, stumbles on the slippery stones, and adds[1]: "he runneth with a swift speedy stream, making a great noise as he goeth, as if he were froward, turbid, and angry; and is made more full and testy with the number of stones lying in his channel": and this gives the essential raging life of the swollen river better than *Poly-Olbion* with all its personifying.

The debts of Drayton to Camden, into which he has of course every right to run, though he does not appear to own them, are considerable, both in the animating spirit of the whole, and in many details. "I would restore Antiquity to Britain, and Britain to his Antiquity . . . Who is so skilful, that struggling with time in the foggy dark sea of Antiquity, may not run upon rocks?" The Latin original of this was published in 1586, long before Drayton began. The opening of the poem, in praise of the temperate climate of Albion, is traditional, but the words are directly borrowed from Camden. For the first three Songs "the Muse," with slight changes, follows painfully the routes of the *Britannia*, beginning with Cornwall, and working through "Devon, Dorset, Hamp, Wilt, Somerset." After this the poet's plan of following up the main river-systems causes him to diverge; and the extent to which he draws upon Camden differs greatly according to counties. From Songs 4 to 10 the Muse expatiates in Wales, and borrows many curiosities, like the beavers in Tivy, and those notable one-eyed fish in the upland mere of Snowdon. But the greater part of the Welsh Songs deal in the chronicle or the personifications which lie outside the scope of Camden's work. From the tenth to the eighteenth Songs the Muse strikes down from Cheshire through the Western midlands, thence to London: and this portion of

[1] I quote Philemon Holland's noble version, ed. 1637, first published 1616, p. 689.

the poem is borrowed less than any other. Warwickshire, London, and probably Kent, Drayton knew personally, though he makes little use of the opportunities of the capital except in four superb lines (17. 239).[1] The dykes of Cambridgeshire are from the book (21. 9); and so likewise are the divisions of Lincolnshire (25. 109), though in the clawed and crooked devils of Crow (Holland's *Camden*, p. 530) the Muse misses a pleasant chance. The mines of Derbyshire, which we know from an ode that Drayton visited, might also be partly copied. In Yorkshire he follows Camden's course faithfully; but the close of the poem, in which the Muse stumbles from Northumberland to her rest among the Westmorland hills, is from some other authority.

The chief devices with which the itinerary is beguiled are history, which includes legend, and personification. The embodiment of material from Geoffrey of Monmouth, Matthew of Paris, Higden, and Holinshed, is usually most successful when the subject is most fictitious. The lists of kings and battles are dreary enough; yet to move over the counties enchanted by the memory of Arthur (Songs 4, 5), would make a lesser man poetical. But to the writer's own mind the absence of demarcation between fact and legend is complete; is not each matter for the Muse, part of what has to be rescued from oblivion? The authenticity of "Brute," it is well-known, was by no means a closed question in the first half of the seventeenth century; and it is one of the few glimpses of humour in the *Poly-Olbion* to find Selden applying a gentle and sympathetic cautery in his notes to the figment for which the poet pleads in his text not without heat. Were such tales, forsooth, spurious, merely because Julius Cæsar had known nothing about them? And the passages where, filled with this spirit, Drayton works up legend, or history that was just filmed over with legend, are the best in his book. The songs of Wales resound of Merlin. Cornwall calls up Corineus, and the local customs of wrestling (1. 29);

[1] *I.e.* Song 17, page 239 in the SOCIETY's reprint: and so with other references to *Poly-Olbion*.

the Danes, the tale, admirably given, of Guy of Warwick (12. 202); Sherwood, Robin Hood and his men (26. 122). These things were all part of the English past, not different in nature from the records of our naval heroes, or the native saints (24. 76). As to personification, its abuse is partly explained by necessity. Bound by his strict "chorographical" plan, Drayton has to traverse the whole country. How then, failing any religious instinct or interpretative power in dealing with nature, and apart from episodical myth or chronicle, shall he make his poem poetical? If the entire plan betokened a heroic ignorance of the capacities of the subject, the device adopted makes little amends. The personifying, indeed, of lake or mountain or river by a poet is in itself only his deliberate reversion to a more primitive state of thought, which was once, long ago, in the "angel infancy" of the world's imagination, taken seriously. Not only was it so in Greece; but in England the general fancy, wrought up by men like Geoffrey of Monmouth, had often peopled Severn and Thames with legendary figures. The right of a later poet to re-associate these creations with their supposed scenes is as nobly exemplified in Milton's *Sabrina* as it is strikingly abused in the sixth Song of *Poly-Olbion*. The trick of the capital letter, so lovely when lightly used, Drayton, with his British tendency to overdo a good thing and never know it, doggedly works in through the whole of his thirty chapters. To hill and stream he applies the half-humanising, half-abstracting process, made by Spenser so delightful in variety, but which the masque-makers were soon tempted by their stage artists to stale. The wedding in the *Faerie Queene* of the Thames and Medway, itself shaped, perhaps, after some masque, is the model for the richest and finest of all the pageants of the *Poly-Olbion*, the meeting of Thames and Isis (Song 18). What can be done, after the manner beloved by Charles Lamb, in this kind, with good fortune, may also be seen in the addresses of the North Wind to the Vale of Cluyd (Song 10, p. 159), or of Waltham to Hatfield (19. 2). But, under the repetition of the

device, quaintly enlivening the maps with their moonstruck tutelar nymphs, the poetry often becomes (to tell the truth) merely ostensible.

At the decadence of a great literary period the ambition to write considerable works outlives the power. The catastrophe that results is visible, putting the drama aside, in such pieces as those of Spenser's imitators, and in the *Poly-Olbion*. The poet had contracted for himself on impossible terms for a mighty poem. One of these terms, not the least serious, was the metre—the lengthy rhyming couplet of twelve syllables. Drayton's attempt may be said to show its impossibility for a long English composition. He controls it with no little skill, and perhaps draws out of it all the effects of which as a continuous measure it is capable. But the uniform break in the midst, the consonantal nature of our language, and the monotony, are fatal to it. It is, however, highly suitable for long single passages, and those in which Drayton works it successfully ought to be extracted in a popular selection. To the whole work, considered itself as an antique, the lines apply, which illustrate both the writer's tender zeal for what is old, and his natural stateliness of speech :

> Even in the aged'st face, where beauty once did dwell,
> and nature in the least but seemed to excel,
> Time cannot make such waste, but something will appear,
> to shew some little tract of delicacy there.

IV.—1618-1631.

The *Poly-Olbion* was hard to publish, and the first instalment fell flat. "Some of the stationers, that had the selling of the first part of this poem, because it went not so fast away in the sale as some of their beastly and abominable trash . . . have either despitefully left out, or at least carelessly neglected, the Epistles to

the readers, and so have cozened the buyers with unperfected books." So writes the author in his letter "To any that will read it," 1622. He did not find a London publisher for the last twelve Songs without much trouble, and at one time made an effort to bring the book out in in Edinburgh. The history both of this affair and of his chief literary friendship is found in the correspondence exchanged with Drummond of Hawthornden from 1618 onwards. For a nearly full text of all the letters, and a commentary, should be consulted Dr. Masson's *Life of Drummond*.[1] The four letters written by Drayton (the only ones, exclusive of dedications and the like, that have been saved) deserve quoting in full. Written to one whom he had never met, and never was to meet, they testify to his hearty, generous temper, in terms that are special not so much to himself as to the high language of friendship during the age in which he had grown up.

Drummond had long studied and admired the author of the *Epistles* and *Poly-Olbion*, and in his *Characters of Several Poets*, written about 1614, is loud in his praise. Correspondence did not begin till 1618, when Drummond composed a long and weary compliment to the king on his Scottish progress. It may have been the *Forth Feasting* that drew the notice of Drayton in London. More probably, the tie began through a common friend, Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, who passed to and fro between North and South, and whose name comes constantly in the letters. Whatever the cause, Drayton seized the occasion of a certain Joseph Davies visiting Scotland to send to Hawthornden a message of friendly encouragement, the terms of which are lost. Drummond replied with grateful, slightly theatrical, effusion, revealing himself an admirer of long standing, whom "your most happy Albion [*Poly-Olbion*] put into a

[1] Pp. 78 *seqq.*, 112 *seqq.*, 180 *seqq.* Drayton's letters are originally given in the 1711 ed. of Drummond's *Works*, pp. 154, 233; and copied in the Transactions, 1828 to 1836, of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (*Archæologia Scotica*), vol. iv. pp. 90 *seqq.*; the extracts were made by Laing. The *MSS.* of them seem to be now lost, not surviving among the Drummond papers in the hands of the Society.

new trance"; and, like others, observes upon Drayton's "great love, courtesy, and generous disposition." Two other notes, in a similar strain, follow, before the first reply was received from Drayton. It runs thus:

"*To my Honourable friend, Mr. William Drummond of Hawthornden.*

My Dear Noble Drummond,—Your letters were as welcome to me as if they had come from my mistress, which I think is one of the worthiest living. Little did you think how oft that noble friend of yours, Sir William Alexander, that man of men, and I, had remembered you before we trafficked in friendship. Love me as much as you can, and so I will you. I can never hear of you too often, and I will ever mention you with much respect of your deserved worth. I enclosed this letter in a letter of mine to Mr. Andrew Hart of Edinburgh, about some business I have with him, which he may impart to you. Farewell, noble Sir, and think me to ever to be your faithful friend,

London, 9 Nov. 1618. MICHAEL DRAYTON.

Joseph Davis is in love with you."[1]

As Dr. Masson suggests, the work about which Drayton wrote to Hart was almost certainly the *Poly-Olbion*. On 20 December, 1618, Drummond replies: "I have been earnest with him in that particular. How I would be over-joyed to see our North once honoured with your works as before it was with Sidney's" (an edition of the *Arcadia*). The next letter from Drayton rages at his further embarrassments. It may be remembered that Ben Jonson's famous walk to Scotland and visit to Hawthornden occurred in the interval, at the Christmas of 1618.

