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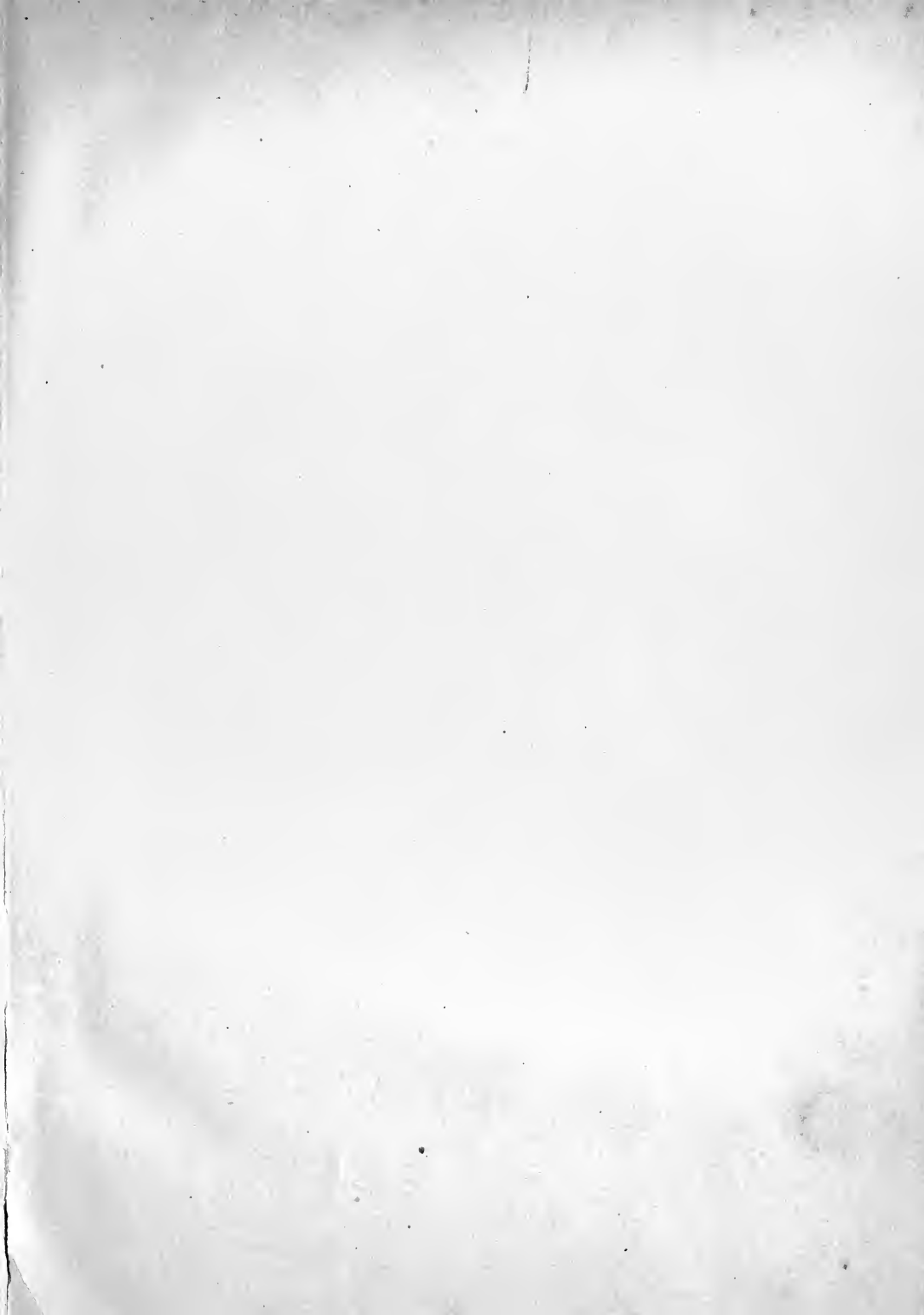


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INTRODUCTION.

IN the Notes and Illustrations appended to this our reproduction, *in extenso* and in integrity, of *Love's Martyr*, everything that seemed to call for notice will be found — it is believed — noticed with less or more fulness. Thither the student-reader is referred on any point that may either interest or puzzle him. Here I wish to bring together certain wider things that could not well go into the Notes and Illustrations, so as to shew that, in the present strangely neglected book, we have a noticeable contribution to Elizabethan-Essex-Shakespeare literature.

I purpose an attempt to answer these questions :

- (a) Who was ROBERT CHESTER ?
- (b) Who was SIR JOHN SALISBURIE ?
- (c) Who were meant by the PHOENIX and the TURTLE-DOVE of these Poems ?
- (d) What is the message or *motif* of the Poems ?
- (e) What is the relation between the verse-contributions of SHAKESPEARE and the other "MODERNE POETS" to *Love's Martyr* ?
- (f) Was the 1611 issue only a number of copies of the original of 1601, less the preliminary matter and a new title-page ?
- (g) Is there poetical worth in the book ?
- (h) Who was TORQUATO CÆLIANO ?

(a) WHO WAS ROBERT CHESTER ? His name, it will be observed, appears in full, 'Robert Chester,' in the original title-page of 1601 ; as 'Ro. Chester' to the Epistle-dedicatory to Salisburie (p. 4); as 'R. Chester' to "The Authors request to the Phoenix" (p. 5); as 'R. Ch.' in address "To the kind Reader" (p. 6); as 'R. C.' to "Con-

clusion" (p. 142); and as 'R. Chester' at close of "Cantoes" (p. 167). I have sought almost in vain—and I have had capable and earnest fellow-seekers—for contemporary notices of either the man or his book. Even later, the bibliographical authorities, *e.g.*, Ritson, Brydges, Lowndes, Collier, Hazlitt, beyond giving the title-pages and other details with (on the whole) fair accuracy, yield not one scintilla of light. Neither do the county-histories, nor editors as Gifford and Cunningham in their Ben Jonson, nor Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps in his natty little reprint (in ten copies) of the "new compositions."

I was thus shut up to an examination of the genealogies of a somewhat large and widely-distributed tribe, *viz.*, the CHESTERS. I never doubted of finding in Mr. R. E. Chester Waters's most laborious and trustworthy work on the CHESTERS,* some "certain sound" on our poet as the solitary Chester, who, in poetry at any rate, has any fame or interest for us in this late day; but even in his matterful tomes I was doomed to disappointment. Equally unexpected was my failure to obtain from my many-yearred friend Dr. Joseph Lemuel Chester of Bermondsey—than whom one rarely meets with so thoroughly-furnished, unwearied, accurate, and generous a worker—anything approaching certainty of identification. After very considerable reading and comparison of authorities, I found only one member of the known families of Chester bearing the Christian name of ROBERT, whose position, circumstances and dates fitted in with the possible authorship of *Love's Martyr*. From his dedicating his book to Sir John Salisbury, and many incidental evidences of familiarity in courtly and high circles, I fixed on him. On communicating my conclusion to Dr. Chester, he was inclined to doubt; but since, he has conceded that there is nothing in the facts of his life against the identification, and that there really is no other claimant. Accordingly he has aided me with characteristic

* *Memoirs of the Chesters of Chicheley.*

painstaking and arduous, from his abundant stores, in giving such data concerning him (*cheu!* meagre enough) as remain.

I mean a Robert Chester, who became SIR ROBERT CHESTER. The first of his family distinctly recognisable, was William Chester of Chipping Barnett, Herts; who died early in 1566. By his wife Maud (or Matilda) he was father of Leonard Chester, of Blaby, co. Leicester — whose family is embraced in the Heraldic Visitations of their County — and of Sir Robert Chester of Royston, Herts, who was the eldest son. The family is said to have descended from an ancient one in Derbyshire, where Chesters had large possessions, and members of which represented the town of Derby in Parliament, *temp.* Edward II and III. The Derbyshire estates were expended in supporting the claim of the Earl of Richmond (Henry VII) to the crown. This Sir Robert Chester was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1532, and is subsequently described in various *MSS.* as "Standard Bearer," "Gentleman Usher" and "Gentleman of the Privy Chamber" to King Henry VIII; from whom he obtained a Grant of the Monastery of Royston, with its manors and possessions, in the counties of Herts and Cambridge. He was knighted by King Edward VI at Wilton, 2nd September 1552, and was High Sheriff of Herts and Essex in 1565. He died 25th November 1574, and was buried at Royston.* By his first wife Catherine, daughter of John Throgmorton, Tortworth, co. Gloucester, Esquire, he had a numerous issue.† He was succeeded by his eldest son and heir, Edward Chester Esquire of Royston, who was about thirty years old at his father's death. Curiously enough, Sir Robert Chester married as his second wife, Magdalen, widow of Sir James Granado, Knt., on the same day and at the same place, that his son Edward Chester,

* Among the "Nativities" in Ashmole's *MSS.* in Bodleian Library, pp. 166, 176, &c., is one which states that Sir Robert Chester was born 25th November, 1510, and died on his birthday, aged 64.

† Clutterbuck, *s.n.*, describes her as daughter of Christopher Throckmorton of Coorse Court, co. Gloucester, Esq. Cf. Chauncy, *s.n.*

married Sir James Granado's only daughter and heiress, *i.e.*, father and son married respectively mother and daughter. This took place at Royston on 27th November 1564. The wife of Edward Chester survived her husband and was again married, *viz.*, to Alexander Dyer, Esq. He was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1562, and was subsequently in service as a Colonel in the Low Countries. Besides two daughters (*a*) Mary, who married an Edward Thornburgh, or Thornborough of Shaddesden, co. Southampton, Esq. (*b*) Another, who married an Edward Roberts—Edward Chester left a son ROBERT, who was declared heir to his father by Inquisition *post mortem*, dated 15th January 1578-9, being then aged twelve years, six months and sixteen days, which fixes his birth about the last of June 1566. This Robert Chester, I indentify with the author of *Love's Martyr*. In 1596 HENRY HOLLAND dedicated his *Christian Exercise of Fasting* to him, in grave and grateful and admiring words.* He was a J.P. for Herts and Sheriff of Herts in 1599. From NICHOLS' *Progresses of King James I*, I glean the followings light notice of him:—"His Majestie being past Godmanchester, held on his way towards Royston; and drawing neere the Towne, the Shiriffe of Huntingtonshire [Sir John Bedell] humbly tooke his leave; and there he was received by that worthy Knight Sir Edward Denny, High Shiriffe of Hartfordshire... and... in brave manner he conducted his Majestie to one Master Chester's house, where his Majestie lay that night on his owne Kingly charge."† On this Nichols annotates:—"Though 'Master Chester' was then owner of the Priory at Royston, and attended on the King at his entrance into the Town, it was more probably at his mansion of Cockenhatch (in the parish of Barkway, near Royston), that he had the honour of entertaining his Royal Master. A view of this house may be seen in *Chauncy*, p. 102."‡ The words that the King "lay" at "Master Chester's house" on "his

* See Postscript to this Introduction for this golden little Epistle-dedicatory.

† Vol. i, pp. 104-5.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

owne Kingly charge" does not seem to indicate lavish hospitality on the part of the host. But he must have given satisfaction to the King; for he was knighted along with a shoal of others, at Whitehall, on 23rd July 1603.* The exact date of his marriage does not appear; but his wife was Anne, daughter of Henry Capell, Esq., of Essex, by his wife, the Lady Catherine Manners, daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Rutland. She survived him not quite two years, residing at Hitchen, Herts.† They had issue at least six sons and six daughters; and their issue in turn were for a time equally numerous, but the late Mr. Harry Chester (who died in 1868) believed himself the last representative of the race.‡ He died on 3rd May 1640. On his death he was possessed of the manor and rectory of Royston, the manors of Nuthamsted, Cockenhatch, Hedley, &c., &c. His Will, dated 3rd May 1638, with codicils, 16th March and 7th April 1640, was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 3rd February 1640-1, by his eldest son and heir, Edward Chester, Esq., whose age at his father's death was, according to the Inquisition, forty years and upwards.||

On these facts I would note — (a) In 1601, when *Love's Martyr* was published, he was in his thirty-fifth year; but the phrase in his Epistle-dedicatory to Salisbury, '*my long expected labour,*' may carry its composition back some few years at least. (b) Specifically, while long portions were probably written much earlier, the 'Turtle-dove' being Essex and being in Ireland, ascertains date of composition of all referring to 'Paphos Ile' 1598-9 — the period of Essex's absence. (c) In 1611 he was in his forty-fifth year, and no longer plain 'Robert Chester,' but Sir Robert Chester

* Vol. i, p. 218. Doubtless when the King afterwards built himself a residence at Royston there would be frequent intercourse.

† Her Will is dated 12th and was proved the 25th of March 1642.

‡ The chief line of descent of these Chesters was by this Edward, son of our Sir Robert, who was also knighted. The sons entered the various professions. I notice two of them onward. Harry Chester, above mentioned, was son of another Sir Robert Chester, well-remembered as Master of the Ceremonies during the reigns from George III to Victoria. || See Postscript B for Abstract-

Knight, and husband of an Earl's daughter linked to the Sidneys. Is the explanation of the withdrawal of his name from the new title-page of 1611 that his early literary fervours had chilled with his social dignities? (d) At his death he was in his seventy-fourth year. One longs to know more of a man who in his prime personally acquainted with Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Chapman, Marston and other of the 'mighties,' survived them all. The "new compositions" for his own book, drawn from them, especially the fact that it stands alone in having a contribution from Shakespeare, would make any man remarkable.

(b) WHO WAS SIR JOHN SALISBURIE? *Love's Martyr* is dedicated to him as "To the Honourable, and (of me before all other) honored Knight" and "one of the Esquires of the bodie to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie" (p. 3), and in the title-page of the "diverse Poeticall Effaies" he is designated "the true-noble Knight" (p. 177). Even these slight descriptions guide us to the Salisburys or Salisburies of Lleweni, Denbighshire—long extinct. Dr. Thomas Nicholas, in his *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales*, commences his account of the Salisburys thus:—"The long standing and distinguished alliances of the Salisburys of Lleweni, in the Vale of Clwyd, and the high character borne by several of the line, render them a notable house, and awaken regret at their disappearance. The name is spelt differently in early writings—Salisbury, Salesbury, Salsbury; *Dawn* almost always adopting the phonetic method, spells this name "Salsberie." They were of *Lleweni* and *Machymbyd*. At what time they first came to Denbighshire, or how the surname originated, is not known, but it is believed that their origin was Welsh. John Salisbury, the third of the name known to us, was the founder of the Priory of White Friars at Denbigh, and died A.D. 1289. He must therefore have witnessed the great struggle of Llewelyn and Edward, which was very hot in those parts. His grandson, William Salisbury, was M.P.

for Leominster 1332, long before members were appointed for Wales. William's grandson, Sir Harry Salusbury (died *circa*, 1399), was a Knight of the Sepulchre, and his brother John was Master of the House for Edward III, and suffered death in 1388." (p. 392.)

He thus continues : " Sir Harry's grandson, Sir Thomas Salusbury, Knt., the first mentioned in the pedigrees as of *Lleweni*, was a man of great note as citizen and soldier. His consort was Jonet, daughter and heir of William Fychan of Caernavon. He took a distinguished part in the battle of Blackheath (1497) against Perkin Warbeck's insurrection, for which he was rewarded by Henry VII. with the order of knighthood. He died 1505, and was buried at the White Friars, Denbigh (Whitchurch). Sir Roger, his son, married a Puleston of Emral, and was followed by Sir John of Lleweni, who married a Myddleton of Chester, of the Gwaenynog line. He was constable of Denbigh Castle in 1530, and served in several parliaments for the county of Denbigh — died 1578. His son, John Salusbury, Esq., of Lleweni, was the member of this house who married the celebrated *Catherine Tudor of Berain*; and his son by Catherine, Thomas Salusbury, Esq., married Margaret, daughter of Morys Wynn, Esq., of Gwyder, but had no male issue; his second son, John, married Ursula, daughter of Henry Stanley, Earl of Derby, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Henry Salusbury, Bart., who married Hester, daughter of Sir Thomas Myddelton, Knt., of Chirk Castle. His line terminated with his grandson Sir John, whose daughter and sole heir married Sir Robert Cotton, Bart., of Combermere, Cheshire, from whom the *Combermere* family are derived. *Cotton-Hall*, named after the Cottons, was the birth-place of the great General Lord Combermere. The Lleweni estate was sold by Sir Robert Cotton to the Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice" (p. 392).

Turning back on these names, our Sir John Salisburie was John, second son of John Salusbury — who died in his father Sir John Salusbury's life-time — by (as above

Catherine Tudor of Berain.* He was born "about 1567" — a portrait of him having been at Lleweny, dated 1591, æt. 24.† He became heir of his brother Thomas, who was executed, in 1586, for conspiring to deliver Mary, Queen of Scots, from imprisonment. His wife was (as above) Ursula, a 'natural' daughter of Henry, fourth Earl of Derby. The record of administration of her estate, as of the town of Denbigh, is dated 9th May 1636. They had four sons and three daughters. Henry, the eldest and only surviving son, was created a baronet, as of Lleweni, 10th November 1619, and died 2nd August 1632. His only surviving son was Sir Thomas Salisbury, author of "Joseph," a poem (1636) — who died in 1643.‡ Our Sir John was surnamed "the

* Dr. Nicholas, as before, gives an interesting account of this famous "Catherine"; and I deem it well to avail myself of it, as follows:— "Catherine of Berain," the most noted of her race in this country, was of the clan or tribe of Marchwerthian, and was left sole heiress of Berain. She married four husbands, each of a high and honourable house, and had such a numerous offspring that the name was given her of *Mam Cymru*, "the mother of Wales." Her first husband was John Salisbury, Esq., of Llyweni, and her estate of Berain was inherited by her children gotten by him. The second was Sir Richard Clough of Denbigh, Knt. of the Sepulchre, who made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; the third, Morys Wynn, Esq., of Gwyder; and the fourth, Edward Thelwall of Plas-y-Ward. Catherine of Berain's father was Tudyr ap Robert ap Ievan ap Tudyr ap Gruffydd Lloyd ap Heilyn Frych, which Heilyn Frych was ninth in descent from Marchwerthian, Lord of Isaled, founder of the eleventh noble tribe." . . . "The portrait of Catherine, given in Yorke's *Royal Tribes*, marks a person of firmness and intelligence, and these qualities, added to her estate and numerous alliances and offspring, supplied her with a charm which the bardic heralds of the time knew not how to resist; they spared no pains, accordingly, to provide her with a lineage whose antiquity would comport with their idea of her merits. Tudyr was carried back to Urien Rheged, and he of course to Coel Godebrog, who, although a reputed contemporary with Herod the Great, was vouched by the bards to have a full blown heraldic coat — 'Arg., an eagle displayed with two heads, sable.' Coel was in the twelfth degree from Beli Mawr, King of Britain 72 B.C., who bore, they said, 'Az., three crowns Or in pale'; and he was about the fifteenth from Brutus, who, as the bards believed, came to Britain about B.C. 1136, bearing along with his father Sylvius, an escutcheon charged thus:— 'Quarterly: 1, Or, a lion rampant passant Gu.; 2, Az., three crowns Or in bend' 1" (p. 393.)

† Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, vol. ii, p. 145.

‡ The Bibliographers overlook that Sir John Salisbury has a longish poem prefixed to *Eromena*, 1632, folio.

strong"; and that explains Hugh Gryffith's playing on 'might'—of which anon. He was M.P. for co. Denbigh 43 Elizabeth (1600-1). All the authorities say he died in 1613; but no Will nor administration of his estate has been found. A shadow of obscurity thus lies on the memory of Chester's "true-noble Knight"—unlifted even from his (exact) death-date. Spelling of names was so arbitrary and variant then, that I should have attached no difficulty to the family-spelling of 'Salisbury' as against 'Salisburie' of *Love's Martyr*. As I write this I am called upon to annotate a Sir Stephen Poll—according to one of Nicholas Breton's Epistles-dedicatory—while he really was Sir Stephen Powle, and so is it endlessly. But I am enabled absolutely to identify Sir John Salisbury of Lleweni with Chester's Salisburie. For this is placed beyond dispute by another Epistle-dedicatory addressed to him as—be it noted—(a) of 'Llewen,' (b) as 'Esquier for the Bodie to the Queene's most excellent Maiestie,' as in Chester; and which, in the sorrowful absence of other information, is of peculiar interest. It is found in the following little volume of Verse, of which only a single exemplar (preserved at Isham) is known:

"SINETES

Paffions vppon his fortunes,
 offered for an Incense at the
 shrine of the Ladies which gui-
 ded his diftempered
 thoughtes.

The Patrons patheticall Po-
 fies, Sonets, Maddrigals, and
 Roundelays. Together with
 Sinetes Dompe.

Plena verecundi culpa pudoris erat.

By ROBERT PARRY
 Gent.

At LONDON

Printed by T. P. for William
 Holme, and are to be sould on
 Ludgate hill at the signe of
 the holy Lambe.

1597" (sm. 12mo)

The Epistle-dedicatory shews (1) That being plain ‘John Salisburie’ in 1597 he must have been knighted between 1597 and 1601, (2) That he was of the Queen’s household ; and so could well introduce his friend Chester into court. It thus runs :

¶ “ *To the right worshipfull John*
Salisburie, of Llewen, Esquier,
for the Bodie to the Queenes
moft excellent Maestie.

THe Hope of these, and glasse of future times,
O Heros which eu’n enuie it selfe admir’s,
Vouchsafe to garde, & patronize my rimes,
My humble rime, which nothing else desir’s ;
But to make knowne the greatnes of thy minde

To Honors throne that euer hath been inclyn’d.

Geue leaue a while vnto my breathing Muse,
To pause vpon the accent of her smarte,
From the respite of this short-taken truce,
For to recorde the actions of my Harte :
Which vowed hath, to manifest thy worth,
That noble fruites to future age bringes forth.

Eu’n thou alone, which strengthn’st my repose,
And doest geue life vnto my dead desire,
Which malice daunt’ste, that did thy fame oppose,
Now, with reuiuing hope, my quill inspire :
So he may write, and I may glorie singe,
That time, in time, may plucke out enui’s sting.

Renowned Patron, my wayling verse,
To whose protect I flye for friendly ayde,
Vouchsafe to heare, while I my woes rehearse :
Then my poore muse, will neuer be dismaide,
To countenance the babling Eccho’s frowne,
That future age may ring of thy renowne.

I that ere-while with Pan his hindes did play,
And tun’d the note, that best did please my minde,
Content to sing a sheapheard’s Round-delay ;
Now by thy might, my Muse the way did finde,
With Madrigals, to store my homely stile,
Graced with th’ applause, of thy well graced smile.

Eu’n thou I say, whose trauaile hope doth veilde,
That honours worth, may reape a due rewarde,
Which flies with natue plume vnto the fiede ;
Whose paines deserues thy cuntreys iust regarde :

Time cannot dashe, nor enuie blemish those,
 Whom on fam's firength haue built their chiefe repose.
 Tis only that, which thou mayst clayme thine owne,
 Deuouring time, cannot obfcure the fame,
 In future age by this thou mayst be knowne,
 When as posterities renew thy fame :
 Then thou being dead, shalt lyfe a newe poffeffe,
 When workes nor wordes, thy worthynes exprefse :
 Then shall my rime a fort of firength remaine,
 To fhield the florish of thy high renowne,
 That ruin's force may neu'r graces ftaine,
 Which with fame's found shall through the world bee blowne :
 Yf that the ocean which includ's our file,
 Would paffage graunt out of this noble Ifle.
 For iteling tyme of mufes lowe remaine,
 Will from the fountaine of her chiefe conceyte,
 Still out the fame, through Lymbecke of my braine,
 That glorie takes the honour to repeate :
 Whofe fubieft though of royall accents barde,
 Yet to the fame, vouchsafe thy due rewarde :
 So shall my felfe, and Pen, bequeath their toyle,
 To fing, and write prayes, which it felfe shall prayfe,
 Which time with cutting Sithe, shall neuer fpoyle,
 That often worthy Heros fame delays :
 And I encouraged by thy applaufe,
 Shall teach my mufe on higher things to paufe." (pp. 2-4.)

ROBERT PARRY, Gent., is but a sorry poet ; for, except here and there a touch of passion and a well-turned compliment, 'Sinetes' is sere and scentless. But it is clear that Salisburie's patronage was highly valued. Besides, an 'H. P.' who writes "In prayfe of the Booke" thus speaks of him :

. "thy worthie patron is thy fort
 Thou needes not flunne t' approach into ech place,
 Thy flowing bloome of wit shall thee report."

Still further helpful in identification is another poem in the tiny volume, signed "Hugh Gryffyth, Gent.," which is headed "Poffe & nolle nobile." That by this our Salisburie was intended is confirmed by our Chester's placing the same motto at the head of his Epistle-dedicatory (p. 3), in addition to his name being introduced in the poem itself. I gladly make room for the lines :

" A worthie man deserues a worthie motte,
 As badge thereby his nature to declare,
 Wherefore the fates of purpose did allot,
 To this braue Squire, this fimbale sweete and rare:
 Of might to spoyle, but yet of mercie spare,
 A fimbale sure to Salifberie due by right.
 Who still doth ioyne his mercy with his might.
 Though lyon like his *Poffe* might take place,
 Yet like a Lambe he *Nolle* vsfeth aye,
 Right like himfelfe (the flower of Salifberies race)
 Who neuer as yet a poore man would difmay :
 But princookes finde be vs'd to daunt alway:
 And fo doth still: whereby is knowen full well
 His noble minde and manhood to excell.
 All crauen cures that coms of castrell kinde,
 Are knowne full well whē they their might would straine,
 The poore t' oppresse that would there fauour finde ?
 Or yeilde himfelfe their freindship to attayne:
 Then seruile fottes triumphes in might a mayne,
 But fuch as coms from noble Lyons race,
 (Like this braue squire) who yeeldes receaues to grace.
 Haud ficta loquor.

I suppose "Poffe et nolle, nobile"—evidently *his* motto
 or impressa—gathers into itself Sir John Salisburie's name
 of "the strong" as over-against his gentleness = To have
 the power [strength] to do and yet to be unwilling to do
 [harm] is noble. It is just Isabella's pleading in *Measure
 for Measure* (act ii, sc. 2, ll. 107-9):

——— "O, it is excellent
 To haue a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous
 To use it like a giant"

Nor is this all 'Sinetes' gives us. For before the 'Posies'
 — within an arched temple gate-way— is this repetition of
 the principal title-page:

"The
 Patrone his pa-
 thetical Posies,
 Sonets, Maddri-
 galls, & Roun-
 delays.
 Together
 with SINETES
 Dompe.
 Plena verecū
 di culpa pu-
 doris erat"

This is somewhat ambiguous; for one is left in doubt whether the 'pathetical Posies, Sonets, Maddrigalls, and Roundelays' are Salisburie's, as his productions, or by gift of Parry. The following are the contents of the division: 1. The patrones conceyte; 2. The patrones affection; 3. The patrones phantafie; 4. The patrones pauze an ode; 5. The dittie to Sospiros (2); 6. The patrones Dilemma (2); 7. The Palmers Dittie vppon his Almes; 8. The Patrones Adicu; 9. Fides in Fortunam (2); 10. My forrow is ioy; 11. An Almon for a Parrat; 12. The authors muse vpon his Conceyte; 13. Fides ad fortunam; Sonnettos 1-31. To Paris darling—Buen matina—Maddrigall—Roundelay—Sinettes Dumpe—Poffe & nolle nobile—The Lamentation of a Malecontent, &c. I select from these verses, three, to give a taste of the quality of this other eulogist of our Chester's Salisburie, and because it is just barely possible (though I confess improbable) that Sir John Salisburie is their author. There are gleams in these selections from 'the Patrones's' division, not in the body of the poems.*

I. The Patrones's Pauze an Ode.

Dimpl's florish, beauties grace,
 Fortune smyleth in thy face,
 Eye bewrayeth honours flower,

* These hitherto utterly unknown and unused 'poems' form part of that lucky find of my friend Mr. C. Edmonds at Isham. But he had no idea whatever of their bearing on *Love's Martyr*. I am indebted to Sir C. Isham of Lamport Hall for a leisurely loan of this, as of other of his book-treasures. Note that I have silently corrected two or three slight misprints and punctuations, as 'Whose' for 'Who,' &c. With reference to the possible Salisburie authorship of the most of the second division of the small volume, perhaps ll. 37-40 in the Epistle-dedicatory, were meant to refer to his Verses — thus:

"Tis only that, which thou mayst clayme thine owne,
 Deuouring time, cannot obscure the fame,
 In future age by this thou mayst be knowne,
 When as posterities renew thy fame, &c."

Then the phrase in the title, 'The Patrones his pathetical Posies,' &c., and especially its interposition between 'Sinete's Dompe,' makes one hesitate in rejecting the Salisburie authorship. It does not add to the belief that these Verses are by the Patron that the lady addressed seems to be one 'of honour' or 'high rank'; for Parry himself was a 'Gentleman' as he tells us in his title-page.

Loue is norif'd in thy bower,
 In thy bended brow doth lye,
 Zeale imprest with chafitie.

Loue's darling deere.

O pale lippes of coral hue,
 Rarer die then cheries newe,
 Arkes where reason cannot trie,
 Beauties riches which doth lye,
 Entomb'd in that fayrest frame,
 Touch of breath perfumes the fame.

O rubie cleere.

Ripe Adon fled Venus bower,
 Ayming at thy sweetest flower,
 Hér ardent loue forst the fame,
 Wonted agents of his flame :
 Orbe to whose enflamed fier,
 Loue incen'd him to aspire.

Hope of our time.

Oriad's of the hills drawe neere,
 Nayad's come before your peere :
 Flower of nature shining shoes,
 Riper then the falling ro'e,
 Entermingled with white flower,
 Stayn'd with vermillion's power.

Nest'ld in our clime.

The siluer swann sing in Poe,
 Silent notes of new-spronge wee,
 Tuned notes of cares I sing,
 Organ of the muses springe,
 Nature's pride inforceth me,
 Eu'n to rue my destinie.

Starre shew thy might.

Helen's beautie is defac'd,
 Io's graces are disgrac'd,
 Reaching not the twentieth part,
 Of thy gloases true de'art,
 But no maruaile thou alone,
 Eu'n art Venus paragone.

Arm'd with delight

Iris coulors are to[o] base,
 She would make Apelles gaze,
 Resting by the siluer streame,
 Tossing nature seame by seame,
 Pointing at the christall skie,
 Arguing her maiestie.

II. Loues rampire stronge.

Hayre of Amber, fresh of hue,
Wau'd with goulden wyers newe,
Riches of the finest mould,
Rarest glorie to behould,
Ympe with natures vertue graft,
Engines newe for dolors fraught, :

Eu'n there as spronge.

A Iem fram'd with Diamounds,
In whose voice true concord founds,
Ioy to all that ken thy smile,
In thee doth vertue fame beguile,
In whose beautie burneth fier,
Which disgraceth Queene desier :

Saunce all compare.

Loue it selfe being brought to gaze,
Learnes to treade the louers maze :
Lying vncouer'd in thy looke,
Left for to unclaspe the Booke :
Where enroul'd thy fame remaines,
That Iuno's blufh of glory staines :

Blot out my care.

Spheare containing all in all,
Only fram'd to make men thrall :
Onix deck'd with honor's worth,
On whose beautie bringeth forth ;
Smiles ou'r-clouded with disdaine,
Which loyall hearts doth paine :

Voyde of disgrace.

Avrora's blufh that decks thy smile,
Wayting lovers to beguile :
Where curious thoughts built the nest,
Which neu'r yeilds to louer's rest :
Wasting still the yeilding eye,
Whilst he doth the beautie spie.

Read in her face.

Lampe enrich'd with honours flower,
Bloufome gracing Venus bower :
Bearing plumes of feathers white,
Wherein Turtles doe delighte,
Sense, would seeme to weake to finde,
Reason's depth in modest minde :

Yeilding desire.

Lode-starre of my happie choyfe,
In thee alone I doe reioyce :

Introduction.

O happie man whose hap is such,
 To be made happie by thy tutch :
 Thy worth and worthynes could moue,
 The stoutest to incline to loue.
 Enflam'd with fier.

III. Pofie xi.

An Almon for a Parrat.

Disdainfull dames that mountaines moue in thought,
 And thinke they may Ioues thunder-bolt controule,
 Who past compare ech one doe fet at naught,
 With squeamish scorn's that nowe in rethorick roule :
 Yer scorne that will be scorn'd of proude disdainne,
 I scorne to beare the scornes of finest braine.
 Gestures, nor lookes of simpring coy conceyts,
 Shall make me moue for stately ladies' mocks :
 Then SIRENS cease to trap with your deceyts,
 Least that your barkes meete vnexpected rocks :
 For calmest ebbe may yeld the roughest tide,
 And change of time, may change in time your pride.
 Leauē to conuerse if needes you must inuay,
 Let meaner fort feede on their meane entent,
 And soare on still, the larke it fled awaye,
 Some one in time will pay what you have lent,
 Poore hungrie gnates faile not on wormes to feede,
 When gofhawkes misse on hoped pray to speede. (pp. 18-20.)

I add just one other snatch :—

Buen matina.

Sweete at this mourne I chaunced
 To peepe into the chamber ; loe I glanced :
 And sawe white sheetes, thy whyter skinne disclofing :
 And softe-sweete cheeke on pyllowe softe reposing ;
 Then fayde were I that pillowe,
 Deere for thy love I would not weare the willowe.

As with SIR ROBERT CHESTER himself, it is to be lamented that no personal details have come down to us concerning SIR JOHN SALISBURIE. It demands infinitely more than rank and transient influence to keep a name *quick* across the centuries. How pathetically soon the small dust of oblivion settles down — not to be blown off — on once noisy and noised lives ! So is it — spite of Chester and Parry and Gryffyth — with our 'true-noble-knight.'

One little after-link between a Salisbury and a Chester I like to regard as going toward the identification of our Chester along with Sir John Salisbury of Lleweni. It is this—Our Sir Robert Chester, having two sons in the church, viz., Dr. Granado Chester, Rector of Broadwater, co. Sussex, and Dr. Robert Chester, Rector of Stevenage; it is found that the former was in the gift of Sir Robert Salusbury of Llanwhern, Monmouthshire, Baronet, of the same house. One is willing to think that the ancient family friendship between the two houses led to this ‘presentation’ to a son of Sir John Salisburie’s friend by a Salisbury. It is likewise to be recalled that the Chesters of Derbyshire—as we have seen—would be brought into relation with the Salisburys by their common opposition in the field to Perkin Warbeck, and in support of Henry VII.

(c) WHO WERE MEANT BY THE ‘PHŒNIX’ AND THE ‘TURTLE-DOVE’ OF THESE POEMS? Turning to the original title-page, we find that immediately succeeding the large-type words:

“LOVES MARTYR:
OR,
ROSALINS COMPLAINT.”

are these other:

“*Allegorically shadowing the truth of Love,
in the constant Fate of the Phœnix
and Turtle.*”

Then below is this further or supplementary explanation:

“*To these are added some new compositions, of severall moderne Writers
whose names are subscribed to their severall workes, vpon the
first subject: viz. the Phœnix and
Turtle.*”

Looking next at "The Authors request to the Phœnix" — which, as it is annexed to the Epistle-dedicatory to Sir John Salisbury, '*one of the Esquires of the bodie to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie,*' so it is in itself a second dedication, though not so designated—I ask the student-reader to weigh the compliments in these Lines, and especially these :

"Phœnix of beautie, beauteous Bird of any"
 "That feedst all earthly fences with thy fauor"
 ————— "thy perfections passing beautie"

I ask also that it be noted how the 'allegory' of the birds — as Phœnix and Turtle-dove — is incidentally, though not I think accidentally, dropped even thus early, and two things indicated (*a*) That the Author's poems in so far as she, the 'Phœnix,' was concerned, sang the "home-writ praises" of her 'loue' :

"Accept my home-writ praifes of thy loue"

(*b*) That he was not pleading for himself but another, viz., her 'loue' or he whom she loved. He seeks that she will accept these "home-writ praises" and her 'kind acceptance' of him (the 'loue' of the prior line)

————— "kind acceptance of thy Turtle-doue"

Thus far the 'home-writ praises' are comparatively in "a lowly flight" (p. 6); but in the Poems-proper all is exaggerate and hyperbolic. As pointed out in the Notes and Illustrations *frequently*, it very soon appears that the 'Phœnix' is a person and a woman, and the 'Turtle-doue' a person and a male, and that while, as the title-page puts it, the poet is "Allegorically shadowing the truth of Love," it is a genuine story of human love and martyrdom (*Love's Martyr*). It further very evidently appears — as also shewn in the Notes and Illustrations (p. 17, l. 4) that the 'Phœnix' was not woman merely, but a queen, and queen of 'Brytaine' (*Ibid*). In short, no one at all acquainted with what was the *mode* of speaking of Queen Elizabeth to the very last, will hesitate

in recognizing her as the 'Rosalin' and 'Phoenix' of Robert Chester, and the "moderne writers," of this book. Let the reader keep eye and ear and memory alert, and he will (*meo iudicio*) find throughout, that in *Love's Martyr* and the related poems, he is listening to the every-day language of the Panegyrists of the 'great Queen.' That is to say, apart from theories, he will see that all the epithets, and much of the description pointed, and could point alone, to Elizabeth. Her 'beauty' and her kind of beauty, "beauty that excelled all beauty on earth"—her 'princely eyes,' her 'majestical' appearance, her palms kissed like a saint's, her chastity—over and over celebrated—her 'deep counsels,' her fondness for and skill in music, her gift of poetry, her eloquence, the "sweet accents of her tongue," her being a 'Phoenix,' 'Earth's beauteous Phoenix' (p. 9), and a Phoenix a prey to the want of a successor—all inevitably make us think of Elizabeth, and none other possible. Let any one who may hesitate, take NICHOLS' *Progresses of Elizabeth** and study the addresses in verse and prose or the incense of flattery of the 'Devices' and similar entertainments of her nobles. It will surprize me if he hesitate longer. There is this also to be remembered, that so peculiar, so fantastically unique, was Elizabeth's position, that no one—with his fortune to make—would have dared to write thus hyperbolically of any woman on English ground while Elizabeth was alive, he thereby putting Elizabeth in the back-ground, and infinitely below her. Even Sir Walter Raleigh in 1602, *i.e.*, subsequent to the date of *Love's Martyr*, thus closes a letter to her Majesty: "And so most humblie imbracing and admiringe the memory of *thos celestial bewtyes*, which with the people is denied mee to revew, I pray God your Majestie may be eternall in joyes and happines. Your Majesty's most humble slaue."†

* 2 vols., 4to. See Postscript to this Introduction, C, for quotations from Nichols.

† Edwards' *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, vol. ii, p. 260 (2 vols., 8vo, 1868, Macmillan.)

By my Notes and Illustrations I put it in the power of anyone to confirm (or to confute if he may) this interpretation of the 'Phœnix' as intended for Elizabeth. I am not aware that anyone has ever so much as hinted at the interpretation; but neither do I know that any one before has read or studied the extremely rare book. The exceptional interest of the "new compositions" by Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Chapman, Marston, and others, seems to have over-shadowed the larger portion, and thereby, likewise, left these "new compositions" without a key.*

This *internal* evidence, from *Love's Martyr*, as to Elizabeth having been meant by the 'Phœnix' is equally established by *external*. That is to say, another contemporary Poet — and only supercilious ignorance will deny the name to the author of *The Tragedie of Shores Wife*, were there no more — THOMAS CHURCHYARD — the 'Old

* I must state that, having communicated my interpretation of the 'Phœnix' and 'Turtle-dove' to my dear friend and fellow-worker in Elizabethan-Jacobean literature, Dr. Brinsley Nicholson of London, I was more than gratified to learn that, on reading the proof-sheets of *Love's Martyr* (which he had never been fortunate enough to see previously) he had come to the same conclusions. Thus wrought-out in absolute independence, the conclusions themselves may, perhaps, be deemed all the more probable. I must add, that I have had the very great advantage of Dr. Nicholson's reading of the entire proof-sheets of the text and of my Notes and Illustrations. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm and insight of my richly-furnished friend, whose restored health we are all rejoicing over. As I write this a letter reaches me from Dr. Nicholson with additional illustrations and confirmations of the 'Phœnix' being Elizabeth — as follows:

"In reading Henry Peacham, M.A., his *Minerva Britannia or Garden of Heroicall Devices*, 1612, a series of pictorial Impresas or Emblems, with verses in English and Latin, glorifying James and his family and the chief men of rank and note in England, I came across a passage which seems to shew that Elizabeth had adopted the Phœnix as 'her own' Emblem. At the conclusion he has a poetic vision in which Minerva Britannia, as I suppose, shows him a hâll filled with their Impresas and Emblems limned on the shields of renowned Englishmen, both kings and peers; and having enumerated some he continues:

' With other numberleffe beside,
That to haue feene each one's deuife,
How liuely limn'd, how well appli'de

Palæmon' of Spenser's *Colin Clout*—had explicitly celebrated Elizabeth, years before (1593), as the 'Phœnix.' His 'Churchyard's *Challenge*' is so very rare and unknown, that I think it well to reproduce here his celebrations; for as I take it, it makes what was before certain certainty itself.

The Poems I refer to are these: (a) A few plain verses of truth against the flattery of time, made when the Queen's Majesty was last at Oxenford; (b) A discourse of the only Phoenix of the world; (c) A praise of that Phoenix; (d) A discourse of the joy good subjects have when they see our Phoenix abroad; (e) This is taken out of Belleaux made of his own Mistress. The whole of these follow. I prefix the Epistle-dedicatory of the entire volume, because in it the 'Queen's Majesty,' as being the 'Phoenix,' is again designated.

You were the while in Paradise:
Another side she did ordaine
To some late dead, some living yet,
Who seru'd Eliza in her raigne,
And worthily had honour'd it.

Where turning trift I spide aboue,
HER OWN DEAR PHŒNIX HOVERING,
Whereat me thought in melting Loue,
Apace with teares mine eyes did spring;
But Foole, while I aloft did looke,
For her that was to Heauen flowne,
This goodly place, my fight forfooke,
And on the suddaine all was gone.'

It is worth adding, that in the body of the book, Peacham gives the Phoenix to Cecil." It may be recalled here that Shakespeare put the 'emblem' of the 'Phoenix' into Cranmer's mouth at the baptism of Elizabeth—as thus:

"Nor shall this peace sleep with her; but, as when
The bird of wonder dies, the maiden phoenix,
Her ashes new create another heir
As great in admiration as herself,
So shall she leave her blessedness to one."

(*Henry VIII*, act v, sc. 5, ll. 39-43.)

Cf. also my edition of Sylvester, p. 5, for kindred prefatory compliment.

I. The Epistle-dedicatory of "Churchyards Challenge." (1593.)

To the right worshipfull the Ladie

Anderfon, wife to the right honorable

Lord chiefe Iustice of the common

Pleas.

MY boldnes being much, may passe the bounds of duty, but the goodnes of your honourable husband (good Madame) passeth so farre the commendacion of my penne, that vnder his iudgement and shield (that is fo iust a Iudge) I make a sauegard to this my presumption, that hazardeth where I am vnknownen to present any peece of Poetrie or matter of great effect, yet aduenturing by fortune, to giue my Lady your sifter somewhat in the honour of the Queenes Maiestie, in the excellencie of her woorthy praise that neuer can decay; I haue tranflated some verses out of French, that a Poet seemed to write of his owne mistresse, which verses are so apt for the honouring of the Phenix of our worlde, that I cannot hide them from the sight of the worthy, nor dare commit so grosse a fault as to let them die with my selfe: wherfore and in way of your fauour in publishing these verses, I dedicate them to your good Ladishippe, though not so well penned as the first Authour did polish them, yet in the best manner my muse can affoorde, they are plainly expressed, hoping they shalbe as well taken as they are ment, so the blessed and great Iudge of all daily bleffe you.

II. A few plaine verses of truth against the flaterie of time, made when the Queens Maiestie was last at Oxenford.*

Sith silent Poets all,
 that praise your Ladies so:
 My Phenix makes their plumes to fall,
 that would like Peacockes goe.
 Some doe their Princes praise,
 and Synthia some doe like:
 And some their Mistresse honour raise,
 As high as Souldiers pike.
 Come downe yee doe prefmount, [sic]
 the warning bel it founds:

* In the Contents it is entitled "A discourse of the only Phenix of the worlde." Lady Anderson, *supra*, was Magdalen, d. of Christopher Smyth, of Annables, co. Herts.

That cal's you Poets to account,
for breaking of your bounds.
In giuing fame to thofe,
faire flowers that foone doth fade :
And cleane forget the white red rofe,
that God a Phenix made.
Your Ladies alfo doe decline,
like Stars in darkfome night :
When Phenix doth like Phœbus fhine,
and leads the world great light.
You paint to pleafe defire,
your Dame in colours gay :
As though braue words, or trim attire,
could grace a clod of clay.
My Phenix needs not any art,
of Poets painting quil :
She is her felfe in euerie part,
fo fhapte by kindly fhil.
That nature cannot wel amend:
and to that fhape moft rare,
The Gods fuch speciall grace doth fend,
that is without compare.
The heauens did agree,
by conftellations plaine :

That for her vertue ſhee ſhould bée the only queene to raigne,
(In her moft happie daies) and carries cleane awaie :
The tip and top of peerleſſe prayſe, if all the world fay nay,
Looke not that I ſhould name, her vertue in their place,
But looke on her true well-won fame, that anſwers forme & face.
And therein ſhall you read, a world of matter now,
That round about the world doth ſpread her heauenly graces throw.
The feas (where cannons rore) hath yeilded her her right,
And ſent fuch newes vnto the ſhore, of enemies foile and flight.
That all the world doth found, the glorie Phenix gote
Whereof an eccho doth rebound, in ſuch a tune and note,
(That none alive ſhall reach) of Phenix honor great,
Which ſhall the poets muſes teach, how they of her ſhold treat.
O then with verſes ſweete, if Poets haue good ſtore,
Fling down your pen, at Phenix feet, & praife your nimphes no more.
Packe hence, ſhe comes in place, a ſtately Royall Queene :
That takes away your Ladies grace, as ſoone as ſhe is féene.

FINIS.

III. A praise of that Phenix.*

Verfes of value, if Vertue bee feene,
Made of a Phenix, a King, and a Queene.

My Phenix once, was wont to mount the skies,
To féé how birdes, of baser feathers flew :
Then did her Port and prefence please our eies :
Whofe abfence now, bréeds nought but fancies new.
The Phenix want, our court, and Realme may rue.
Thus fight of her, fuch welcome gladnes brings,
That world ioeis much, whē *Phenix* claps her wings.

And flies abroad, to take the open aire,
In royall fort, as bird of ftately kinde :
Who hates foul storms ; and loues mild weather fair,
And by great force, can lore the bloftring wind, =*lower*
To fhew the grace, and greatnes of the minde,
My *Phenix* hath, that vertue growing gréene,
When that abroad, her gracious face is féene.

Let neither feare of plagues, nor wits of men,
Keepe *Phenix* clofe, that ought to liue in light :
Of open world, for abfence wrongs vs then,
To take from world, the Lampe that giues vs light,
O God forbid, our day were turnde to night,
And fhining Sunne, in clouds fhould fhrowded be,
Whofe golden rayes, the world defires to fee.

The Dolphin daunts, each fifh that fwims the Seas,
The Lion feares, the greateft beaft that goes :
The Bees in Hive, are glad theyr King to please,
And to their Lord, each thing their duety knowes.
But firft the King, his Princely prefence showes,
Then fubiects ftoopes, and prostrate fals on face,
Or bowes down head, to giue their maifter place.

The funne hath powre, to comfort flowrs and gras,
And purge the aire, of foule infections all :
Makes ech thing pure, wher his clear beams do paffe,
Draws vp the dew, that mifts and fogs lets fall :
My *Phenix* hath, a greater gift at call,
For vaffalls all, a view of her doe craue,
Becaufe thereby, great hope and hap we haue.

* I take this heading from the 'Contents,'—there is added, "and verfes translated out of French." Throughout these poems of Churchyard there are various instances of verb singular after nominative plural.

Good turnes it brings, and fuiters plaints are heard,
 The poore are pleafde, the rich fome purchafe gains,
 The wicked blufh : the worthy wins reward,
 The feruant findes a meanes to quit his paines :
 The wronged man, by her fome right attaines.
 Thus euery one, that help and fuccour needes,
 In hard diftreffe, on *Phenix* fauour feedes.

But from our view, if world doe *Phenix* kéepe,
 Both Sunne, and Moone, and ftars we bid farewell,
 The heauens mourne, the earth will waile and weep.
 The heauy heart, it féeles the paines of Hell,
 Woe be to thofe, that in defpaire doe dwell.
 Was neuer plague nor peflence like to this,
 When foules of men haue loft fuch heavenly bliffe.

Now futers all, you may floote vp your plaints
 Your Goddes now, is lockt in fhine full faft :
 You may perhaps, yet pray vnto her Saints.
 Whose eares are flopt, and hearing fure is paft,
 Now in the fire, you may fuch Idols caft.
 They cannot helpe, like flockes and ftones they bée,
 That haue no life, nor cannot heare nor fee.

Till that at large, our royall *Phenix* comes,
 Packe hence poore men, or picke your fingers endes,
 Or blow your nailles, or gnaw and bite your thombs,
 Till God aboue, fome better fortune fendes.
 Who here abides, till this bad world emends,
 May doe full well, as tides doe ebbe and flow,
 So fortune turnes, and haps doe come and goe.

The bodies ioy, and all the ioints it beares,
 Lies in the head, that may commaund the reft :
 Let head but ake, the heart is full of feares,
 And armes acroffe, we clap on troubled breft :
 With heauy thoughts, the mind is fo opprest,
 That neather legs, nor féete haue will to goe,
 As man himfelfe, were cleane orecome with woe.

The head is it, that ftill preferues the fence.
 And féekes to faue, each member from difeafe :
 Devife of head, is bodies whole defence,
 The skill whereof, no part dare well difpleafe :
 For as the Moone moues vp the mighty Seas,
 So head doth guide the body when it will,
 And rules the man, by wit and reafons skill.

But how should head, indéede doe all this good,
 When at our néede, no vse of head we haue :
 The head is felt, is féene and vnderstood.
 Then from disgrace, it will the body saue,
 And otherwife, sick man drops downe in graue.
 For when no helpe, nor vse of head we finde,
 The féete fals lame, and gazing eies grow blinde.

The lims wax stiffe, for want of vse and aide,
 The bones doe dry, their marrow waste away :
 The heart is dead, the body liues afraide,
 The finnowes shrinke, the bloud doth still decay :
 So long as world, doth want the Star of day,
 So long darke night, we shall be fure of héere, ;
 For cloudy skies, I feare will neuer cléere.

God fend some helpe, to salue sick poore mens fores,
 A boxe of baulme, would heale our woundes vp quite :
 That precious oyle, would eat out rotten cores,
 And giue great health, and man his whole delighte.
 God fend some funne, in frostie morning white,
 That cakes of yce may melt by gentle thaw,
 And at well-head wee may some water drawe.

A Riddle.

Wée wish, wee want, yet haue what we desire :
 We freefe, wee burne, and yet kept from the fire.

FINIS.

IV. A discourse of the ioy good subiects haue when they see our
 Phenix abroad.*

This is to be red fine waies.

IN hat a fauour worne, a bird of gold in Britaine land,
 In loyall heart is borne, yet doth on head like Phenix stand.
 To set my Phenix forth, whose vertues may thē al surmoūt.
 An orient pearle more worth, in value, price & good account.
 The gold or precious stone, what tong or verfe dare her distain,
 A péerelesse paragon, in whom such gladfome gifts remaine.
 Whose seemly shape is wrought as out of wax wer made y^e mold
 By fine deuie of thought, like shrined Saint in beaten gold :
 Dame Nature did disdaine, and thought great scorn in any fort,
 To make the like againe, that should deferue such rare report.
 Ther néedes no Poets pen, nor painters pencil, come in place,

* This heading is from the 'Contents.'

Nor flatering frafe of men, whose filed fpech giues ech thing grace,
 To praife this worthy dame, a Nimph which *Dian* holds full *déer*
 That in fuch perfect frame, as mirror bright & chriftal cléer
 Is fet out to our view, threefold as faire as shining Sunne,
 For beauty grace and hue, a worke that hath great glory won,
 A Goddes dropt from fky, for caufes more than men may know,
 To pleafe both minde & eie for thofe that dwels on earth below,
 And fhew what heauenly grace, and noble fecret power diuine
 Is féene in Princely face, that kind hath formd & framd fo fine.
 For this is all I write, of fared Phenix ten times bleft,
 To fhew mine own delite, as fancies humor thinketh beft.

FINIS.

V. This is taken out of *Belleau* made of his own
 Miftrefle.*

Sad fighes doth fhew, the heat of heartes defire,
 And forrow fpeakes, by fignes of heauie eyes :
 So if hot flames, proceed from holly fire,
 And loue may not, from vicious fancies eyes
 In tarrying time, and fauour of the skies,
 My only good, and greateft hap doth lie :
 In her that doth, all fond delight difpies :
 Than turne to mée, fad fighes I fhall not dye.

If that bee fhee, who hath fo much mée bound,
 And makes me hers, as I were not mine owne :
 She moft to praife, that maie aliue be founde,
 Moft great and good, and gracious througely knowne.
 Shée all my hope, in briefe yea more than mine,
 (That quickly maie, bring life by looke of eye)
 Than come chaefth fighes, a close record diuine,
 Returne to mee, and I fhall neuer dye.

If from young yeares, fhee gainde the garland gaye,
 And wan the price, of all good giftes of grace :
 If princely port, doe vertuous minde be wraie,
 And royall power, be found by noble face,
 If fhee bée borne, moft happie graue and wife,
 A Sibill fage, fent downe from heauens hie,
 O fmothring fighes, that faine would clofe mine eyes,
 Returne to mee, fo fhall I neuer die.

= prize

* While this piece has nothing of the 'Phoenix' in it, it is equally good for our purpose, as shewing how Elizabeth was addressed (as in Chester) by the titles of 'Sun,' &c.

If most vpright, and faire of forme shée bee,
 That may beare life, and swéetefst manner showes,
 Loues God, good men, and Countries wealth doth lée,
 A queene of kinges, all Chrifitian princes knowes,
 So iustly liues, that each man hath his owne,
 Sets straight each state, that elfe would goe awrie :
 Whereby her fame, abroad the world is blowne,
 Then feace sad fighes, so shall I neuer die.

If shée the heart of Alexander haue,
 The sharpe esprite, and hap of Haniball,
 The constant mind, that Gods to Scipio gaue,
 And Cæsars grace, whose triumphs passed all,
 If in her thought, do dwell the iudgement great,
 Of all that raignes, and rules from earth to skie :
 (And fits this houre, in throne and regall feate),
 Come fighes againe, your maister cannot die.

If she be found, to tast the pearcing ayr,
 In heate, in colde, in froft, in snowe and rayne :
 As diamond, that shines so passing faire,
 That funne nor moone, nor weather cannot staine :
 If blastes of winde, and stormes to beautie yelde,
 And this well springe, makes other fountaines drye,
 (Turnes tides and floodes, to water baraine féeld,)
 Come fighes then home, I liue and cannot die.

If her great giftes, doth daunt dame fortunes might,
 And she haue caught the hayres and head of hap :
 To others hard, to her a matter light,
 To mount the cloudes, and fall in honours lap.
 If shee her selfe, and others conquers too,
 Liues long in peace, and yet doth warre desie :
 As valiaunt kinges, and vertuous victors doe,
 Then fighe no more, o heart I cannot die.

If such a prince, abase her highneffe than,
 For some good thing, the world may geffe in mee :
 And stoupes so low, too like a fillie man,
 That little knowes, what Princes grace may bée.
 If shee well waie, my faith and feruice true,
 And is the iudge, and touch that gold shall trie :
 That colour cléere, that neuer changeth hue,
 Heart figh no more, I liue and may not die.

If I doe vse, her fauour for my weale,
 By reason off, her gracious countenance still :
 And from the funne, a little light I steale,
 To keepe the life, in lampe to burne at will.

If robbie thus, a true man may commit,
Both I and mine, vnto her merits flie :
If I perfume, it springes for want of wit,
Excuse me than, sad sighes or else I die.

If shee do know, her shape in heart I beare,
Engraude in breast, her grace and figure is,
Yea day and night, I thinke and dreame each where,
On nothing else, but on that heauenly blisse,
If so transformde, my mind and body liues,
But not confumde, nor finde no cause to cry,
And waite on her, that helpe and comfort giues,
Than come poore sighes, your maister shall not die.

If she behold, that here I with no breath,
But liue all hers, in thought and word and déede :
Whose fauour lost, I craue but present death,
Whose grace attained, lean foule full fat shal féede.
If any cause, do kéepe her from my sight,
I know no world, my self I shall deny,
But if her torch, doe lend my candle light,
Heart sigh no more, the body doth not die.

But if by death, or some disgrace of mine
Through enuies sting, or false report of foes,
My view be bard, from that swéete face diuine.
Beléue for troth, to death her seruaut goes,
And rather sure, than I should ill conceiue :
Sighes mount to skies, you know the cause and why.
How here below, my lusty life I leaue,
Attend me there, for wounded heart must die.

If shee beléue, without her presence here,
That anything, may now content my minde :
Or thinke in world, is sparke of gladfome chéere,
Where shee is not, nor I her presence finde :
But all the ioyes, that man imagine may,
As handmaides wayt, on her héere vnder sky,
Then sighes mount vp, to heauens hold your way,
And stay me there, for I of force must die.

If I may feare, that fragill beauty light,
Or semblance faire, is to be doubted fore :
Or my vaine youth, may turn with fancies might
Or sighes full falles fains grieffe or torment more,
Than heart doth féele, then angry stars aboue,
Doe band your felues, gainst me in heauens hie.
And rigor worke, to conquer constant loue,
Mount vp poore sighes, here is no helpe, I die.

And fo fad fighes, the witnes of my thought,
 If loue finde not, true guerdon for good will :
 Ere that to graue, my body fhall be brought,
 Mount vp to clowds, and there abide me fill,
 But if good hope, and hap fome fuccour fend,
 And honor doth, my vertuous minde fupply,
 With treble bliffe, for which I long attend,
 Returne good fighes, I mean not now to die.

Tranflated out of French, for one that is bounde much to Fortune.

FINIS.

It were easy to multiply contemporary and funereal 'flatteries' of Elizabeth under the name of the 'Phoenix,' and from Cynthia in Spenser to the Rosalind and Orianas of many 'Madrigals,'* and Atropeion Delion of Thomas Newton (1603), shew that she was even to old age, receptive of the loftiest names and the most celestial praise, especially if they lauded her 'beauty' or her intellect. But for our present purpose more cannot be required.

Having thus determined that Elizabeth was the 'Phoenix,' I proceed now to inquire who was intended by the 'Turtle-doue.' As with the 'Phoenix,' I must request attention to our Notes and Illustrations on the places wherein the 'Turtle-doue' occurs. It will there be found that, contrary to ordinary usage, the 'Turtle-doue' is distinctly 'sung' of as a male, by the necessities indeed of the 'love' relations sustained towards the 'Phoenix,' and of the 'Phoenix' towards the 'Turtle-doue,' *e.g.*:

Nature.

" Fly in this Chariot, and come fit by me,
 And we will leaue this ill corrupted Land,
 We'll take our courfe through the blue Azure skie,
 And fet our feete on *Paphos* golden fand.
 There of that *Turtle Doue* we'll vnderftand :
 And visit HIM in thofe delightful plaines,
 Where Peace conioyn'd with Plenty ftill remains." (p. 32.)

It will also be found that, as with Elizabeth as the 'Phoenix,'

* See an interesting paper on 'Madrigals' in honour of Elizabeth in *Notes and Queries*, first series, vol. iv, pp. 185-188. See Postscript D for additional 'Phoenix' references, &c.

so with the 'Turtle-doue,' epithet and circumstance and the whole bearing of the Poems, make us think of but one pre-eminent man in the Court of Elizabeth. Let the Notes and Illustrations on portions of these Poems relative to the 'Turtle-doue' be critically pondered; and unless I err egregiously, it will be felt that only of the brilliant but impetuous, the greatly-dowered but rash, the illustrious but unhappy Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, could such splendid things have been thought. Inevitably 'Liberal Honour' and 'Love's Lord,' are accepted as *his* titles of right; while his Letters to Elizabeth and of Elizabeth to him reveal the 'envy' and 'jealousy' and hatreds against which he fought his way upward.† I invite prolonged scrutiny of this description and portraiture:

“ Hard by a running streame or crystall fountaine,
Wherein rich *Orient* pearle is often found,
Enuiron'd with a high and steepe mountaine,
A fertill foile and fruitful plot of ground,
There shalt thou find true *Honors* louely *Squire*,
That for this *Phanix* keeps *Prometheus* fire.

His bower wherein he lodgeth all the night,
Is fram'd of Cædars and high loftie Pine,
I made his houe to chaftice thence despight,
And fram'd it like this heavenly roofof mine :
His name is *Liberrall honor*, and his hart,
Aymes at true faithfull seruice and defart.

Looke on his face, and in his browes doth sit,
Bloud and sweete *Mercie* hand in hand vnited,
Bloud to his foes, a president most fit
For such as haue his gentle humour spited :
His Haire is curl'd by nature mild and mecke,
Hangs carelesse downe to shroud a blushing cheeke.

Giue him this Ointment to annoint his Head,
This precious Balme to lay vnto his feet,
These shall direct him to the *Phanix* bed,
Where on a high hill he this Bird shall meet :
And of their Ashes by my doome shal rise,
Another *Phanix* her to equalize.”

(pp. 19-20.)

† See *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earl of Essex, &c., &c.* By the Hon. W. B. Devereux, 2 vols. 8vo., 1853. (Murray.)

The 'Turtle Dove,' as thus described, was then in 'Paphos island'; and what was meant by it will appear in the sequel. But I ask any one familiar with the men and events of the reign of Elizabeth, if Essex is not instantly suggested by these and parallel passages and allusions in *Love's Martyr*? This being so, we would expect that Essex will be found elsewhere similarly described; and if, in giving Churchyard's remarkable 'Phoenix' poems, I felt that I was by them placing our interpretation beyond cavil, I have much the same conviction in now submitting certain extracts from a poem avowedly in his honour, when he was in the golden sunshine (yet not without broad shadows) of his favour with Elizabeth. I refer to "*An Eglogve Gratulatorie*. Entitled: To the right honorable, and renowned Shepheard of Albions Arcadia: Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, for his welcome into England from Portugall. Done by George Peele." (1589).*

Let these speak for themselves, by help of our *italics* occasionally :

Piers.

"Of arms to sing I haue nor luft nor skill ; *list?*
 Enough is me to blazon my good-will,
 To welcome home that long hath lackèd been,
 One of the jollieft shepherds of our green;
Iò, iò pæan!

Palinode.

Tell me, good Piers, I pray thee tell it me,
 What may thilk jolly swain or shepherd be,
 Or whence y-comen, that he thus welcome is,
 That thou art all fo blithe to see his bliffe ?

Piers.

. . . . Thilk shepherd, Palinode, whom my pipe praifeth,
 Where glory my reed to the welkin raifeth,
 He's a great herdgroom, certes, but no swain,
Sauè hers that is the flower of Phæbe's plain;
Iò, iò pæan!

* Dyce's Greene, pp. 559-563, 1 vol., 8vo, 1861. It is much to be regretted that, here as invariably, so competent a scholar and so noble a worker as the late Mr. Dyce *modernized* the orthography of his texts, thereby obliterating all philological and critical value.

He's well-allied and lovèd of the best,
Well-thew'd, fair and frank, and famous by his crest;
His Rain-deer, racking with proud and stately pace,
Giveth to his flock a right beautiful grace;

Iö, iö pæant!

He waits where our great shepherdes doth wun,
He playeth in the shade, and thriveth in the sun;
He shineth on the plains, his lusty flock him by,
As when Apollo kept in Arcady;

Iö, iö pæant!

Fellow in arms he was in their flow'ring days
With that great shepherd, good Philifides; *Sir Philip Sidney*
And in fad fable did I see him dight,
Moaning the mis of Pallas' peerless knight;

Iö, iö pæant!

With him he serv'd, and watch'd, and waited late,
To keep the grim wolf from Eliza's gate; [*Anjou, Tyrone, &c.*]
And for their mistress, thoughten these two swains,
They moughten neuer take too mickle pains;

Iö, iö pæant!

But, ah for grief! that jolly groom is dead,
For whom the Muses, silver tears have shed;
Yet in this lovely swain, source of our glee,
Mun all his virtues sweet revive be;

Iö, iö pæant!"

Again :

Palinode.

"Thou foolish swain that thus art over-joy'd,
How soon may here thy courage be accoy'd!
If he be one come new from western coast,
Small cause hath he, or thou for him to boast.
I see no palm, I see no laurel boughs
Circle his temples or adorn his brows;
I hear no triumphs for this late return,
But many a herdsman more dispos'd to mourn.

Piers.

Pale lookest thou, like spite, proud Palinode;
Venture doth loss, and war doth danger bode:
But thou art of those harvesters, I see,
Would at one shock spoil all the filberd tree;

Iö, iö pæant!

For shame, I say, give virtue honour's duel
I'll please the shepherd but by telling true:

Palm mayst thou fee and bays about his head,
That all his flock right forwardly hath led ;
Iö, iö pœan!

Then comes ENVY, as so frequently in *Love's Martyr* and the Essex letters (to and from), with sinister influence :—

“ But woe is me, lewd lad, fame's full of lies,
ENVY DOETH AYE TRUE HONOUR'S DEEDS DESPISE,
Yet chivalry will mount with glorious wings
SPITE ALL, AND NESTLE NEAR THE SEAT OF KINGS ;
Iü, iö pœan!

Finally, Chester's ‘*Liberall Honor*’ is introduced :—

“ O HONOUR'S FIRE, that not the brackish sea
Mought quench, nor foeman's fearful 'larums lay!
So high those golden flakes done mount and clial,
That they exceed the reach of shepherds rhyme ;
Iü, iö pœan!

Palinode.

What boot thy welcomes, foolish-hardy fwain ?
Louder pipes than thine are going on the plain ;
Fair Eliza's lasses and her great grooms
Receive this shepherd with unfeign'd welcomes.

HONOUR *is in him* that doth it bestow

Piers.

So cease, my pipe, the worthies to record
Of thilk great shepherd, of *thilk fair young lord*.”

The line of Palinode,

“ HONOUR *is in him* that doth it bestow,”

as well as the title of ‘*Liberal Honour*,’ refers doubtless, among other things, to the dubbing of knights by Essex as commander-in-chief—a matter which caused much ‘evil-speaking’ and jealousy.

Subsidiary to this specially noticeable poem of GEORGE PEELE is another by THOMAS CHURCHYARD. Intrinsically it is of little or no poetical value ; but from its direct bearing on our interpretation of ‘Paphos Isle,’—as in *Love's Martyr*, designating Ireland,—it has no common interest. For it is a Greeting to Essex on his departure for Ireland to put down the rebellion of Tyrone. There is nothing of

that exaggerate laudation of Essex common at the period ; but the very homeliness and humbleness of the poem serve the better to reflect the gravity of his summons to do this service for his Queen. One phrase in the Epistle-dedicatory gives a parallel to Shakespeare's assurance of welcome on return, and to us now the quaintest possible use of the word 'impe.' The august names, *e.g.*, Scipio, Mars, and the like, tell us of the popular conception of the hero of the Expedition ; and in relation to the '*Liberal Honour*' of *Love's Martyr*, it does not look like a mere coincidence that Churchyard names Essex 'Honour'—"Who must ask grace on knees at Honor's feet" (p. xlii, l. 26). I deem it well to reproduce the whole, from (it is believed) the *unique* exemplar in the British Museum. Unfortunately the headline of the opening of the poem is cut off by the binder, and only the word 'happy' can be guessed at in it. The title-page is as follows :

THE
FORTVNATE FAREWELL.
to the most forward and noble Earle
of Essex, one of the honorable privie
Counsel, Earle high Marthal of Eng-
land, Master of the horse, Master of the
ordinance, Knight of the garter, &
Lord Lieutenant general of all
the Queenes Maiesties
forces in Ireland,
Dedicated to the right Honorable the Lord
HARRY SEAMER, second sonne
to the last Duke of
Sommerfet.
Written by Thomas Churchyard
Esquire.
Printed at London by Edm. Bollifant,
for William Wood at the West
doore of Powles.