"*To my noble friend Mr. William Drummond of Hawthornden in Scotland.*

My Noble Friend,—I have at last received both your letters, and the last in a letter of Sir William Alexander's enclosed sent to me into the country, where I have been all this winter, and came up to London not above four days before the date of this my letter to you. I thank you,

[1] *Works of Drummond*, 1711, p. 153.

my dear sweet Drummond, for your good opinion of *Poly-Olbion*. I have done twelve books more, that is from the eighteenth book, which was Kent, if you note it; all the East part and North to the river Tweed; but it lies by me; for the booksellers and I are in terms [bargaining]; they are a company of base knaves, whom I both scorn and kick at. Your love, worthy friend, I do heartily embrace and cherish, and the oftener your letters come the better they shall be welcome. And so, wishing you all happiness, I commit you to God's tuition, and rest ever your assured friend,

MICHAEL DRAYTON.

I have written to Mr. Hart a letter which comes with him.

London, 14 April, 1619."[1]

The business with Hart came to nothing, and Drummond did not, it would seem, answer this letter. The next is dated more than two years afterwards.

"*To my dear Noble friend Mr. William Drummond of Hawthornden in Scotland.*

Noble Mr. Drummond, — I am often thinking whether this long silence proceeds from you or from me, whether I know not; but I would have you take it upon you to excuse me; and then I would have you lay it upon me, and excuse yourself; but you will, if you think it our fault as I do, let us divide; and both, as we may amend it. My long being in the country this summer, from whence I had no means to send my letter, shall partly speak for me; for believe me, worthy William, I am more than a fortnight's friend. Where I love, I love for years, which I hope you shall find. When I wrote this letter, our general friend, Sir William Alexander, was at court at Newmarket; but my lady promises me to have this letter sent to you. Let me hear how you do so soon as you can; I know that I am and will be ever your faithful friend, MICHAEL DRAYTON.

London, 22 November, 1621, in haste."[2]

The letter travelled at leisure, for Drummond did not receive

[1] *Works of Drummond, ib.* [2] *Ib.*, p. 154.

it till 20 April in the next year. He replies in his high-pitched strain :

"Of our long silence let us both excuse ourselves, and as our first parents did, lay the fault upon some Third . . . and [I] testify that neither years nor fortune can ever so affect me, but that I shall ever reverence your worth and esteem your friendship as one of the best conquests of my life, which I would have extended if possible, and enjoy even after death ; that, as this time, so the coming after, might know that I am and shall ever be your loving [friend]." [1]

In a further letter,[2] of uncertain date, but appearing to refer to the expected poems of 1627, the same language is kept up. But nothing comes back from Drayton until the year before his death, and this, the last of his extant letters, is one of the best.

"*To my worthy and ever honoured friend Mr. William Drummond of Hawthornden in Scotland.*

Sir,—It was my chance to meet with this bearer Mr. Wilson at a knight's house in Gloucestershire, to which place I yearly use to come in the summer-time to recreate myself, and to spend some two or three months in the country ; and, understanding by him that he was your countryman, and after a time inquiring of some few things, I asked him, if he had heard of such a gentleman, meaning yourself; who told me he was your inward acquaintance, and spake much good to me of you. My happiness of having so convenient a messenger gave me the means to write to you and to assure you that *I am your perfect faithful friend in spite of destiny and time.* Not above three days before I came from London (and I would have been there above four days) I was with your noble friend and mine Sir William Alexander, when we talked of you. I left him, his lady, and family, in good health. This messenger is going from hence, and I am called upon to do an earnest business for a friend of mine. And so I leave you to God's protection, and remain ever your faithful servant, MICHAEL DRAYTON.

Clifford in Gloucestershire, 14 July, 1631, in haste."

[1] *Arch. Scot.*, p. 90. [2] *Ib.*, p. 91.

Next year, writing to Sir William Alexander, Drummond had to pour out his lament for the old friend whom he had never seen. No other letters by Drayton remain; but in these four his character is shown answering to the high language which he instinctively uses: a language with its serious, invincible bravado, which only a few old poets like himself remembered, the language of a man nurtured upon a day which had passed for England. His *perfect faithful friendship in spite of destiny or time*, his *I commit you to God's tuition*, are phrases Elizabethan in the true sense.

These letters furnish some other notices of his later life. "Where I love, I love for years." Unless the sonnets printed for the first time in 1619 were all written much earlier, the cult of "Idea" was tenacious. Anne, now for more than twenty years past Lady Rainsford, was doubtless the mistress praised in the letter of 1619 as "one of the worthiest living." But by this time such utterances were tokens of gallantry, with friendship behind it. The Epistle *Of his Lady's not coming to Town*, published 1627, and written in the smoother and later style, is over-ingenious, but sincere in its note. Certainly Drayton's intercourse with the Rainsfords was kept up for many years before his death. The letter of 1631 speaks of his yearly resort in summer to their seat of Clifford Hall, and the country visits named in the second and third letters were doubtless to the same place. In *Poly-Olbion*, he says that Clifford hath "been many a time the Muses' quiet port." And, in Sir Henry Rainsford, he found a friend of whom he writes with a flash of the spirit of Hamlet praising Horatio:[1]

> But to have him die
> past all degree that was so dear to me!

[1] Neither this elegy nor three others (see Bibl. No. 34), seems to have been reprinted since the earliest editions. There is a fine image in that to Mr. Jeffrey. Virtue cannot get into kings' cabinets:

> For Ignorance against her stands in state
> like some proud porter at a palace gate.

As, but comparing him with others, *he*
was such a thing as if some Power should say
what a friend should be. . . .
Who had seen
his care of me, wherever I had been,
and had not known his active spirit before
upon some brave thing working evermore,
he would have sworn that to no other end
he had been born, but only for my friend.

Sir Henry died in 1622; and Drayton continued, as appears, his visits to the family. The "knight," whose house in 1631 he had "yearly visited" was doubtless the younger Sir Henry, now long since grown up.[1] I cannot find out when Anne died.[2]

Drayton's last eight years (1623–31) were productive; even *Poly-Olbion* did not leave him effete. Before referring to his other friendships and his last days, there is some admirable verse to notice. In 1619 he had published a revised selection, what would now be called a definitive edition, of all that he had written up to that time, apart from his great work (see Bibl. No. 30). A book of wholly fresh matter followed in 1627, and yet another in 1630. The first of these contains *The Battle of Agincourt*, *The Miseries of Queen Margaret*, *Nymphidia*, *The Quest of Cynthia*, *The Shepherd's Sirena*, *The Mooncalf*, and the *Elegies*. The volume of 1630, reprinted by the SPENSER SOCIETY, contains *The Muses' Elizium*, and the three biblical paraphrases, *Noah's Flood*, *Moses his Birth and Miracles*, and *David and Goliah*. In these volumes, if certain faculties have faded, new ones have been born. The torch of the old man's passion is low, he has begun to forget what he once felt; the high oratorical tones of the *Epistles* are gone. Over the weightier compositions, excepting the *Epistle to Reynolds* and some other "elegies," lies the weight of that dulness, which in the *Poly-Olbion* had been

[1] He wrote lines before Sandys' *Paraphrase of Job, &c.*, 1638, and seems to have belonged to the set of Falkland.

[2] It was presumably after 1627, when the Epistle on her "not coming to town" was published. (See pp. 6, 20.)

practised with a kind of conscience. The most spirited of them —for the *Miseries of Margaret* is an exercise of the old kind— is the *Battle of Agincourt*. But the energy, which in the *Ballad* on the same subject is concentrated to a glow, is here frittered over pages. Of the *Ballad*, not the *Battle*, Jonson should have written :

> I hear again thy drum to beat
> a better cause, and strike the bravest heat
> that ever yet did fire an English blood.

The *Mooncalf* is a rank satire of the old Juvenalian stamp, containing amidst its splutter against the court some quaint documents of corrupt manners. The Mooncalf, bastard of the world and the devil, represents the ignorant sot, in youth a wanton, but rising on the strength of his vices to place and consideration above the good. There are strong lines, but the style is turbid. Of the scriptural poems, the history of Moses (the work of 1604 altered) is stolidly enough expanded from the original, but has a touch of Drayton's human and compassionate temper. The joy of the mother of Moses when the princess unwittingly calls on her to tend her own child, like the scene of the parting of kindred in the *Battle of Agincourt*, refreshes the wastes of narrative. Of *David and Goliah* there is little to say : but the overture to *Noah's Flood* deserves to be known for its dignity, its confused presentiment of a greater sacred diction than Drayton's :

> O let thy glorious angel which since kept
> that gorgeous Eden, where once Adam slept,
> when tempting Eve was taken from his side,
> let him, great God, not only be my guide,
> but with his fiery fauchion still be nigh,
> to keep affliction far from me, that I
> with a free soul thy wondrous works may shew.
> Then like that deluge shall my numbers flow,
> telling the state wherein the earth then stood,
> the giant race, the universal flood.

In these final poems such music is rare enough ; but one

class of them discovers not so much a renewal of youthful grace as an unsealing in the old poet's spirit of fresh, sweet, and unsuspected sources. Certain late lyrics of Landor and Tennyson, and the *Sad Shepherd* of Ben Jonson, will occur as parallels. The fragment of Jonson, indeed, is the closest of all; for it was now the second age of pastoral, when the direct influence of Spenser was beginning to confine itself to a caste or school, and was losing that wide predominance which had marked it for thirty years after the *Calendar*. The pastoral dramas of Italy, which had lain on the desks of Jonson and of Fletcher, had inspired, not merely a preference for the theatrical form, but a change of the ruling motives in pastoral; or, say rather, a kind of even and pure elegance, with a marked absence of those allusions to the poet's loyalty, assurance of immortality, and personal pride, which had marked the earlier eclogues, and Drayton's, as we have seen, among them. We cannot assert that Drayton had read Tasso or Guarini; neither did he pass beyond the simple familiar form of dialogue in song. But comparing the *Shepherd's Garland* with *The Muses' Elizium*, we feel that the first is an Elizabethan poem, while the second is a Caroline poem, written under the same class of influences, with the same flow and rich tones, as the verse of Carew.

O let not those life-lightening eyes
  in this sad veil be shrouded,
which into mourning puts the skies
  to see them ever clouded.

O my Myrtilla, do not praise
  these lamps so dimly burning:
such sad and sullen lights as these
  were only made for mourning!