1599

Next comes the Epistle-dedicatory—following up the odd mention of his name in the title-page—to Henry, second son of the Duke of Somerset, by his second wife, Anne,

daughter of Sir Edward Stanhope, Knt. Churchyard calls him 'the Lord Harry' by courtesy; for of course when his father was stripped of his titles, those of the sons also fell. But he was knighted, though no record of this appears to have been preserved. Dr. Chester has notes of the administration to his estate, dated 6 February, 1606-7, when he was described as Sir Henry Seymour, Knt., of St. Anne, Blackfriars, London, the letters being granted to his sister, Lady Mary Rogers. He married Lady Joan Percy, third daughter of Thomas, seventh Earl of Northumberland, but died without issue; and as his sister administered his estate Lady Seymour probably died before him. The Epistle thus runs:

*To the right honorable the L. Harry Seamer
Thomas Churchyard wisheth continuance of
vertue, blessedneffe of minde, and
wished felicitie.*

IN all duty (my good Lord) I am bold, because your most honorable father the Duke of Sommerfet (vncke to the renowned impe of grace noble King Edward the sixt) fauoured me when I was troubled before the Lords of the Counsell, for writing some of my first verses: in requittal whereof, euer since I haue honored all his noble race, and knowing your Lordship in sea seruices forward and ready in all honorable maner (sparing for no charges) when the Spanyards approached neere our countrie, I bethought me how I might be thankfull for good turnes found of your noble progenie:* though vnable therefore, finding my selfe vnfurnished of all things woorthy presentation and acceptance, I tooke occasion of the departure of a most woorthy Earle towards the seruice in Ireland, so made a present to your Lordship of his happy Farewell as I hope: and trust to liue and see his wished welcome home. This Farewell onely deuised to stirre vp a threefold manly courage to the mercenarie multitude of soldiars, that follow this Marhall-like [Martial-like] Generall, and especially to mooue all degrees in generall loyally to serue our good Queene Elizabeth, and valiantly to go through with good resolution the acceptable seruice they take in hand. Which true seruice shall redouble their renowne, and enroll their names in the memoriall-booke of fame for euer. I feare I leade your Lordship too farre with the flourish of a fruitlesse pen, whose blandishing phraze makes many to gaze on, and few to confider well of and regarde. My plot is onely laide to purchase good will of vertuous people: what the rest thinke, let their misconstruing conceits answere their owne idle humors. This plaine present winning your Lordships good liking, shall passe with the greater grace to his honorable

* = descent, or as we would say, ancestry, *i.e.*, the 'before-births,' a sense common at that time. Cf. Shakespeare and *Love's Martyr*.

hands, that the praiers & power of good men waites willingly vpon towards the reformation of wicked rebellion.

Your L. in all at commandement, *Thomas Churchyard.*

And now we reach the poem itself :*

.....

and forward most noble

Earle of Essex.

NOW SCIPIO fails to Affrick far from hoem,
 The Lord of hoests, and battels be his gied :
 Now when green trees, begins to bud and bloem,
 On Irish seas, ELIZAS ship shall ried ;
 A warliek band, of worthy knights I hoep,
 Aer armd for fight, a bloody brunt to bied ;
 With rebels shall, boeth might and manhood coep,
 Our contreis right, and quarrell to be tried :
 Right macks wrong blufh, and troeth bids falshed fly,
 The sword is drawn, TYROENS dispatch draws ny.
 A traitor must be taught to know his king,
 When MARS shal march, with shining sword in hand,
 A crauen cock, cries creak and hangs down wing,
 Will run about the shraep and daer not stand,
 When cocks of gaem, coms in to giue a bloe ;
 So false TYROEN, may faint when he would fight,
 Though now alowd, on dunghill doth he croe ;
 Traitors wants hart, and often taeks the flight :
 When rebels see, they aer surpriefd by troeth,
 Pack hence in haest, away the rebels goeth.
 Proud trecherous trash, is curbd & knockt with bloes,
 Hy loftie mindes, with force are beaten down :
 Against the right, though oft rued rebels roes,
 Not oen sped well, that did impeach a crowne.
 Read the Annaels, of all the Princes past,
 Whear treasons still, are punisht in their kinde,
 Thear shall you see, when faithfull men stand fast,
 Falsoe traytors still, are but a blast of winde :
 For he that first formd kings and all degrees,
 The ruel of states, and kingdoms ouerfees.
 Riot and rage, this rank rebellion breeds ;
 Hauock and spoyl, sets bloudfhed fo abroetch,
 Troethles attempts, their filthy humor feeds,
 Rashnes runs on, all hedlong to reproetch :

[*sheep?*]

* The spelling of Churchyard is so peculiar in this poem that I must state that our text is an exact reproduction of the original throughout. We have here a most noticeable example of a then common practice of making rhyming words agree in spelling, *e.g.*, ll. 1 and 3 ; ll. 2, 4, 6, &c., &c.

Boldnes begaet theas helhounds all a roe,
 The fons of thaem, and children of Gods wraeth ;
 With woluissh minds, liek breetchles beares they goe,
 Throw woods and bogs, and many a crooked paeth :
 Lying liek dogs, in litter, dung and strawe,
 Rued as bruet beasts, that knoes ne ruel nor lawe.
 Fofred from faith, and fear of God or man,
 Vndernd or taught of any graces good,
 Nurft vp in vice, whear falsched first began,
 Mercyles boern, still sheading guiltles blood.
 Libertines lewd, that all good order haets,
 Murtherers viel, of wemen great with childe,
 Cruell as kiets, despising all cftacts,
 Diuifly bent, boeth currifh, stern and wilde :
 Their whole deuice, is rooet of mifcheenes all,
 That feeks a plaeg, on their own heds to fall.
 Will God permit, fuch monfters to bear fway ?
 His iuftice haets, the ftaps of tyrants fill,
 Their damnable deeds, craues vengeance euery day ;
 Which God doth fcouge, by his own bleffed will.
 He planteth force, to fling down feeble ftrengh,
 Men of mutch worth, to weaken things of noght,
 Whoes cloked craft, fhall fuer be feen at length,
 When vnto light, dark dealings fhall be broght :
 Sweet ciuill Lords, fhall fawfy fellowes meet,
 Who muft ask grace, on knees at honors feet.
 Ruednes may range awhile in ruffling fort,
 As witleffe wights with wandring maeks world mues ;
 But when powre coms, to cut prowld praftife fhert,
 And shoe by fword, how fubiefts Prince abues,
 Then confhens fhall Peccaui cry in feeld,
 Tremble and quaek, mutch liek an Aspin leaf,
 But when on knees, do conquerd captiues yeeld,
 The victor turns his hed as he wear deaf :
 Rueth is grown cold, reuenge is hot as fier,
 And mercy fits with frowns in angry attier.
 VVorld paff forgaue great faults, and let them pas,
 Time present locks on futuer time to com.
 All aegis fawe their follies in a glas,
 Yet were not taught, by time nor found of drom.
 This world groes blinde, and neither fees nor heers,
 Their fenfes fail, the wits and reafon faints,
 Old world is waxt worm-eaten by long yeers,
 And men becom, black diuels that were faints :
 Yet Gods great grace, this wretched caus reforms,
 And from fayr flours, weeds out the wicked worms.

*The
lead[ers]*

They com that shall redresse great things amis,
 Pluck vp the weeds, plant roses in their place.
 No violent thing enduers long as hit is,
 Falsened flies fast, from sight of true mens face,
 Traitors do fear the plaegs for them prepard
 And hieds their heds, in hoels when troeth is seen.
 Tho[u]gh[t] gracelesse giues to duty small regard,
 Good subiects yeelds obedience to their Queen :
 In quarrels iust, do thousands offer liues,
 They feel fowl bobs that for the bucklars striues.
 This Lord doth bring, for strength the fear of God,
 The loue of men, and sword of iustice boeth,
 Which three is to TYROEN an iron rod,
 A birchin twig, that draws blood whear hit goeth.
 When IOAB went, to warr in DAVIDS right,
 He broght hoem peace, in spite of enimies beard,
 For IOZIAS, the Lord above did fight,
 With Angels force, that made the foes afeard :
 The world doth shaek, and tremble at his frown,
 VWhoes beck soon casts the brags of rebels down.
 Stand fast and fuer, false traitors turns their back,
 True subiects weav, macks haerbrain rebels bluft ;
 Stout heauy bloes, macks highest trees to crack,
 An armed piek, may brauely bied a push :
 Wheel not about, stand stiffe lick brazen wall,
 For that's the way, to win the feeld in deed ;
 Charge the foer front, and see the enimies fall,
 The cowards brag, is but a rotten reed :
 Victors must beare the brunt of eury shock,
 A constant minde, is liek a stony rock.

[— —]

Farewell sweet Lords, Knights, Captains and the rest,
 Who goes with you, tacks threefold thankfull pain,
 Who sets you forth, is ten times treble blest,
 Who serues you well, reaps glory for their gain,
 Who dies shall liue, in faem among the best,
 Who liues shall loek and laugh theas broils to scorn :
 All honest harts, doth ciuill warr detest,
 And curse the time that ear TYROEN was born :
 We hoep good hap waits on the fleet that goes,
 And Gods great help, shall clean destroy our foes.

F I N I S .

I venture to assume that I have sufficiently answered our question, Who were meant by the 'Phoenix' and the 'Turtle-dove' of these Poems? I must hold it as demon-

strated, that the 'Phoenix' was Elizabeth and the 'Turtle Dove' Essex.* No one has, hitherto, in any way thought of this interpretation of the 'Turtle Dove' any more than the other of the 'Phoenix'; but none the less do I hope for acceptance of it.†

Our interpretation of Chester's 'Phoenix' and 'Turtle Dove' is the more weighty and important, in that it for the first time enables us to understand Shakespeare's priceless and *unique* 'Phoenix and Turtle'—originally attached to *Love's Martyr*. Perhaps Emerson's words on Shakespeare's poem, as well represents its sphinx-character even to the most capable critics, as any. They are as follow in his preface (pp. v, vi) to his charming *Parnassus* (1875) —

"Of Shakespeare what can we say, but that he is and remains an exceptional mind in the world; that a universal poetry began and ended with him; and that mankind have required the three hundred and ten years since his birth to familiarize themselves with his supreme genius? I should like to have the Academy of Letters propose a prize for an essay on Shakespeare's poem, *Let the bird of loudest lay*, and the *Threnos* with which it closes, the aim of the essay being to explain, by a historical research into the poetic myths and tendencies of the age in which it was written, the frame and allusions of the poem. I have not seen Chester's *Love's Martyr*, and "the Additional Poems" (1601), in which it appeared. Perhaps that book will suggest all the explanation this poem requires. To unassisted readers, it would appear to be a lament on the death of a poet,

* In a small prose book by THOMAS DEKKER, of which I know no other exemplar than my own (unfortunately not perfect) — the "Prayers" that compose it are given respectively to the 'Dove,' the 'Eagle,' the 'Pellican,' and the 'Phoenix.'" This unique little volume is dated 1609. Anything richer spiritually or more exquisite and finely quaint in its style, of the kind, I do not know. His preliminary description of the four birds is exceedingly well-done, and those of the 'Dove' and 'Phoenix' vividly set forth what the 'Phoenix' and 'Turtle Dove' of *Love's Martyr* are — only the love and aspiration are heavenward. Does any one know of another copy of this book? I should rejoice to hear of it.

† The late Mr. Richard Simpson had doubtless studied Chester critically; but he gave no inkling of his interpretation beyond announcing through the *New Shakespeare Society* that he would connect *Love's Martyr* with *Cymbeline*. I fear this must have proven another of his 'School of Shakespeare' discoveries. I have looked in vain in *Cymbeline* for anything save the slightest verbal illustrations of *Love's Martyr*. None the less do I regret that Mr. Simpson was not spared to give us his view of *Love's Martyr*, &c.

and of his poetic mistress. But the poem is so quaint, and charming in diction, tone, and allusions, and in its perfect metre and harmony, that I would gladly have the fullest illustration yet attainable. I consider this piece a good example of the rule, that there is a poetry for bards proper, as well as a poetry for the world of readers. This poem, if published for the first time, and without a known author's name, would find no general reception. Only the poets would save it."

P perchance there is truth in the close of this penetrative *bit* of criticism; but to myself the 'Phoenix and Turtle' has universal elements in it at once of thinking, emotion and form. Its very concinnity and restraint, *e.g.*—compared with the fecundity of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*—differentiate it from all other of Shakespeare's writings. I discern a sense of personal heart-ache and loss in these sifted and attuned stanzas, unutterably precious.

(*d*) WHAT IS THE MESSAGE OR *motif* OF THESE POEMS? I recall that the original title-page informs us that in *Love's Martyr, or Rosalind's Complaint*, we have poems "*Allegorically shadowing the truth of Love.*" I cannot take less out of this than that the author believed he was celebrating a 'true love.' More than that, I cannot explain away the so prominently-given chief title, of *Love's Martyr*, or the subtitle, *Rosalind's Complaint*; which so manifestly folds within it Elizabeth, as the 'Tudor Rose (just as Rosalind in *As You Like It*, is called 'my sweet Rose, my dear Rose,' act i, sc. 2). To me all this means a 'true love' that 'ran not smooth,' that was defeated or never completed, and that led to such anguish as only the awful word 'martyr' could express. With queen Elizabeth, then, as the 'Phoenix,' and as the 'Rosalind' whose 'Complaint' the poems encompass, and Essex as the 'Turtle Dove,' it seems to me unmistakable that ROBERT CHESTER, as a follower not to say partizan of Essex, designed his *Love's Martyr* as *his* message on the consummation of the tragedy of his beheading. That there is nothing beyond the insinuated martyrdom of the title on the scarcely less wrong

than blunder of Elizabeth—the execution of Essex—is to be explained by (1) That the words ‘*long expected labour*’ in the Epistle-dedicatory, intimate that the poems had been composed, substantially, some years before, probably in 1599, when Essex was on his memorable errand to Ireland; (2) That Elizabeth was still alive—and a terrible old lioness still when her pride was touched. The fact that Elizabeth was living when *Love’s Martyr* was published fills me indeed with astonishment at the author’s audacity in so publishing. This, however, is mitigated by these considerations (a) That throughout *Love’s Martyr* there is abundant titillation of her well-known vanity in compliments that ‘sweet fifteen’ only might have looked for; (b) That if we had access to the full *data* it seems manifest that they would show that somehow or other Chester had intimate, almost confidential, knowledge of Elizabeth’s feeling for Essex. Sir John Salisburie, as being ‘Esquier of the body to the Queenes most excellent majesty,’ could tell him much if he, personally, had not access. (c) That in her unlifted melancholy over the death of her favorite, the might-have-been came back upon her with sovran potency and accusation, and perchance imparted a strange satisfaction to her to have it re-called by a mutual friend; much as her Biographers have remarked, she chose to simulate quarrels with Essex, that she might have the pleasure of hearing him defend himself. Throughout Chester fulfilled his word in “The Authors request to the Phœnix” (p. 5), [I] “Endeouored haue to pleafe in praifing thee.”* Even in “Sorowes Ioy” on her death, there seems to me a hint at the martyrdom, *e.g.*:

“ That Pellican who for her peoples good
Shirkt not to spill (alas) her owne deare blood:
That maid, that Pellican.”†

* See Postscript E, for an incident in Elizabeth’s life that vivifies one of Chester’s compliments to her.

† See further quotations in Postscript D.

In the Notes and Illustrations I bring out indubitable allusions that bear us back to Elizabeth's girl-hood, when she was 'suspect' and watched and plotted against by her sister, 'Bloody Mary' (alas! for epithet so tremendous associated with name so holy and tender!)—bear us back to her radiant prime when her marriage was the national hope and prayer—bear us back emphatically, to her first flush of captivation by the glowing eyes and eloquent tongue of Essex; and so onward. That Elizabeth was 'led captive,' there are a hundred proofs. Take one in a bit of a letter of Anthony Bagot to his father in May 1587—"When she [the queen] is abroad, nobody near her but my L. of Essex; and at night, my Lord is at cards, or one game or another with her *that he cometh not to his own lodgings till birds sing in the morning.*"* I find here the *motif* of the poems. Chester interprets with subtlety and power the real 'passion' of Elizabeth for Essex—the actual feeling on her part, that if 'I dare' might wait on 'I would' she should have lifted him to her throne. Our Poet puts himself in her place, and with a boldness incomparable utters out the popular impression that Elizabeth did 'love' Essex. Hence—as I think—those stings of pain, throbs of remorse, cries of self-reproach, 'feeling after' died-out emotion and rapture, that in most unexpected places come out and lay bare that proud, strong, prodigious heart as none else has ever done. I am in the dark as to Robert Chester's relation to Elizabeth; but it is in broad-breaking light that he pierces to the core, while in simple-seeming and even 'skillless' phrase, he tells us in these strange discourings between 'Nature' and the 'Phoenix' the '*truth of Loue.*' This is 'allegorically' done—his phrase is 'allegorically shadowing out'—but beneath the allegory is solid fact.

I care not to go searching for 'scandals against Elizabeth.' The hate of the Jesuits probably manufactured most of them. But I do not see how any one can study the *Life*

* Lives and Letters of the Earls of Essex, as before, vol. i, p. 186.

and Letters of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, as told by Captain Devereux, without having it immovably established to him, that to the close Elizabeth had a deep passion of love for him — thwarted earlier by her sense that it would not do for ‘Queen’ to marry ‘Subject,’ and later by his capricious marriage to the widow of Sidney, but never extirpated and destined to a weary ‘martyrdom’ of resurrection when the decollated body lay in its bloody grave. Except the love-tragedy of Stella and Sidney,* I know nothing more heart-shatteringly tragic — for pathetic is too weak a word — than the ‘great Queen’s’ death-cushion moanings and mutterings over her dead Essex. I, for one, believe in that story of ‘the ring’ as JOHN WEBSTER has put it :

————— “let me die
 In the distraction of that worthy prince
 Who loathed food, and sleep, and ceremony,
 For thought of loving that braue gentleman
 She would faine haue fau’d, had not a falfse conveyance
 Expressed him stubborn-hearted : let me sink
 Where neither man nor memory may e’er find me.” †

That Webster did not thus introduce the ‘ring’ at random seems certain. A hitherto overlooked little book supplies a self-authenticating record of it, as well as other glimpses of Elizabeth that strikingly illustrate *Love’s Martyr*. The title-page is as follows — *Historical Memoirs on the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James*, 1658 (12mo). ‡ The ‘ring’ story and related reflections thus run :

* Poems of Sir Philip Sidney in Fuller Worthies’ Library, and in Chatto and Windus’s *Early English Poets* — with Memorial-Introduction, Essay, &c.

† The Devil’s Law Case, act iii, sc. 3, Dyce’s *Webster*, p. 128, 1 vol., 8vo, 1857.

‡ I am indebted to Dr. Brinsley Nicholson for *supra*. Earlier reference is made (as in *Love’s Martyr*) to Elizabeth’s poetical gift, e.g., “professing herself in public a Muse, then thought something too Theatrical for a virgine Prince” (p. 61). Her prominent part in “the gayeties” of the Court is contrasted with its ceasing after the death of Essex (p. 70). There are also several other passages which speak of her affection for Essex. The introductory heading is “*Traditional Memoirs*,” &c.

“But the Lady of *Nottingham coming to her death-bed* and finding by the daily sorrow the Queene expressed by the losse of Essex, her self a principall agent in his destruction could not be at rest till she had discovered all, and humbly implored mercy from God and *forgivenessse* from her earthly Sovereigne: who did not only refuse to give it, but having shook her as she lay in her bed, sent her accompanied with most fearfull curses to a higher Tribunall. Not long after the Queenes *weaknesse* did appeare mortall, hastened by the wishes of many [Cecil and his circle?] that could not in reason expect pardon for a fault they found she had condemned so severely in her selfe as *to take comfort in nothing after* * * * But upon all occasions of signing Pardons would upbraid the movers for them with the hasty anticipation of that brave man’s end, not to be expiated to the Nations losse by any future endeavours” (p. 95) * * * “[It were] no great hyperbole to affirm the Queene did not only bury Affection but her Power in the Tombe of Essex” (p. 97) * * * * * “For after the blow was given, the Queene presaging by a multitude of tears shed for him, the great drouth was likely to appeare in the eyes of her subjects, when the hand that signed the warrant was cut off, fell into a deep *Melancholy* wherein she died not long after.”*

Each Reader of *Love’s Martyr* will discover for himself its allusions to the real under the avowedly ‘allegorical.’ I would note, in rapidly glancing through the book a few details that are certainly unmistakeable, *e.g.*:

“*Bellona* rau’d at Lordlike cowardice” (p. 9).

One has but to read Essex’s ‘Letters,’ and to master the facts about COBHAM and other ‘coward’ lords in relation to Essex’s ‘Expeditions,’ to perceive the blow of this line.

Of the ‘Phoenix’ we have this:—

“ One rare rich *Phanix* of exceeding beautie,
 One none-like Lillie in the earth I placed;
 One faire *Helena*, to whom men owe dutie:
 One country with a milke-white Doue I graced:
 One and none fuch, since the wide world was found
 Hath euer Nature placed on the ground” (p. 10).

.....

Like to a light bright Angel in her gate:
 For why no creature on the earth but the,
 Is like an Angell, Angell let her be” (p. 14).

The former is the universal language of the period, *e.g.*, Raleigh in his *Cynthia* sings of her as a ‘milk-white Dove’;

* See Postscript F, for a very striking contemporary letter in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh, on the death-bed, &c., of Elizabeth.

the latter was Essex's favourite word. Thus in acknowledging the queen's gift of her portrait in a ring, he writes :

"Most dear Lady,—For your Maj. high and precious favors, namely, for sending this worthy knight to deliver your blessing to this fleet and army, but above all other for your Maj. bestowing on me that *fair angel which you sent to guard me* ; for these, I say, I neither can write words to express my humble thankfulness, nor perform service fit to acknowledge such duty as for these I owe" (*Lives of the Earls of Essex*, as before, vol. i, p. 414).

Here is the 'Queen,' and the proud sovereign of England, speaking, not the mere 'Phoenix' :

"Honor that Isle that is my sure defence" (p. 33, st. 1, l. 7).

Into whose mouth but Elizabeth's could ever such an exclamation have been placed? Then, to render the 'Isle' certain as not some foreign 'Paphos Isle,' but one near England, there succeeds an enumeration and celebration of England's chief cities and sights.

In accord with this, the 'nine (female) Worthies' (pp. 38-40) are appropriate as connected with the 'Phoenix = Queen Elizabeth ; while with equal appropriateness in such case, but only in such case, 'Windsor Castle' and the Knights of the Garter, connect the Queen and King Arthur, and also render the Arthur part of *Love's Martyr* not wholly out of place.

Next, here is self-evidently an Elizabethan fact — danger of no heir to the throne of England if the 'Phoenix' married not :

"This *Phoenix* I do feare me will decay,
And from her ashes neuer will arise
An other Bird her wings for to display,
And her rich beauty for to equalize:
The *Arabian* fiers are too dull and base,
To make another spring within her place" (p. 15).

.

Then thus Ioue spake, tis pittie she should die,
And leaue no ofspring for her Progenie" (p. 17).

That the 'Phoenix' was Queen of Britain is implied in this stanza :

“Nature go hie thee, get thee *Phabus* chaire,
 Cut through the skie, and leaue *Arabia*,
 Leaue that il working peace of fruitlesse ayre,
 Leaue me the plaines of white *Brytania*,
 These countries haue no fire to raise that flame,
 That to this *Phenix* bird can yeeld a name” (p. 17).

That the “delightfome *Paphos* Ile” (p. 17 and onward) was Ireland—whither Essex had gone—let the reader verify by studying its characteristics under all its mythical and impossible assemblage of productions. Specifically it is to be marked and re-marked that from where the ‘Phœnix’ is, *i.e.*, England (p. 32), ‘Paphos ile’ is to be visited, because there the ‘Turtle Doue’ was to be found. The ‘course’ of the chariot-borne pair (‘Nature’ and the ‘Phœnix’), was to be through ‘the blue Azure skie,’ as thus :

——— “ we will ride
 Ouer the Semi-circle of *Eurofa*,
 And bend our course where we will see the Tide,
 That partes the Continent of *Affrica*,
 Where the great *Cham* gouernes *Tartaria* :
 And when the starrie Curtaine vales the night,
 In *Paphos* sacred Ile we meane to light.”* (p. 32, st. 4.)

This might very well have taken us to some ideal island of love, out of space and time, or at least to now much spoken of Cyprus with its renowned love-shrine of Paphos. But the real in the Poet’s thought effaces the ideal ; for no Mediterranean or Aegean is passed, and no ‘vision’ of the

* Probably Chester drew his designation of ‘Paphos Ile’ from his friend Marston’s *Metamorphosis of Pigmaliions Image* (1598) ; in the ‘Argument’ to which he says—“ After Pigmalion (beeing in Cyprus) begat a sonne of her [Venus] which was called Paphos ; whereupon that iland Cyprus, in honor of Venus, was after, and is now, called by the inhabitants, Paphos.” So to at the close of the poem itself

“ Paphos was got ; of whom in after age
 Cyprus was Paphos call’d, and evermore
 Those ilanders do Venus name adore.”

Marston is mistaken— for ‘Paphos’ does not appear ever to have been a name of the entire island of Cyprus—but he was sufficient authority for Chester’s purpose. Marston, be it noted, contributed to the ‘additional poems.’

countries between London and it, is given. Contrariwise—the ‘chief cities’ of *England* are successively described, and *just after leaving London* ‘Paphos Ile’ is reached. As being Ireland, all this is harmonized, but not otherwise. And as being Ireland, Essex, and Essex alone, and Essex in every detail—answers. It may be permitted me to ask the critical weighing of this by my fellow-students of Shakespeare.* Note also Elizabeth’s girlhood and its perils by suspicion and malice (pp. 22, 24, 26); and later her mature age—“Ile drowne my selfe in ripenessse of my Yeares” (p. 29), and again :

Nature. “Raile not gainst *Fortunes* sacred Deitie,
 In youth thy vertuous patience the hath tyred,
 From this base earth thee’le lift thee vp on hie,
 Where in Contents rich Chariot thou shalt ride,
 And neuer with Impatience to abide:
Fortune will glorie in thy great renowne,
 And on thy feathered head will fet a crowne” (p. 31).

i.e., the ‘crown’ of marriage or ‘heauenly crown’ (cf. l. 3, and ll. 4–5.) Then let the reader ‘inwardly digest’ the description of the ‘Turtle Dove’ by the ‘Phoenix’ on arrival in Ireland (‘Paphos Isle’):

Phoenix. “But what sad-mournefull drooping foule is this,
 Within whose watry eyes fits Discontent,
 Whose snail-pac’d gate tels something is amisse:
 From whom is banisht sporting Meriment:
 Whose feathers mowt off, falling as he goes,
 The perfect picture of hart pining woes?

Nature. This is the carefull bird the *Turtle Doue*,
 Whose heauy croking note doth shew his grieffe,
 And thus he wanders seeking of his loue,
 Refusing all things that may yeeld reliefe:
 All motions of good turnes, all Mirth and Ioy,
 Are bad, fled, gone, and false into decay.

* No doubt Chester is anything but skilful in expressing himself and *ceteris paribus*, I should have explained the absence of the ‘vision’ of intervening countries thereby. But *as it is* design not ‘skill-less’-ness is the explanation. At p. 17, st. 3, the Poet intermixes the mythical seat of the ‘Phoenix’ (Arabia) with that of *his* ‘Phoenix’; and so elsewhere. In st. 4, l. 6, ‘a second Phoenix loue’ doubtless points back to the mythical ‘Phoenix’ as = first.

- Phoenix. Is this the true example of the Heart ?
 Is this the Tutor of faire *Constancy* ?
 Is this Loues treafure, and Loues pining finart ?
 Is this the substance of all honesty ?
 And comes he thus attir'd, alas poore foule,
 That Definies foule wrath should thee controule.
- See Nourfe, he stares and lookes me in the face,
 And now he mournes, worfe then he did before,
 He hath forgot his dull slow heavy pace,
 But with swift gate he eyes vs more and more:
 O ihall I welcome him, and let me borrow
 Some of his griefe to mingle with my forrow.
- Nature. Farwell faire bird, Ile leaue you both alone,
 This is the *Doue* you long'd so much to see,
 And this will proue companion of your mone,
 An Vmpire of all true humility:
 Then note my *Phoenix*, what there may ensue,
 And so I kisse my bird. *Adue, Adue.*
- Phoenix. Mother farewell; and now within his eyes,
 Sits forrow clothed in a sea of teares,
 And more and more the billowes do arise:
 Pale Griefe halfe pin'd vpon his brow appeares,
 His feathers fade away, and make him looke,
 As if his name were writ in Deaths pale booke." (pp. 131-2.)

Finally, the words in the 1601 title-page '*constant* fate' have no sense if not = constancy, *i.e.*, to be 'constant,' with martyrdom as the penalty for breaking the fate or decree.

The letters of Essex to Elizabeth are a commentary on the whole of this. One of the many remarkable, very remarkable letters of Essex to Elizabeth, preserved among the Hulton *MSS.*, may be accepted as a type of the others. It is suggestive of a great deal.

"Madam.— The delights of the place cannot make me unmindful of one in whose sweet company I have joyed as much as the happiest man doth in his highest contentment; and if my horse could run as fast as my thoughts do fly, I would as often make mine eyes rich in beholding the treasure of my love, as my desires do triumph when I seem to myself in a strong imagination to conquer your resisting will. Noble and dear lady, though I be absent, let me in your favour be second unto none; and when I am at home, if I have no right to dwell chief in so excellent a place, yet will I usurp upon all the world. And so making myself as humble to do you service, as in my love I am ambitious, I

wish your Majesty all your happy desires. Croydon, this Tuesday, going to be mad and make my horse tame. Of all men the most devoted to your service.

[1593.]

R. Essex.*

Love's Martyr throughout, as between the 'Phoenix' and 'Turtle Dove,' makes it a mutual contest, of subduing the 'Will,' one of the other. So is it in Elizabeth's letters to Essex, and her sayings of him earlier and later.

That the 'passion' and 'truth of love' were reciprocal; that Essex apart from ambition, felt that if he was worthy of Elizabeth, Elizabeth was worthy of him; I cannot for a moment doubt. There are words—glowing and *alive*—intensities of appeal, wistfulness of longing and odd capriciousnesses of jealousy that only reality can explain. Let the Reader turn to his Letters to Elizabeth and of Elizabeth to him; let him even look within the mad out-break of his rush over from Ireland and straight going into 'the presence,' and he will be satisfied that a personal experience lay behind all that, to which nothing short of 'truth of love' in the Past, gives congruity or meaning.† Let his Poems also speak for him. Curiously enough in his *Loyal Appeal in Courtesy*, we have the line

“ O let no Phoenix look vpon a Crowe.”

[*Anjou?*]

and these exclamations follow :—

“ Woe to the world the sonne is in a cloude
And darkfome mifts doth ouerrunne the day
In hope, Concept is not content allow'd,
Fauour must dye & Fancye weare away :
Oh Heauens what Hell ! The bands of Loue are broken
Nor must a thought of such a thing be spoken.

* *Lives*, as before, vol. i, p. 292.

† In the volume of 1658 (already quoted from) it is expressly stated that Cecil had laid a trap for Essex; caused him to get news of the Queen's illness and even death, and embargoed all other vessels, hoping that Essex would join with Tyrone and others, and cross to England at the head of his army. His sudden appearance with but few followers disconcerted Cecil's plot, who had troops ready to oppose him. There seems no reason to doubt the authenticity and good faith of the volume of 1658.

Mars muft become a coward in his mynde
 While Vulcan ftandes to prate of Venus toyes :
 Beautie muft fee me to go againft her kinde
 In croffing Nature in her sweeteft ioyes.
 But ah no more, it is too much to thinke
 So pure a mouth fhould puddle-watters drinke !

But fince the world is at this woefull paffe,
 Let Loue's fubmiffion Honour's wrath appeafe :
 Let not an Horfe be matched with an Affe,
 Nor hateful tongue an happie hart difeafe :
 So fhall the world commend a sweet conceipt
 And humble Fayth on heavenly Honour waite."

I fuppose *that* was for Anjou. Then "The Buzzeinge Bees' Complaint" will reward full thinking-out. It thus closes :

" Ffive years twice tould, wth promafes perfum'd,
 My hope-ftuffte heede was caft into a flumber ;
 Sweete dreams of golde ; on dreames I then perfum'd
 And 'mongft the bees thought I was in the number."

"The False, Forgotten" is a wail of a bruised heart, *e.g.*

" Loue is dead and thou free,
 She doth lye but dead to thee.

 When fhe lou'd thee beft a whylle,
 See how ftyll fhe did delay thee :
 Vying fhewes for to beguylle
 Thofe vayne hopes w^{ch} haue betrayd y^e.
 Now thou feeft butt all too late
 Loue loues truth, w^{ch} women hate."

His 'Cantvs' is explicit enough, *e.g.*

" I loued her whom all the world admird,
 I was refus'de of her that can loue none :
 AND MY VAINE HOPES WHICH FAR TOO HIGH ASPIR'DE
 IS DEAD AND BURI'D AND FOR EUER GONE."*

By the necessities of semi-revelation, semi-concealment, there are things in *Love's Martyr* that might be brought up

* I have collected the Poems of Essex in my *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library*, vol. iv, pp. 430-450.

in objection to our interpretation ; but the lines, otherwise, are so deep and broad and sure that I cannot think it possible to erase them. Fact and fiction however are inter-blended, *e.g.*, the ending of the poem-proper by the Author's evident wish, furtively to pay homage to James, introduces a disturbing element into our interpretation ; but this and other accidents cannot be permitted to affect the substance of the *motif* of these poems. The word 'allegorical' covers all such accidents.*

(e) WHAT IS THE RELATION BETWEEN THE 'NEW COMPOSITIONS' AND 'LOVE'S MARTYR'? In the original title-page is this explanation : " *To these are added some new compositions, of severall moderne Writers whose names are subscribed to their severall workes, upon the first subiect: viz. the Phoenix and Turtle.*" This makes it plain that these 'new compositions' of those 'moderne Writers' in 1601, were intended to celebrate precisely what *Love's Martyr* celebrated. So that granted, my premiss, *viz.*, that *Love's Martyr* had the *motif* and message for which I have argued, we have SHAKESPEARE, BEN JONSON, GEORGE CHAPMAN, JOHN MARSTON and others (anonymous), siding (so-to-say) with Robert Chester in doing honour to Essex. I do not greatly concern myself with any in this matter save one — SHAKESPEARE. Now, one may be sure in one's own mind of his admiration, in common with the Nation, for Essex, though the proofs be comparatively slight in themselves. But with this 'new composition' super-added, the conviction deepens. Omitting the 'Phoenix and Turtle' for the moment, there are three things that favour the view that Shakespeare sympathized with Essex.

1. There is the great praise in the Chorus of *Henry V* :

* Were it not that *Love's Martyr* was certainly published in 1601 and left unchanged (except by withdrawal of preliminary pages) one might have deemed p. 37, st. 2, a later insertion concerning James. As it is, it is impossible. The explanation is, that James was for long set down as Elizabeth's heir-presumptive.

“ But now behold,
 In the quick Forge and working-houfe of Thought,
 How London doth powre out her Citizens,
 The Maior and all his Brethren in best fort,
 Like to the Senatours of th’ antique Rome,
 With the Plebeians fwarming at their heeles,
 Goe forth and fetch their Conqu’ring *Cæfar* in :
 As by a lower, but by louing likelyhood,
 Were now the Generall of our gracious Empreffe,
 As in good time he may, from Ireland comming,
 Bringing Rebellion broached on his Sword :
 How many would the peacefull Citie quit,
 To welcome him ?” (Act v, sc. 1 (Chorus).

This splendid tribute is so brought in by head and shoulders on very purpose to win hearts for Essex, that it is scarcely possible to doubt that Shakespeare was for him pronouncedly, maugre the evil-speaking and jealousies and enmities of the day in ‘high places.’ This is one of those asides that take new significance from the circumstances under which it was introduced. It may, or may not, have been an after-thought and insertion. In either case its significance and declarativeness of opinion and sympathy is untouched.

2. The acting of *Richard II*, before Essex made his final wild and ill-advised attempt. There was probably in the minds of those who thus acted a Play so full of warning to princes who pushed their right to edge of wrong, suggestive *bits* in the Play that might be meant to be caught up. But there is no proof that Shakespeare himself was concerned in the coincidental playing, or that he knew what such playing was meant to precede. Neither do I think that Shakespeare would have countenanced Essex in so unwise an act, albeit I never can think it was born of disloyalty to his ‘great Queen.’ I do not, therefore, receive the playing of *Richard II* as proof that Shakespeare was a partizan of Essex’s. Yet is the thing noteworthy.

3. The silence of Shakespeare on the death of Elizabeth. Amid the abounding elegies and eulogies contemporaneous

and later, you search in vain for anything by Shakespeare. Every one knows that he was reproached in print for his silence. I regard it as specially memorable. Inferentially I take it as *his* verdict for Essex. Perhaps equally worthy of note is his after-compliment to James; for *he* was the friend of Essex's friends. Southampton's close relations with Essex also furnished an element of alienation from Elizabeth to Shakespeare.

Any further evidence, even if it be slight, is important. And further evidence I find in the 'new composition' of the 'Phoenix and Turtle' contributed by Shakespeare to *Love's Martyr*. The fact of such a contribution by him is, in itself, noticeable. For while Ben Jonson and Chapman and others contemporary lavished their 'Commendatory Verses,' Shakespeare, with this solitary exception, wrote none as he sought none. This surely imparts special significance to the exception.

Internally, the 'Phoenix and Turtle' is on the same lines with *Love's Martyr*. To my mind there is pathos in the lament over the 'Tragique Scene.' Essex himself, as we have seen—and his Letters to Elizabeth that are still open to be read, have the same burden—had sung

" I am not liuing, though I feeme to go,
Already buried in the graue of wo " (p. 133).

and earlier,

" Loue is dead,"

and in the *Threnos*, Shakespeare regards not the beheaded Essex only, but his 'Phoenix' too as dead :

" Truth may feeme, but cannot be,
Beautie bragge, but tis not she,
Truth and Beautie buried be.

To this vrne let those repaire,
That are either true or faire,
For thefe dead Birds, sigh a prayer " (p. 184).

En passant 'Imogen' later is named 'the dead bird' (*Cymbeline*.)

All this, be it noted, fits in with the 'allegorical shadowing out' of *Love's Martyr*; for therein BOTH die. Thus, after the 'Turtle Dove' has craved "pardon for presumption's foule offence" (p. 133), and avowed his life-weariness much as Essex's letters to Elizabeth did, he is strengthened to endure and prepared for his own and her martyrdom (*Love's Martyr*), e.g.:

Phoenix. "Come poore lamenting foule, come fit by me,
We are all one, thy sorrow shall be mine,
Fall thou a teare, and thou shalt plainly see,
Mine eyes shall answer teare for teare of thine:
Sigh thou, Ile sigh, and if thou give a grone,
I shall be dead in answering of thy mone" (p. 134).

After exactly such love-talk as we can imagine between Elizabeth and Essex, when after inevitable quarrelling there came as inevitable reconciliation (pp. 134-36), their twin-death—the death of "Truth and Beautie" (the 'dead Birds,' Phoenix and Turtle Dove, of Shakespeare) is set before us. We have, first, the relation:

Phoenix. "Then to you next adioyning groue we'll flye,
And gather sweete wood for to make our flame,
And in a manner sacrificingly,
Burne both our bodies to reuiue one name:
And in all humbleness we will intreate
The hot earth-parching Sunne to lend his heate" (p. 136).

Then the tragedy itself, which I ask the reader to ponder (pp. 138-9). Both are 'dead' in the pathetic and suggestive close:

Phoenix. "O holy, sacred, and pure perfect fire,
More pure then that ore which faire Dido mones,
More sacred in my louing kind desire,
Then that which burnt old *Efons* aged bones,
Accept into your euer hallowed flame,
Two bodies, from the which may spring one name.

Turtle. O sweet perfumed flame, made of those trees,
Vnder the which the *Muses* nine haue song
The praise of vertuous maids in miseries,
To whom the faire-fac'd *Nymphes* did often throng;
Accept my body as a Sacrifice
Into your flame, of whom one name may rise.

Phœnix. O wilfulneffe, see how with smiling cheare,
 My poore deare hart hath flong himselfe to thrall,
 Looke what a mirthfull countenance he doth beare,
 Spreading his wings abroad, and ioyes withall:
 Learne thou corrupted world, learne, heare, and see,
 Friendships unspotted true sincerity.

I come sweet *Turtle*, and with my bright wings,
 I will embrace thy burnt bones as they lye,
 I hope of these another Creature springs,
 That shall possesse both our authority:

I stay to long, ô take me to your glory,

And thus I end the *Turtle* Doues true story" (pp. 138-9).

I ask further, that the 'Comment' of the 'Pellican' (pp. 139-41) be critically studied. Finally, I recall the title-page of the 'new compositions' thus: — Hereafter follow diverse Poeticall Effaiies on the former Subiect; viz: the *Turtle* and *Phœnix*." This explains how, in Shakespeare's 'Phœnix and Turtle' and 'Threnos,' both are dead ('dead Birds'), though Elizabeth was still living in her great anguish.

I ask special attention to this; for otherwise the close of his 'Phœnix and Turtle,' as not conformable to history, will perplex and be regarded as not pointing to Elizabeth and Essex. I must iterate and reiterate that (a) The 1601 title-page expressly states that the "new compositions" (and so Shakespeare's) were "upon the first subiect: viz., the Phœnix and Turtle," and again, were "diverse Poeticall Effaiies on the former Subiect; viz: the *Turtle* and *Phœnix*." (b) The story is 'allegorically' told, as a 'shadowing out' of the 'truth of loue'—a very different thing from bare historic data. (c) The title 'Love's *Martyr*' meant infinitely more than 'death' itself. To conform therefore to *Love's Martyr* and to fall in with the 'allegory,' Shakespeare, like Chester, represents BOTH as dead ('dead Birds'). There might indeed be policy and wariness alike in Chester and Shakespeare in such representation.

Let the reader take with him the golden key that by 'Phœnix' Shakespeare intended Elizabeth, and by the 'Dove' Essex, and the 'Phœnix and Turtle,' hitherto re-

garded as a mere enigmatical epicedial lay — as already seen — will be recognized as of rarest interest. I cannot say that I see my way through it all — st. 5 (p. 182) I do not quite understand; but it is a mere accident of the poem. But I do see that Shakespeare went with Robert Chester in grief for Essex, and in sad-heartedness that the ‘truth of love’ had not been accomplished. Herein I find, likewise — I would re-impress — why it was that Shakespeare, though well-nigh stung to do it in print, wrote nothing on the death of Elizabeth.*

The other ‘new compositions’ are of unequal value. Our Notes and Illustrations invite attention to certain *points* in them. They all go to confirm our interpretation of the ‘allegory’ of the ‘Phoenix’ and the ‘Turtle Dove.’ As I read, all from p. 190 to the end belongs to Ben Jonson (spelled ‘Iohnson’ as he was himself wont in earlier years). I only add that Gifford, after his unhappy manner (with Cunningham following suit), has deplorably corrupted the text of these poems of Jonson — as I record in the Notes and Illustrations. Probably Jonson wrote also the ‘Chorus Vatum.’

(*f*) WAS THE 1611 ISSUE ONLY A NUMBER OF COPIES OF THE ORIGINAL OF 1601, LESS THE PRELIMINARY MATTER AND A NEW TITLE-PAGE? I answer — yes. The identity of the two books — as thus put — is certain. Not only do all the signatures correspond, but the mis-pagings, 5 for 11, 41 for 14, 59 for 63, are the same. Then, the spur of the L in *Libanon*, p. 10, l. 5 (=p. 18), is off in both; a broken O, p. 71, l. 3 from foot, is the same in both; a turned ‘e,’ spaces, dislocated letters, &c., are all the same. It is also to be specially observed that the 1601 title-page of the “new compositions” is retained in the 1611 copies. All (in our reproduction) preceding the title-page of 1611, belongs to the copies of 1601 alone. The new title-page misspells ‘Annals’ as ‘Anuals,’ which suggests that Chester did not get

* See Postscript G.

a proof—if indeed proofs were then given to Authors—albeit on the instant having occasion to turn to Bp. Ellicott's *New Testament Commentary for English Readers* (1878), I find in the first line of his lordship's Preface, this similar slip—"The present Commentary may in many respects" for, of course, 'many.' As elsewhere noticed, Chester omits his own name in the new title-page of 1611. In naming the book no longer *Love's Martyr*, seeing that Elizabeth and Essex were long dead, and a new sovereign—King James I—reigning, there was policy. There was policy too in describing the book as *Annals of great Brittain*; for in the Poems, Scotland is scarcely named, and 'great Brittain' might salve any offence to the royal stickler for his authority and dignity. Besides, in 1601 the Arthur portion is an episode in the poem of *Love's Martyr or Rosalins Complaint*; but in 1611 the episode becomes (in the title-page) the main poem, albeit even then Love's Martyr's story is a part of the 'Annals.'

(g) WHAT IS THE POETIC VALUE OF "LOVE'S MARTYR"? Speaking generally, I do not rate Robert Chester as a poet very high. The poem of *Love's Martyr* wants proportion in its parts. The opening has a certain brightness (pp. 1-6), and the brightness returns when the 'Annals' being ended the Poet resumes with this 'Note'—" & now, to where we left." The 'Annals' themselves are thinly done. With Arthur for main theme they look meagre and prosaic beside the old stories of the 'renowned Prince,' such as Mr. Furnivall has furnished us in his golden little book, and such as the 'Legend' of many Chronicles—verse and prose—furnish, and placed beside the purple splendour of our Laureate's celebration.* Sooth to say, his 'singing' of

* With reference to Chester's address "To the courteous Reader" my ever-obliging friend, Mr. Furnivall, has sent me a number of notes on the various Arthurian romances and *MSS.*, and through M. Paulin Paris, further. I must content myself with a reference to the numerous Arthurian publications in

Flowers and Plants and Trees, Birds and Beasts and Fish, and precious Stones and Shells and Minerals grows wearisome; although there are *bits* of Folk-Lore and quaint myths and superstitions in wonderful fulness and variety. Whatever he felt inclined to write, or whatever came into his head, of which he could manufacture a few or even a couple of stanzas, is brought in by Chester. The book is, in fact, an *omnium gatherum*. It is just possible that this jungle of irrelevances was of design, that he might conceal in hidden brake (if I may so speak) the fair flowers and fragrances and tendernesses of the story he celebrates in *Love's Martyr*. I question if Elizabeth had chanced on the volume during the dim sad days that succeeded the death of Essex, that she would have persevered to read or to listen.

The poetry itself, is, as a rule, poor. There are almost innumerable instances of lines and phrases inserted, more to complete the rhythm and rhyme, than for reason's sake. For the same reason there are not a few forced, and I might almost say, unidiomatic constructions. Only "few and far between" have we aught of inspiration or of fine expression. All the more remarkable is it that Chester so dared to interpret the popular belief of what Essex was to Elizabeth.

But with every abatement I can promise a sympathetic reader that he will come, now and again, on "brave translunary things." Thus in the description of the Person of the 'Phœnix,' that is of Elizabeth, you have daintinesses that make you pause, *e.g.*:

Her Hair.

"When the leaf whiffling wind begins to fing,
And gently blowes her haire about her necke,

England and France. Suffice it that the most unlikely-looking, viz., the Greek, has been published by F. Michel in his *Tristram* (Pickering), albeit it refers, says M. Paulin Paris, not to *Tristram*, as he supposed, but to *Guiron le Courtois*; and there are other Greek Arthur celebrations. M. Paulin Paris, is amused with Chester's credulity, and writes — that it reminds him of a respected friend, the Marquis of ———, who asked, "Can I doubt of the existence of Homer when I possess his bust and portrait?" See Hazlitt's *Warton*, *s. n.*

Like to a chime of bells it soft doth ring,
 And with the pretty noise the wind doth checke,
 Able to lull asleepe a penitue hart,
 That of the round worlds forrowes beares a part" (p. 10).

Eyes.

" Under this mirrour, are her princely eyes:
 Two Carbuncles, two rich imperiall lights;
 That ore the day and night do soueraignize,
 And their dimme tapers to their rest the frights:
 Her eyes excell the Moone and glorious Sonne,
 And when she riseth al their force is donne" (p. 11).

Cheekes.

" Her morning-coloured cheekes, in which is plac'd,
 A Lillie lying in a bed of Roses;
 This part aboue all other I haue grac'd,
 For in the blew veines you may reade sweet poesies:
 When she doth blush, the Heauens do wax red,
 When she lookes pale, that heauenly Front is dead" (*Ibid.*)

Chin.

" Her chinne a litle litle pretie thing
 In which the sweet carnatian Gelli-flower,
 Is round encompass't in a christall ring,
 And of that pretie Orbe doth beare a power:
 No storme of Enuie can this glorie touch,
 Though many should assay it ouermuch" (*Ibid.*)

Lips.

" Her lippes two rubie Gates from whence doth spring,
 Sweet honied deaw by an intangled kisse,
 From forth these glories doth the Night-bird sing,
 A Nightingale that no right notes will misse:
 True learned Eloquence and Poetrie,
 Do come betweene these dores of excellencie" (*Ibid.*)

Hands.

" Her hands are fortunes palmes, where men may reade
 His first houres destiny, or weale or woe,
 When she this sky-like map abroad doth spreade,
 Like pilgrimes many to this Saint do go,
 And in her hand, white hand, they there do see
 Loue lying in a bed of yuorie" (p. 13).

Fingers.

" Her fingers long and small do grace her hand;
 For when she toucheth the sweete founding Lute,

The wild vntamed beafts amaz'd do stand,
And carroll-chanting birds are fudden mute:
O fingers how you grace the filuer wires,
And in humanitie burne *Venus* fires!" (*Ibid.*)

Feet.

" And if by night she walke, the Marigold,
That doth inclofe the glorie of her eye,
At her approach her beauty doth vnfold,
And fpreads her felfe in all her royaltie,
Such vertue hath this Phoenix glaffy fhield,
That Flowers and Herbs at her faire fight do yeeld" (p. 14.)

There is occasionally a pleasant 'smoothneffe' and harmony, as in the 'Phoenix' in her lament for her years so swiftly passing away without a mate, *e.g.*:

" What is my Beauty but a vading Flower?
Wherein men reade their deep-conceiued Thrall,
Alluring twentie Gallants in an hower,
To be as feruile vaffalls at my Call?
My Sunne-bred lookes their Senfes do exhall:
But (ô my grieffe) where my faire Eyes would loue,
Foule bleare-eyed Enuie doth my thoughts reprooue.

What is my Vertue but a Tablitorie:
Which if I did beftow would more increafe?
What is my Wit but an inhumane glorie:
That to my kind deare friends would proffer peace?
But O vaine Bird, give ore in filence, ceafe;
Malice perchaunce doth hearken to thy words,
That cuts thy thread of Loue with twentie fwords"

(pp. 25-6).

Equally flowing, and informed with a subdued passion is 'Nature's' remonstrance:

" Is this the fumme and fubftance of thy woe?
Is this the Anker-hold vnto thy bote?
Is this thy Sea of Griefe doth ouerflow?
Is this the Riuer fets thy fhipe afloate?
Is this the Leffon thou haft leam'd by rote?
And is this all? and is this plot of Ground
The fubftance of the Theame doth thee confound?" (p. 30).

There are also now terse and now vivid things, *e.g.*:

Luft.

“ . . . Luft is fuch a hot inflamed thing
It gouerneth mans fenfes, rules a King ” (p. 45).

Cities.

“ Great peopled Cities, whose earth-gracing shew,
Time is afham'd to touch or ouerthrow ” (p. 33).

Polution.

“ Hels damned fent with this may not compare ” (p. 28),

Majefty.

“ Stand by faire Phoenix, fspread thy Wings of Gold,
And daunt the face of Heauen with thine Eye ” (p. 27).

Cleanfing.

“ . . . the white fnow the fhall excell in whiteneffe ” (p. 22).

White-luftre of neck.

“ . . . More glorious then the day with all his light ” (p. 12).

Lady's hand.

“ Then by the lawne-like Hand he tooke his louer ” (p. 51).

Troops.

“ His barbed Horfes beat the yeelding ground,
And with their neighing terrifide their foe,
Proud of their riders, in whose harts are found
A promife to the Romanes ouerthrow.
The gliftering fhine of their well-fashion'd armour,
Tels all men here doth ride a Conquerour ” (p. 71-72).

Slaughter.

“ . . . all the greene graffe with their bloud they died ” (p. 75).

Arthur.

. “ they found King Arthurs skull,
Of fuch great largeneffe that betwixt his eyes,
His forehead's fpace a fpanne broad was at full ” (p. 82).

Diamond.

“ The *Diamond* the worlds reflecting eye,
The *Diamond* the heauens bright fhining ftarre,
The *Diamond* the earths moft pureft glorie:
And with the *Diamond* no ftone can compare;
She teacheth men to fpeake, and men to loue,
If all her rareft vertues you will proue ” (p. 111).

The “ fire burns ” and flames o' times, *e.g.*:

True and false loue.

Turtle. " False loue puts on a Maske to shade her folly,
True loue goes naked wishing to be feene,
False loue will counterfeite perpetually,
True love is Troths sweete emperizing Queene:
This is the difference, true Loue is a jewell,
False loue, hearts tyrant, inhumane, and cruell.

.....

Phoenix. Thou shalt not be no more the *Turtle-Doue*,
Thou shalt no more go weeping al alone,
For thou shalt be my selfe, my perfect Loue,
Thy griefe is mine, thy forrow is my mone,
Come kiffe me sweetest sweete, O I do bleffe
This gracious luckie Sun-shine happineffe" (p. 135).

The "Cantoës, alphabet-wise, to faire Phoenix made by the Paphian Dove" (pp. 142-48), and "Cantoës, verbally written" (pp. 149-75), fold within them real love-passion, though arbitrarily fettered in its expression. The more I study these the more I am impressed with Chester's evident knowledge of the secret history of Essex and Elizabeth. There are touches and allusions throughout that I can explain alone by interchange of conversation between the Poet and Essex, if, indeed, Elizabeth herself is to be excluded. The songs of "Nature" (pp. 86-7) and of "The Phoenix" (pp. 87-8) have the indefinable graciousness of Elizabethan poetry.

Besides all this, there are a number of current poetic phrases of the day, such as we would look for in such a poet. And while some of them — as pointed out in Notes and Illustrations — are used by Shakespeare, there is in my judgment some probability for thinking that these are not casual coincidences. He clearly alludes, in the lines "To the kind Reader" (p. 6), to the Rape of Lucrece; and doubtless he had also his *Venus and Adonis*, and not improbably saw and heard some of the plays. Not only would these things be natural in a young man of his birth, but I think I can detect in some of his lines a reflex or remembrance of the rhythm of Shakespeare's lines. There

is, also, the unforgettable fact that Shakespeare, with special exceptionalness, gave his 'new compositions' to the book; also, that all the known contributors were Dramatists, and connected with the theatre.*

Altogether, few I hope will differ from me in affirming that it had been pity to have left *Love's Martyr* in the hazards of a couple of known exemplars (at most);—literary and historical loss longer to have allowed such a book to be inaccessible to Shakespearian students. I indulge the expectation that my interpretations of the 'truth of love' in the story of the 'Phœnix' and 'Turtle Dove' will take their place as a substantive addition to our critical literature, and give new interest and its true meaning to Shakespeare's incomparable 'Phœnix and Turtle.'

(/i) WHO WAS 'TORQUATO CÆLIANO'? By accident or design Chester has here combined the Christian name of TASSO, and the surname of one of the minor poets of Italy of the same period. The following little book was probably known to Chester:

RIME
DI DIVERSI
CELEBRI POETI
Dell' età nostra:
novamente raccolte.
ē poste in luce
in bergamo, M. DLXXXVII.
Per Comino Ventura, e Compagni.

Pp. 95-148 consists of selections from the *Rime* of Livio Celiano; and then pp. 149-81 of similar selections from Torquato Tasso—the latter immediately following Celiano's. Whether this circumstance led our Poet to misremember the name of the "venerable Italian Poet"

* The conjunction of Ben Jonson and Marston in the book in 1601 is of special interest; for it was in the same year Jonson produced his *Poetaster*, attacking Dekker and Marston. See Ward's *Eng. Drama, s.n.* Later (1604-5), Jonson, Chapman, and Marston, were together in prison for *Eastward Hoe*.

under whose mask — as a professed translator — he had elected to sing *Love's Martyr*, we can only guess. Certes the selections from Celiano, in the small volume of Geo. Battista Licinio, contain nothing whatever to justify Chester's description of *Love's Martyr* as a translation; as, indeed, the entire scope and substance of his poems forbid.

It is further to be remembered that, while in the 1601 title-page the Poems are designated translations, in the second title-page of 1611 this is withdrawn, and its native origin and growth affirmed, *e.g.*, "*The Annals [= Annals] of Great Brittain*. Or A Most Excellent Monument, wherein may be seene all the antiquities of this Kingdome." Our late-given interpretation of the main subject of *Love's Martyr* and related Poems, reveals that the author's own consciousness of their 'burden' would make him very willing to be mistaken for a translator, rather than to be known as the actual composer of such 'perilous stuff.' Notwithstanding willing helpers at home and in Turin, Florence and Rome, I have not succeeded in obtaining, or so much as hearing of, an *exemplar* of any edition of the Poems of Livio Celiano.* Quadrio mentions also this: "*Celiano (Livio) Rime*. Pavia, 1592." I have no expectation that, were this other volume before me, any ground-work for *Love's Martyr* would be found in it. For Chester's poems are English throughout, with no touch of Italian grace or melody or such allusions as were inevitable in any actual translation of an Italian poet. In the British Museum copy of the selections of 1587, some former possessor informs us that Celiano was a native of Genoa. I cherish the pleasures of hope that some specialist may hereafter enable me to recover the *Rime* of 1592, and perchance other works of Livio Celiano. In such case I shall not fail to communicate the result. Meantime Dr. Todhunter of Dublin — author

* I owe special thanks to my friends E. W. Gosse, Esq.; W. M. Rossetti, Esq.; Dr. Steele, Rome; and Messrs. Dulau and Co., London. Mr. Gosse guided me to the Selections in the British Museum.

of *Laurella and other Poems*, having the genuine mint-mark — has most kindly favoured me with verse-renderings of some of Celiano's love-lays, as typical. The translations are as close to the original as for our object was deemed needful. I have now to give them, as follows :

The Lovers Parallel.

This lovely new-born plant,
Whose grace doth so enchant,
Mimics that maiden fair
Whose virgin beauty is my life's despair.

It in earth's heavy crust
Its delicate roots has thrust;
Her's round its cisterns deep
Of my life-drained heart do cling and creep.

It a sweet river laves,
Her my full eyes' sad waves;
It joys in sun and air,
She in the warm sighs of my love's despair.

It hath its leaflets green
Her tresses fair, my Queen;
It hath its glowing flowers,
She her sweet face, like roses after showers.

But it with fruit is graced
Most pleasant to the taste;
Bitter is hers, heigho !
Gall of my life, since I desire it so !

The Envious Lover.

O many-coloured flowers !
Joy of the meadows; and ye verdurous leaves !
Ye whole beloved brood
Of Earth's great motherhood,
How do I envy your thrice-happy state !
When you the hot noontide grieves
The blessed dawn bedews your fainting bud;
And ah ! how happier far
Than me ye are,
When the beloved feet
Ye bend to kiss, of my Urania sweet;
And how in your frail form I long to be
When in her lap she takes you tenderly !

The Lover's Complaint.

1.

Who would behold a park
Of trees, thick-planted, dark ;
Let him come see my daily-piercéd heart,
Thick full of arrows, full of cruel smart :
Thus Love hath shewn his art !

2.

Who would behold a sea
Of tears wept hopelessly ;
Let him come see the wells of bitter brine
Which night and day I weep from out my eyne :
Thus Love's poor captives pine !

3.

Who would behold a pyre
Of hell's eternal fire ;
Let him come see my bosom, full of flame,
Tormented with love's craving and love's shame :
Thus Love doth write his name !

4.

And she desires to know
The cause of all this woe —
Why Love hath made of me park, sea, and hell,
Let him know this my tigress, loved too well,
So fair, but ah ! so fell !

The Lover's Plea.

1.

If I might pleasure thee
By crying: "Woe is me !"
"Woe's me ! woe's me !" a thousand times I'd scream,
So I might compass all my blissful dream !

2.

Or if by sighing deep
Thy favour I could keep,
If that would win thy pity for my plight,
Sweet heavens ! I'd sigh all day and sigh all night !

3.

Or if when I should cry
"Oh help me, sweet, I die !"
Thy comfortable presence I might have,
How oft I'd pray thee lift me from the grave !"

4

Alas ! I still may sigh,
 "Woe's me !" for ever cry,
 And crave thy help in my despairful state;
 All will not serve to change my cruel fate !

It only remains to state that, throughout, my anxious aim has been to reproduce the book in absolute fidelity to the original. Below, I record certain errors of the original and other minor points.* I would, in conclusion, express my very cordial sense of obligation to the various friends who have aided me in my labour. I have to add to the names that appear in their places, that of the Rev. W. E. BUCKLEY, M.A., of Middleton Cheney, for excellent aid in tracing Chester's classical and other quotations; but I wish emphatically to reiterate my gratitude to Dr. BRINSLEY NICHOLSON for his sustained and minute carefulness of reading after and with me, and giving me the benefit of his ripe acquaintance with Elizabethan-Jacobean literature. I send forth the book, especially my Introduction and Notes and Illustrations, with less hesitancy, that he has read the whole, and approved, if not in every detail, yet substantially. I have to thank my friend Professor DOWDEN for several suggestions that have been utilized.

And so I invite thee, 'gentle Reader,' to the thoughtful perusal of this ancient book, in the light and shadow of my interpretation of its 'shadowing the truth of love,'—viz., as telling the story of Elizabeth and Essex, with Shakespeare's version as well. I regard it as no common honour to address so 'fit audience.' I confidently count on every genuine fellow-student of Shakespeare receiving generously my endeavour and *weighing* text and notes together. HENRY ELLISON—subtle and vivid Singer of our generation, and destined to be more amply recognized a century hence—may close these introductory words :

" Oh turn unto the days of yore,
 When Faith her martyr-sons could name;
 And Liberty's untainted lore,
 From heart to heart, passed as a flame.

* See Postscript H.

Oh turn unto the days when Faith
 Could build cathedral piles thro' love;
And hosts therein, as with one breath,
 Their true heart-offering sent above !
Oh turn unto the days of old,
 When unprovèd all, and free,
Old songs were sung, old tales were told,
 And Hall and Bower rang to their glee.
Turn ye unto the times I say,
 When noble thoughts were welcome more
To English ears, than at this day
 Vile clinking gold, by knaves told o'er !
Oh turn ye to the household laws,
 The fireside laws of Peace and Love;
Where Wisdom feeds her little ones,
 And fashions them for Him above !
Oh turn unto our Shakespeare's page,
 And read of Harry's chivalry;
Of gallant deeds, which are a gage
 For like unto Posterity.
Oh then shall Freedom on Time's lyre
 Strike with a willing hand the strain
Of olden days; and Hampden's fire,
 And Milton's tongue, be heard again !
Then Faith shall have her martyr-names,
 Tho' not fire-tested be their worth,
And patient Charity, who tames
 Old hatreds, give to Love new birth !
Then Freedom's bright electric chain
 Shall stretch o'er hamlet, town, and tower;
And good old songs be heard again
 In knightly hall, in cot, and bower !
Then too my Fatherland, thy fame
 With rainbow-breadth once more shall rise;
Scattering the storms thro' which it came,
 Like dawn unto long watcher's eyes !
And thus, when thou must sink again
 Within thine own eternal Sea;
The guardian-angels still their strain
 Shall sing, and hail thee, 'bless'd and free.'*

* *Madmoments*, vol. i, pp. 99-100, 'On hearing an eld-time song.'

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

St. George's Vestry, Blackburn, Lancashire.
August, 1878.

POSTSCRIPT.

A. Page viii.

Epistle-dedicatory of *The Christian Exercise of Fasting, Private and Publike &c.* 1596.

“To the right worshipfull and his very Christian good friend, master Robert Chester, Esquier &c. mercie and peace in Iesvs Christ.

“I must look for many aduersaries, for the greatest part hath euer declined from pietie to superstition and prophanenes. Therefore, (right worshipfull) I come vnto you for protection of Gods trueth : being the more bolde to aske this fauor, because I am so well assured of your loue thereunto, and full resolution to defend the same with al your might during life. Againe, I haue nowe for many yeares knowen your Christian loue towards me for the truths sake. I desire to testifie my hearts affection towards you in the best manner that I can. The most blessed spirit of Iesus Christ guide and gouerne your spirit, keepe and comfort you and all yours. Februarie 12. 1596.

“Yours assuredly euer to vse in Iesus Christ during life. Henry Holland.”

Judging from this Epistle one must conclude that Chester was of the Puritan side as against the Papal. Essex was avowedly with the Puritans.

B. Page ix.

Abstract of Sir Robert Chester's Will, made by Dr. Joseph Lemuel Chester, London.

“I, Robert Chester, of Royston, in the county of Herts, Knight”—dated 3 May 1638—to be buried at Royston, next the body of my sister Mrs. Mary Thornburgh—to my wife all my plate, jewels, household stuff, goods, chattels, &c., in my mansion house called Cockenhatch and in and upon my lands in Barkway and elsewhere in co. Herts.—my said wife to provide for the weekly distribution forever of 16^d worth of bread to the poor of Barkway and 8^d worth to the poor of the hamlet of Northampsted in Barkway aforesaid—to my son Robert Chester, Doctor of Divinity £100., with which to educate my godson Robert Chester son of Henry Chester till he reach the age of fifteen, and then £100. more to bind him apprentice or make him a scholar—to my said godson Robert Chester £300. when 24 years of age—to my said son Henry a Mourning cloak, and to his wife £10. for mourning—to my son Granado Chester, Doctor

of Divinity £100.—to my son Robert Chester D.D. and his wife each £10 for mourning, and to his son Robert my godson £100.—to my brother in law Mr. John Stone a mourning gown—to my son Edward Chester a gown, my horse, and my seal ring with arms—to my brother in law Mr. Edward Capon a cloak—to my son in law Sir Thomas Nightingale Baronet, a cloak—to my son in law Edward Ratcliffe Esquire, a cloak, and to my daughter his wife £20. for mourning and a ring—to my daughter Theodosea Nightingale widow £20. for mourning and a ring—to my son in law Samuel Hinton, D^r of the Civil Law a gown. And to my daughter his wife £20 for mourning and a ring, and to their daughter Anne Hinton £20. when 18 years of age—to my son in law John Piggott Esq. and my daughter his wife, mourning—to each of my grandchildren a ring of the value of 20 shillings, with this posy, “Christus unica salus”—to my kinsman Thomas Smith, Gent. a cloak—to the poor of Royston £5.—to the poor of Barkway and Northampsted £5.—to my cousin Magdalen Deane *alias* Addams 40 shillings a year for life, and to her daughter Anne, my cousin, wife of [blank] Tymberell, 20 shillings—to my nephew Henry Thornburgh £20. and mourning, and to each of his children £5.—to Mr. More, vicar of Royston, 20 shillings and a gown—to my godson Chester Greene 20 shillings—to Dr. Smith, vicar of Barkway, 20 shillings—all residue of pesonalty to my son Edward Chester, Esquire, whom I appoint my sole executor.

Codicil, dated 16 March 1639/40—to my said sons Granado Chester, D.D., and Robert Chester, D.D., £300. which they shall dispose for the benefit of my son Henry—to my said son Henry an annuity of £20 for life—All my messuages, lands, tenements, &c. to my said son Edward for life, with remainder to his son John Chester and his heirs male, remainder to the other sons of my said son Edward and their heirs male in succession, remainder to my said son Granado, &c., remainder to my said son Robert, &c., remainder to my said son Henry, &c.