The Shepherd's Sirena, *The Quest of Cynthia*, and *The Muses' Elizium*, are all in this style. Over Drayton's pastoral has come a light playfulness, sensible to us as much in the tendency to tripping rhyme as in anything else. The eighth eclogue, like the

lyrical part of a masque, describes a fairy wedding, and links the whole collection with the best of all seventeenth century fantasies, *Nymphidia*. To conceive common things wholly in miniature, fitted to the miniature needs of an elf; to plant the faintest sting of satire in a gay parody of the well-nigh forgotten chivalrous ballads; to carry the vein of Sir Thopas into the world of Oberon; all this is done, and done without one touch of the suffusing imagination of Shakspere's *Dream*, with which Drayton was plainly familiar. The *Nymphidia* does not move in the land of dreams at all, their wings do not brush it. The smallest objects described are in distinct light. But the verses are kept fresh by the nicety of their cutting. This poem was a favourite in the mid-seventeenth century, unlike most of Drayton's works, and was often reprinted later. A loan is gracefully levied on it, not only by Herrick, but perhaps in Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle's lines, in her *Poems and Fancies*, 1653, on the *Pastime and Recreation of the Queen of Fairies*.

The so-called "Elegies" are all in couplets, and are very unequal. To the last Drayton kept his exacting standard of what the treatment of the poet ought to be, and also his convention, a little blind and unfounded, of what it actually was. Two of these pieces, addressed to Sandys and to William Browne, touch on the dubious old text of the neglect awarded to verse. Sounder, and less ponderous than the rest of the Elegies, is the well-known *Epistle to my friend Henry Reynolds, Esq., of Poets and Poesy*, which condenses the writer's judgments upon past and living "makers" of his country. His too tepid lines on Shakspere, and his omissions of singers like Campion and Giles Fletcher and Donne, of dramatists like Webster and Middleton, have often been contrasted with the apt and splendid tributes paid to Chaucer and to Nashe, and to Marlowe as a lyrist. By the favour of friendship, he warmly salutes Sandys, whose clear-cut couplets may have been touched in form by his own, and that "man of men," Sir William Alexander. Drummond receives his tribute; but three other poets, "my dear companions

whom I freely chose my bosom friends," are particularly named, who must, unlike Drummond, have been personal associates. One was Francis Beaumont [† 1616]; the second was Sir John Beaumont, whose death in 1627 led Drayton to offer desolately, in the prefatory verses to *Bosworth Field*, "this poor branch of my withering bays"; the third was William Browne,[1] who repeatedly names Drayton with regard. We know little else about Drayton's dealings with other men of letters. With the dictator, Jonson, who survived him six years, his relations were cordial. The somewhat stilted, but essentially hearty epistle, prefixed by the great man in 1627 to Drayton's folio, may be taken to efface his remark (thrown out years before over Drummond's table, and sedulously chronicled) that "Drayton feared him, and he [Jonson] esteemed not of him." Energy, hatred of sham, a tendency to shout too loud, some lack of the finer vision, a manly, almost heroic, acceptance of life; these qualities were common to both men, and stayed with both to the end.

Drayton's last patronage came from the Earl and Countess of Dorset (born Mary Clifford). We do not know when they began to favour him; but in the dedication to the Earl, prefixed to *The Muses' Elizium*, he states that "the durableness of your favours hath now made me one of the family." The "Divine Poems" in the same volume are addressed to "your religious Countess." There is reason to suppose that whatever support could thus be given was needed, and that Drayton died in poor circumstances. Not only the deed of administration quoted below, but a curious independent notice, confirms this tradition. According to an obscure contemporary writer, "Honest Mr. Michael Drayton had about some five pounds lying by him at his death, which was *satis viatici ad cælum*."[2] With friends to bury him, this, or a little more, was enough for a bachelor.

[1] See *Poems* of W. Browne, ed. Gordon Goodwin (Lawrence and Bullen), London, 1894, index to vol. ii., s.v. "Drayton."

[2] H. Peacham, *Truth of our Times*, 1638, p. 37, quoted in Grosart's Introduction to the *Poems of Sylvester*, vol. i. p. xix.

Drayton died at the end of 1631 ; there is no contemporary evidence for the month or day,[1] even in the registers of the Abbey, where he was buried. Our only account of his end is from Aubrey, who says : "He lived at the bay window next the east end of St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet St. *Sepult.* in North of Westminster Abbey. The Countess of Dorset (Clifford) gave his monument. Mr. Marshall the stone-cutter who made it told it me." Aubrey then quotes the inscription, "Do pious Marble, etc.," commonly put down to Jonson,[2] and states, on the dubious authority of the same Mr. Marshall, that the verses were "made by Mr. Francis Quarles."[3] There is a corroboration of Aubrey's statement that Drayton was not buried in Poet's Corner, where his bust, by an unknown hand, stands crowned with laurel and inscribed with the tributary verses. *The Appeal of Injured Innocence*, 1639, printed at the end of Fuller's *Church History*, is cast in the form of a dialogue between Heylin and Fuller. Fuller names the resting-place of the poet; and Heylin then answers that "Drayton is not buried in the south aisle of that [Westminster] Church, but under the North wall and in the main body of it, not far from the little door that opens into one of the prebends' houses . . . . though, since, his Statue hath been set up in the other place." Heylin adds that he is sure of this, because he happened to be bidden to the funeral. Fuller asks, "Have then stones learnt to lie, and must there needs be a fiction in the epitaph of a poet?"[4]

The funeral, in the case of a person so notable, may well have been semi-public and well-attended. It is likely that the Dorsets bore its charges. For, as has been said, Drayton did not die rich. He did not even leave a will. In default of it, his

[1] Though 23 December is named, I know not on what authority, by Laing, *Arch. Scot.*, *l.c. supra*, iv. 93. I have seen this date quoted in almanacks. See Appendix F for the *MS.* verses supposed to be written "the nyght before he dyed."

[2] Printed as *Underwoods*, No. 17.

[3] *Lives of Eminent Men*, reprint of 1813, London, vol. ii. p. 335.

[4] This reference is named in Collier's preface, last page. *Church History*, ed. 1659, ii. 42.

brother Edmund,[1] who lived on till 1644, took out letters of administration which were granted 17 January, 1632.[2] They are to the effect that the poet died, as Aubrey implies, in St. Dunstan's parish; that administration was granted to his lawful brother Edmund; that the final formalities were to be completed next Ascension; and that his effects were valued at a little under £25.

The Bibliography in this volume, though not including modern criticisms, will give some intimation of Drayton's vogue. The labours of recent scholars like Collier, Hooper, Bullen, and Fleay, need no further testimony. They are partly the fruit of that enthusiasm of sixty or seventy years ago which took an Elizabethan like Lamb back to the new treasures of old poetry. But the work of excavation, in which Lamb took a noble part, had been begun, at least for Chaucer, Spenser, and the folk-ballad, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, by scholars whose services to succeeding men of letters have often been scarcely acknowledged. Drayton had his share in that revival. The edition of 1748, though partial and ill-informed, was remarkable considering its date, and had some value. Together with the life by Oldys in the *Biographia Britannica* two years

[1] Dorothy, the daughter of Edmund, was buried 26 March, 1625, and Dorothy his wife on 4 April, 1625, both at Mancetter.

[2] This was first, I believe, noted in Mr. Goodwin's ed. of William Browne, 1894, ii. 32. The full document is here extracted from the principal Registry of the Probate Division, in the Commissary Court of London.

"Mense Januarii, 1631 [1632 N.S.].

Michael Drayton. Decimo septimo die p[er] m[agist]rum Willmum Iames legum D[o]c[t]orem Surrogatum &c. Em[an]avi[t] Com[m]issio Edmundo Drayton fr[atr]i natural[i] et l[egi]timo Michael Drayton nup[er] p[ar]o[chia]e S[anct]i Dunstan in occiden[te] London ab intestato Defunct[o] Ad administrand[a] bona, &c., de bene, &c., ac de pleno, &c., necnon de vero, &c., Iurat., &c., Salvo iure, &c.

Civit. London.

Ascen[sione] In[ventorium] ex[peditum]. 24li 2s 8d."

later, it was the first substantial sign of interest in the poet, that, so far as my knowledge goes, had been shown for a century.[1]

For Drayton, what with his artistic weaknesses, what with living till the bitter end, or after it, of a great patriotic age, and what with surviving into one of different poetical interests, left no school, exercised little authority, and soon barely remained in the educated mind as one of the secondary Elizabethans famous in their day. The reason for this neglect is to be found not merely in his over-production, in his acres of verbiage; there is also the character of his talent. He is too strong to be called an imitator; but he tried to absorb too much, he had a vast appetite for facts, and he was for ever exercising himself on models. Hence he seldom reacted enough upon the gathered masses of material, to present them perfectly in new and imposing forms. In his *opus magnum* he attempted so much, that it is hard to obtain popularity for its noble episodes. The successful *Epistles* were indeed a new kind, but not one of high or lasting value. His most original and impregnable verse is, I believe, to be found in his handful of *Odes*. There is little doubt about the fate of a poet of fitful executive talent, encumbered in all these ways.

But the change of poetical taste also unduly marred his fame. He, much more than Milton, who is often loosely so styled, was the last real Elizabethan. He sounded the great bugle-calls of the older generation; he sang of fervent chivalrous love, hope of immortal verse, passion for the land and its ancient things. In the middle of the seventeenth century, the themes, whether of Milton or of smaller men, were, as every one knows, quite different. The Caroline fragments which Drayton wrote in his later years were lost in the crowd of similar works. Hence he was forgotten for some things and overshadowed in others. There had been greater sonnetteers, greater poets dealing with our history. But take his whole range, travel with him over his ground, and he is seen to stand not quite among the authentic

[1] See Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*, Letter 13.

gods, hardly indeed among the mightier demi-gods, but as an athlete of commanding stature, and of power to lift, or nearly lift, weighty burdens; not without a sturdy dignified beauty of his own, and often a soft musical grace; speaking, too, now and then with something like the real divine accent. Alike for humanity and strength he ranks among the men of intellectual muscle, Jonson, Selden, Chapman: and he is one of those on whom the old enemy he so often challenged has wrought unmerited mischief.

APPENDIX A. Changes in the Eclogues.

The first edition, No. 3 A in our Bibliography, entitled *Idea*, &c., which we here call A, was entered April 23, 1593. The second, No. 3 B, entitled *Eglogs*, which we here call B, was entered 19 April, 1606, and printed without a date. Each of the nine eclogues in A is much revised in B; several are very largely re-written; the order and therefore numbering of four of them is changed, and one quite new one is added, B 9. Eclogues 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, are the same in both. But A 8 is B 4, A 4 is B 6, A 6 is B 8, and A 9 is B 10. The following details may be added to the remarks on p. 13:—

1.—Much improved. Marot's and Spenser's "Pan," meaning God (confusion of Shepherd-god and *πᾶν*), is taken out here; though kept elsewhere in B, and in Milton's Nativity Ode as Christ.