Codicil, dated 7 April 1640—to Granado, second son of my said son Robert Chester, £50.—to Anne Hinton daughter of my said son Samuel Hinton £30. more when 18 years of age, or, if she die before, then same to her 2 younger sisters when 18.”

[The Will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 3 February, 1640–1, by Edward Chester, son and executor.

Recorded in Book “Evelyn,” at folio 25.]

C. Page xxiii.

NICHOLS' PROGRESSES OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Were it not that the title-page of Chester's *Love's Martyr* (1601) designates it “the first *Essay* of a new *Brytish* Poet,” I should have felt disposed to assign a somewhat vivid piece

in Nichols' Progresses, to Chester. It is entitled "The Principal Addresse in Nature of a New Year's Gifte; seeming thereby the Author intended not to haue his Name knowne." It is taken from Cotton MSS., Vespasian, E 8. It is possible that, notwithstanding the words "the first Effay," this anonymous production really was Chester's, but not re-claimed by him later. Be this as it may, there are memorable and illustrative things in it. Thus, in relation to the prominent part 'Nature' fills in *Love's Martyr*, it is noteworthy that, similarly here, 'Nature' gives the "principal Addresse." Equally noteworthy, too, is it, that one of Chester's titles, *Love's Martyr*, occurs in this set of courtly poems, e.g.:

" Horace, honour'd Auguft, the high't of names,
And yet his harte from Mecene never fweru'de;
Ouid helde trayne in Venus courte, and ferve,
Cheife Secretarye to all thofe noble dames,
Martyres of love, who fo broylde in his flames,
As bothe their trauth and penance well deferve
All in fine gold to have theyr image kerve."

More noteworthy still is the precise lamentation of Chester over Elizabeth's un-married state as in our closing quotation. Again, she is sung of as 'the Mayden Queen' with many lovers:

". . . . two Capetts, three Cezares affaylde
And had repulle of the great Britton Mayde"

And:

" For we fuppose thou haft forfworne
To matche with man for evermore "

And:

" In woman's brest
Hath harbourd fafe the lyon's harte "

And the gazer on her 'bewtye' has a

". feble eye
That cannot view her stedfastlye "

Broadly looked into, this "Principal Addresse in Nature," throughout, is quite in the same vein with *Love's Martyr*

in its laudation of Elizabeth. A few quotations will doubtless be acceptable. This is the opening :

“ Gracious Princeffe, where Princes are in place
 To geve you gold, and plate, and perles of price,
 It seemeth this day, save your royall advice,
 Paper presentes shoulde have but little grace;
 But fith the tyme so aptly serves the case,
 And as some thinke, you’re Highnes takes delighte
 Oft to peruse the styles of other men,
 And eft youre self, with Ladye Sapphoe’s pen,
 In sweet meafures of poefye t’endite,
 The rare affectes of your hevenly sprighte;
 Well hopes my muse to skape all manner blame,
 Utteringe your honours to hyde her owner’s name.”

Avowedly the author regards Elizabeth as a pre-eminent theme, *e.g.*, “ The Author choosinge by his Verfe to honour the Queens Majestie of England, Ladye Elizabeth, boldly preferreth his Choise and the Excellencye of the Subject before all others of any Poet auncient or moderne.” And again : “ That her Majestie furmounteth all the Princesses of our tyme in Wifedome, Bewtye, & Magnanimitie : & ys a Thinge verve admirable in nature.” In accord with this are the several ‘addresses’ placed under the nine Muses. I must content myself with one further quotation : “ That her Majestie (two things except) hath all the Parts that justly make to be sayd a most happy Creature in this World.”

Parthe III. Erato.

“ Youthfull bewtye, in body well disposed,
 Lovelye faviour, that age cannot deface;
 A noble harte where nature hath inclosed
 The fruitful feedes of all vertue and grace,
 Regall estate coucht in the treble crowne,
 Ancestrall all, by linage and by right,
 Stone of treasures, honor, and just renowne,
 In quiet raigne, a sure redouted might:
 Fast frindes, foes few or faint, or overthrowen,
 The stranger toonges, and the hartes of her owne,
 Breife bothe Nature and Nourriture have doone,
 With Fortune’s helpe, what in their cunning is —

To yelde the erthe, a Princelye Paragon.
 But had thee, oh ! the love joys she doth misse,
 A Cæsar to her husband, a Kinge to her foone, [son]
 What lacks her Highnes then to all erthly blisse ?

I add, that "Parthe VII, Euterpe," is a summary description of Elizabeth's person, of which that in *Love's Martyr* is simply an expansion.

D. Page xxxiv.

OTHER 'PHŒNIX' AND KINDRED REFERENCES.

In "Sorrows Joy"—a somewhat interesting poem among the many that 'speeded' the departing Queen and welcomed the coming King, which Nichols also has reprinted—there are exactly such descriptions of Elizabeth as are found in *Love's Martyr*, with the 'Phœnix' perpetually recurring, e.g.

" Nature, Art, Fortune vexed out of meafure,
 All firmly vowed to frame her equall neuer."

.....
 " Wild Savadges ador'd her living name
 The Earth's bright glorie and the worlds cleare light."

.....
 " Such our Eliza was whilst she did liue :
 One Phœnix dead, another doth serviee."

.....
 " Thus as a Phœnix of her ashes bred

.....
 " Since that to death is gone that sacred Deitie
 That Phœnix rare,"

.....
 " A sweeter Muse neare breathed on these lands."

.....
 " Loue strewed cinnamon on Phœnix nest."

.....
 " Or when as Phœnix dies : Phœnix is dead
 And fo a Phœnix follows in her stead
 Phœnix for Phœnix."

See our Introduction (p. xlvi) for one very remarkable parallel with Chester's title of *Love's Martyr*. With relation to the superlative flatteries of Elizabeth by Chester and contemporaries, Hume has observed—"Even when

Elizabeth was an old woman, she allowed her courtiers to flatter her, with regard to her excellent beauties." Cf. Birch, vol. ii, pp. 442-43. When Elizabeth was nearly 70, Coke, at the trial of Essex in 1601, said gravely, that he and his partisans "went rather into the city than to the Court, in regard the lustre of the divine Majesty glistered so brightly in the Royal Majesty, and did so dazzle their eyes, that they durst approach no nearer." (Camden, Trans. 614, Orig. II, 230, and cf. my *Dr. Farmer Chetham MS.*, in Narrative of the Trial of Essex and Southampton.)

E. Page xlvi.

MELVILL'S ACCOUNT OF ELIZABETH.

Whitaker, in his "Additions and Corrections made in the second edition of *Mary, Queen of Scots, Vindicated*" (1789), has worked in under a passionate *animus*, many extracts from contemporary letters, &c. Bating the twist, he gives them all, they are of the rarest interest, and go to confirm and illustrate almost every detail in *Love's Martyr*. I refer the student-reader to the book. I content myself here with an incident at Court that vivifies Chester's praise of Elizabeth's musical gifts (p. 13, st. 2).

"She [Elizabeth] asked, if she [Mary] played well? I said, Reasonably for a Queen. That same day, after dinner, my Lord of Hunsdean [Hundson] drew me up to a quiet gallery, that I might hear some musick (but he said he durst not avow it) where I might hear the Queen play upon the virginals. After I had hearkened awhile, I took by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber; and seeing her back was towards the door, I entered within the chamber, and stood a pretty space hearing her play excellently well. But she left off immediately, as soon as she turned her about and saw me. She appeared to be surprized to see me, and came forward seeming to strike me with her hand; alledging she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary to shun melancholy. She asked, how I came there? I answered, as I was walking with my lord of Hunsdean, as we past by the chamber-door, I heard such melody as ravished me; whereby I was drawn in ere I knew how: excusing my fault of homeliness [familiarity] as being brought up in the court of France, where such freedom was allowed, the French easiness of manners being then as eminent, as it has since been She then called for my lady Strafford out of the next chamber, for the Queen was alone. She inquired, whether my Queen or she played best? In that, I found myself obliged to give her the praise." (pp. 145-6.)

F. Page xlix.

LETTER FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN ENGLAND TO A
SCOTTISH NOBLEMAN, AT THE CLOSE OF
ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

I am indebted to my friend J. M. Thomson, Esq., Edinburgh, for an exact copy of this very noticeable Letter. As it has never been printed *in extenso* I deem it expedient to give it without mutilation. The *italicized* lines are surely very remarkable in their revelation of Elizabeth's too-late discovery of the wrong against her truest and noblest self in sacrificing Essex. The Letter is valuable, also, as reflecting the troubled state of the nation at the time. The original unsigned *MS.*—for it was perilous to sign such a letter—is in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh, and it runs thus :

“Albeit that I haue not answered your Lordships letter ; neuertheless I hoope, that my silence shal receiue that favorable constructio[n] which my innocency may challenge of right. For I was resolved to commit no letter to the hands of Fortune, seing that the expectation of a lit tyme, might secure the passage of those papers, which I decreed to consecrate only to your self. And if the debt I owe you, might be payed by woordes, I would frank[ly] spende al my tyme in acknowledgement of your fauours ; which beare fruite of such sorte, that so soone as I haue receaved them, they begin to bud forth, & to produce new blossomes.

“Neuertheless my hoope is, that al the world shal knowe, that pow[er] in requiting, hath rather fayled mee then will. Therfor pardon mee I beseech you, if wanting meanes to discharge the debt I owe I am constrained to runn on the old skoare, & to spende stil out of your L^{ds} stocke.

“I haue at length sent his Ma^{ty} an abstract of such Gentlem[ens] names, as are in greatest accompt in Englande. The greatest part wherof are knowne vnto my self : the rest I haue had intelligence of, by many wary questions, & sundry relations, of those, that weer well assured of that which they informed. And concerning the Apologetical preface, I haue deliuered my opinion, wherin I jumpe just with your L^{ds} censure therof : hooping that h[is] highnes will take your woord in my behalfe, that my difference jn the forme of an Apology, springeth not from any spirit of contra[di]ction, but from the obedience I owe, to answer, truly, vnto euery demaunde his Majesty shal propounde vnto mee. Also I haue sent a discourses answer vnto certeyne questions : wherin I suppose that though p'haps I may seeme to shoote at reuers, I haue not shott very wide from the marke. *Our Queene is trubled w[ith] a Rheume in her arme, which vexeth her very much : besides the greefe shee hath conceived for my L^d of*

Essex his deathe, shee sleepeþ not somuch by day as shee used, nether taketh rest by night: her delight is to sit in the darke, & sometimes with shedding of tears to bewaile Essex. This is the reason, that wee haue so many horses about London: the particularitie wherof I refer to Mr. Foules. In any case let mee intreate you to sollicite his Ma^{ty}, to send often, & though the jorney bee longe, & peynefull, I doubt not, but that Mr. Foules, will gladly vndertake the charge, wherin so good seruice may bee performed. For it is expedient that the messenger bee skillful in our present estate, trusted by us, & knowne to bee confident with the kinge. Concerning my self, or the seruice which I may performe, ether in this place, or any whatso euer, I protest that I remayne firme, & ready to bee employcd, whensoever his Majesty, shal grace mee with his commaundement. For I breathe no other contentment, then that, which may turne to the aduancement of so gracious a Prince, & the ease of this distressed Cuntry. In what state wee stande at this present, may better bee related by Mr. Foules, Quæque ipse miserrima vidit, then by a short narration of perpetual woes.

“Therfor I will aduertise your L^p, of your owne affaire: wherin I haue traueyled to the vttermoast of my power, & gotten a particular information of al Caris proceedings touching Whorlton. The common voice of the Tennants is, that hee payed only a 1000 marks to the Queene: but hauing conferred with himself, I founde him much discontented as hee pretended, for the great price hee had payed Videlicet: 1800^l: But I beleue him not therin. Neither doth 3; or I thinke it fit that any thirde person should compounde with him for it. For it is certeyne that seing it is already leascd, it wil not bee bought but at an vnreasonable rate: & the tyme wil come when hee wilbee glad to take half the money hee hath disbursed for his interest therin. The Queene hath sold a greate part of the Duchy of Cornwell & Lancaster, which landes must ether bee recalled, as wee haue a president therof in Henry the fourths tyme, or bought agayne to vnite them to the Crowne. I haue sent your L^p a draught of the suruay of Whorlton, which I gott cunningly out of the Checker. Likewise you shal receiue a copy of a Letters Pateents, taken out of the which is counted to conteyne the moast general woordes, that may bee used in a good & perfect assurance. And albeit t[hat] the name of a Rectory agree not with your Manors, it importeth not, seing that mutatis mutandis, forasmuch [as] concerneth the names, the whole process of the graunte is to [be] obserued. I feare that you can hardly reade itt, for it is written in bald Latin, & abbreuiations, which is the man[ner] of the clarks that copy any recorde out of the Chauncery. The graunte you sent mee with the clause of renewing the Letters pateents in Die Illo. is held to bee better then any other assurance that can nowe bee made by the kinge. I will deteyne your L^p no longer: beseeching you to build upon that good foundation of my affection, which your merite hath firmly layd. For my desir is to streyne my vttermoast ability, to bee alwais the foremost in

Your L^{ps} Seruice.”

G. Page lxi.

SHAKESPEARE CENSURED.

I refer to Henry Chettle's *England's Mourning Garment*, &c. (1603). In this somewhat remarkable celebration of Elizabeth, Shakespeare, as author of the *Rape of Lucrece*, is thus appealed to :

“ Nor doth the silver-tongued Melicert
 Drop from his honied muse one sable tear,
 To mourn her death that graced his desert,
 And to his lays open'd her royal ear.
 Shepherd, remember our Elizabeth
 And sing her rape, done by that Tarquin, death.”

Is it accidental that CHAPMAN and MARSTON — other two of the authors of the “new compositions,” be it noted — are similarly censured and urged? Could these lines in Chettle be possibly meant to *hit* at Chester and the “new compositions”?

— — — “worst of worst,
 Bayards and beasts accurst, with grossest flattery nurst
 Have sung her sacred name, and prais'd her to their shame,
 Who was our first and last” (*Harl. Misc.*, vol. iii, pp. 524-546).

H. Page lxxii.

ERRATA OF THE ORIGINAL.

- Page 12, st. 3, l. 2, comma after ‘springs’ instead of period
 (.) — corrected.
- „ 13, st. 3, l. 2, comma after ‘flower’ instead of period
 (.) — corrected.
- ibid.*, st. 4, l. 1, ‘yee’ for ‘yea’ — corrected.
- „ 14, st. 1, l. 4, ‘Venus’ printed ‘Venus’ — corrected.
- „ 22, numbered 41 instead of 14 — corrected.
- „ 23, *To those of light beleeve* — st. 1, l. 5, no comma after
 ‘conceit’ — corrected.
- ibid.*, st. 2, l. 5, comma after ‘find’ — corrected.
- „ 77, st. 2, l. 6, no stop after ‘spight’ — corrected.
- „ 83, Iohannis Leylandij, &c., l. 12, the comma after
 ‘petit.’

- Page 89, Heading — ‘ Dialgue ’ for ‘ Dialogue ’—corrected.
 „ 92, st. 1, l. 3, no comma after ‘enchantment’—corrected.
 „ 104, st. 3, l. 2, ‘gods’ for ‘godd[es].’
 „ 111, numbered ‘101’—corrected to ‘103.’
 „ 113, st. 1, l. 3, ‘cle’ for ‘clere,’ and l. 6, ‘the m’ for ‘the m[inde].’
 „ 128, st. 1, l. 1, ‘Memnodides’ should have been ‘Memnonides’ certainly.
 „ 131, st. 2, l. 3, ‘fometing’ for ‘fomething’—corrected
 „ 137, st. 4, l. 4, ‘fecreclly’ for ‘fecretly.’
 „ 142, 143, are mis-numbered ‘118’ and ‘119’ for ‘134’ and ‘135’—corrected.
 „ 153 to 175, numbered 141 to 163 for 145 to 167—corrected.
 „ 167, margin—l. 14, ‘feele’ for ‘feele,’ and l. 20, ‘poreft’ for ‘pureft’—corrected.
 „ 179-195, are mis-numbered 167 to 183 for 171 to 187—corrected.

See also various suggestions and criticisms in the Notes and Illustrations. A comma at the end of a line was a favorite contemporary punctuation.

ERRATA OF OUR REPRINT.

Those marked with an asterisk (*) the Reader will please correct before reading—others of lesser moment.

- Page 11, st. 3, l. 1, put comma after ‘thing.’
 „ 29, st. 1, l. 4, spell ‘keepe’ for ‘keep.’
 „ 31, st. 2, l. 4, spell ‘harmelesse’ for ‘harmleffe.’
 „ 34, st. 1, l. 1, put comma after ‘*Elfleda*.’
 „ 37, st. 4, l. 7, spell ‘deedes’ for ‘deeds.’
 „ 38, st. 4, l. 2, spell ‘tooke’ for ‘took.’
 — „ 40, st. 1, l. 8, ‘reobtain’d’ is printed loosely ‘re obtain’d.’
 „ 43, l. 7, spell ‘owne’ for ‘own.’
 „ 44, heading, l. 2, put comma after ‘Coronation.’
 — „ 45,* st. 2, l. 5, ‘But’ is misprinted ‘Bet.’

- Page 47, l. 3, spell 'litle' for 'little,' and st. 1, l. 2, 'wel' for 'well.'
- „ 60, l. 21, '*redemaund*' is printed loosely 're demaund.'
- „ 61, l. 2, spell 'inuade' for 'enuade.'
- „ 77, st. 2, l. 1, spell 'battell' for 'battel.'
- „ 78, st. 1, l. 1, spell 'prepar'd' for 'prepared.'
- „ 82, st. 3, l. 6, spell 'bene' for 'been.'
- „ 84, l. 8, read 'off spring' for 'offspring,' and l. 11, spell 'fweete' for 'sweet.'
- „ 85, Hee endeth, &c., l. 2, put comma after 'feate.'
- „ 81, l. 4, spell 'lye' for 'lie.'
- „ 93, st. 4, l. 3, put comma after 'Hercules.'
- „ 96, st. 2, l. 5, capital to 'Fishes'; and st. 4, l. 1, spell 'Iacke' for 'Iack.'
- „ 98, st. 3, l. 7, spell 'verie' for 'very.'
- „ 107,* st. 3, l. 4, read 'feason' for 'feafon.'
- „ 108, st. 2, l. 2, spell 'Turbut' for 'Turbot.'
- „ 112, st. 4, l. 6, spell 'food' for 'foode.'
- „ 115, st. 2, l. 4, spell 'meate' for 'meat.'
- „ 127, st. 2, l. 5, put comma after 'way.'
- „ 128, st. 5, l. 3, spell 'dayly' for 'daily.'
- „ 168, st. 3, l. 5, spell 'tels' for 'tells.'
- „ 172, st. 2, l. 6, spell 'fauoring' for 'fauouring.'
- „ 183, st. 4, l. 1, spell 'itselfe' for 'itself.'
- „ 185,* st. l. 15 (dropped before '*Peans*.'
- „ 190,* *Επος* should have been Latin Epos—my printer having printed it *Epos* in Greek, I over-hastily corrected it to *Επος*.
- „ 194, Heading of Ode—I have extended the contractions for *ου* and *στ*.
- „ 195,* st. 1, l. 4, for 'as' read 'in.' The five asterisk-marked places I mean to correct in the stereotype-plates for the new Shakespeare Society.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

* * * *The References are to the Pagination at the bottom, not at the top.*

Title-page (1601), p. 1. On this see our Introduction. Therein the significance of these words, "Loves Martyr"—"Rosalins Complaint"—"truth of Loue"—"the constant Fate of the Phoenix and Turtle"—"enterlaced with much varietie and raritie"—"now first translated out of the venerable Italian Torquato Caeliano"—"some new compositions, of seuerall moderne Writers"—"whose names are subscribed to their seuerall workes, vpon the first subject: viz. the Phoenix and Turtle," &c., are elucidated. The Latin motto is from Martial, Epigr. i, lxvi, 9.

,, (1611), p. 7. On this, similarly see as above. "Anuals" is a misprint of the original for "Annals."

Epistle-dedictory, pp. 3, 4. SIR JOHN SALISBURIE. See Introduction for full notices of this specially "honored Knight." Page 3, l. 8, "*Pofse & nolle, nobile*"—see our Introduction on this motto; l. 14, "*ripe iudging*" = ripe-judging; ll. 16-17, "*his owne child to be fairest although an Ethiopian*"—a proverbial saying found in all languages; cf. Love's L. L., iv, 3, "Ethiops . . . their sweet complexion"; l. 18, "*infant wit*" = first literary production—answering to the title-page "*the first Essay of a new British Poet.*" Page 4, ll. 6-7, "*To the World,*" &c. = this shews that "Imprinted for E. B." does not mean a privately-printed book, but one 'published' for 'learned' and 'vulgar,' if so they were minded to buy.

The Authors request to the Phoenix, p. 5. For abundant proofs that by the 'Phoenix' was meant Queen Elizabeth, and by the 'Turtle-doue' the Earl of Essex—see our Introduction; also the same for the further confirmation herein of Shakespere's having favoured Essex. Note—this is the 'Author's request,' not a translation. Line 1, "*beauteous Bird of any*" = the most "beauteous" of "any" one, and of all birds; l. 9, "*passing*" = surpassing; l. 12, "*Endeuoured hame to please in praising thee*"—noticeable and noticed in our Introduction.

To the kind Reader, p. 6, l. 1, "*the sacke of Troy*" = Homer; l. 2, "*Pryams murdred Sonnes*" = Homer; *ib.*, "*nor Didoes fall*" = Virgil; ll. 4-5, "*Of Cæsars Victories,*" &c., &c. = Shakespere—"Julius Cæsar" is now generally attributed to 1599-1601; l. 8, "*untun'd stringed*" = untuned-stringed. The motto 'Mea mecum Porto,' are found in Emblem books under a tortoise.

- Page 9, *Heading*, l. 2, "*Metaphorically applied to Dame Nature*"—see Introduction on this; l. 4, "*high Star-chamber*"= in the starry sphere—a sphere above the mundane; l. 6, "*heavie burdend*" = heavy-burdened; st. 2, l. 5, "*Lordlike cowardice*"—on this allusion, see Introduction; l. 6, "*fond*"= foolish; *ib.*, "*nice*" = precise, scrupulous, as in Shakespeare, *frequenter*; st. 4, l. 1, "*Imperator*"= supreme ruler, emperor (so Love's L. L., iii, l. 187)—one of Jupiter's titles was "Imperator," and "*firie chair*" is used because he was the prince of light and thunder: cf. p. 16, st. 1, and p. 15, st. 3; l. 4 (p. 10), "*firie chair*" = throne.
- ,, 10, st. 1, l. 2, "*non-like*," cf. l. 5, "*none such*." Hence not = nun-like, albeit there may possibly have been intended, after the manner of the times and Shakespeare, a quibbling pun and the secondary meaning of 'nun-like' hinted at; l. 4, "*milke-white Dove*"—not = the "turtle-dove," but = the Phoenix; st. 2, l. 1, "*heavenly map*" = a representation in miniature of the heavens; l. 5, "*locks of purest gold*." The 'lock' of Elizabeth's hair preserved at Wilton (within lines by Sir Philip Sidney), remains to attest that her's was of sunbeam-gold, and 'red' only as 'gold' was called "red monie" in ancient ballad and story; st. 4, l. 2, "*confure*"= judge; l. 5, "*fnd*" = find [wherewithal] to cure the wound? "*Tablet*"= table-book— which were often made of ivory.
- ,, 11, st. 1, l. 2, "*Two Carbuncles*"—from the brilliance, not certainly from the 'red' colour of this gem. "Shineth as Fire . . . whose shining is not overcome by night . . . and it seemeth as it were a flame" (Bateman upon B. B., xvi, c. 26; cf. p. 16, st. 4, l. 5). l. 3, "*soveraignize*"= rule as a sovereign; l. 5, "*Sonne*"= sun. Spenser, without *metri gratia*, thus spells the word. See *Shepherd's Calendar*, *frequenter*, and throughout. St. 2, l. 6, "*heavenly Front*"—hyperbolic and explained by l. 5 as the "front of Heaven," the sky. So Shakespeare, "the front of heaven was full of fiery shapes," *Henry IV*, act i, sc. 1, l. 14, *et alibi*; st. 3, l. 5, "*Ennie*"—it would seem that 'crystal' was supposed to prevent or "over-come"—envy; st. 4, ll. 1-2. Cf. *Venus and Adonis*, ll. 451-2.
- "Once more the ruby-colour'd portal open'd,
Which to his speech did honey passage yield."
- ll. 5-6—universally said of Elizabeth; and st. 1, p. 12, and indeed throughout the portraiture. See Introduction. Ll. 5-6 (p. 12), ought to have been put back as in the other stanzas. This has been inadvertently neglected in two or three instances; but is here noted once for all.
- ,, 12, st. 2, l. 2, "*powers*"=disyllabic form of "pours"; l. 4, "*ratietic*,"

sic; but doubtless a misprint for 'rarietie'=rarity, *metri causa*; st. 3, l. 5, "*loue-babies*"=reflections of himself in her eyes; *ibid.*, "*wanton eyes*." See st. 2, l. 2, "perfect chafitic" and l. 6 of the present stanza, "*doth chafesize*"=make chaste, with a play perhaps on 'chastize' in its ordinary sense. Hence 'wanton' is used here much as Shakespeare speaks of "wanton boys," *i.e.*, pleasure-loving or gamesome or fondling. See SCHMIDT, *s.v.* So in Spenser, &c., &c. St. 4, ll. 1-2—mingling of ancient and (apparently) modern fable; l. 4, "*glories*" = glories'.

- Page 13, st. 1, ll. 1-2, "*men* may reade *His*"—men = each man of all men; l. 2, evidently the comma after 'woe' is a misprint for a period(.) Note — all these celebrations from "Head" to "Bellie" and onward (p. 6 to "Feete"), shew that a person and a female was intended by the "Phoenix." The "Arabian Phoenix," or bird so-called, is distinguished from the other (st. 3, ll. 3-4); st. 2, l. 1, see our Introduction for an incident in Elizabeth's life illustrative of this; st. 4, "*ye*"—this is misprinted in the original "*yea*," and perhaps ought to have been so left and noted here. See Postscript to our Introduction for other similar errors, and also certain 'slips' of our own (of no great moment). St. 5, l. 2, "*Gehon*"=Gihon, *Genesis* ii, 13; l. 3, "*prize*"=prized with such honour.
- ,, 14, st. 2, ll. 5-6. Punctuate (*meo iudicio*) "why, . . . fle . . . Angell"; st. 3, l. 4, "*sweet writ*"=sweet-writ; l. 6, "*corporate Soule*"=soul existing in her conjoint body; st. 4—the "Marigold" that has at night, *i.e.*, after the setting and so absence of the sun, closed the glory of her eye, now at her approach unfolds again as she would at the sun's approach; l. 5, "*Phenix*"=Phoenix; l. 6, "*yeeld*"=yield obeisance, as acknowledging their inferiority.
- ,, 15, st. 1, l. 2, "*Arras cloth*"=a rich kind of tapestry, and so named because the best was made at Arras the capital of Artois; l. 3, "*Satires*"=Satyrs; st. 2, l. 1, "*This Phenix I do feare me will decay*," &c. Elizabeth in 1601, when *Love's Martyr* was published, was well nigh the close of her long life and reign; and making as long an interval as one can well suppose between the composition and publication of the poem, she must have been long past possible maternity before these words could have been written. In the Epistle-dedicatory the Author speaks of his "*long expected labour*"; but the "*long*" could scarcely cover more than comparatively a few years. Every one knows, however, that strong-brained as was the great Queen, she sniffed to the last gratefully and graciously whatever incense of flattery of her person courtiers and poets chose to offer her.

- See our Introduction for more on this ; st. 4, "*wight*"=white—to agree with its rhyme "outright" (l. 4); l. 5, "*strucke*"=[was] *strucke*; l. 6, "*Doue*"—again as in page 10, st. 1, l. 4, not the "turtle doue" but = the Phoenix still; l. 5 (p. 16), "*vastie*"=vast, limitless. So in Shakespeare, *frequent*.
- Page 16, st. 1, l. 1, "*temeritie*"—used as from timor = timority, fear; st. 2, l. 3, "*extallation*"=extollation; l. 4, either "deuine-maiesticall" or comma after "deuine"; l. 5, "*painted picture there*"=portrait of Elizabeth as was her wont in all the splendor of "rich wrought . . . gold" and jewels; st. 4, l. 5, "*Eyes wanting fire*"=wanting the fire of living eyes. Or does he mean that they flamed or gleamed, but wanted the anger or rage of fire like the carbuncle, as before?
- ,, 17, st. 1, ll. 5-6. In plain prose, get Elizabeth to marry—see next stanza, ll. 5-6; st. 2, l. 2, "*plained*"=made smooth. So Dr. Henry More (*Chertsey Worthies*' Library edition of his complete Poems, p. 15):
- "Such as this Phyllis would, whenas she *plains*
Their Sunday-cloths, and the washt white with azure stains."
(Psychozoia, st. 21.)
- l. 3, "*painted shape*"=portrait, as before; st. 3, l. 3, "*ill working*"=ill-working; l. 4, "*white Brytania*"—so that the 'Phoenix,' beside which that of Arabia was but "fruitless ayre," was within the "white cliffs" of Britain. Be it noted specially — for the punctuation is bad — that while it is "leau" (l. 2) and "leau" (l. 3) as = let alone, seek not there, in l. 4, it is "leau *me*"=leave to me, in my keeping, or qu., Do you leave? So that neither in Arabia (named as the seat of the mythical 'phoenix') nor in "white Brytania"=England, was there a fitting 'mate' (husband) for the Phoenix. Cf. st. 3, ll. 5-6; st. 4, ll. 1-2, "*There is a country, &c. . . Paphos Ile.*" See our Introduction on this very noticeable *bit*; meanwhile, I here record, that by "Paphos Ile," I understand Ireland, whither Essex—as we all know—proceeded. The description that follows is idealized in correspondence with the love-imaginative name given to it of "Paphos Ile," a name than which none could have been more happily chosen, being that of the supreme seat of the worship of Venus (*i.e.*, in such a love-story as this of *Love's Martyr*). l. 5, "*Ciparissus groue*"=Cyparissus—the 'grove' of Phocis, not far from Delphi; l. 6, "*a second Phoenix loue*"=Phoenix' love; st. 5, l. 1, "*champion*"=champaign.
- ,, 18, st. 1, l. 1, "*bigge-arm'd*"=big-arm'd; st. 2, l. 5, "*lie*"=lay; l. 6, "*round*"=dance; st. 3, l. 3, "*delight fome*"—clearly mis-

- print for 'delightsome'; st. 4, l. 4, "*shelues*"= banks; ll. 5-6 = but the country Gallants with Ulysses eares.
- Page 19, st. 1, ll. 1-2 and 4, "*hiffing Adders fling, May not come neere this holy plot of ground*" and, "*Nor poison-spitting Serpent may be found.*" How could Ireland have been more deftly indicated than by the two-fold characteristics of (1) The banishing of all serpents (by St. Patrick), (2) Its proud title of "the Isle of Saints"? st. 2, l. 4, "*Lycorice*" = a plant of the genus *Glycyrrhiza*; *ib.*, "*sweet Arabian spice*" = cinnamon; sts. 3-4, with equal deftness are the Irish residence, and the personal characteristics, and personal appearance, and the services of Essex herein set forth. Who, of all her subjects, could have taken this name of "*Liberall honor*" save Essex? See our Introduction for quotations from Churchyard, Peele, and others, wherein he is exactly thus spoken of. St. 5, l. 3, "*president*" = precedent, exemplar; l. 4 (p. 20), "*his gentle humour spited*" — very noticeable in relation to Essex; ll. 5-6 — a word-photograph of Essex.
- ,, 20, st. 1, l. 4, "*high hill*" = royal crag-enthroned Windsor; st. 2, l. 2, "*Cenfure*" = judgment; st. 2, l. 6, "*Toue ioyne these fires,*" &c. = marry Elizabeth and Essex.
- ,, 20, *An Introduction to the Prayer*, st. 1, l. 2, "*Thou elementall fauourer of the Night*" — Is the reference to God's manifestation of Himself, *e.g.*, on Sinai, and within the temple in "clouds and darkness"? Cf. *Deuteronomy*, iv, 11; 2 *Samuel*, xxii, 12; *Psalms*, xcvi, 2; and 1 *Kings*, viii, 10-12; *Leviticus*, xvi, 2; and cognate passages. St. 2 (p. 21), l. 6, "*Turtle-doue*" = Essex — as hereafter will appear.
- ,, 21, *A Prayer made*, &c. See Introduction on this "*siluer coloured Doue*" (not the "Turtle-doue"), and the force of "*applied*"; st. 1, l. 4, "*fad*" = serious or solemn: or qu. intentive?
- ,, 22, st. 2, l. 1, "*her*" — shewing it is not the 'Turtle-doue' (described as "he" onward); l. 4, the comma after "*baite*" certainly ought to have been a period (.); st. 4, l. 1, "*lead^β*" = ledst, *i.e.*, past tense; *ib.*, "*red coloured waues*" = red-coloured. The 'Red Sea' is meant — see *Exodus*, xiv, and parallel passages. I remember seeing the 'Red Sea,' off the Desert of Sinai, red as blood, not merely under the purple splendor of the marvellous sunset — a hue common to all sunsets — but from myriad infusoria so far as I could make out. So that "red-coloured waues" is not a mere fancy, much less a blunder — such as Wordsworth's when he speaks of Baalbec rising from bare sands, whereas its site is a glorious fertile plain. l. 5 (p. 23) "*what*" — qu. misprint for 'that' or 'which'?
- ,, 23, st. 1, ll. 6-7 = do not let her [Elizabeth] remain a "*Virgin Queen*"

- let her marry—she the “siluer coloured doue” to him the “turtle-doue.”
- Page 23, *To thofe of light beleefe*, st. 1, l. 6, “*abandoning deceit*”=fiction has hitherto been mingled with fact, *e.g.*, in the hyperbolic and so ‘deceptive’ description of Ireland as “Paphos Ile”; st. 3, l. 1, “*gentle Reader*”—another note of publication.
- „ 24, *A meeting Dialogue-wife betweene Nature, &c.*, st. 1, l. 6, “*thy breasts beautous Eie*”=spots eye-like, as of the peacock, pheasant, and (of course) the mythical ‘phoenix’; st. 2, l. 4, “*neuer with*”=never [be] with; st. 3, l. 4, “*relenting*”=sorrowful or sorrowing. Here is touched the popular and indestructible belief that the only genuine love-passion Elizabeth ever had was for Essex. More anon. L. 6 (p. 25), “*for vertue*”=on account of thy, or in admission of thy virtue, &c., sing; l. 7, “*reuerend*”=reuerenced.
- „ 25, st. 1, l. 7, “*I do bayte my hooke*”—a throbbing penitent confession of her laying ‘baits’ for Essex, drawing him on and ‘hooking’ him, winning his burning love and devotion, yet playing him false; st. 2, l. 5, “*sullen Mirth*”—the very type of Elizabeth’s moody mirth and sadness, bursts of scorn and passion and aching melancholy; st. 3, l. 1, “*vading*.” I may refer here to a note in my edition of Southwell, *s. v.*, for the distinction between ‘vading’ and ‘fading.’ l. 5, “*Sunne-bred*”—speaking as the ‘Phoenix’; *ibid.*, “*exhall*”=exhale; ll. 6–7 —“*Enuie*” is the uttermost word that the Poet dared use. He makes the Queen hint at the contest between the Queen and the woman, the passionate love and the self-restraint thought to be due to herself. She fain “would loue” and follow it up with marriage; but what, marry a subject? “There was the rub.” Other considerations were also blended, *e.g.*, I fear what my subjects may say to my marrying a subject and what their ‘envy’ may attempt on him. We must remember that the nobles were far more powerful and jealous of one another than in our day, and even Elizabeth might well fear displeasing them by such a step. See st. 4, l. 5, beginning at p. 26, and p. 26, st. 1, ll. 3–6; also p. 27, st. 1, and p. 28, st. 2 and 3. See too “*Enuie*” is changed to “*Malice*” (p. 26) ll. 6–7; st. 4, l. 1, “*Tablitorie*”=the old tablet (*metri gratia*, as “*glorie*” is the rhyming word) given by Minsheu as a necklet, necklace or brooch: “*Monile quod gestantem virtutis admoneat, nam primum ob aliquod egregium factum clari solebat.*” One can’t vouch for the accuracy of this Latin explanation; but it shows the prevalent idea, and it agrees with the use of “*tablitorie*” in the text—a *tablerium* is called mappula, mantle.

- Page 26, st. 1, l. 4, "*fond suspicions cage*"—here and elsewhere there is a glance back on the early perilous years of Elizabeth under her sister Mary; l. 7, "thy"—*sic*, but somewhat obscure; st. 2, l. 7, "*And waste*"=while I waste; st. 3, l. 6, "*young, fresh, greene*"—no doubt with application to the 'Phoenix,' but underlying this a reference, as already noted, to Elizabeth's beautiful youthhood, when beyond all question she was a magnificent creature; *ibid*, "*passè*"=pass away, die; l. 7, "*fleeted glasse*"=mirror of steel. Note—There is intentional anachronism in order to give scope for just 'praise' of Elizabeth; nor are these touches on her 'young' maiden days the least precious *b'its* for us to-day; st. 4, l. 1, "*Continent*"=container is that which contains anything. So *frequenter* in Shakespeare and contemporaries, and later.
- ,, 27, st. 1, l. 5, "*totterd*"=tattered—as in Shakespeare and contemporaries; *ibid*, "*ragd*"=ragged; st. 2, l. 7, "*the performance bears the greater sway*"=deed better than words, action than threats.
- ,, 28, st. 1, l. 3, "*Toades themselves did wound*"—*i.e.*, did wound one another—so letting out by their 'wounds' their unfragrant poison (mythical); l. 4, "*poysoned*," *i.e.*, infected with poison, being a poison-natured thing = poisonous; l. 5, "*sent*"=scent; st. 2, l. 3, "*As he hath had in his dayes secret prying*"—hints at 'secret' influences against Elizabeth in the days of Mary; l. 4, "*calmie*" = calming or qu.—tranquil? l. 7, "*Amarous*"—*sic*=amorous; st. 3, l. 1, "*Villanie*"=Envie—as previously described; l. 4, "*true harted*" = true-hearted; ll. 6-7—another genuine cry out of the woman's heart—let the title of the poem be remembered of *Love's Martyr*, &c. Let it also be remembered, that so early as Peele's "*Eglogve Gratulatorie*. Entituled: To the right honourable, and renowned Shepheard of Albions Arcadia: Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, for his welcome into England from Portugall" (1589), the burden is "*Envy doth aye true honours deeds despisc.*" See our Introduction.
- ,, 29, st. 1, l. 4, "*coyle*"=tumult. Cf. *Tempest*, act i, sc. 2. St. 2, l. 2, "*his Throne*," *i.e.*, of Essex, who really held the 'Throne' of Elizabeth's heart—the 'his' here is subtle and fine; l. 5, "*ore charge*" = o'er charge; st. 3, l. 1, "*peeuissh*" = petulant, fretful; l. 7, "*I*"=Aye; st. 4,—query, should the punctuation be 'Light.' 'deplore;'
- ,, 30, st. 1, l. 7, "*Balfamum*" = balsam. *Comedy of Errors*, act iv, sc. 1. st. 2, l. 2, "*Anker-hold*" and l. 6, "*plot of Ground*"=the soil that holds your anchor, or fastners of the flukes on the ground; st. 3, l. 3, "*the Rocke my ship did seeke to shiuer*"=seeke to shiver my Ship; l. 7, "*dissembling Loue*"—another sting of

- conscience — she dissembled the love that was really in her heart ; st. 4, l. 5, “*peruse*” = survey or run over with an observant eye ; l. 6, “*where*” = which ?
- Page 31, st. 1, l. 3, “*Mace*” = sceptre, as before ; l. 7, “*Paphos Ile*” = the island of Venus (Love) as before ; st. 2-3 — a passionate description of Elizabeth’s ‘suspect’ and dangerous early years ; st. 3, l. 2, “*shadow*” = over-shadow, eclipse ; st. 4, l. 2, “*In youth*,” &c. — peculiarly true of Elizabeth — ‘tyred’ seems a misprint for ‘tryed’ ; l. 7, “*feathered head*” = adorned with feathers as young high-stationed maidens were, but of course here as being to ‘Phoenix’ ; *ib.* “*a crowne*” — explicit enough surely as to the “Phoenix” being Elizabeth, albeit this ‘crown’ (in 1601) is a heavenly crown, or perchance of marriage. See l. 3, *et seq.* of the stanza.
- ,, 32, st. 1. The real heart-thoughts of the Queen are here expressed. Be it thoughtfully marked, that this “Ile of Paphos” (l. 3) “this rich Ile” had held the ‘Turtle’ and that the ‘Turtle’ is a male — “*his nest*” (l. 7) and so Nature conducts them thither, *i.e.*, to Ireland — as before ; st. 2, l. 5, “*understand*” = learn of his whereabouts ; st. 3, l. 3, “*fond*” = foolish ; l. 4, “*vaste Cell*,” *i.e.*, however “vaste,” a palace itself becomes a prison-cell where Suspicion and Envy are the keepers — as in Elizabeth’s case.
- ,, 33, st. 1, l. 5, “*vsfret*” = musical term with reference to *frets* or cross bars ; l. 7, “*Honor that Isle that is my sure defence*” — here the Queen speaks rather than the ‘Phoenix,’ and thus throughout the mask (not unintentionally) slips aside and shews not ‘bird’ (however lustrous and wonderful), but the august face of Elizabeth herself ; st. 2, l. 3, “*high states*” = people of state ; l. 6, “*Pyramides*” — a quadrisyllable as *frequent* contemporaneously, being long of naturalizing ; l. 7, “*Strond*” = strand, shore ; st. 3, l. 2, “*Greene Springing*” = Green-springing ; l. 4, “*Faire running*” = Faire-running ; l. 5, “*Sweet flowers Dew*” [= dew] distils — example of verb singular after nom. plural (perhaps through the interposition of ‘that’) and so the previous line ; *ib.*, “*balmy Dew*” — on Hermon I found the abundant dew thus fragrant. The southern-wood and thyme and other richly-scented under-growths, being literally steeped in the dew, so filled the air with perfume as to ‘nip’ (so-to-say) one’s eyes. I have found the same in Greece, and indeed in many places. l. 6, “*Great peopled*” = Great-peopled ; st. 4, l. 3, “*intreate*” = treat, elongated, *i.e.*, speak of ; l. 4, “*Their Founder*” = [And of] their Founder ; l. 6, “*Warres wald*” — this must be intended for ‘walled,’ albeit the meaning is not

exactly clear. Query—each of the ‘cities’ being ‘walled’ was a ‘Defender’ in time of ‘Warres.’ The singular ‘Defender’ answers to the singular ‘Founder’ where we might have expected the plural. It cannot well have been a misprint for ‘wild,’ *i.e.*, wild warres Defender, “wa” coming in through the “wa” of “warres”; l. 7, “*Not battred yet with Times controlling Mace,*” *i.e.*, the ‘walls’ of the cities celebrated, which, though no longer in their original strength, were still to be seen in part, as is still the case.

- Page 34, Margin—“*Northumbers*”—Northumberland; l. 3, “*this large Ile of fauete Britania*”—be it noted once more that the ‘Phoenix’ as = Elizabeth is naturally observant of the ‘cities’ of her own “Large Ile.” There is no meaning in the full enumeration and description of these cities except as they were under the sovereignty of Elizabeth. It is not deemed expedient to annotate here the numerous persons and places celebrated. The historical and county authorities are readily accessible, and thither the student-reader is referred; st. 2, l. 3, “*well planted*” = well-planted; l. 4, “*Called in this age the newly-builled Minster, Still kept in notable reparation*”—Stowe, in his *Chronicles*, tells us of the ‘reparation’ of Winchester Cathedral in Elizabeth’s reign, *s.v.*; l. 6, “*famous builled*”—famous-builled; st. 3, l. 5, “*Neotus direction*” = Neotus’; st. 4, “*new got*” = new-got.
- „ 35, st. I, ll. 3-4, “*the whole Romish Legion to sing. And to record,*” &c. —“*sing*” points apparently to ballads of his exploits, albeit there is the objection that it was his defeated enemies whom he made to sing. But our poet is not skilful and o’ times oblivious. Line 4 can scarcely be otherwise explained. Does this use of ‘sing’ reveal the age of our present expression or of an equivalent to it, of ‘singing small,’ as evidence of defeat. There is also “singing in a lower key,” and the like. St. 4, l. 5, “*His*” = its; *ib.*, “*Leyls*” = Leil of st. 3, l. 2. But all this semi-fabulous or wholly fabulous chronicle calleth for no ‘pains’ of elucidation; l. 7, “*large Brytania*” = “*large Ile,*” p. 34, st. I, l. 3. So also p. 36, st. 3, l. 3, “*large Britanicus*”—doubtless an early phrase for “Great Britain”—for he evidently supposed that Scotland was, at that time, a tributary of England, and the last name he avoids. See p. 36, st. 3, l. 3. His use of the word (Scottish) “sect” agrees; for a “sect” is a part cut off. But “sect” in text is applied to the people, not to the country.
- „ 36, st. 4, ll. 6-7 = the city doth only remain under the newer name of Edingburgh, *i.e.*, Edinburgh.
- „ 37, st. I, l. 4, “*stay’d*” = out stay’d; st. 2, On this significant stanza, see

our Introduction; st. 3, l. 2, "*the Princes*" = James VI; l. 3, "*graces*"—singular verb, instead of the previous plural one, "beautifie," *metri causa*; l. 4, "*Emperizing*." This type of verb is frequent contemporaneously. The meaning is—imperial towers so magnificent as to be worthy of an emperor, or such as will, of themselves, imperialize either the statues adorning it, or the persons inhabiting. l. 5, "*Times controlling houres*," cf. p. 33, st. 4, l. 7, "*Times controlling Mace*"—"Controlling seems a favorite word. See again here, st. 4, l. 4, "*controlling neighbours*."

- Page 38, st. 1, l. 1, "*Pagon*"—*metri causa*, *i.e.*, "yron" in l. 3; st. 2, l. 5, "*after time*" = after-time; l. 6, "*deare begotten*" = deare-begotten. What an odd jumble of mythology and history we have here! St. 3, l. 2, "*this worlds great wonder*" = the great wonder of this world; l. 6, "*Regiment*" = government; st. 4, l. 5, "*lightned*" = gave light to; l. 7, "*That to her weake Sexe yielded Hector's name*"—*qu.* = that the stronger sex had to yield or veil Hectors name to hers?
- „ 39, st. 2, l. 2, "*bounlie*"—deriving it from *bonitas*, one sense of which is goodness or honesty; l. 3, "*encomprehensible*" = [The character of her deed] not to be duly estimated. The word is used as justification of her act in killing a 'guest.' l. 7, "*Sifar*" = Sisera; st. 3, l. 1, a comma after Hebrew would have shewn 'worthie' to be an adjective here.
- „ 40, st. 1, l. 4, "*indubitate*"—we should say 'indubitable,' *i.e.*, not to be questioned; l. 7, "*usurped*" = usurping—the common interchange of such words is explained by considering that the *ed* form is not passive, and that as a past or perfect it gives the idea of continuance in, or being in the state of usurpation; l. 8, "*condescend*" = submit; l. 9, "*re obtain'd*" = re-obtained; st. 2, l. 2, "*Queene*," &c.—one wonders how this was scanned by the author; l. 5, "*forfaken*" = God-forsaken; st. 3, l. 1—punctuate "*Naples, true-borne*"; st. 4, l. 2, "*Progenie*" = birth (by descent) or pedigree—similarly used in *1 Henry VI*, iii, 3, l. 61; *Coriol*, i, 8, l. 12—not offspring as now; l. 5, "*Which Truth can never burne*," &c.—Truth is not here the burner or person who would burn their fames, but a truth which can never burn, &c.; l. 7 (p. 41) "*memorie*" = memorial.
- „ 41, st. 2, l. 7, "*States*" = people of state; "*brooke*" = bear but *rithmi gratia*.

Here followeth the Birth, Life, &c.

- „ 43, l. 3, "*no such mā euer to be living*" = to have lived; l. 6, "*more beholding to the French, the Romane, the Scot, the Italian*," &c. See our Introduction on this and other books, &c., referred to. l. 8, "*who*"—refers not to countrymen, but to the previous

- substantives; l. 13, "*Gallie*" = Galliæ; l. 19, "*renowmed*" = renowned. Nearer its French source *renommé* than our spelling.
- l. 25, "*turned from French prose into English meter*" — see our Introduction, as before; st., l. 4, "*Memorie*" = memorials, as before.
- Page 44, *The strange Birth, &c.*, st. 1, l. 5, "*high minded*" = high-minded; st. 2, l. 2, "*wiltie*" = wise; l. 4, "*allies*" — not as now used, but = the verb "ally," *i.e.*, the feudatory princes of next stanza; st. 3, l. 2, "*hot bred*" = hot-bred; st. 4, l. 1, "*passing*" = surpassing; l. 3, "*supprize*" = suppress, *causa metri*; l. 5 (p. 45), "*unequall*" = unequalled — probably a printer's error.
- „ 45, st. 2, l. 2, "*fond*" = foolish; l. 3, "*not penetrable*" = not [being] able to penetrate; l. 4, "*could not inlist*" — licentiously for could not keep [it] in, &c., *i.e.*, how it sped with her; l. 5, "*Bet*" is our misprint for 'But'; st. 3, l. 2, "*darke duskie mantle*" — so the analogous phrase in Shakespeare "Night's black mantle," not only in *Romeo and Juliet*, but also in 3 *Henry VI*, act iv, sc. 2; l. 4, "*inuade*" = cause to invade or make invade any one; ll. 5–6 — the inverted commas may or may not indicate a quotation; for the practice was loose. They seem to have been used to direct attention to what the writer would hold as a noticeable saying or golden sentence, much as we use *italics*.
- „ 46, st. 1, l. 1, punctuate comma after "Muficke," certainly; l. 2, "*found*" = sounding, *i.e.*, striking or touching; l. 5, "*immelodious*" — better than our unmelodious; st. 2, l. 4, "*blacke gloom'd*" = black-gloom'd; st. 5, l. 2, "*secret folly*" = done in secret; but it was the king's folly, not her's; besides, she had told her husband. See p. 45, st. 2, l. 5, "*Bet straight*," &c.
- „ 47, st. 1, l. 3, "*vitailles*" = victuals; st. 2, l. 2, "*out*" = giving egress; st. 4, l. 4, "*his warres loud Alarums ouercame*," &c. Cf. *Venus and Adonis*, l. 700; *Taming of a Shrew*, i, 1. No doubt a phrase of the day, an 'alarum' being, from its nature, peculiarly loud.
- „ 48, st. 1, l. 2, "*difeafe*" = uneasiness, trouble; st. 2, l. 4, "*Moderator*" = mediator? In Presbyterian Church-order, the president or chairman, ruler or guider of the Session of a Congregation, of a Presbytery, of a Synod, of a General Assembly, is still called the 'Moderator'; see "Synod" at p. 9, st. 1, l. 3. It was also used in same way in English Universities later. Cf. Cleveland's *Vindicia*, 1677, p. 214. l. 5, "*vnseene*" = experience, such as never in other has been 'seen'; st. 3, l. 3, "*thwarted*" = crossed — an odd adaptive use of the word; l. 5, "*baseness*" = lowliness, humility; l. 5, "*Alas*" = interjection merely, not meaning as now, something to be lamented; st. 5, l. 1, "*hefl*" = behest.

- Page 49, st. 1, l. 2, "*amaine*" = suddenly or forcefully; st. 2, l. 2, "*uncomprehended*" = uncomprehended; l. 3, "*embracements met*" = [he] met.
- „ 50, st. 1, l. 4, punctuate rather "intent." (period); l. 5, "done." (period); for "That . . . done" is the king's reply; st. 2, l. 6, "*posseſſe her Huſbands ſweetneſſe*," i.e., the 'sweetneſſe' she gives to her husband—as frequently in Shakespeare; st. 3, l. 5, "*diſcaſed*" = uneasy, troubled, as before; st. 4, l. 4, period, not comma, after 'ieſt'; but in our author the comma ſerves for every other punctuation-mark; l. 6, "*ſweet'ſt got*" = ſweet'ſt-got.
- „ 51, st. 1, l. 1—rather ſubtilly luſt-directed; l. 2, "*new found*" = new-found; l. 6, "*Caſter*" [= Caÿſter] *Sivannes*. Cf. p. 43, l. 7 [Greekes]; l. 6, verb ſingular to plural nominative again; st. 2, l. 5, "*unrecalled time*" = time paſt, time already ſpent, i.e., as other—ed forms—time that is in a ſtate not to be recalled; st. 3, l. 4, "*craokt*" = croaked—it may have been accidental, but "craokt" is the more imitative word; st. 4, l. 1, "*lawne-like Hand*" = white as 'lawne'—taken with next line, it ſeems like a poor remembrance of *Venus and Adonis*, l. 590, and *Lucrece*, ll. 258–9; l. 2, "*diſſembling Huſband*" = paſſing himſelf off as her husband; cf. p. 30, st. 3, l. 7, for the word. = [She] Being, &c.
- „ 52, st. 1, l. 1, "*late betrayed*" = late-betrayed; l. 4, "*amaine*"—from Saxon *a* and *mægn* = to do a thing forcibly or with one main object, and therefore alſo quickly, ſuddenly. Here it means much or plentifully. St. 2, l. 2 = the injuries done to her life 'unſpotted' hitherto in intent. Cf. p. 53, st. 1, l. 4. St. 3, l. 3, "*where*" = whereas, ſince; st. 4, l. 2, "*luſtie ſtomacke youthfull*" = luſtie-ſtomacke youthfull.
- „ 53, st. 1, l. 3 = to anſwer [as to] . . . st. 2, l. 6, "*late did bleſſe*" = late in the day; st. 3, l. 4, "*well-diſpoſed*" = well-diſpoſed; st. 4, l. 2, "*paſſing true*" = ſurpaſſing true; or it may be "paſſing-true" in the ſenſe of Goldſmith's humble Vicar, "paſſing rich on forty pounds a year."
- „ 54, st. 2, l. 1—punctuate comma after "child," and alſo after "Pofterne" (l. 5); st. 3, l. 2, "*rich bearing Burthen*" = rich, bearing-Burthen.
- „ 55, st. 4, l. 2—punctuate comma after "Saxons."
- „ 56, st. 4, l. 1, "*Regiment*" = government, rule, as before. Every one remembers John Knox's "Monſtrous Regiment of Women": st. 4, ſomewhat jumbled.
- „ 57, *The Coronation of King Arthur*, &c., st. 1, l. 3, "*high ſtates*" = people of high ſtate, as before: st. 3, l. 4, "*him*" = himſelf, as frequently at that time; l. 6 (p. 58) "*dignified*" = crowned.
- „ 58, st. 1, l. 5, "*Being the Metropolitanall in nobilitie*"—hexameter?; st. 2,

- l. 3—a syllable wanting and apparently before “Kings”—qu. [‘stoute’] “Kings”: st. 3, ll. 4, 5—such that Envy is unable to tear the nobility or trueness of their hearts from their breasts; st. 4, l. 5 (p. 59), “*neare*”= ne’er.
- Page 59, *The Epistle*, &c. Be it noted that we have here and onward blank verse: l. 11, “*or’ proud*”= over-proud.
- ,, 60, l. 7, “*Emperie*”= empire, and so p. 61, l. 5, and p. 64, l. 13; l. 8—punctuate comma after “that”; l. 21, “*re demand*”= re-demand; l. 29, “*arbitrement*”= arbitrament.
- ,, 61, *Cador the Duke*, &c. l. 1, “*Renowned*”= renowned, as before. See p. 43, l. 19: *ibid.* “*Britaine*”= Briton, *i.e.* Arthur: or qu. = Britons, *i.e.* Britaine[s] to rhyme with ‘veines’; l. 6—bad comma after ‘continuall’—perhaps I ought to have in this instance deleted it and noted the fact here: qu.—“long-continuall”= long-continued?; l. 13, “*But buried in obliuions loathsome caue*” — cf. “Envy in her loathsome cave,” 2 *Henry VI.*, iii, 2; l. 15, “*pale-fac’d cowardize*” — cf. “pale-faced coward,” *Venus and Adonis*, l. 569.
- ,, 62, l. 1, “*our armour from our backs*” — cf. “armour on our back,” 2 *Henry VI.*, v, 2; l. 8, “*dull edg’d*”= dull-edged.
- ,, 63, l. 6, “*braves*”= bravadoes; l. 13, “*garboiles*”= Garbouille, *Fr.*, tumults: l. 15—“*this*” — put comma after “this”; or qu.—misprint for ‘his’?; l. 2 (from bottom), “*sometimes*”= aforesometimes (*not* ‘aforetime’) it being notorious that there were several subjections of Britain after Julius Cæsar.
- ,, 64, l. 8, “*Market place*”= Market-place; l. 12, “*inthroniz’d*”= enthroned. See *Naves*, *s.v.*, for interesting examples; l. 15, “*their*”= the Roman; and so l. 17.
- ,, 65, *The Answer*, &c., l. 1, “*experiment*”= experience; l. 4, “*post expedition*”= post-expedition; l. 5, “*voyage*”= journey (not necessarily as now by sea); l. 8, “*Victoria*”= victory; l. 13, “*Which*” [read] . . . with; l. 12, parenthetical; l. 17, “*for to*” and see p. 66, ll. 14, 15, 17; p. 73, st. 3, l. 4; p. 74, st. 2, l. 2, and st. 3, l. 3; p. 76, l. 2; p. 80, st. 3, l. 2; in Spenser, but rarely in Shakespeare; l. 20, “*Not violating*,” &c.—this line is obscure. Its *intention* is to express, probably, that the so doing violates no laws of arms, or is not a course without justification according to the established laws which regulate the employment of arms in defence of one’s rights; but it fails in giving expression to such a thought. The laws of the duello, *i.e.*, the causes which would justify such an appeal, were in that age rigidly laid down. Query—should we read “Not violating *lawe* and hostile *Armes*”? This comes a little nearer to the above-given meaning; l. 30, “*true hearted*”= true-hearted.
- ,, 66, l. 9, “*gaue the Armes*”—The ‘armes’ that Constantine was supposed

- to bear was a representation of the miraculously-appearing cross—a white cross (I think) in an azure field. It is the “Roman empire” Chester refers to; but there may have been a sub-reference, and a Protestant argument that the ‘armes’ of Rome did not come from St. Peter; the first Pope according to the Roman Catholic myth. *Angusfell King*, &c., l. 2, “*ful fraught*” = full-fraught, *i.e.*, freighted well or fully.
- Page 67, l. 6, “*hautie*” = haughty, and cf. p. 68, st. 2, l. 1. “*hawtie*”; see also p. 74, st. 1, l. 4, “*hautie* courage”; p. 75, st. 4, l. 2, “*hautie* mind”; p. 81, st. 4, l. 3, “*hautie* hearts”; l. 12, “*but meet*”—a not uncommon form of phrase at the time, and equivalent to our now only colloquial and vulgar “let me *only* meet you, that’s all”; l. 13, “*thriß*” = thirst—so in Spenser, *Fairie Queen*, ii, vi, 17; *ib.* “*sweet revenge*.” Cf. “sweet as my revenge” (*Coriolanus*, v, 3). So too (*Titus Andronicus*), “O sweet Revenge, now do I come” (v, 2), and “sweet revenge grows harsh” (*Othello*, act v, sc. 2); l. 22, “*meacocks*” = tame, or cowardly or milk-sop; so *Taming of Shrew* (ii, 1) “a meacock wretch can make the curstest shrew.” Cf. Euphris M, l. 6; l. 23, “*fond*” = foolish.
- ,, 68, st. 1, l. 3, “*Martialiß*” = soldier. So William Browne—“A brave heroick, worthy martialist” (*Brit. Past.*, i, 5); st. 2, l. 4, “*new-decayed*” = only lately decaying; st. 3, l. 2, “*loud winded*” = loud-winded; *ib.* “*checke the aire*.” Cf. st. 4, l. 5, “*Cuffing the ayre*”; st. 4, l. 4, “*well read*” = well-read; l. 6, “*gaudinisse*”—The reference is to the well-appointed and fine and, as it were, holiday-appearance of King Arthur’s joyfulness. Cf. p. 79, st. 1, ll. 3-4—there is a sub-reference to ‘joyfulness’ as an attendant meaning; st. 5, l. 4 (p. 69), “*de Or*” = of gold or golden.
- ,, 69, st. 1, l. 1, “*assumpted*” = assumed, taken up; l. 5, “*Vert*” = green (in heraldry); st. 3, l. 2, “*bad deseruing*” = bad-deserving; l. 4, “*full refined*” = full-refined; st. 4, l. 3, “*vnpure*” = impure; l. 6, “*by this Signe*” = in baptism, *i.e.*, the sign of the cross as used by Roman Catholics and Church of England in baptism.
- ,, 70, st. 1, l. 4, “*Apostatas*” = apostate in its transition-form. It occurs thus in the well-known Optick Glasse of Humours (1639), applied to Julian and elsewhere; st. 3, l. 1, punctuate with a comma (,) after ‘Charles’; l. 3, “*early rising*” = early-rising.
- ,, 71, st. 3, l. 3, “*three Toades*”.—The nickname for a Frenchman to this day or for a Jerseyite is Johnny Crapaud = Johnny (the) toad. The line is parenthetical; for the only “pourtraiture of commendation by honor” belonging to the English Kings were the 3 fleurs de lis or *lilia*, st. 2, l. 6; st. 4, l. 1, “*barbed*”—as in Shakesperc (*Richard II*, act iii, sc. 3) “*barbed* steeds to stables,” and

- (*Richard III*, act i, sc. 1) "mounted *barbed steeds*" = barbed by corruption from *barde* or *barred* = armed; st. 4, ll. 5-6, wrong grammar 'their' and 'conqueror.'
- Page 72, st. 1, l. 3, "*Who*" . . . no antecedent to this "Who" — Who (= Time) with their gilded shews in opposition to those whose armour is strongly made (l. 1) — the combined nominative to "are"; st. 2, l. 1, "*Calis*" = Calais; l. 3, "*regiment*" = rule, government; l. 4, "*conuince*" = conquer — so too p. 85, l. 9; l. 5, "*Roane*" = Rouen; st. 3, l. 5, "*Iland*" = Iceland — a very mythical conquest of Arthur, if he be meant. Query — is "Iland" a misprint for "Ireland"? Singularly enough the same question has to be put on the use of the word by Raleigh, *e.g.*, "If my fleet go for Ilande, and that your Lordshipp," &c. The Editor annotates, "So in *MS.*" (Edwards' *Raleigh*, vol. ii, p. 121.)
- „ 73, st. 1, l. 6, "*loft*" — perhaps the Author intended "lose"; st. 2, l. 2 — a third example of a parenthetical line; l. 3, "*so inestimable*" = [was] so inestimable — understood from l. 1; st. 4, ll. 2 and 4 — Lucius and Tiberius of course the same man; st. 5, l. 1, "*retraite*" = retreat; l. 5, "*Who*" (p. 74) — another example of "Who" with an odd antecedent "Who foraged about" meaning they [the British], but the only expressed antecedent is the "British name" and only becomes "Britains" in next stanza.
- „ 74, st. 2, l. 1, "*Mirmedons*," *i.e.*, myrmidons = Primarily a people on the borders of Thessaly who went with Achilles to the Trojan war. Hence it came to designate unscrupulous followers.
- „ 75, st. 4, l. 2, "*Coufin*," *i.e.*, for relationship generally. He was uncle. Such is royal style still.
- „ 76, st. 1, l. 1, "*Ilaggard*" = a wild hawk, *i.e.*, a hawk un-mannered or un-reclaimed, *agrius, unmansuetus*; st. 2, l. 4, "*fond*" = foolish; Mordreds smart, *i.e.*, the smart caused by Mordred. The "who" (l. 5) is "Arthur," as shown by next line, though the ill-chosen word "unnatural" (like the "intemperate" of l. 3) seems to make against this; st. 4, l. 6, "*landing*" = a landing (*ib.*)
- „ 77, st. 1, l. 5, "*withstand*" = stand against him with or withstand him with; st. 4, l. 2, "*mappe of Honor*." Cf. *Richard II*, act v, sc. 1, "Thou map of honor," and so 2 *Henry VI*, act iii, sc. 1, l. 4, "*life Liege*" = life-Liege; st. 5, l. 3, "*scan*" — punctuate with; and, after 'memorie' in next line — 'scan' is used, as so often, *rythmi causa*.
- „ 78, st. 1, l. 4, "*auncestrie*" — odd use of the word; l. 6, "*loofe*" = lose; st. 2, l. 2, "*Angusel*" . . . He was king of Scotland and brought 10,000 horse-men to assist Arthur; l. 5, "*was*" = verb singular after nominative plural ('bones' = body); st. 3, l. 6, "*quaild*" = quelled — so spelled to rhyme with 'sail'd.'

- Page 79, st. 2, l. 3, "*proud-gather'd*": st. 3, l. 2, "*fame-achieuing*" = fame-achieving or achieving; l. 4, "*Pridwin*" = Arthur's shield. Drayton has celebrated it (along with his sword) — "With Pridwin his great shield, and what the proof could bear." (*Polyolb.* song iv.) Chester calls it his 'sword' (erroneously.) st. 3, l. 5, "*vufecne immortalite*" — mere "words, words, words," *rythmi causa*; st. 4, l. 3, "*lofed*" = loosed; l. 4, "*amaz'd*" — frequently used contemporaneously for 'amated' or disheartened or disturbed — also in the sense of our own 'maze,' signifying to be in a maze, or as one in a maze — the latter in the text.
- „ So, st. 1, l. 3, "*deferu's*" — perhaps 'deferu'd' was intended by the Author; st. 2, l. 5, "*gaue*" — again, and like the use of 'funerall' in line before, *rythmi causa*; st. 3, l. 3, "*Bardth*" — *sic*; *ibid.*, "*diuifion*" = Welsh (divided into) verse, or music. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, act iii, sc. 5, "The lark makes sweet diuision"; l. 5, "*forefaid*" = fore-said; st. 4, l. 6, "*infrifed*" = inscribed, as 'affumpted' before (p. 69, st. 1, l. 1.)
- „ 81, st. 1, l. 2, "*vitall*" = actes when vitall; st. 2, l. 6, "*enter*" = inter; st. 3, l. 4, "*out cries*" = out-cries; l. 6, "*controule*" = haue power over, *metri causa*: st. 4, l. 3 = high-proud or high-proud-hautie.
- „ 82, st. 1, l. 4, "*Memorie*" = memorial, as before; l. 6, put hyphen (-) thus certainly — "*well-fet . . . bigge-lini'd*"; st. 3, ll. 5-6 — a typical instance of Chester's extremely unskilful use of language sometimes. Line 4 and ll. 3-4 must be accounted parenthetical, and then we obtain this — But that [one] was greater than the rest; had it been 'lesser' [,] Britain would have been blessed, *i.e.*, Arthur had not died.
- „ 83. *Iohannis Leylandij*, &c. l. 12, the "*que*" has got somehow disjoined from "*Ætherij*." The comma after 'petit' is an error of the original.
- „ 84, l. 5, "*Vertues sole intent*" — curious translation of or rather substitute for "*virtutis alumnus*."
- „ 85, *The true Pedigree*, &c. The 'curious reader' of ll. 3-4 must refer to the Chronicles. The matter does not seem worth an Editor's labour. l. 1, "*borne*" = boren in pronunciation, *i.e.*, dissyllabic — also [fair] is needed before "*Igrene*"; l. 4, "*end*" = close or conclude, *r. g.*; l. 7, "*Sometimes*" = sometime, as before: l. 9, cf. with l. 10, where "*Meliamus*" is trisyllabic; "*conuince*" = conquer, as before (p. 72, st. 2, l. 4); l. 16 — qu. — did he intend this to be scanned as an hexameter or pentameter line? Probably as the latter; l. 17, "*foueragnize*" — frequent verb form with Chester, and later.
- THE POEM-PROPER RESUMED.
- „ 86, st. 1, l. 1, "*Troynouant*" = new Troy — the mythic name of 'Lon-

don'; l. 5, "*raifd*"—qu, 'raife'? st. 2, l. 1—punctuate comma after 'when'; *ibid.*, "*more nearer*"—reduplicated comparative; l. 3, "*famous builded*"=famous-built; l. 7, "*neare*"=ne'er; *ibid.*, "*tam'd*"—a quaint etymology for 'Thames' certes; st. 3, l. 2, "*raif'd*"=praised; l. 3, "*Council chamber*"=Council-chamber; l. 4, "*Experiment*"=experience. *Here Nature, &c.*

Page 87, l. 2—What's Cupid but a boy? (of Poem continued)—ought doubtless to have had 'Phoenix' in the margin.