2.—The first song in A, "The Gods' delight," a mass of conceits, is changed in B for the new one, "Then this great universe no less," which suffers from obscure grammar, but has a fine rhythm not unlike Carew's. The second song in A, "Tell me, fair flock," very Spenserian, is changed for "Upon a bank," not much for the better.

3.—The song beginning in A "O thou fair silver Thames," and in B, "Stay, Thames, to hear," is much revised. Its last line in A, a bad one, "And thou under thy feet mayst tread that foul seven-headed beast," was written, as Collier says, "under the excitement of animosity to Spain and Rome. In 1593 the attempt of Perez upon the life of the Queen had just been detected by Lord Essex." This was altered.

A 4, B 6.—Much altered, the whole lament of Elphin (Sidney) being different. Winken, in A, bids Gorbo tune his pipe, and he,

Winken, will sing a lay made on Elphin by Rowland (Drayton). The lay however is sung by Gorbo, beginning, "Melpomine, put on." This is our No. 1 in the Bibliography, as it may date early. In B there is no song; but the superb quatrains (SPENSER SOC. reprint, pp. 71–2) are substituted, wherein dark allusions are made to those who denied Sidney's poesy and rashly censured his worth and honour. I do not know who can be meant. The end also differs, being full of allusions to Rowland gadding away from Winken to the South, and to other shepherds, for which see App. B, "Identifications." In A, "Old Godfrey" is named as Winken's teacher. Collier states that the contemporary *MS.* corrector of his copy alters to "Geffrey."

5.—The lines of Rowland, very ripe and strong in feeling, on pp. 61–2 of B, were present almost identical in A. This is to be noted, as showing that Drayton wrote in this characteristic vein, and so well, at thirty years of age. The terms of the praise of Idea are also changed, and the delicate little evening picture at the end, of the lowering skies, and the cottage cheer, is perfected in B.

A 6, B 8.—Many changes are here, though the model in each case is Spenser's threnodies. In A, Lady Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, is called Pandora, sister of our Phoebus, hand-maid of the Fairy Queen [Elizabeth], and the whole is taken up with a long inflated eulogy of her. In B, pp. 84–5, she is a shepherdess, sister of Elphin, gracing "clear Willie's banks," that is of the river of Wilton her seat. Further, in B appears the whole passage, cancelled later in the edition of 1619, concerning the desertion of Rowland by Selena for Cerberon: and the obscure allusion to Olcon, as well as those to Idea, Panape her sister, Mirtilla, Silvia, Thirsis, and Palmeo. (See "Identifications," App. B.)

7.—Both of Borrill's love-songs are much bettered, the first in A being a string of antitheses: in the second, B p. 80, the Platonic notion, caught by Drayton from Spenser, and much favoured by him, of Love chaining the universe together, is brought in.

A 8, B 4.—The same in substance, though slightly altered. The Thopas poem much the same in A; a little-noted trace of Chaucerian influence.

A 9, B 10.—Many small changes. In A only, last line, Drayton refers to himself as the Endimion whom his Phoebe will not regard. This was in 1593: his poem on Endimion came out next year.

B 9.—Wholly new.

APPENDIX B. IDENTIFICATIONS.

Drayton follows the tasteless trick of Spenser, of confusing real and imaginary personages under a common veil of pastoral names partly classical and partly English. It is easy to identify several; others, which clearly signify somebody, are difficult to fix. Some of Mr. Fleay's inferences, *Chronicle of the English Drama*, i. 143–9, may be hazardous; but his remarks and tables throw much light on the matter. The merely ideal names need not be reprinted here. I enumerate those which can or need be interpreted, referring now and then also to *The Muses' Elizium*, *The Quest of Sirena*, and *Endimion and Phoebe*. The numbers refer, as in App. A, to *Idea* and the *Eglogs*, and the pages to the SPENSER SOCIETY'S reprint of B.

Alexis, B 6, p. 72, who sits by silver Doven and remains in the Caledonian ground. Sir W. Alexander (Fleay).

Beta, 3, Queen Elizabeth.

Cerberon, A 6, B 8, unknown.

Colin, Spenser, as in Shepherd's Calendar. B, preface, p. 6; "learned Colin Clout." 3, stanza 4, learned Colin lays his pipes to gage and is to faerie gone a pilgrimage. This is in A, 1593, when Spenser had published the first three, but not yet the last three, books of the Faerie Queene, and when he had given up

pastoral. In 1606 the allusion was left, as applicable to his death. The last line, "the more our moan," applies to Spenser's engrossment with literature in 1593, in 1606 to his death (1599). B 4, allusion to Colin's kindness to Rosalind: the words "of courtesy the flower" refer to Colin. The lines in *Endimion and Phoebe* may be added:

> Dear Colin, let our Muse excused be,
> which rudely thus presumes to sing by thee:
> although her strains be harsh untuned and ill,
> nor can attain to thy divinest skill.

In 1627, in the *Shepherd's Sirena*, Colin is still praised "on his shawm so clear many a high-pitched note that had." See also below, under Rowland, and p. 12, and *Epistle to Reynolds*.

Elphin, A 4, B 6; B 8, alluded to A 6; Sir Philip Sidney. See last App. on "Changes in Eclogues." Allusion to *Arcadia* characters, Dorus and Pamela, in Amour 51, 1594; and to Sidney with Constable and Daniel in second sonnet to the reader, before *Idea*, 1605; also to him in suppressed stanzas before *Mortimeriados*, 1594.

Godfrey, A 4, see on this eclogue in App. A.

Goldey, *Endimion and Phoebe*, 1595, *ad fin.*

> And thou, my Goldey, which in summer days
> hast feasted us with merry roundelays,
> and when my Muse scarce able was to fly,
> didst imp her wings with thy sweet poesy.

Collier, note, p. 238, showed this name to be an anagram of Lodge. "Sometimes he was known among his friends as Golde. He acknowledges this last appellation in the third eclogue of his *Fig for Momus*, 1595, which is expressly addressed to Rowland, *i.e.* Drayton." Lodge's third eclogue is also addressed to him. He advises his friend to rise in style;

> true excellence depends
> on numbers aimed to good and happy ends.

Lodge also alludes to the "learned nines and threes" of his friend; the reference may be either to his sonnet, or to the passage in Endimion, where the Pythagorean jargon is dragged in. Collier, p. 224.

Gorbo il fidele, A 8, B 4; A 4, B 6; A 6, B 8; B 9. Some real person still unidentified. In A 4, B 6 (SPENSER SOCIETY'S reprint, p. 72), Gorbo complains that Rowland has fled from him, set at nought the words of old Winken, also unidentified, gone gadding to southern fields, "where thou dost live in thriftless vain delight." This, first printed in 1606, is more unintelligible the more it is considered. London is not "south" of Warwickshire; the persons, date alluded to, and circumstances, are unknown.

Idea, 5; B 8; B 9; see *supra*, p. 19, and Sonnets. Anne Goodere.

Melibeus, A 4, B 6.?

Mirtilla, A 6, B 8; and *Muses' Elizium*, 3, 4, 8. She with her brothers Thirsis and Palmeo lives in cliffy Charnwood by the Soar. Mr. Fleay says, "certainly Elizabeth, John, and Frances Beaumont, Francis being the celebrated dramatist, and John the poet."

Musæus, *Endimion and Phoebe*, 1594, Collier, p. 226:

> And thou, the sweet Musæus of these times,
> pardon my rugged and unfiled rymes,
> whose scarce invention is too mean and base,
> when Delia's glorious Muse doth come in place.

This of course is Samuel Daniel, whose sonnets to *Delia* had been in part surreptitiously printed in 1591, and in two public and completer issues, in 1592. The lines point to Daniel having been an early model, even idol, of Drayton's; his *Idea* sonnets, his *Legends*, and his *Barons' Wars*, all point to an effort after following Daniel's forms. But by the time of the *Epistle to Reynolds*, 1627, q.v., he speaks slightingly of him as a historian in verse whose manner "better fitted prose." It is hardly fair, with the editor of the 1748 edition, to imply that the success of

Daniel in the new reign and Drayton's own disappointment, accounts for this change. Drayton's mind moved away from his old models during the reign of James I. The phrases in the *Epistle to Reynolds* would hit Drayton himself equally, as far as much of his work went. Daniel is still named respectfully in 1605 ; *Idea*, second dedicatory sonnet to the reader.

Olcon, B 8 ; *Shepherd's Sirena*, 1627. In the first passage, pp. 86–7, Olcon is quoted as an instance of fickleness. He was esteemed as a god by Rowland (Drayton) and the praises Rowland sang of him drew all the other poets after him. But Olcon, ungrateful, forsakes the flocks and the herdgroom (poetry and Drayton), and leaves them both to the fox and wolf.

> and all those rymes that he of Olcon sung,
> the swain disgraced, participate his wrong.

That is, Drayton's praises of Olcon are discredited by this event. In the *Shepherd's Sirena*, a swain speaks of certain roguish shepherds who swear they will bring down their swine upon the flocks.

> Angry Olcon sets them on,
> and against us part doth take,
> ever since he was outgone,
> offering rymes with us to make.

These allusions are most definite ; but to whom ? We know of no poet, not otherwise appropriated to some imaginary name, whom Drayton had praised before 1605, or who had turned upon him any way to suit the description. The second quotation, twenty years later, gives Olcon's motive ; but what poetical contest can be meant ? Daniel (see above, under Musæus), will not do. Mr. Fleay's suggestion, somewhat desperate, is that Drayton means Sir John Davies. But his reasoning strikes me as forced ; see *Biog. Chronicle*, i. 149. There is no other evidence that Sir John Davies had any connection at all with Drayton. I have, however, no better theory.

Pandora, A 6, Countess of Pembroke, Mary Sidney.

Palmeo, see under Mirtilla.

Panape, B 8, Frances, elder sister of Idea or Anne Goodere.

Robin, A 3. In a passage expunged afterwards Perkin says to Rowland,

> And let me hear that roundelay of thine,
> which Robin Redbreast, sitting on a breer
> which once thou sangst to me in Janeveer,
> the burden bare;

and adds that Robin has now "gone to his roost." Collier, p. xviii., identifies Robin with Essex, on the strength of this having been a popular name for Essex, as a poem in the Camden Miscellany testifies. He inclines to this, however, in order to prove the baseless theory that Essex protected Drayton as a child. Collier states that his own copy of "The Shepherd's Garland" belonged to Essex and bears his autograph, and has some contemporary emendations.