., 88, st. 2, l. 2, "*farre remoted*"=farre-remoted, *i.e.*, removed; Poem continued—st. 2, l. 3, "*sweete smoothd*"=sweete-smoothd; l. 4, "*Loue*"=Loue's, the 's' being in "*felſe*"; st. 3, l. 3, "*ſhallow witted*"=shallow-witted; l. 4, "*force materiall*"=a forced phrase for the gew-gaws and wanton toys of which Nature had said Loue [in shallow-minds] was fond; st. 4, l. 2, "*parted*"=departed; *ibid.* l. 3 (p. 89), "*this Waggon*"—printer's error for 'his Waggon' the 'th' being caught from previous 'with'. Chester has here lapsed; they are in Phœbus' chariot—see p. 17, st. 3. But now Nature says that Phœbus has 'parted' from their sight and mounted in[to] the sky with his Waggon, thus giving passage to the 'gloomie night'; l. 7, "*bottome plaines*"=bottome-plaines.

., 89, st. 1, l. 3, "*taste*"=feel. So Chapman (Odysſs xxi), "He now began to *taste* the bow." St. 2, "*Looke,*" &c. Here again, 'Nature' should be in the margin; l. 2, "*meadow plots*"=meadow-plats; l. 3, "*amaine*"=forcefully; l. 4, "*found*"=in a quasi-nautical sense, *r.c.*; st. 3, l. 4, "*extenuate*"=extend—a curious use of the word, *rythmi causa*; ll. 6 7, "*Of plants,*" &c.=the glories of, &c. (l. 3)—ll. 4-5, as so frequent in Chester are of a parenthetical character.

., 90, st. 1, l. 1, "*Mandrake*"—I found it still believed in, as here, on and in the villages at the foot of, Carmel in Palestine. It abounds near Nazareth; st. 2, l. 1, "*Yellow Crowbels*"—said to be peculiar to Wilts (Aubrey)=Crowbells—Tent lily, asphodil, daffodil,—Narcissus Pseudonacissus. So Prior; but in text we have Daphedill immediately following; l. 2, "*Good Harry*"—in full, Good-King-Harry, *i.e.*, Allgood, English Mercury, goose-foot, Chenopodium Bonus Henricus L.; *ibid.*, "*herbe Robert*"=stork-bill, *i.e.*, Geranium Robertianum L.—its derivation is differently accounted for; *ibid.*, "*while Cotula*"=Mayweed, foetid, and otherwise, Matricaria Chamomilla, L. and Pyrethium Parthenium, L.; l. 3, "*Adders graffe*"—according to Gerarde *cynosorchis*; probably = adder's tongue—for this is called in old MSS. *nedderis gres* (grass) as well as *nedderis tonge*, *Serpentaria*, *Ophioglossum vulgatum*, L.; *ibid.*,

“*Aphodill*”=asphodil, *i.e.*, a species of daffodil; l. 4, “*Agnus Castus*”=the chaste tree; *ibid.*, “*Acatia*”=acacia, an American Robinia—Rob. Pseudocacia; l. 5, “*Blacke Arke-Angell*”=the dead, deaf or blind nettle—colours white, red and yellow, not ‘black’ *Lamium alb, purpur. L.* and *Galeobdolon Cr.*—the name was also applied to the umbelliferous plant *Angelica, archangelica L.*; *ibid.*, “*Coloquintida*”—still well known = *colocynth*; l. 6, “*Sinkefoile*”=Cinquefoil = five-leaved grass, *Potentilla, L.*; *ibid.*, “*Bois Mercurie*” qu.—Child’s or Childing Mercury, of which Parkinson gives a drawing and calls it *Phyllum manficum* and *feminificum*; l. 7, “*Goofyfoot*”—*Chenopodium L.* See l. 2, under “Good Harry”; *ibid.*, “*Goldsnap*”—qu. golden cudweed? or a form of ‘gold-knappe’ = gold or butter-cup = King or Gilt cup, *ranunculus, L.*; *ibid.*, “*Gratia Dei*”=*Gratiola, Hedge Hyssop, Scutellaria minor, L.*; st. 3, l. 1, “*Moffe of the Sea*”=seamoss, coraline; *ibid.*, “*Succorie*”—still so called = wild endive, *Cichorium Intybus*; l. 2, “*Weetwind*”=Withwind, *convolvulus arvensis, L.*; l. 3, “*Muskmealons*”—or ‘musk-million,’ a species of sweet melon in opposition to the water-melon; *ibid.*, “*Moustaile*”=little stone-crop = a species of the house-leek—said by Prior to be *Myosurus minimus*; *ibid.*, “*Mercurie*”=as before, st. 2, l. 7, but the French M. seems to be called the ‘Mercury’ *Mercur. annua, L.*; l. 4, “*Arkangell*”—as before, st. 2, l. 5; l. 5, “*Souldiers perrow*”—qu. soldiers’ yarrow, millefoil, *achillæa millefolium, L.*? *ibid.*, “*Southerne-wood*”=Southern wormwood, *Artemisia Abrotanum, L.*—I found this covering acres on the gentler slopes of Sinai; l. 6, “*Stone hearts tongue*”—*Abrotanum, L.*; *ibid.*, “*Blessed thistle*”=sacred—the emblem of Scotland, *i.e.*, *Carduus benedictus*; *ibid.*, “*Sea Trifoly*”—can find none with epithet ‘Sea’; l. 7, “*Ladies cushion*”=Thrift? Sea Gilliflower, Cushion Pink, *Armeria Vulgaris, W.*; *ibid.*, “*Spaines Pellitorie*”—called in Latin *Pyrethrum, L.*, “by reason of his hot and fiery taste,” Gerarde, *Anacyclus Pyrethrum, De Candole*; st. 4, l. 1, “*where as*”=whereat; l. 3, “*aches*”—disyllabic as in Shakespeare; l. 7, “*Agnus Castus*”—as before, st. 2, l. 4— a fitting request by the ‘*Virgin-queen.*’

Page 91, st. 1, l. 4, “*that bends*”=the hot inflamed spirite ‘that bends’ to Luxury is ‘allaid’ by *Agnus Castus*; st. 2, l. 1, “*Burn me*”—this way of speaking, not uncommon in Shakespeare, was also not uncommon in the colloquial speech of the time and later, and even now is not; *ibid.*, “*straw*”=strow; l. 2, “*Whereas*”=whereat, as before; l. 5, “*anaunt*”=begone—note again that as descriptive of Paphos Ile =

Ireland—all this is peculiarly appropriate ; st. 3, l. 1, “*Clary or Clare-erie*” = Oc. Christi, God’s eye, Seebright, from M. Lat. sclarea, *Salvia sclarea*, L. ; l. 2, “*Calues finout*” = Lion’s Snap, Snap-dragon, *Antiirrhinum Majus*, L., but in old works given to ragged robin, *Lychnis flos cuculi*, L. ; *ibid.*, “*Cukoe flowers*” = wilde water cresses, *cardamine* (Gerarde) ; *ibid.*, “*Cuckoes meate*” = C. Bread or Gowks Meat — blossoms at the season that the cuckoo is heard — *Oxalis acetosella*, L. Wood sorrell ; l. 3, “*Calathian Violets*” = Autumn bells, Sing flower, *Gentiana Pneumonanthe*, L. ; *ibid.*, “*Dewberrie*” = *Rubus chamaemorus* ; l. 4, “*Leopards foote*” — can’t find ; l. 5, “*Indian Sunne*” — *ibid.* ; l. 6, “*Valerian*” = capon’s tail and (‘improperly,’ Parkinson) *Setwal*, *Valeriana Officinalis*, L. ; *ibid.*, “*Withie wind*” = A. S. Wið, about, same as bindweed, *Convolvulus arvensis*, L., also ‘Weedwind,’ p. 90, st. 2 ; l. 7, *Woodbind*” — given by Parkinson as the honeysuckle : but it must have been also used for a different plant. Cf *Mids. N. D.*, iv, 1. Prior says it may be the bitter sweet, *Solanum Dulcamara* ; also he gives it to the *Lonicera Periclymenum*, L. The ‘honey-suckle’ was not ague-curing. It is simply impossible that Shakespeare meant that the honeysuckle entwined the honeysuckle and called it by two different names. There is, however, no reason why the ‘withwind’ or ‘bind-weed’ (*i.e.*, *convolvulus*) should not have been called in Warwickshire or elsewhere the woodbine, the derivation being not a ‘bine’ found in woods, but a ‘bine’ that clings to a tree or other shrub ; st. 4, l. 1, “*Coliander*” = *Coriander C. Sativum*, L. ; l. 2, “*Galingal*” = aromatic root of the rush *cyperus longus*, L. ; *ibid.*, “*Goldcups*” = meadow *ranunculus* = butter cups ; *ibid.*, “*Buprestis*” — *Buprestis Theophrasti* referred by Parkinson to the hares-ears, genus *Bupleurum*, L. ; l. 3, “*small honsflies*” = Pinckes (pinks) in Parkinson ; *ibid.*, “*Eye-bright*” = *Ocul. Christi*, *q.v.* ; *ibid.*, “*Coculus Panter*” — can find nothing but *Coculus Indus* or *Indi* ; l. 4, “*Double tongue*” = the plant horse-tongue ; *ibid.*, “*Moly*” = Homer’s plant—called by Parkinson Hungarian or Saracen’s Garlic ; *ibid.*, “*Anthillis*” = sea chickweed and sea ground pine according to Parkinson ; but it seems to be a name of *Dioscorides*, on which no definite conclusion could be come to : p. 281 and at p. 569, he speaks of the ground pine as called by some *Anthyllis* ; l. 5, “*Clauer*” = clover, also called *Mellilot* ; *ibid.*, “*Ethiopsis*” = an *Æthiopian* plant which Parkinson first classed among the Mulleins (the *Verbascas*, L.) but afterwards put with the *Clarys* (the *Salvias*, L.) ; l. 6, “*Flora-more*” = fleur d’ amour, Fr., from a mistaken etymology of

Amaranthus, Am. tricolor, L.; *ibid.*, “*Euphorbium*” = see on st. 3, l. 1; *ibid.*, “*Efula*” = some of the Tithimales or Spurges (Euphorbia) (Parkinson, *s.v.*); l. 7, “*Cassia fistula*” = an Indian plant producing a pulp still used medicinally. It has preserved its name to this day.

- Page 92, st. 1, “*By the way*” — note this now familiar phrase; l. 2, “*Moly*” — as before; l. 5, “*laden*” = ladened; st. 3, l. 1, “*Mugwort*” — said by Prior to be a form of Mothwort, also called Mothenwort *Artemisia Vulgaris*, L.; *ibid.*, “*Sena*” = senna, the well known drug; *ibid.*, “*Tithimales*” = “Herbe à laict, Spurge, Tithimal, Milkweed (Milkwort, Parkinson), Wolves Milk.” Cotgrave; l. 2, “*Oke of Ierusalem*” = (leaf supposed to resemble oak leaf) — Oak of Cappadocia *Chenopodium Ambrosioides*, L.; *ibid.*, “*Lyryconfaucie or Liriconfancy*” = corruption of *lilium convallium*, or lily of the valley, *Convallaria majalis*, L.; l. 3, “*Larkes spur*” — so known at present, *L. heel* — toe or claw, *Knights spurs Delphinium*, L.; *ibid.*, “*Larkes claw*” — I find no such word, but Prior gives it as a synonym for Lark’s spur, and Chester is no authority; l. 4, “*Garden Nigella*” = a Fennel flower, *Nigella damascena*, L.; *ibid.*, “*Mill*” — I can’t find; *ibid.*, “*Pionie*” = peony; l. 5, “*Sentorie*” = centaury; l. 6, “*Sowbread*” — its tuber eaten by swine, *Cyclamen europeum*, L.; *ibid.*, “*Goates oregan*,” or goat’s organ, or goat’s marjoram; l. 7, “*Pelemeum*” — I can’t find; *ibid.*, “*Osmond the Waterman*” = *Osmund Fern*, *Os. royal*, *St. Christopher’s Herb* = *Osmunda regalis*, L.; st. 4, l. 1 — punctuate, after “*Mugwort*” — see before, p. 92, st. 3, l. 1.
- „ 93, st. 2, l. 3, “*Melampus*,” l. 4, “*Proctus*” — see *Myth. Dict.*, *s.v.*, the first mortal endued with prophetic powers and medical skill undertook to cure Proctus’ daughters, king of Argos, and got two-thirds of kingdom and married one daughter (one account); st. 3, l. 1, “*Centrie*” — see p. 92, st. 1, l. 5; l. 6, “*aches*” — disyllabic, as before noted.
- „ 94, st. 1, l. 7, “*hath*” — another of the author’s curious change of tenses; st. 2, l. 1, “*Osmond balepate*” — I know not unless is = *Osm. the Waterman*, that being “singular for wounds, bruises and the like” — see p. 92, st. 3, l. 7; *ibid.*, “*Plebane*” — I can’t find — might be error for *Fleabane* = *Inula Pulicaria*, L.; *ibid.*, “*Oculus Chrifti*” = *Wild clary*, *God’s eye*, *See-bright*, *Salvia Sclarca*, L.; l. 2, “*Salomons seale*” = *Solomon’s*, *i.e.*, *Ladder to heaven*, *Convallaria Polygonatum*, L., root stock cut across, being marked like two triangles reversed; *ibid.*, “*Sampfire*” = *samphire* — every one knows Shakespeare’s reference to it — “one that gathers *samphire*” (*Lear*, act iv, sc. 6); *Fr. St.*

- Pierre, and so Sampire from its growing on sea cliffs; l. 3, "*Sage of Ierusalem*" = cowslips of Jerusalem, Lingwort, Bugloss cowslip, spotted Comfrey, *Pulmonaria officinalis*, L.; l. 4, "*Great Pilosella*" = Mouseear, *Hieracium Pilosella*, L.; *ibid.*, "*Sengreene*" — see note under 'Water Sengreene,' p. 96, st. 4, l. 2; *ibid.*, "*Alexander*" = horse-parsley, *Smyrnium Olus atrum*, L.; l. 5, "*Knights Milfoile*" — qu., the hooded Milfoil, Bladder-wort, *Utricularia vulgaris*, L.; *ibid.*, "*Masticke*" = Masticke, gum from *Pistacia Lentiscus*, from Scio; *ibid.*, "*Stocke gilfofer*" = Our present 'stock,' *Matthiola incana*, L.; l. 6, "*herbe twopence*" = moneywort from its pairs of round leaves, *Lysimachia Nummularia*, L.; *ibid.*, "*Uermodactill*" = roots sold as medicine in Parkinson's time, but the plant unknown — '*Redflower Pimpernell*' *Anagallis arvensis*, L.; st. 4, l. 1, "*imperious*" — punctuate with , after; l. 2, "*crie disdaining*" = crie-disdaining; l. 6, "*lower*" = lowered; l. 7, "*neare*" = ne'er.
- Page 95, st. 1, l. 6, "*Hard hearted*" = hard-hearted; st. 2, l. 2, "*morne excellng*" = morne-excellng; st. 1-2 — profoundly suggestive of the radiant, impulsive, passionate Essex. See our Introduction; st. 3, l. 5, "*refine*" — odd yet noticeable use of 'refine'; st. 4, l. 1, "*Carrets*" — see p. 96, st. 1; *ibid.*, "*Cheruile*" = *Chærophyllum sylvestre*, L., *χαίρεφυλλον*, *χαίρω*, I rejoice, *φυλλον*, leaf; *ibid.*, l. 2, "*Red Patiens*" = Patience or Monks rhubarb, dock, *Rumex Patientia*, L.; "*Purflane*" — see p. 96, st. 3; *ibid.*, "*Gingidium*" — Parkinson calls it strange cheviril, and says that all the varieties come from Syria, except one from Spain; l. 3, "*Oxe eie*" = the great daisy, from Lat. *bupthalmus*, *Chrysanthemum Leucanthemum*, L.; "*Penygraffes*" — The sheep-killing p-g. is = penny-rot, the white-rot — marsh pennywort, *Hydrocotyle vulgaris*, L. Cotgrave gives, "Herbe qui tue les brebis, Moneywort, herb two-penny, two-penny grass," and Parkinson the same; but these names seem to have been given rather confusedly to *Hydrocotyle vulg.*, *Pinguicula vulg.*, and *Lysimachia Nummularia*, L.; l. 4, "*Cuckoe pintell*" = *arum maculatum*, L. See wake-robin, p. 96; *ibid.*, "*Ladies feale*" = *Sigill. S. Mariæ* = *Bryonia nigra*. Prior, following some of our old herbalists, says that it and Solomon's seal are the same, *i.e.*, *Convallaria Polygonatum*, L.; but Parkinson differs and makes the S. S. Mariæ, black bryony, *Tamus communis*, L.; *ibid.*, "*Saga pinum*" = *Sagapenum*, a gum like *Galbanum* from Media; l. 5, "*Theophrastus violet*" = (old names) white violet or wallflower; *ibid.*, "*Vincetoxicum*" — Parkinson calls it *Gentianella minor verna*; l. 6, "*Saint Peters wort*" = cowslip, from resembling a bunch of keys, *Primula veris*, L.; *ibid.*,

“*Venus hair*” = Maiden hair fern, *Adiantum*, L.; l. 6, “*Squilla*” = squills. I saw huge shrub-like plants of it in Palestine. Page 96, st. 1, l. 6, “*Sad dreaming*” = Sad-dreaming; l. 7, “*honie working*” = honie-working; l. 5, “*But*” — They would sell, &c., rather than not view or experience thy sweete, &c.; st. 2, l. 2, “*ravished*” = ravished infernal Pluto; st. 3, l. 1, “*Purflane*” — *Portulaca oleracea*, L., as before, p. 95, st. 3, l. 2; st. 4, l. 1, “*Rocket*” — corruption of diminutive of *eruca*, *Eruca sativa* Lam.; *ibid.*, “*Iack by the hedge*” = more properly ‘Jakes,’ from its offensive garlicky smell, Sauce alone, *Alliaria officinalis*, L.; *ibid.* “*Lone in idleneffe*” = [small] pansy: *Viola Tricolor*, L.; l. 2, “*Knights water Sengreene*” — Sengreene is the houseleek, sin (Sax.) ever, also aigreen, Jupiter’s eye, Bullock’s eye, Jupiter’s beard, *Sempervivum Tectorum*, L. Parkinson speaks of an Egyptian water plant looking like a houseleek which was called *Stratiotes*, and this or the *Stratiotes Aizoides* he calls in his Index Water Sengreen; l. 3, “*Paris Navews*” — query, Herb Paris or Truelove, its four leaves resembling a truelove knot — but ‘Navews’ are rapes, turnips, and sometimes it would seem radishes; *ibid.*, “*Tornefol*” = (sun-flower?) Wartwort, *Euphorbia helioscopia*, L.; l. 4, “*Starre thistle*” — so called from its spiny involucre, *Centaurea Solstitialis*, L.; l. 5, “*Seta*” — I can’t find this; l. 6, “*Wake-robbsins*” = Cuckoo-Pint, *Wake-Pintle*, *Arum maculatum*, L., one among several repetitions, shewing that Chester repeated without knowledge: cf. ‘Cuckoe Pintle,’ p. 95, st. 1, l. 4, *et alibi*; *ibid.*, “*Hartichocke*” = artichoke.

,, 97, st. 1, l. 1, “*Hyacinthus*.” See *Apollod.*, i, 3, § 3, for the ancient myth. l. 5, “*springled*” — a trisyllable here; l. 7, “*red white mingled*” = red-white mingled, or red-white-mingled; *ib.*, “*Gilli-flower*” = carnation. But Shakespeare distinguished between the carnation and gilliflower, *e.g.*

“The fairest flowers of the season,
Are our Carnations and streaked Gillyflowers”

Winter’s Tale, iv, 3.

which is kindred with Spenser’s distinction between ‘Carnations’ (‘Coronations’ as he rightly spells — from coronæ = garlands) and Sops-in-wine, which, nevertheless, are only two of the numerous names of this one beautiful plant. I met with it wild on the plain of Esdraelon, at the foot of the mountains of Gilboa in Palestine — white, streaked with pale red. Cf. *Midsummer Night’s Dream*, act. ii, sc. 2, for an exquisite descriptive *bit*. Dr. Brinsley Nicholson — to whom, as throughout, I am extremely indebted for most painstaking researches on

Chester's flowers, &c.—thus writes me hereon: "The carnation and gilliflower seem to have been different species (or at least varieties) of the same genus. Parkinson (Paradisus Ter., p. 314) says, 'Most of our later writers call them by one general name, *Caryophyllum sativum* and *flos Caryophylleus*, adding thereunto *maximus*, when wee mean carnations, and *maior* when we would express gilliflowers, which name is taken from cloves, in that the sent of the ordinary red gilliflower (*quasi* July flower) especially doth resemble them.' I give this to clear up the difficulty that has always existed as to Shakespeare's and Spenser's lines. Even now I find a distinction made between carnations and pinks and gilliflowers, and I am much inclined from this to believe in the derivation from *carnis* and not from *coronæ*—the 'popular carnation' being, as I understand it, of a red colour with the barest mingling of a reddish white." St. 2—this and other contextual stanzas are to be read between the lines. 'Nature' is pleading with the 'Phoenix' (Elizabeth) for the 'Turtle dove' (Essex). St. 3, l. 2, "*silver coloured Lillie*" = silver-coloured. Cf. p. 21, heading of 'A Prayer'—'a *silver coloured Dove*'; l. 6, "*At ai*" = the exclamation of woe by Apollo for the mortally wounded Hyacinthus or the letter Υ of $\Upsilon\acute{\alpha}\kappa\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$; st. 4, l. 1, "*shift*" = trick; l. 4, "*Treuant*" = truants; l. 5, "*deepe reade*" = deepe-rea-de.

Page 98, st. 1, l. 1, "*Rocket*"—see on p. 96, st. 4, l. 1; l. 2, "*in your Maisters brow*" = frowns indicative of displeasure? l. 7, "*That what is seene without comes not within*," i. e., I suppose, the 'wheels' are there but no 'blood' drawn or pain caused; st. 2, l. 4, "*Artichocks*"—see p. 96, st. 4, l. 6; *ib.*, '*who*'—note this for which; l. 5, "*Sod*" = sodden or steeped; st. 3, ll. 1 & 3, put hyphen in 'Sommer-time and Winter-time'; st. 4, l. 1, "*Sowbread*"—see p. 99, sts. 1–3, and note p. 92, st. 3, l. 6—*Cyclamen Europæum*, L.; *ib.*, "*Starwort*"—qu. stonecrop? or as we have had stonecrop, qu. error for Stab-wort, *Oxalis acet.*, L., or Star-wort, *Aster Tripolium*, L.? *ib.* "*Starre of Hierusalem*"—qu. Star of Bethlehem? Prior makes the Star of Bethlehem to be *Ornithogalum umbellatum*, L., and the Star of Jerusalem or girasole, *Tragopogon porrifolium*; but Parkinson in his Index makes them the same, and gives as synonyms Goats-beard, Go-to-bed-at-noon, Joseph's flower, also a *Tragopogon* (*pratense*), L.; l. 2, "*Vervaine*" = vervain or vervine—anciently used in sacred rites and ceremonies—also called holy herb, pigeon's grass, Juno's tears, &c., *Verbena officinalis*, L.; *ib.*, "*Tansie*"—a yellow ill-savoured wild plant, still so-named—*Tanacetum vulgare*; Fr., tanaise—

'tansy' from Athanasia Gr. from a misinterpretation of Lucian (*Dial. of Gods*, iv); l. 3, "Go to bed at noone"—see 'Starre Hierusalem,' l. 1; *ib.*, "Titimalem"—see note on p. 92, st. 2, l. 1; l. 4, "Hundred headed thistle"—I imagine the reference is to the abundant 'thistle-down' that bears the seed in a 'hundred' directions; *ib.*, "Iuie"—see p. 98, st. 4. Shakespeare says—

"The female Ivy so
Enrings the barky fingers of the elm."

Midsummer Night's Dream, act. iv, sc. 1.

One rarely or never sees it round the (traditional) 'vine.' Pliny tells us (*s.v.*) that the yellow berries of ivy drunk secure one from drunkenness, and Cato and Varro that there is such antipathy between the ivy and wine that if wine and water be put into an ivy cup, the water remains but the wine soaks through. Hence the appropriation of both to Bacchus might have arisen from the ivy being thought a preservative from all but the good effects of the grape. Milton sings of "the ivy never sear." l. 5, "Storks bill"—an herb still so named; *ib.*, "Stonecrop"=the *Sedum acre* of Linnæus; *ib.*, "Canary"=canary-seed—so known still; l. 6, "Dwarfe gentian"—see p. 100, st. 3; *ib.*, "Snakeweed"=adder's wort or bistort, *Polygonum Bistorta*; *ib.*, "Saury." This plant gets its name from the Latin *Satureia* through the Italian *Savoreggia*. *Winter's Tale*, act. iv, sc. 3 (Ellacombe). l. 8, "Bell rags"=a kind of water-cress? *ib.*, "prickly Boxe"=either our buck-thorn *rhamnus catharticus*, L., "the buck being a misrendering of Germ. buxdorn = box-thorn *πυξάνθη*" Prior; or another plant called by Parkinson box-thorn (p. 1009) *Lycium sive Pyxacantha*, he having spoken of buck-thorn in the previous chapter; *ib.*, "Raspis of Couentry"—the 'raspberry.' Gerarde describes it by the name of 'Rubus idæus, the raspis bush, or hind-berry. He has this notice of it:—"The raspis is planted in gardens: it groweth not wilde that I know of, except in a field by a village in Lancashire, called Harwood, not far from Blackburn" (p. 1273). As resident in Blackburn I may state that the 'raspberry' abounds in the woods all around us. See Nares's *s.v.* for a full note.

Page 99, st. 1, l. 5, "Vnlesse too much," &c., *i.e.*, unless they wish abortion or miscarriage; st. 2, l. 5, "When Mother Lullabie with ioy should sing"=Mother sing *Lullabie* with ioy; l. 6, "Yet wanton scaping Maides," &c. Cf. st. 1, l. 5, and relative note; also the next stanza here. St. 4, l. 4, "the maiden Ciffus"=*κισσος* ivy. There seems at p. 100, st. 1, ll. 1-5, a reminiscence of the story of Ariadne and Dionysus.

Page 100, st. 1, l. 3, "*infused*" = drawn thither; but by stress of rhyme, and so too in l. 5. St. 3, l. 2, "*hot shining*" = hot-shining; l. 5, "*not shunne*" = not [otherwise]; st. 4, l. 1, "*Carduus benedictus* *Blessed thistle*. So Shakespeare—

Margaret. Get you some of this distilled *Carduus Benedictus*, and lay it to your heart; it is the only thing for a qualm.

Hero. There thou prickest her with a Thistle.

Beatrice. Benedictus! Why Benedictus? You have some moral in this Benedictus.

Margaret. Moral! No by my troth, I have no moral meaning; I meant plain Holy Thistle."

(*Much Ado About Nothing*, ac. iii, sc. 4.)

The 'Holy Thistle' or 'Blessed Thistle' was long held to be a heal-all. See Steevens' *Shakespeare in loco*; l. 2, "*Nefwort*," see p. 101, st. 1 — Parkinson calls it White Hellebore. Prior, under sneeze-wort, says = *Achillæa Ptarmica*; *ibid.*, "*Peniroyall*" — (so called still) Latin *pulegium regium* and *L. Mentha pulegium* — supposed to destroy fleas — also called pudding grass, because used in 'stuffings'; *ibid.*, "*Astrolochia*" — cannot find anywhere; l. 3, "*Yellow Wolfs-bane*" = *aconite* — usually blue, but one kind has pale yellow flowers; *ibid.*, "*Bramble*." See a most interesting note on this familiar plant (or shrub) in Ellacombe's *Plant-Lore and Garden Craft of Shakespeare* (1878), s.v. l. 4, "*Our Ladies Bedstraw*" = the plant *Galium*; *ib.*, "*Brookelime*" = water-pimpernell, *Vormica Beccabringa*, L.; *ibid.*, "*Lunaria*" — see p. 101, st. 4; l. 5, "*Cinque foile*" = five-leaved grass, but Prior makes them different — *Typha latifolia* and *Phleum pratense* L.; *ib.*, "*Cats taile*" = the plant horse-tail? *Potentilla*, L.; *ib.*, "*Creffe Sciatica*" — so-called (I suppose) as good for alleviating sciatic and rheumatic pains — a kind of candytuft, *Ihoris amara*, L.; l. 6, "*Hollihockes*" = holly-hock — still well-known and admired; *ib.*, "*Moufcare*" = Latin, *myosotis*, *Hieracium Pilosella*, L. — appearance of chickweed, but the flower larger and the fruit ox-horn shape, open at the top and full of small round seeds. There is a mouse ear chickweed and a mouse ear scorpion grass, but they are both different. Holland's Pliny, however, gives as a synonym for mouse ear (*Myosotis*) chickweed. Prior gives mouse ear chickweed, *stellaria media*; *ib.*, "*Pety Morrell*" = garden night-shade, i.e., *solanum nigra*; l. 7, "*Sage*" — see p. 101, sts. 2-3; *ib.*, "*Scorpiades*" = scorpion-grass or caterpillers, though the word ought to be *Scorpioides*. It is the mouse ear scorpion grass, now called forget-me-not — *Myosotis palustus*, L., from its spike, says Prior, resembling a scorpion's

ff

tail, it was supposed by the doctrine of signatures to be good against a scorpion's bite; *ib.*, "garden sorrell"—the wild 'wood' sorrell cultivated—a sallet.

Page 101, st. 1, l. 3, "*foi*"= sodden or steeped. Cf. p. 98, st. 2, l. 5; st. 2, l. 3, "*Ætius*"=probably Actius of Amida, a physician and writer on medicine? He refers to Egyptian medicine in his Β. Ἱατρικὰ ἐκκαίδεκα; st. 4, l. 4, "*horlocke*"= a horse's fetter to prevent anything but a gentle pace and straying—qu.—get twisted among the leaves and stems and so un-locked?

,, 102, st. 1, l. 1, "*Standergras*"—having double tubers, it was thought on the doctrine of signatures to have aphrodisiac powers, Prior, *Orchis mascula*, L. This and '*Ilares ballockes*' and '*great Orchis*' are different names for one plant, as shown by description and name, and by the text 'provoketh' and 'procureth,' l. 2, and 'It,' ll. 3 and 5, *et seq.*; ll. 6-7=only to be used fresh or newly pulled; st. 3, l. 1, "*Rofemarie*"—See Ellacombe, as before, for a full note on this once wonderfully popular plant; *ib.*, "*upstifie*"= uphold or state or make just; l. 6, "*Conferues reflores*"—plural nominative to verb singular; st. 4, l. 1, "*Dwale or Nightshade*"—the latter explains the former name. The 'Dwale-Bluth' of young Oliver Madox-Brown has revived the older name unforgetably; l. 4, "*coile*"= disturbance, tumult; l. 6, "*Almaine*"= Germany; l. 7, "*nought*"= naught, naughty, bad.

As this ends our Author's rapid naming and description of plants and flowers, I must semi-apologize for my attempt to give each its scientific name. I have ventured to do so (through Dr. Nicholson's ready aid) *first* from the tendency people then had to give the same name to different flowers, *second* that the then Botanists placed different species of different genera under one generic name. I would now introduce here a hitherto unprinted poem from a *MS.* in the Chetham Library, Manchester, wherein the most popular flowers are daintily introduced, as follows:

MUSA AMATORIA.

1. In sunny fumers heatinge
Cloffe in an harbour sittinge
Under a mirtle shade;
For my kinde loue the fairest
Wth flowers of the rarest,
A Pofie thus I made.
2. The first of maidens fancie
Wth purple coloured panfy,
The goold that shutt at night;

- And then I platt a maidens bluth,
A Tulupp and Narciffus,
Wth Campions red and white.
3. The violett and the Eglantine,
Wth Cowlips sweet and fops in wine,
Sweete marjoram and ox eye ;
The flowers of muske millions,
Come blowe me downe, sweet Williams,
Wall-flowers and favorye.
4. The cheifest flowers for pofes,
Are pinks, gilliflowers and rofes ;
I pluckt them in their prime.
The Larkheelee and the Lillie,
The fragrant Daffa-dillie,
Wth Lauender and tyme.
5. The cheifest flowers for taftinge,
The flower euerlaftinge
I puld it from the baye ;
The blew and coloured collobiue,
The Dafie and the woodbine,
And next, the flower of Maye.
6. Thefe flowers beinge culled
And from their branches pulled
They yield a fragrant sent ;
And I oberfud their places
And had them in bride-Laces,
And to my Loue I went.
7. Where I perceiud her sportinge
With other maides refortinge,
Nigh by a riuer ftode;
When ſhe had well perufed
My poſie not refufed
Upon her arme ſhe tyed.
8. With modeſt kind behauor
She thanks me for my fauor,
And weares it for my fake;
And with ten thouſand kiſſes
The reſt remayne in wiſhes
Her Loveinge leaue ſhe takes. Finis.
(8010 Chetham Library, 8055 Farmer's Catal.)