Rosalinde, B 9, Spenser (lady-love in *Shepherd's Calendar*). Not certainly yet identified. (See Fleay's Introduction to Spenser; Grosart's Spenser, vol. i.)

Rowland, Rowland of the Rock, named in all A except 6, 7, 8; and in all B except 4, 7, 9, 10. Drayton's own name for himself, adopted after Spenser's Colin. Probably, as Mr. Fleay ingeniously suggests, Spenser's Aëtion in *Colin Clout*. This theory, however, forces the assumption, not otherwise confirmed, that *The Heroicall Epistles* were written before 1595. See *supra*, p. 23, *n.*

Selena, B 8, p. 85, Countess of Bedford? See *supra*, p. 9.

Sirena, see Sylvia. *Shepherd's Sirena*, 1627.

Sylvia, B 8, p. 88, once lived in Staffordshire by the Trent, in Moorland, but is now allured to Kent and lives in Ravensbourn. Identified very plausibly by Mr. Fleay as "a member of the Aston family of Tixhall, on the Trent, the head of which, Sir

W. Aston, was Drayton's patron." Sirena Mr. Fleay thinks another of the same family.

Winken, the old teacher of Rowland; 2, A 4, B 6. Commonly identified with Warner, for no very good reason.

APPENDIX C. Changes in the Epic of Mortimer.

"M." stands for *Mortimeriados*, and the number following means the page in Collier's ed., where, as in the original, there are no books or stanzas numbered. "B.W." stands for *Baron's Wars*, where the references are to book and stanza as in the reprint of the Spenser Society. (I.) *Passages in M. cancelled in B. W.* Opening stanzas to Countess of Bedford, M. 243–5; M. 250–1, description of Queen Isabel, nearly all; M. 256, stanza to Countess of Bedford; M. 262, a simile which is too good not to quote, describing the battle-field at Burton Bridge:

> Even as you see a field of standing corn,
> when in fair June some easy gale doth blow,
> how up and down the spiring ears are borne,
> and with the blasts like billows come and go
> as golden streamers waving to and fro.
> Thus on the sudden run they on amain,
> then straight by force are driven back again.

M. 282 contains another Spenserian picture, unhappily rejected in B. W.

> The cheerful morning clears her cloudy brows,
> the vapoury mists are all dispersed and spread;
> now sleepy time his lazy limbs doth rouse,
> and once beginneth to hold up his head;
> hope bloometh fair whose root was well near dead,
> the clue of sorrow to the end is run;
> the bow appears to tell the flood is done.

Note also the discrowning scene, M. 306 *seqq.*, much abridged in B.W., like the monologues generally. In M. 338 Drayton makes a Norway haggard swoop on Skidos, afterwards corrected. There are numberless other changes.

(II.) *Passages not in M., added in B.W.* Preface and note on metre; sonnet to Sir W. Aston; i. 35; i. 56 *seqq.*, speech of elder Mortimer; ii. 5 *seqq.*, the whole picture, after Spenser or Sackville, impressive but overdone, of Mischief entering the camps; improvements in main of battle scenes in ii.; ii. 68–69, stating change of theme from love-poems and eclogues to war, and Aston; iii. 25, with which compare Chapman's *Hero and Leander*, Sestiad 3, beginning, "His most kind sister"; iv., beginning, the tiresome passage about "Herckley;" the Platonic stanza, iv. 50; vi. 7, the pedantry about Ragman Roll; iv. 76, end. Much else added.

The worst thing which Drayton retained is in v. 5, where Edward is brought out melancholy:

> His funeral solemnized in his cheer,
> His eyes the mourners, and his legs the bier.

APPENDIX D. Changes in the Sonnets.

Of the fifty-three *Amours* of 1594, which have been fully reprinted only by Collier, pp. 145 *seqq.*, there remain twenty-nine by the ed. of 1605 (No. 4 F in Bibl.). Many of these are more or less changed. There are thirty-five new ones, including dedications. These thirty-five, as well as the dozen or so further sonnets (including some of the best) written between 1605 and 1619, Collier reprints as "Sonnets under the Title of Idea," pp. 440 *seqq.* The dozen written after 1605 are numbered in Chalmer's *British Poets*, vol. iv, pp. 400 *seqq.*, as 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 15, 21, 27, 36, 48, 52, 61. It follows that the only sonnets of Drayton not accessible except in Collier's edition (rare and

expensive) or in the old ones, are the twenty-nine which had disappeared by 1605. Many of these are better buried; but Drayton did not always judge well in his revisions. He kept sonnets like those numbered 1 and 18 in the ed. of 1605, but rejected several of a rare and excellent Spenserian vintage. Two may be rescued here: —

25.

The glorious sun went blushing to his bed,
when my soul's sun from her fair cabinet,
her golden beams had now discovered,
lightening the world eclipsed by his set.

Some mused to see the earth envy' the air,
which from her lips exhaled refined sweet:
a world to see! yet, how he joyed to hear
the dainty grass make music with her feet!

But my most marvel was when from the skies
so comet-like each star advanced her light,
as though the heaven had now awaked her eyes,
and summoned angels to this blessed sight.

No cloud was seen, but crystalline the air,
laughing for joy upon my lovely fair.

38.

If chaste and pure devotion of my youth,
or glory of my April-springing years,
unfeigned love in naked simple truth,
a thousand vows, a thousand sighs and tears:

or if a world of faithful service done,
words, thoughts, and deeds devoted to her honour,
or eyes that have beheld her as their sun,
with admiration ever looking on her:

a life that never joyed but in her love,
a soul that ever hath adored her name,
a faith that time and fortune could not move
a Muse that unto heaven hath raised her fame.

Though these nor these, deserved to be embraced,
Yet, fair, unkind, too good to be disgraced.

The last couplet means, "though these offerings may not deserve favour, yet they do not deserve contumely." Understand "they are" before "too good." Some further data for this subject may be seen in Mr. Bullen's volume of selections.

APPENDIX E. CHANGES IN THE AGINCOURT BALLAD.

The reference is by stanza and line; the first version is from the SPENSER SOCIETY'S reprint (spelling being modernised). The second dates 1619. i. 3, And *altered to* Nor: 4, not *to* will: 5, put unto *to* putting: 7, warlike *to* martial. ii. 3, coming *to* marcheth: 6, oppose *to* that stopt: 7, whereas the *to* where the French. iii. 2, as *to* King: 4, unto him *to* to the king. iv. 2, famous *to* our brave: 7, evermore *to* have ever: 8, been *to* are. v. 6, be *to* lie. vi. 7, in *to* by. vii. 7, 8, and now preparing were for the false Frenchmen *to* O Lord, how hot they were on the false Frenchmen. viii. 1, And ready to be gone *to* They now to fight are gone: 3, unto *to* now to. ix. 3, thou *to* which, and frame *to* aim: 4, unto the *to* to our hid. x. 1, The *to* With: 5, death now *to* fellow. xi. 4, no man *to* not one: 5, from the *to* were from: 8, These were men hardy *to* Our men were hardy. xii. 1, When now that *to* This while our: 3, into the host did fling *to* down the French host did ding: 5, and *to* who. xiii. 5, most *to* so: 6, that yet *to* though but: 7, this *to* that. xv. 1, On happy Crispin day *to* Upon St. Crispin's day.

APPENDIX F.

I will quote, though they are almost certainly by some follower of Donne, and not by Drayton as they profess, some lines in the Bodleian hitherto unprinted. They are in *MS.* Ashmole, 38, f. 77. I keep the spelling, but punctuate.

"These verses weare made by Michaell Drayton Esquier Poett Lawreatt the night before he dyed.

Soe well I love thee, as without thee I
Love nothing; yf I myght chuse, I'de rather dye
Than bee on day debarde thy companye.

Since Beasts, and plants doe growe and live and move,
Beasts are those men, that such a life approve.
Hee only lives, that Deadly is in Love.

The Corne that in the ground is sowen first dies,
And of on seed do many eares arise.
Love, this worlds corn, by dying multiplies.

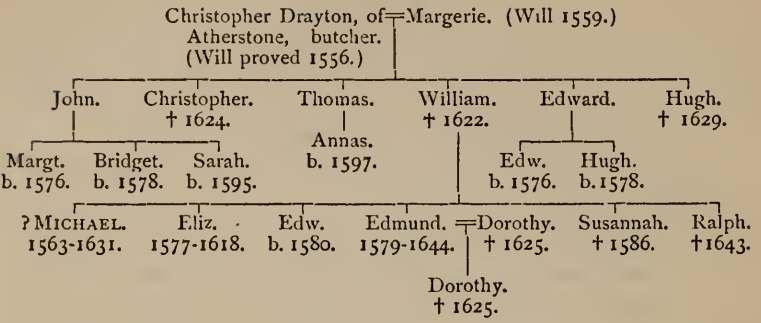
The seeds of love first by thy eyes weare throwne
Into a grownd untild, a harte unknowne
To beare such fruits, tyll by thy hande 'twas sowen.

Looke! as your Looking glass by chance may fall,
Devyde, and breake in manye peycies small,
And yet shews forth the selfe same face in all,

Proportions, Features, Graces, just the same
And in the smalest peyce, as well the name
Of Fayrest one deserves as in the richest frame:—

Soe all my thoughts are peyces but of you,
Whiche put together makes a glass soe true
And I therin no others face but yours can Veiwe."

APPENDIX G. CONJECTURAL FAMILY TREE.



N.B.—The above list is only partial; the other branches of the Drayton family are represented in the register.

NOTE TO BIBLIOGRAPHY.

All editions in the British Museum have been checked. All titles of early editions are to be understood as copied from those in the British Museum, unless they are marked either [Heber], meaning the *Catalogue* of the Heber collection; or [Corser], meaning the *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, part vi., Chetham Society Publications, vol. 100, 1877; or [Hazlitt], meaning the bibliographies of Mr. W. C. Hazlitt; or [Britwell], meaning that the title is taken from the *original* in Mr. Christie Miller's library at Britwell Court. The system of cross-numbering is enforced by Drayton's constant changes and re-arrangements. The words of the actual title-page are enclosed in inverted commas. No collection of critical notices or the like has been made. Some fugitive lines prefixed to other men's works, or some old editions with altered title-pages, or some modern reprints of special poems, have very possibly been overlooked. Full collations are not given; and an amateur in this work must ask indulgence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1.—*c.* 1587 ? Dirge on Sidney under name of Elphin in Eclogue 4 of No. 3 A below, beginning "Melpomine, put on thy mourning gaberdine." See Appendix A, and Collier, pp. 84–86, 132. Not reprinted by Drayton.

2 A.—1591. "The Harmonie of the Church. Containing, The Spirituall Songes and Holy Hymnes, of godly men, Patriarkes and Prophetes: all, sweetly sounding, to the praise and glory of the highest. Now (newlie) reduced into sundrie kinds of English Meeter: meete to be read or sung, for the solace and comfort of the godly. By M. D. London. Printed by Richard Ihones, at the Rose and Crowne, neere Holborne Bridge. 1591."

4to, pp. 48, blk. lett. Entered 1 February, 1591, as "The Triumphes of the Churche." Containing Dedication "To The Lady Iane Deuoreux, of Meriuale," dated from London by Drayton 10 February, 1590 (1591), and letter "To the curteous Reader." Corser says only the B. M. copy is known.

B.—1610. "A Heauenly Harmonie of Spirituall Songes and holy Himnes, of Godly Men, Patriarkes, and Prophets. Imprinted at London. 1610." [Britwell.]

4to, blk. lett., no printer's name, pp. 46. A with new title-page and minus dedication.

C.—1842. Percy Society Publications, vol. vii.: A reprinted by Dyce.

D.—1856. Collier's ed. (No. 42), pp. 1–59: A reprinted with notes.

E.—1876. Hooper's ed. (No. 43), vol. iii.: A reprinted.

3 A.—1593. "Idea. The Shepheards Garland, Fashioned in nine Eglogs. Rowlands sacrifice to the nine Muses. *Effugiunt auidos Carmina sola rogos.* Imprinted at London for Thomas Woodcocke, dwelling in Pauls Churchyarde, at the signe of the black Beare. 1593."

4to, pp. 70. Entered 23 April. Dedication "To Master Robert Dudley."

B.—1856. Collier, pp. 61–144.

C.—? 1870. Separate and private reprint by Collier, n.d. or place, pp. ii. 70.

D.—1606. A revised and much changed as *Eglogs* in No. 20. See Appendix A.

E.—1619. D re-issued in No. 30, with some changes.

F.—1753. D in No. 39 B.

G, H.—1793, 1810. Anderson, Chalmers reprint D from F.

I.—1891. Sp. Soc. reprint of D (20 A). See No. 45.

4 A.—1593. "Peirs Gaueston, Earle of Cornwall his life, death, and fortune. *Effugiunt* [&c. as 3 A]. Printed by I. R. for N. L. and John Busby, and are to be sold at the west doore of Paules."

4to, pp. 78, n.d., but entered 3 December, 1593, and named in preface to No. 5, 1594, as already successful [Britwell]. Dedication to "Maister Henry Cavendish."

B.—? 1595. A second, faulty, and surreptitious ed., named in preface to Legend of Robert, No. 10 A [Heber].

C.—1596. In 10 A, "augmented and polished," q.v. for later edd.

5 A.—1594. "Matilda, The faire and chaste Daughter of the Lord Robert Fitzwater. The true Glorie of the Noble House of Sussex. *Phoebus erit nostri princeps, et carminus author.* Printed by James Roberts for N. L. and John Busby, 1594."

4to, pp. 63. Dedication "to Mistres Lucie Harrington"; prefatory address "To the Honourable Gentlemen of England." [Britwell.] Entered? Not in Arber's copy from S. R.

B.—1594. Same title-page except for printer's name being V. Simmes. [Sion College.]

C.—1596. In No. 10 A (much altered according to Heber); q.v. for later ed.

6 A.—1594. "Ideas Mirrour. Amours in Quatorzains. Che serue é tace assai domanda. At London, printed by Iames Roberts, for Nicholas Linge. Anno 1594."

4to, pp. 56. Entered 30 May. Dedicatory sonnet to A. Cooke, and sonnet by Gorbo. [Britwell.]

B.—1856. Reprint in Collier, pp. 145–190.

C.—1599. 59 sonnets, partly same as in A, in No. 11 C.

D.—1600. In No. 11 D. E., 1602. 59 in No. 11 E. F., 1603. 69 in No. 14 A. G., 1605–1613. 62 or 64 in No. 19 A–E.

H.—1619. 63 in No. 30; with some additions, including "Since there's no help," &c.

I.—1630, 1637. H in No. 37.

J.—1748. 63 in No. 39, mainly H.

K, L.—1793, 1810. Nos. 40, 41, from J probably.

M.—1883. H reprinted in Arber, *English Garner*, vol. vi. pp. 289–322.

N.—1887. H in H. Morley's *Baron's Wars*, &c., No. 46. See Appendix D, *Changes in Sonnets*.

7 A.—1595. "Endimion and Phoebe. Ideas Latmus. *Phoebus erit nostri princeps et carminis Author.* At London, printed by Iames Roberts, for Iohn Busbie."

4to, 25 leaves, n.d., but entered 12 April, 1595. Dedicatory sonnet, "Great Lady, etc.," to Countess of Bedford. Verses by E. P. and S. G. [Collier's ed. of 1856.] Collier names a perfect copy in "a private collection:" his own imperfect one is in Mr. Locker-Lampson's.

B.—1606. Parts inserted with changes in *The Man in the Moon*, No. 20.

C.—1856. A reprinted in Collier's ed., No. 42.

D.—1870? A reprinted separately and privately by Collier, n.d., 4to.

8.—1595. Verses before T. Morley's *First book of Ballets.*

9 A.—1596. "Mortimeriados. The lamentable ciuell warres of Edward the second and the Barrons. At London, printed by I. R. for Mathew Lownes, and are to be sold . . . St. Dunstone's Churchyard. 1596."

4to, pp. 154. Entered 15 April. Stanzas and sonnet to Countess of Bedford; verses to her by E. B[olton?].

B.—n.d. A with fresh title-page, printed for Humfrey Lownes [Corser].

C.—1856. A reprinted in Collier, pp. 240–376.

D.—1603. Wholly re-written as The Barons' Wars, No. 14; q.v. for later editions. See App. C.

10 A.—1596. "The Tragicall Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy, surnamed Short-thigh, eldest sonne to William Conqueror. With the Legend of Matilda the chast, daughter to the Lord Robert Fitzwater, poysoned by King Iohn. And the Legend of Piers Gaueston, the great Earle of Cornwall, and mighty fauorite of King Edward the second. By Michaell Drayton. The latter two by him newly corrected and augmented. At London, printed by Ia. Roberts for N. L., and are to be solde at his shop at the West doore of Paules. 1596."

8vo, pp. 208. Entered 21 November. Dedication to Lucy Countess of Bedford in prose and to the Lady Anne Harington in verse. Verses by H. G., R. L., "Mirocinius."

B.—1605–13. The three legends reprinted in No. 19 A–E.

C.—1619. In No. 30. D.—1630, 1637. In No. 37 A, B.

E.—1748. In No. 39.

F.—1793, 1810. In Nos. 40, 41.

G.—1888. SPENSER SOCIETY reprint of B, No. 45.

11 A.—1597. "England's Heroicall Epistles. By Michael Drayton. At London, printed by I. R. for N. Ling, and are to be sold at his shop at the west doore of Poules. 1597."

Entered 12 October. 8vo, 81 leaves. Bodleian [Hazlitt]. Dedication to Countess of Bedford.

B.—1598. ". . . Newly enlarged by Michaell Drayton. At London, printed by P. S. for N. Ling, and are . . . Poules. 1598." 8vo, pp. 101. As before.

C.—1599. "England's . . . Epistles, newly enlarged, with Idea. By Michael Drayton. At London, printed by I. R. for N. L. . . . Poules. 1599."

8vo, pp. 140. Dedication and verses as before.

D.—1600. "England's . . ., newly corrected with Idea." [Hazlitt: "only one copy known."]

E.—1602. "England's . . ., newly corrected with Idea. By Michael Drayton. Printed by . . . N. L. at his shop in Fleet streete. . . ."

8vo, pp. 138. Dedication omitted, verses as before.

F.—1603. In No. 14 A.

G.—1605–13. In No. 19 A–E.

H.—1619. In No. 30.

I.—n.d. "England's Heroical Epistles, written in imitation of the Style and Manner of Ovid's Epistles: with Annotations of the Chronicle History. By Michael Drayton, Esq.; Newly Corrected and Amended. Licensed according to order. London: printed for S. Smethwick, in Dean's Court, and R. Gilford, without Bishopsgate."

8vo, pp. 234, n.d., but probably after 1620, when Smethwick printed for Drayton. No dedications. Prose address to reader, verses by J. W. and B. C., Sir E. Sadleys, and T. B.

J.—1630, 1637. In No. 37.

K.—1658. Epistle of Henry to Rosamond in H. Stubbe's *Deliciæ Poet.* [Hazlitt.]

L.—1697. "England's . . . Amended. Licensed according to Order. London, printed for J. Conyers, at the Bible and Anchor in Cornhill, 1697." 8vo, pp vii. 225.

M.—1737. "England's . . . . . with annotations. By Michael Drayton, Esq.: London, Printed in the year M.DCCC.XXXVII."

Dedication by R. Dodsley. 12mo, pp. xiii. 272. With a pastoral illustration.

N.—1748. In No. 39.

O.—1788. Corser names an 8vo. edition "with Notes and Illustrations, by Rev. James Hurdis, D.D."

P.—1793, 1810. In Nos. 40, 41.

Q.—[1825?] Ep. of Rosamond to Hy. in "The unfortunate royal mistresses . . . . with historical and metrical memoirs . . . London." n.d. or author.

R.—1885–7. In No. 45, SPENSER SOCIETY reprint of No. 19 A.

12 A.—1600. Sonnet before Chr. Middleton's *Legend of Duke Humphrey*, beginning "Like as a man on some adventure bound," printed in *Harl. Misc.*, vol. x.

13 A.—1600. "The first part of the true and honourable history of the life of Sir John Oldcastle the goode Lord Cobham. As it hath been lately acted by the Right Honourable the Earl of Notingham lord High Admiral of England his servants. London, printed by V. S. for Thomas Pavier and are to be solde at his shop at the signe of the Catte and Parrot neare the Exchange. 1600." Entered 11 August.

B.—1600. Another copy has, after "servants," "Written by William Shakespeare . . . London, printed for T. P. 1600."

14 A.—1603. "The Barrons Wars in the Raigne of Edward the Second, with Englands Heroical Epistles. By Michael Drayton. At London, printed by I. R. for N. Ling, 1603." This is No. 9 A quite re-written. See App. C.

8vo, pp. 206. 9 A assigned to Ling, 8 October, 1602. Dedication to Sir W. Aston, and note "To the Reader." Idea also printed at end; see No. 6 F. For later edition of Epistles see No. 11.

B.—1605–13. B. Wars in No. 19 A–F. C.—1619. In No. 30. D.—1630, 1637. In No. 37. E.—1748. No. 39. F.—1793, 1810. Nos. 40, 41. G.—SPENSER SOCIETY, reprint of No. 19 A.

15.—1603. "To the Maiestie of King James. A gratulatorie Poem by Michaell Drayton. At London, Printed by Iames Roberts for T. M. and H. L. 1603."

4to, pp. 12. Genealogy of James at end; Another impression [at Britwell] has different plate and note to reader. Seemingly never reprinted.

16 A.—1604. "The Owle by Michaell Drayton, Esquire. Noctvas Athenas. London, Printed by E. A. for E. Whit and N. Ling, and are to be solde neere the litle north doore of S. Paules Church, at the signe of the gun. 1604."

4to, pp. 56. Entered 8 February. Dedication to Sir W. Aston; address to the Reader, and Latin lines by A. Greneway. At Britwell is another 1604 edition with "White" for "Whit" and "little" for "litle."

B.—1619. In No. 30. C.—1753. No. 39 B.

D.—1793, 1810. In Nos. 40, 41.

17 A.—1604. "A Pæan Triumphall: composed for the Societie of Goldsmiths of London: congratulating his Highnes'

magnificent entring the citie. To the Maiestie of the King. By Michael Drayton. Dicite io pæan et io bis dicite pæan. London, printed for John Flasket and to be solde . . . black beare, 1604." Entered 20 March.

B.—1828. Reprinted in Nichol's *Progresses, etc., of James I.*, vol. i. p. 402 *seqq.*

18 A.—1604. "Moyses in a map of his Miracles. By Michael Drayton. Printed by Humfrey Lownes . . . 1604."

4to, pp. 96. Dedication to Sir W. Aston, letter To the Reader. Lines by J. Beaumont, B. Sapperton, T. Andrewe. Entered 25 June.

B.—1630. In No. 37, altered as "Moses his birth and miracles." So reprinted later.

19 A.—1605. "Poems: By Michael Drayton, Esquire. London: printed for N. Ling, 1605."

8vo, pp. 504. Arguments. Dedication to Sir W. Aston. Note to Reader. Contains Barons' Wars, Heroical Epistles, Idea (sonnets), and the three Legends. Verses by T. Greene, Sir J. Beaumont, E. St., T. Hassall, and W. Alexander Scotus.

B.—1888. Reprinted for SPENSER SOCIETY in two parts. No. 45.

C.—1608. "Poems: by Michael Drayton, Esquire. Newly corrected by the Author. London, Printed for Iohn Smethwicke, and are to be sold at his Shop in Saint Dunstones Church-yard, vnder the Diall. 1608."

8vo, pp. 504. Same as A.

D.—1610. Same title-page and contents as B, except that it has pp. 508, the extra leaf containing sonnet by John Selden beginning "Michael," and another "To his friend the Author" by E. Heyward. Dated 1610.

E.—1613. Same title-page as C, except for being printed "by W. Stansby," and dated 1613. Same contents. Some copies n.d.

Note.—This edition is the first containing the portrait of Drayton, engraved by Hole, with legend stating his age, and lines connecting him with Hartshill.

For other editions of separate contents see Nos. 6, 10, 11, 14. The next collected edition, with partly different contents, is in 1619, No. 30.

20 A.—1606? "Poemes Lyrick and pastorall. Odes, Eglogs, The Man in the Moone. By Michael Drayton, Esquier. At London, Printed by R. B. for N. L. and I. Flasket." n.d.

8vo, pp. 120. Entered 19 April, 1606. Dedicated "to the deserving memory of my most esteemed patron and friend, Sir Walter Aston."

B.—1856. Collier, No. 42.

C.—1890–1. Reprinted by SPENSER SOCIETY, No. 45 (3). For *Eglogs* see No. 3 D and App. A.

Odes and *Man in the Moon.*

D.—1619. In No. 30, with changes and additions.

E.—1753. In No. 39 B.

F.—1793, 1810. Nos. 40, 41. Reprint of C.

G.—1856. Odes (as in C), in Collier. The Ode "To my friends the Camber-Britons" has been repeatedly copied. For variants in it between A and C see Appendix E.

21 A.—1607. "The Legend of the Great Cromwel. By Michael Drayton, Esquier. At London, Printed by Felix Kyngston, and are to be sold by I. Flasket, dwelling

in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the black Beare. 1607." Collier. [Britwell.]

4to, pp. 49. Entered 12 October. Dedicated "to the deserving memory" of Sir W. Aston.

B.—1609. "The Historie of the Life and Death of the Lord Cromwell, sometimes Earle of Essex, and Lord Chancellor of England. At London, imprinted by Felix Kyngston for William Welby, dwelling in Paul's Churchyard at the sign of the Greyhound. 1609."

4to. Dedication "to the deserving Memory" of Sir W. Aston. Words to the reader. Verses by I. Cooke, H. Lucas, Chr. Brooke. A with new title-page. [Britwell: B.M. copy imperfect.]

C.—1610. Included in Higgins' edition of *A Mirour for Magistrates*, itself reprinted in 1815.

D.—1619. In No. 30.

E.—1630, 1637. In No. 37.

F.—1748. In No. 39.

G.—1793, 1810. Nos. 40, 41.

22.—1607. Verses in *Perfect Use of Silke-wormes*, by de la Serre.

23.—1609. Verses beginning "Such men as hold" in *Holy Rood*, by John Davies of Hereford.

24.—1611. Verses beginning "In new attire" in *Sophonisba*, by David Murray.

25 A.—1612–13. "Poly-Olbion. Or a Chorographicall Description of Tracts, Riuers, Mountaines, Forests, and other Parts of this renowned Isle of Great Britaine.

With intermixture of the most Remarquable Stories, Antiquities, Wonders, Rarityes, Pleasures, and Commodities of the same: Digested into a Poem by Michael Drayton, Esq. With a Table added for direction to those occurrences of Storie and Antiquitie, whereunto the course of the Volume easily leads not. London, Printed by H. L. for Matthew Lownes, I. Browne, I. Helme, and I. Busbie. 1613."

Fol., pp. xvi. 303. Entered 7 February. Dedication to Prince Henry, and portrait of him: addresses "To the General Reader" and "To my Friends the Cambro-Britans:" also "From the Author of the illustrations," J. Selden, whose illustrations follow each of the eighteen Songs the volume contains. Eighteen maps. The Frontispiece has only "Poly-Olbion by Michael Drayton Esqr.:" followed by printers' names, but no date. The date is only on title-page. Some (probably the earliest) copies have no frontispiece, and so no date: and some also lack Table and illustrations. Some writers, without reason, date the less full copies 1612. Frontispiece as in SPENSER SOCIETY reprint of B.

B.—1622. "A Chorographicall Description of all the Tracts . . . of the same. Diuided into two Bookes; the latter containing twelve Songs, neuer before Imprinted. Digested . . . easily leads not. London, Printed for Iohn Marriott, Iohn Grismand, and Thomas Dewe. 1622." Dedications, &c., as before, but before song nineteen comes separate title-page:

"A second part or a Continvance of Poly-Olbion from the eighteenth song. Containing all the Tracts, Riuers, Mountaines, and Forrests: Intermixed with the most remarkable stories, Antiquities, Wonders, Rarities, Pleasures, and Commodities of the East

and Northerne parts of this Isle, lying betwixt the two famous rivers of Thames, and Tweed. By Michael Drayton, Esq. London, Printed by Augustine Mathewes for Iohn Marriott, Iohn Grismand, and Thomas Dewe. 1622." Dedication to Prince Charles: letter "To any that will read."

Nos. 25 C–G reprint as in B. See No. 32.

C.—1748. In No. 39.

D.—1793, 1810. Nos. 40, 41. Anderson (with Selden).

E.—1831. In Southey's Select Works of the British Poets, pp. 596 *seqq.* (without Selden).

F.—1876. In Hooper's ed. (with Selden).

G.—1890. SPENSER SOCIETY, three parts, No. 45 (2), reprint of B.

26.—1616. Verses (signed, perhaps by printer's error, *Thos.* Draiton) in Tuke's *Discourse against Painting and Tincturing of Women.*

27 A.—1618. "An elegie on the Lady Penelope Clifton, by M. Dr."; and "An Elegie on the three Sonnes of the Lord Sheffield, drowned neere where Trent falleth into Humber": In Fitzgeoffrey's *Certayn elegies done by sundrie excellent wits.* . . . London. 1618.

B.—1620. Another edition of same work.

C.—1627. Amongst other Elegies in Poems, 1627, No. 34, q.v.

D.—1748. Also amongst all the elegies in No. 39. E.—1793, 1810. So in Nos. 40, 41.

28.—1618. Verses in Chapman's translation of Hesiod.

29.—1619. Verses in Munday's *Primaleon of Greece.* These are named by bibliographers, but are not in Brit. Mus. copy.

30.—1619-20. "Poems: by Michael Drayton, Esqvire, viz., The Barons Warres, Englands Heroicall Epistles, Idea, Odes, The Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandie, Matilda, Pierce Gaveston, and great Cromwell, The Owle, Pastorals, contayning Eglogues, with the Man in the Moone. London, Printed by W. Stansby for Iohn Smethwicke, and are to be sold at his Shop in Saint Dunstanes Churchyard in Fleet streete under the Diall."

Folio, pp. 487. Some copies dated 1619, some 1620, some n.d. Some have and some lack the large portrait by W. Hole; and there is frontispiece with further title: "Poems by Michael Drayton, Esquyer. Collected into one volume with sondry pieces inserted neuer before imprinted. London, printed for John Smethwick." Dedication to Aston. Addresses on Barons' Wars. Lines by T. Greene, J. Beaumont, Heyward, Selden.

For other editions of separate contents see under each heading.

31.—1620. Verses in Vicars' *Manuductio.*

32.—1622. *Poly-Olbion*, complete, 25 B. Entered 6 March.

33.—1622. Verses in Holland's *Naumachia.*

34 A.—1627. "The Battaile of Agincovrt. Fovght by Henry the fift of that name, King of England, against the whole power of the French: vnder the Raigne of their Charles the sixt, Anno Dom. 1415. The Miseries of Queene Margarite, the infortunate wife of that most infortunate King Henrie the sixt. Nimphidia, the Court of Fayrie. The Quest of Cynthia. The

Shepheard's Sirena. The Moonecalf. Elegies upon sundry occasions. By Michaell Drayton, Esquire. London, printed for William Lee, at the Turkes Head in Fleete Streete, next to the Miter and Phœnix. 1627."

4to, pp. 218. Entered 16 April. Portrait as in No. 19 E, &c., by W. Hole. Dedication by Drayton "To you, &c, those Noblest Gentlemen, &c." "Vision of Ben. Ionson on the Muses of his Friend M. Drayton": verses on "Battle of Agincourt" by I. Vaughan. Sonnet by John Reynolds. The Hymn to his Lady's Birthplace is first printed here.

B.—1631. Another edition, same title-page except for being "printed by A. M. for William Lee."

Battaile of Agincourt.

C.—1748. In No. 39.

D.—1793, 1810. In Nos. 40, 41.

E.—1893. "The Battaile of Agincourt by Michael Drayton: with introduction and notes by Richard Garnett. London, printed and issued by Charles Whittingham & Co. at the Chiswick Press, MDCCCXCIII."

8vo, pp. xxiii. 120. Contains Hole's and the Dulwich portraits. The latter portrait is I am told partly reproduced in Harding's *Biographical Mirrour*, 1795, vol. i. p. 102.

Miseries of Margaret.

F.—1748. G.—1793, 1810.

Elegies. The four on Sir H. Rainsford, Lady Olive Stanhope, Master Wm. Jeffreys, Mistress Elinor Fallowfield, never reprinted after 1631, No. 34 B. The rest in F.—1748. G.—1793, 1810. See No. 27.

The *Ep. to Reynolds* has been often reprinted. See No. 46.

Nymphidia.

H.—1748. No. 39.

I.—1751. "The History of Queen Mab; or, the Court of Fairy. Being the story upon which the Entertainment of Queen Mab now exhibiting at Drury Lane is founded. By Michael Drayton, Esq.: Poet Laureat to King James I. and King Charles I. London: printed for M. Coope in Paternoster Row, 1751."
4to, pp. 23. Reprint of Nymphidia.

J.—1793, 1810. Nos. 40, 41.

K.—1814. "Nymphidia . . . Kent. Printed at . . . Lee Priory. 1814." Edited by Sir Egerton Brydges. Contains verses by Jonson, &c., and the Epistle to Reynolds, and a sonnet to Ankor, pp. 58.

L.—1819. In "The Works of the British Poets . . . by Ezekiel Sanford . . . Philadelphia, 1819." In vol. ii. with The Mooncalf.

M.—1887. In H. Morley's *Barons' Wars*. No. 46.

Quest of Cynthia, Shepherd's Sirena, Mooncalf. (See L.)

N.—1748. No. 39. O, P.—1793, 1810. Nos. 40, 41.

Q.—1887. No. 46 (except *Mooncalf*).

35.—1629. Verses beginning "This posthumous" in Sir J. Beaumont's *Bosworth Field*.

36 A.—1630. "The Muses Elizium, Lately discouered, by a new way over Parnassus. The passages therein, being the subject of ten sundry Nymphalls, Leading three Diuine Poemes, Noah's Flood, Moses, his Birth and Miracles; David and Goliah. By Michael Drayton Esquire. London, Printed by Thomas Harper, for Iohn Waterson, and are to be sold at the signe of the Crowne in Pauls Churchyard. 1630."

4to, pp. 214. Entered 6 March. Dedication to the Earl of Dorset: and prose address to the Reader.

B.—1753. No. 39 B.

C.—1793, 1810. Nos. 40, 41.

D.—1891–2. SPENSER SOCIETY, reprint of A No. 45 (4).

37 A. 1630. "Poems by Michael Drayton Esquyer. Newly Corrected and Augmented. 1630. London, Printed for Willi. Stansby for John Smethwick."

8vo, pp. 512. Contains England's Heroicall Epistles, with separate title, the four Legends, with separate title, and Idea. Prose dedication to Sir W. Aston, and address to the Reader. The lines by T. Greene, J. Beaumont, Heyward, Selden.

B.—1637. "Poems by Michael Drayton Esquyer. Collected into one Volume. Newly corrected. M.DC.XXXVII. London, Printed for John Smethwick." [Corser.]

12mo, pp. 502. Title-page with laurel-crowned head of Drayton, and classic figures. Contents same as A.

[No. 37 B, in 1637, seems the last new edition of works by Drayton for over a century.]

38.—n.d. Verses in *Annalia Dubrensia*, 1636, to "my noble friend Mr. R. Dover," beginning "Dover, to do thee right who will not strive?"

38.*—1631? "Verses made by Michaell Drayton Esquier, poett laureatt, the night before he died."

In *MS.* Ashmole, 38, art. 92. In full in our Appendix F. Doubtful authorship.

39 A.—1748. "The Works of Michael Drayton Esq.—a celebrated poet in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King

James I., and Charles I.—containing (I.) The Battle of Agincourt; (II.) The Barons Wars; (III.) Englands Heroical Epistles; (IV.) The Miseries of Queen Margaret, the unfortunate wife of the most unfortunate king Henry VI.; (V.) Nymphidia, or the Court of Fairy; (VI.) The Mooncalf; (VII.) The Legends of Robert Duke of Normandy, Matilda the Fair, Pierce Gaveston, and Tho. Cromwell, Earl of Essex; (VIII.) The Quest of Cynthia; (IX.) The Shepherd's Sirena; (X.) Poly-Olbion, with the annotations of the learned Selden; (XI.) Elegies on several occasions; (XII.) Ideas. Being all the writings of that celebrated author, now first collected into one volume. London: Printed by J. Hughs, near Lincolns-Inn-Fields, and sold by R. Dodsley, at Tally's-Head, Pall Mall; J. Jolliffe in St. James St.; and W. Reeve in Fleet Street. MDCCCXLVIII."

Fol., pp. 414. Anonymously prefixed is "An Historical Essay on the Life and Writings of Michael Drayton Esq." This biography is the first attempt of the kind. Oldys, s.v. "Drayton," in *Biographia Britannica*, 1750, controverts and increases it. Some editions (still dated 1748) have bound up with them the appendix embodied in

B.—1753. Title-page same except that the newly added poems are embodied, *i.e.*, Owl, Man in Moon, Odes and Lyrics, Eclogues, Muses' Elizium, Noah, Moses, Goliah, and "Printed by J. Hughs for W. Reeve . . MDCCCLIII."

4 vols., 8vo. The 1748 ed., apparently, cut down unaltered to this size, repaged and rebound.

40.—1793. Anderson's *British Poets*, vol. 3, contains "The Poetical works of Michael Drayton Esq. . . . Life of the Author. Edinburgh, 1793."

8vo, pp. 670 devoted to Drayton. Contains "Life," Battle of Agincourt, Barons' Wars, Heroicall Epistles, Miseries of Margaret, Nymphida [*sic*], Mooncalf, Legends, Cynthia, Sirena, Poly-Olbion, Elegies, Ideas (63 sonnets), Owl, Man in Moon, Odes, Pastorals, Muses Elizium, Noah's Flood, Moses' Birth and Miracles, David and Goliah.

41.—1810. "The Works of the English Poets. By Alexander Chalmers . . . London, 1810." Vol. iv.

Same contents as No. 40, plus some of the dedicatory verses, and a different though equally bad Life.

42.—1856. "Poems by Michael Drayton, from the earliest and rarest editions or from unique copies. Edited by J. Payne Collier, Esquire. Printed for the Roxburghe Club. London: J. B. Nichols and Son . . . MDCCCLVI."

8vo, pp. li. 473. Contains Introduction, and reprints of Nos. 2 A, 3 A, 6 A, 7 A, 9 A, 20 A, and some sonnets not included either in 6 A or 6 G. Notes and frequent collations; very valuable.

43.—1876. "The complete works of Michael Drayton now first collected, with introductions and notes by the Rev. Richard Hooper, M.A., Vicar of Upton and Aston Upthorpe, Berks, and editor of Chapman's Homer, Sandys' Poetical Works, etc. London, John Russell Smith, Soho Square, 1876."

3 vols. 8vo, published [Library of Old Authors] containing: Hole's Portrait, introduction, reprint in modern spelling of 1622 edition of Poly-Olbion, and of The Harmony of the Church. No more of this edition of Drayton has appeared.

44.—1883. "Selections from the Poems of Michael Drayton. Edited by A. H. Bullen. Privately printed by Unwin Brothers, Chilworth. 1883."

4to, pp. xxiii. 199. There is an excellent Introduction, and notes; the date of each text quoted is given, and most of the best poems are represented.

45.—Reprints of originals by the SPENSER SOCIETY as follows:

(1.) No. 19 A, *Poems* of 1605, in Old Series, 1885–7, vols. 45 and 46.

(2.) No. 25 B, *Poly-Olbion*, in New Series, 1887–1890, vols. 1–3.

(3.) No. 20 A, *Poems, Lyrick*, &c., of 1606, in New Series, 1890–1, vol. 4.

(4.) No. 36 A, *Muses' Elizium*, in New Series, 1891–2, vol. 5.

46.—1887. "The Barons' Wars, Nymphidia, and other Poems by Michael Drayton. With an Introduction by Henry Morley . . . London . . . George Routledge & Sons."

8vo, pp. 286. The "other Poems" include Epistles between Isabel and Mortimer, Queen Isabel and Richard II.; Idea (63 sonnets); three Elegies (to Reynolds, Sandys, His Lady); Quest of Cynthia, and Shepherd's Sirena.

INDEX.

The italic figures refer to the Nos. of the Bibliography.

CHARLES SIMMS & CO., PRINTERS, 58, KING STREET MANCHESTER