St. 2, l. 2, "*Times increafe.*" So Shakespeare 'earth's increase' (*Tempest*, act. iv, sc. 1 (Song) and 2 *Henry VI*, act iii, sc. 2) and 'womb's increase' (*Coriol*, act i, sc. 1); l. 5, "*their*" = there, as *frequenter* contemporaneously; l. 6, "*sweete spread*" = sweete-spread; st. 3, l. 6, "*nominate*" = name, *r.g.*; st. 4, l. 3, "*loftie bearing*" = loftie-bearing; l. 5, "*Chriffs-thorne*" = Spina Christi—I found it in enormous growth near Jericho; l. 6, "*Tamariske*" = tamaris, Fr. and Sp.: tamarisco, It.: tamariscus, Latin—wood and fruit medicinal; st. 5, l. 1, "*most chaff tree, that Chastnesse doth betoken*"—no opportunity is 'let slip' of pleasing the 'Virgin-queen,' as she rejoiced to be called, by such references; l. 2, "*Hollyholme*" = a holm holly; l. 3, "*Corke*"—Gerarde and Parkinson describe this tree, though it was not planted in England until the latter part of the seventeenth century; *ib.*, "*Gooseberrie.*" It may be noted that Dr. Prior has shewn that this word is a corruption of 'Cross-berry,' and so has nothing to do with the 'goose'; l. 3 (page 104) "*shooken*" = shaken, *r.g.*; l. 4, "*Philbert*" = filbert; *ib.*, "*Barberie*" or Berberry = the pimperidge-bush—a prickly shrub, bearing a long red tart 'berry'; l. 5, "*Masticke*"—lentisk tree—I saw it plentiful in Cyprus and Scio = gum from it.

Page 104, st. 1, l. 1, "*Iudas tree*"—resembles the apricot—grows in hedges of Italy and Spain, but in England it was the *elder* of Shakespeare; st. 2, l. 1, "*Ash-tree.*" See Ellacombe, as before, *s.v.*; *ib.*, "*Maple*"—a fine naturalized English tree, with odd-shaped winged seeds that when I was a boy used to be called 'cocks and hens'; *ib.*, "*Sycamore*"—*Acer pseudoplatanus*, L., of the maple genus; l. 2, "*Pomegranate*" = the kernelled apple (*ponium granatum*)—delicious in Palestine as I proved at Shunem, &c.; *ib.*, "*Apricoakes.*" See Ellacombe, as before, for a full note (*s.v.*) hereon; *ib.*, "*Junipere*"—Latin, *juniperus*—the well known tree or shrub. It grows very large in the Sinaitic peninsula; l. 3, "*Turpentine*"—resinous clear gum from the pine, juniper, &c.; *ib.*, "*deplore*" = weep or pour out; *ib.*, "*Peare-tree*"—poire, French: pyrum, Latin—innumerable varieties; *ib.*, "*Medlar*"—*mespilum*, Latin—like the laurel; l. 5, "*Orenge.*" See Ellacombe for a matterful note, *s.v.*; *ib.*, "*Lenmon*"; *Ibid.*, l. 6, "*Nutmeg*"—see Gerarde, *s.v.*, but it was not introduced into England for two centuries later; *ib.*, "*Plum-tree.*" See Ellacombe, as before, *s.v.*; st. 3, l. 1, "*Mirtle*"—"Holy Writ," and the classical myths have immortalized it. See Ellacombe, as before, *s.v.*; l. 2, "*gods*"—misprint for 'goddess'; l. 3, "*Merfin.*" Is this mythological story of Mersin a classical one? Or is it coined by Chester? I do not remember it, nor can I find it. Moreover, the 'myrtle' was

- sacred to Aphrodite or Venus (Murcia or Murtea), and not to Athené or Pallas. I incline also to think it Chester's because he has made rather a mess of the name, *μυρσινη* being a myrtle branch, and *μυρτος* the myrtle tree" (Dr. Brinsley Nicholson, to me). l. 4, the colon (:) certainly ought to have been deleted here; st. 4, l. 3, "*gouvernement*" = of set rule.
- Page 105, st. 1, l. 1, "*fore passed*" = fore-passed; l. 5, "*vanquisher*," i.e., the vanquished — a probable misprint; st. 3, l. 1, "*greene remaining*" = greene-remaining; *ib.*, "*Bay*." See Ellacombe, as before, for a full note, *s.v.*; ll. 5-6. See note on p. 97, st. 2; st. 5 (p. 106); l. 3, "*to his hearts delight*" = for the delight of his own heart.
- ,, 106, st. 1, l. 1, "*opinion*" = good repute in knowledge; ll. 5-6 = Apollo as god of the sun. Cf. the preceding context; st. 2, l. 1, "*Mofe-tree*" — see on ll. 5-6; l. 4, "*Herborifis*" = "one skilled in herbs" (Ash., *s.v.*) It occurs in its more correct form of *Herbarist* in Philemon Holland's *Pliny*, either in this sense, or as one who gathers herbs for medical purposes. ll. 5-6, unintelligible to the editor. It can't possibly mean that near or in Niniveh or the 'Aleph' (= first or foremost — as being the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet) cite some merchant-ship trading from 'Venetia' found this 'Mofe-tree' there. The next stanza only deepens the obscurity; st. 4, l. 4, "*Tellus glorie*" — *Tellus' glorie*; l. 5 (p. 107), put hyphen in "*white siluer'd*" and "*rich resembling*."
- ,, 107, st. 3, l. 1, "*Prawne*" — a small crustaceous fish, like a shrimp, but larger; *ib.*, "*Pickerell*" = young pike; l. 3, "*Puffin*" = a kind of sea water-fowl then called 'feathered fish' (Rider, *s.v.*, 1640); *ib.*, "*Sole*" — the well-known flat marine fish, of the genus *Pleuronectes*, *P. solea* of Linnæus — so called probably from its keeping on or near the bottom ('sole') of the sea; *ib.*, "*Sommer louing*" = Sommer-louing; st. 4, l. 3, "*brimme*" = edge.
- ,, 108, st. 1, l. 1, "*Ray*" — a genus of cartilaginous plagiostomous fishes, e.g., sting ray, spotted torpedo, thornback, skate, &c.; *ib.*, "*Sea-calfe*" — the common seal, a species of phoca — *phoca vitulina* of Linnæus; *ib.*, "*Porpoise*" — from porco, a hog and pesce — a fish (Italian), hence called hog-fish and sea-hog — in zoology cetaceous mammals of the genus *Delphinus* of Linnæus; l. 3, "*Sea-horse*" — the morse, a species of *Trichechus* or walrus, the *T. rosmarus*; *ib.*, "*Sea-hound*." Cotgrave gives, 'Hound fish' = Fr., *sorrat*, Ash, 'name of a fish.' Rider gives, 'Hound fish' = *Galerus*; and under '*Galerum*,' a Dogge-fish, also a Sea-Calfe. *Ib.*, "*Plaice*" = flat fish of the 'sole' species; l. 4, "*Spitchcoke*" — was not as now, an eel broiled, &c., but 'a great

eel, *Anguilla decumana* (Rider, and so Kersey)—possibly the conger. So 'stocke-fish' was not a salted fish as now, but was used as the name of the live fish (Rider). *Ib.*, "*Pilcher*"=pilchard; l. 6, "*Aches*"—disyllabic as usual; st. 2, l. 1, "*Spitfifh*"=sea-pike. Cf. for further description Cotgrave, *s.v.*, Spet. *Ib.*, "*Spurling*"=sparling or sperling? l. 2, "*Thornebacke*"—a kind of 'ray,' as before; l. 3, "*Twine*"—Rider has "A fish called a *twin* before it be a year old. Pelamys—and pelamys is a thunny or tunny. *Ib.*, "*Scallop*"—a fish in hollow and pectinated shell; l. 4, "*pratie Wrinkle*"=a welke; st. 3, l. 1, "*Cuttle*"=cuttle-fish; *ib.*, "*Stocke-fifh*"—already named *supra* (st. 1, l. 4); l. 4, "*Ruffe*"—a small fish, a species of Perca, *Perch, cernua*, native of England; *ib.*, "*Piper*"=pipe-fish—or Horn-back, or Horn or Gorn-fish—of the genus *Syngnathus*, so called from the length and slenderness of its body, which in its thickest part is only equal to a swan's quill; l. 5, "*Barbell*"—of the genus *Cyprinus*, of the order of Abdominals; st. 4, l. 5, "*stubborne necked*"=stubborne-necked; st. 5, l. 3—remove comma (,) certainly after "*vn-seene*."

Page 109, st. 1, l. 1, "*Amatift*"=amethyst—see p. 110, st. 2; *ib.*, "*Abestone*"=asbestos? but see *infra*; l. 2, "*Turches*"=turquoise; l. 3, "*Adamant*"—see p. 109, st. 4; l. 3, "*Dionife*"=Dionisia—Batman (xvi, 35) calls it Dioniso, a stone, black or brown, having red spots. See Batman, as *supra*, and Isidore for more on it. *Ib.*, "*Calcedon*"=calcedony; l. 4, "*Elutropia*"—qu. heliotrope? l. 5, "*Asterites*"—a gem shining within like a star, mentioned by Isidore; l. 6, "*Argiritis*"—a silver-like gem mentioned also by Isidore; l. 4, "*Berill*"—see p. 110, st. 5; l. 5, "*Saphire*"—see p. 114, st. 2-3; l. 6, "*Iacinth*"—see p. 113, st. 2; st. 2, l. 1, "*Smaragd*"—see p. 114, st. 4; *ib.*, "*Alabaster*"—so spelled contemporaneously, and onward. So too the Poet—Spenser's friend—had his name spelled; *ib.*, "*Crusopaffe*"=chrysoprase; l. 3, "*sparkling Diamond*"—see p. 111, st. 2-3. The most exquisite thing I ever have met with on the diamond was in a most unlikely place, viz., in James Arbuckle's poem of "Snuff." He describes the tapered, pink-nailed finger of Beauty, whereon "The diamond *spills* its drop of light." l. 4, "*Margarite*"=pearl; *ib.*, "*bright-ey'd Chryftall*." This recalls Sir John Davies' splendid description of the sea, looking up with his 'great crystal eye' to the moon; l. 5, "*Ligurius*"=a species of carbuncle or the lynx stone, or jacinth, or amber; *ib.*, "*Onix*"=onyx; *ib.*, "*Gagates*"—see p. 112, st. 4—Minsheu and Cotgrave give it=agate, but Rider and Lovell as 'jeat' or agath stone, and so Pliny, xxxvi,

- 19; l. 6, "*Abfflos*"—Batman gives Abeston for Asbestos, but Absciso from Isidore as a precious stone, "black heavie and streaked with redde veines," &c.; *ib.*, "*Amatites*"—see p. 110, st. 4; *ib.*, "*Achates*"—see p. 110, st. 3; st. 3, l. 5, "*Lipparia*"=Liparium or rock alum; l. 6, "*Enidros*"—see p. 112, st. 3. This gem, enhydros = *ἐνυδρος*, is now unknown. Pliny 37, 11, 73; Solin. 37, 67; st. 4, l. 1, "*Adamant*"=Iode-stone.
- Page 110, st. 1, l. 1, "*lively*"=living. Cf. "lively oracles" (Acts vii, 38), "lively hope" (1 Peter i, 3), "lively stones" (1 Peter ii, 5); st. 2, l. 1, "*purple coloured*"=purple-coloured; *ib.*, "*Amatijfl*"=amethyst—see p. 109, st. 1, l. 1; st. 4, l. 5, "*fiers light*"=in the fire, *r.g.*
- ,, 111, st. 1, l. 5, "*the house*"=life; st. 2-3. Cf. note p. 109, st. 2, l. 3, and note the feminine there as here; st. 4, l. 6, "*whereas*"=whereat.
- ,, 112, st. 1, l. 1, "*Achites*"—*qu.*=cf. description p. 112, st. 1, l. 1, and p. 110, st. 3, l. 1. Minsheu gives as =Gagates; but Lovell, making Gagates or Agath one of the sulphurs = a black stony earth full of bitumen, gives Achates among the stones or jewels most precious, as like the jasper. Doubtless Chester meant the 'agate.' l. 6, "*reß*"=ease from pain; st. 2, l. 4, "*her humours is relcafsing*"—*sic*, and so another example of verb singular following a nominative plural; l. 6, "*forfake his meate*"=lose his appetite; st. 3, l. 1, "*Enidros*"—see p. 109, st. 3, l. 6; after st. 3, "*Perpetui*," &c., from Marbodæi Carmen de Gen. §47: Franzias, Lips. 1791—Chester slightly different; st. 4, l. 1, "*Gagates*"—see p. 109, st. 2, l. 5; l. 2, "*whereas*"=whereat, as before; st. 5 (p. 113), l. 3, "*some men neuer thinke*"=will not believe.
- ,, 113, st. 1, l. 1, "*Iacinth.*" Cf. Batman upon Barthol., B xvi, c. 57. Our Poet has drawn on one or other; l. 3, "*cle*"—the original's misprint for 'clere' or 'cleare' through length of the line; l. 6, "*the m*"—not misprint for 'them' but for 'to the m[finde]'—as revealed by the rhyme and scansion; st. 4, l. 1, "*Meade stone*"—see Batman upon Barthol. B xvi, c 67 Medo—whence this is fetched; l. 4, "*Mingled*," &c., *i.e.*, mingled with the milk of a woman having a male infant (not a female one).
- ,, 114, st. 1, l. 1, "*Orites*"—see Batman, as before, B, xvi, c. 74; st. 2, l. 1, "*Skie colour'd*"=Skie-colour'd; *ib.*, "*Saphire*"—see Batman, as before, B xvi, c 87; l. 2, "*iudging*"=judicial, well-judging; st. 3, ll. 5-6. Whence this 'consecration' of the sapphire to Apollo? Batman, lxvi, c. 87, gives the story of the spider and says he has oft seen it proved. St. 4, l. 1, read—'fresh-greene-colour'd' or 'fresh grene-colour'd'; *ib.*, "*Smaragd*"—see Batman, as before, B, xvi, c 88.

- Page 115, st. 1, l. 1, "*valiant Cæsar*," viz., Nero; l. 2, *Σμαραγος*, sic, but = *Σμαραγδος*, doubtless written contractedly by Chester *Σμαραγος*, r.g. See Batman, xvi. 88, from Isidore; l. 4, "*wards*" = acts of guard or guarding, fences; st. 2, l. 5, "*keepes*" = disyllabic; st. 3, l. 1, "*Turches*" = turquois. Mentioned in Batman, but no virtues given it nor in Pliny. I gathered a handful myself in the ancient turquois mines of the Sinaitic peninsula.
- „ 116, st. 1, l. 3, "*Bugle*" = Bugill or Buffell, Latin, Bubalus, i.e., the buffalo; l. 4, "*Onocentaure*" — a mythical animal compounded of ass (*ovos*) and man, as the hippocentaur was of horse and man. Even Batman has his doubts of its existence; l. 5, "*Dromidary*," i.e., standing for itself and the 'camel'; but see st. 3; l. 6, "*Bore*" = boar, see p. 115, st. 1; *ib.* "*Dragon*" = mythical serpent; st. 2, l. 1, "*strong neck'd*" = strong-neck'd; l. 4, "*Goatbucke*" = he-goat? Batman speaks of the he-goat as 'goat-bucke' (B xvij, c. 89); but in his index gives 'of the goat bucke' c. 101, where he treats of the hircocervus or tragelephus, but never calls it goat-bucke, contrariwise in explaining tragelephus calls tragos a goat-bucke. From p. 119 (st. 1, l. 1) it is quite clear that Chester intended the he-goat; l. 5, "*Camelopard*" — a fabulous Æthiopian beast, not the animal now so named; l. 6, "*Deare*" = deer; st. 3, ll. 3-4 — a common and classical belief (e.g., *Juvenal*, xii, 3, 4) — he knowing himself to be hunted for them as being greatly esteemed in various diseases. It was similarly said of the 'hunted' elephant that he clashed and broke his tusks, knowing that was why he was hunted (Batman, xvij, 44); Richard Barnfield (*Poems*, p. 28, st. xliii — my edition for the Rox-burgh Club), and Hump. Gifford (*Poëie* (1580) — my edition) have the same myth; ll. 5-6, "*Stellio, Camelion, Vnicorne*." Either Chester has borrowed from Batman (or Bartholomew Glantville from whom he translated) or both have taken from a common source. Batman mentions under 'camelion' the 'stellio, a lizard' said by some to be one with the 'camelion.' Philemon Holland's Pliny, calls it the star-lizard stellion, and Holyoke's Rider, gives 'stellio' a beast like a lizzard having spots on his neck, like stars. "*Vnicorne*," &c. Sir Thomas Browne, *s.v.*, will interest and amuse with his quaint lore and as quaint credulity and incredulity (*Works* by Wilkin, 4 vols., 8vo., 1835.) The old Preachers abound in illustrations fetched from the 'unicorn' whereby to exalt our Lord; st. 4, "*Bearè*." See Batman, B. xviii, c. 112, where he quotes Avicenna for this. The virtue of bear's grease dates from Batman's days (1582) at least.

- Page 117, Latin line—from Isidore; *lib.* xii, cap, ii, but ‘Sic’ for ‘Hic,’ and ‘cum’ for ‘quem’; st. 1, “*Bore*”= boar; l. 2, “*Tushes*”= tusks—still in use for the tusks of boar and elephant, and in the nursery for infant’s teeth—see also p. 118, st. 3, l. 1; l. 5, “*Marioram and Organie*”= marjoram and penny-royal—see Ellacombe, as before; st. 2, “*Bugle*”—see p. 116, st. 1, l. 3, and relative note; l. 6, “*thy*”—*sic* = they; st. 3, “*Camell*,” st. 3-4. No one who has travelled on camel-back across a desert will refuse praise to the camel’s long patience and liquid ever-onward-looking eye. Times over I have seen the camel go without water for more than the ‘four days’ here named. He has faults of temper and otherwise, and it is a kind of martyrdom to use him at all for one’s self; yet with every deduction he is an admirable and extraordinary creature; st. 5, l. 1, “*Dragon*,” &c. The mythical ‘dragon’ was supposed to love the elephant’s blood (Batman); (p. 118), ll. 5-6—the slayer is timely slain, says Batman.
- ,, 118, st. 1, l. 1, “*bunch-backt*”—hunch-backed, or with protuberance; st. 2, “*Dogge*”—Baroness Coutts has raised a monument (combining a ‘fountain’) to a little Scotch terrier that broke its heart over its dead master, scraping its way down to the coffin-lid and there dying. It is one of the sights of Edinburgh; st. 3, l. 6, “*sau’d his life*”= his life sav’d; st. 4, l. 1, “*feene*”= skilled, knowing.
- ,, 119, st. 1, l. 1, “*Gote-bucke*”= he-goat, as before; st. 2, l. 1, “*quicke*”= lively; l. 3, “*incontinent*”= instantly; l. 6, “*by kind*”= of his nature; l. 4, “*Ligarius*”—rather Ligurius. See Batman, as before, B xvi, 60 and B xviii, c. 69, and Pliny Lyncurium viii, 38. Cf. p. 111.
- ,, 120, st. 4, l. 1, “*Onocentaur*.” See relative note, p. 116, st. 1, l. 4; st. 5, l. 1, “*Stellio*.” See *ib.*, p. 116, st. 3, ll. 5-6.
- ,, 121, st. 1, ll. 5-6—the ‘Ile’ being Ireland, as before; read l. 6, with hyphen, ‘*sweete-smelling*’; st. 2, l. 2, “*moorifft plot*”= one of the bogs for which Ireland was and is celebrated, and in which still, spite of St. Patrick, frogs if not serpents are found. Be it noted this held only of “a little corner” (l. 1); l. 6, “*poisonous ayre*”= two disyllables; st. 3, l. 2, “*Rinatrix*.” See page 123, st. 3; l. 3, *ib.*, “*Aspis*.” See page 122, st. 1.
- ,, 122, st. 1, l. 3, “*neare*”= ne’er; st. 2, “*This is*,” &c. Chester would later read his friend Shakespeare’s great celebration of it; st. 3, “*Lizard*”= anything prettier or more amusing than the swift-darting lizards of the desert (of Sinai) can scarcely be imagined. Their agility is very remarkable. Closely examined their jewel-like colouring is exquisite. In the loneliness of some of the Wadys it was a kind of living companionship

to have these interesting little creatures beside one. Some were very very large and hideous — as large as a good-sized kitten; st. 4, l. 1, “*Ant or Emote is a labouring thing.*” Sir John Lubbock imagines that he has disproved the ‘wisdom’ of the ‘ant’ by his sets of experiments and by observations. A greater delusion I can scarcely conceive. Why, the very dis-regard of the ‘ants’ for the near roads provided and the humanly-contrived plans for ingress and egress, and removal of difficulties, goes to confirm the little creature’s quick ‘wisdom.’ If it could speak, it might retort on the great-eyed human monster stooping over and ‘planning’ for it, and say, ‘I will take my own way—I will manage for myself—I don’t know what of evil may be under all these nice arrangements.’ Personally I have made scores of observations on the ‘ant’ both at home and in foreign countries, especially in the East; and all confirm its ‘wisdom’—as in the text; l. 2, “*publike weale,*” *i.e.*, commonweath; st. 5, l. 5 (p. 123) “*ciuill*”=living a common ordered and subordinate life, like ants and men.

- Page 123, st. 4, l. 5, “*cald of some the flattering worme*” Batman (B xvij, c. 98) says, “This maner scorpion commeth of *Scorte* that is fweet, and of *pogo*, *is*, that is to feine; for before [stinging] he feineth pleafaunce.”
- ,, 124, st. 2, l. 4, “*Oliues*”=ol-i-ues—a trisyllable to rhyme with ‘trees’—note ‘some’ verb singular (ll. 2-4), and in l. 7 with verb plural; st. 4, l. 1, “*Caddes*”=cadesse, *i.e.*, jackdaw (Wright, *s.v.*)—from its place among birds cannot be the caddes, or caddis, or cadworme (Ash, Kersey, and Bailey); st. 5, l. 3, put hyphen thus, “*big-neck’d*”; l. 5 (p. 125) “*Griffon*”=mythical bird; l. 6, “*Puttocke*”=greale, *i.e.*, kite.
- ,, 125, st. 1, l. 4, “*Hercin*”—“Hircania is a province in *Asia* . . . it is sharpe of woodes . . . There breedeth birdes that are called *Hircanie*; their feathers shine by night, and such birdes are founde in Germany, as Isidore sayeth” (Batman, B xv, c. 74). I presume = the Hercinian forest, Germany; *ib.*, put hyphen, “*swift-winged*”; l. 5, “*Caladrius*.” See next stanza—Batman (B xii, c. 22) speaks of Kaladrius in the same terms, and says it “hath no parte of blackneffe.” If the man is to die he turns his face from him. His only authority is “as the Philosopher faith”; st. 2, l. 2, “*prosperitie*”—*qu.* proprietie or propensitie? line is unscannable; st. 3, “*Crane*”—curious old-fashioned lore, found everywhere.
- ,, 126, st. 1, l. 1, “*The Winters enuious blaß she neuer tafeth.*” Michael Bruce in that Ode to the Cuckoo, which John Logan so treacherously sought to rob him of, has very daintily put this :—

“ Sweet bird ! thy bow’r is ever green,
Thy sky is ever clear ;

Thou hast no sorrow in thy song,
No winter in thy year."

(my edition, p. 124, 1865).

- l. 4, "for to"—so also st. 5, l. 2—rare in Shakespeare.
Page 126, st. 2, l. 3, "*Crosse*" = ill-fate or luck; st. 4, l. 4, "*runne*" = ranne, *r.g.*
,, 127, st. 1, l. 1, "*Griffon*"—fabulous bird, as before; st. 2, l. 2, "*Hircinie*"—see on p. 125, st. 1, l. 4.
,, 128, st. 1, l. 1, "*Memnodides*"—the original's misprint for 'Memnonides'; st. 2, l. 3, "*Hunts-yp*." Mr. J. Payne Collier has printed a curious song, from which it appears that 'hunts yp' was known as early as 23 Henry VIII. Cf. Barnfield in his "Affectionate Shepheard":

"And euery Morne by dawning of the day,
When *Phabus* riseth with a blushing face,
Siluanus Chappel-Clarks shall chaunt a Lay,
And play thee hunts-up in thy resting place."

(My edition of his complete Poems for the
Roxburgh Club, p. 12, st. xix.)

- l. 3, "*doth delight her*," *i.e.*, his mate—for it is the male which alone sings. This Chester knew and so likens the male-bird to a 'Bridegroom' (l. 5); ll. 5-6—unskilful verse; but the meaning is that Greeks and Romans trained the 'nightingale'; st. 4, l. 2, "*Stefichorus*" = the Greek poet of Himeria in Sicily. For the fable see Christod. Ecphr. ap. Jacobs, *Anth. Græc.* i, p. 42: Pliny, H. N., x, 29; ll. 5-6, the well-known legend; st. 5, l. 1, "*daftard Owle*"—much too strong a word for this timid but not at all 'cowardly' bird.
,, 129. Latin couplet—from Ovid, Met. v, 549, 550. l. 7, "*sluggish*"—because he 'sleeps' all day, possibly; st. 2, l. 1, "*ill bedooming*" = ill-bedoaming, *i.e.*, adjudging or pre-judging ill or evil; Cf. 3 *Henry VI*, v, 6, "cried, aboding luckless time"; st. 3, l. 5, "*They haue bene known to giue great Emperors wine*"—some now forgotten anecdote of trained parrots; st. 4, ll. 5-6. The old Puritans are never weary of pointing 'a moral' from the 'base blacke Feete' of the peacock, swan, &c., &c., in contrast with their plumage; and so too the elder Poets; st. 5 (p. 130), l. 4, "*In Indie spies a Peacocke*," &c., one of the many myths about this bird.
,, 130, st. 1, "*The Pellican*"—this myth is met with in all the Fathers, &c. The pressure of the huge bill on its crop or pouch wherein is store of food, doubtless originated it. This mention of the 'Pellican' calls for special note of the curious and remarkable turn given to the fable, in that the 'Turtle dove' dies first, and

then the Phœnix. Also, be it observed, that the 'Turtle dove' — "cheerfully did die," &c., while the Phœnix "with a pale heavy countenance grieved for to see him first possesse the place." Only as of Essex and Elizabeth is this appropriate or explicable. I take the opportunity here to supplement preceding notes on the same lines as all this. 'Applied' (p. 9) appears to mean that 'The Complaint of Rosalin' is put into the mouth of Dame Nature; for Dame Nature's Complaint is a complaint in behalf of Rosalin or the Phœnix, or in other words Rosalin's own 'Complaint.' Again, at p. 21, the explanation is that like Raleigh he had spoken before of Elizabeth as 'the silver-coloured dove' as he calls her in st. 4 (and in 5, 6, 7). But as he is now speaking of her as the 'Phœnix' in his 'Love's Martyr,' he applies it (really to the same person) to her as to the 'Phœnix'. This is surely reduplicated proof that the 'silver-coloured Dove' (= sacred, holy) and the 'Phœnix' are one, and that both are Elizabeth. Note finally here, that in the 'Prayer' she is 'the' and 'thy' silver-coloured dove, but in the title 'a,' because he would avoid the very obvious absurdity that she was both *the* silver-coloured dove and *the* phœnix. She could be the 'Phœnix' and 'a' silver-coloured dove, *i.e.*, the 'Phœnix' with the properties of such a dove, though not the bird the dove itself; st. 2, "*vnsatiatē Sparrow.*" Dean Donne has quaintly celebrated the 'vnsatiatē' amoroseness of this bird in his *Metempsychosis*; l. 4, "*animaduertion*" = perception. In this sense Glanville also uses it, and, spite of the Dictionary-makers, it is correct; ll. 5-6, "*A flight of Sparrowes,*"—the old myth and superstition; st. 3, l. 1, read rather, 'The artificiall-nest-composing'; l. 6, "*His*"—caught doubtless from previous line, should be 'He'; *ib.*, "*Calcedonies*"—is this a mistake of a gem for a flower ('herb')? st. 4, l. 1, "*Cecinna*" = Cæcina; *ib.*, "*Volateran*" = Cæcina of Volaterræ—Etruscan remains still extant preserve this once great family-name. Qu.—Has Chester confounded Cæcina and L. Cinna? l. 3, "*Sent letters,*" &c. Carrier-pigeons have been long so used and still are (*e.g.*, in the recent Germano-Franco war), but it is doubtful if the 'swallow' ever has been similarly trained).

Page 131, st. 1, l. 1, "*fiuete recording*" = sweete-recording, *i.e.*, sweet-singing. Cf. *Two Gent. of Ver.*, act v, sc. 3. One is utterly at a loss to account for the everywhere-found notion of the swan's 'singing,' especially on the approach of death. As for the 'footed verse,' l. 3, it is of course mere credulity. Latin couplet—from Isidore, Hisp. Episcop. Origines, lib. xii, cap. vii, in Gothofredi Auctores Linguae Latinae 1622, who quotes it from an old

Poet Æmilius. Chester inadvertently prints 'Hoc' for 'Hanc' and 'undis' for 'undas.' st. 2, l. 5, "*movot*" = moult; l. 6, put hyphen, "*hart-pinings*"; st. 3, l. 1, "*the carefull* [= full-of-care] *bird the Turtle Doue,*" be it noted, is designated by 'Phoenix' in preceding stanza "*drooping soule,*" and again in st. 4, l. 5; ll. 3-4, "*And thus he wanders seeking of his loue.*" This goes right to the mark for Essex.

Page 132, st. 1, l. 1, "*lookes me in the face.*" Another touch in Elizabeth for Essex; l. 4, "*gate*" = gait; l. 4, "*he eyes vs more and more*" — as in l. 1; l. 5, "*O shall I welcome him.*" The oft-put question of the woman against the queen and of the queen against the woman in Essex's case. The context has no sense unless you bring to it the story of Elizabeth's love-passion — the passion, if not the love in its deepest and tenderest sense — for Essex, from her first sight of him in his young bloom onward; st. 3, l. 4, "*halfe pin'd*" = halfe-pin'd; st. 4 — The placing of 'Turtle' in the margin seems at first a mistake; but the 'Turtle' is addressing itself (*i.e.*, himself) in gazing on the 'eye-dazling Sunne' of the 'Phoenix's' 'excelling beauty.' This was the *mode*, to the last, of speaking of and to Elizabeth. See our Introduction for quotation from Coke. With all her brain-force, Elizabeth had not courage to refuse the idle flattery of her 'beauty,' or to recognise that she really was growing old and haggard. I know not that the following very striking *bit* in Nichols *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, from an *Harleian MS.* (contemporary) 6207, has been noticed — "Afterward, in the melancholy of her sickness, she desired to see a true looking glass, which in twenty years she had not seen, but of such a one as was made of purpose to deceive her sight: which glasse being brought her, she fell presently into exclayming against [those] which had so much commended her; and took it so offensively, that some which before had flattered her, dourst not come into her sight" (vol ii, pp. 25-30 — end of the volume). Surely anything more tragical than the *italicized* words is inconceivable; l. 5, "*rarity*" = rarity. Cf. former note on this; l. 6, "*For wit,*" &c., the bird is forgotten and the queen-woman remembered.

„ 133, st. 1, l. 1, "*Tur.*" seems wrongly placed here, being intended for the left margin in the words 'Haile map of forrow' (see p. 124, st. 1, ll. 5-6); whilst 'Phoenix' in the right margin begins 'Welcome,' &c. st. 2, l. 4, "*presumptions foule offence.*" Essex, on his departure for Portugal and elsewhere later, was again and again brought to his knees for his 'presumption' and kindred impulsive faults, as facts and letters superabundantly prove. See Devereux' *Lives*, &c. Meanwhile it is all-important

to note that the 'wooing' is dated by circumstances in Essex's early time — not later when he had married and when Elizabeth was old; st. 3, l. 1, "*Turtle*" = mate; l. 2, "*her want*" = her loss; l. 3, "*the soule that's fled*," &c. How natural all this was in the mouth of Essex on the death of his noble young brother who fell so miserably at Rouen. See Devereux, as before. st. 4, l. 3, "*for to*," as before, common contemporaneously, rare in Shakespeare: see p. 132, l. 4: p. 133, l. 12; st. 4, l. 4, "*advance*" = lift up 'our fiery altar.' So Shakespeare, "the fringed curtains of thine eye advance" (*Tempest*, act i, sc. 2); l. 6, "*Solamen*," &c. The origin of this has long been sought for in vain. It is in most collections of Common-places; and was enquired about in *Notes and Queries*, iv, x, but not traced back to its source; st. 5, Elizabeth actually thus comforted Essex for his brother when he 'came over' at the queen's imperious summons. See Devereux, as before.

- Page 134, st. 2, punctuate l. 4 with semi-colon or period after 'labour,' and again, period after 'paine'; but except in misleading cases I shall not note the singular punctuation of the original. My part is to reproduce it. St. 3, punctuate period or semi-colon after 'leave' (l. 1); l. 6, "*fond*" = foolish, as *frequenter*.
- „ 135, st. 1, l. 4, "*emperizing*" — verb-form, as before; st. 3, l. 1, "*shalt not be no more*" — a double negative for emphasis; st. 3, Elizabeth's autograph letters fully warrant more than this; st. 4, l. 2, "*thy seruant*" — Essex's constant asseveration in his letters to Elizabeth; st. 5, Historically, it is a common-place that Elizabeth exercised a mother's watchfulness over Essex.
- „ 136, st. 1, l. 4, "*Spright incarnate*" = Impurity (as in preceding stanza); l. 5, "*whight*" = white; st. 2, l. 6, put hyphen, 'earth-parching.' st. 3, l. 1, "*doome*" = sentence or judgment; l. 5, "*licorice*" — the sugar-cane perchance meant; l. 6, "*Sweete Iuniper*" — not the happiest adjective applied to 'Iuniper'; *ib.*, "*shaw*" = shew; st. 4, l. 3, "*nominate*" = name, as before; l. 4, "*wot*" = wit or know.
- „ 137, st. 3, l. 4, "*liuely*" = living; st. 4, l. 4, "*secretly*" — should be 'secretly.'
- „ 138, st. 4, l. 2, "*Dido mones*" — see 'To the Reader.' This reminds me to note on l. 4 of 'To the Reader' that Lucan was probably in Chester's mind on 'Cæsars victories.'
- „ 139, st. 1, l. 4, put hyphen, "*faire-fac'd*"; st. 3, l. 6, "*true story*." On all this symbolism veiling a real martyrdom, and so fulfilling the title, *Love's Martyr* — see our Introduction. *Pellican*: l. 5, "*He*" — note a man throughout.
- „ 140, l. 6 (from bottom), put hyphen, "*loue-wandering*."

Page 141, l. 7, "*fond*" = foolish; ll. 15-16, &c., *i.e.*, suggesting how Elizabeth sacrificed her 'true desire' to State-craft or expediency.

Conclusion. l. 1, put hyphen, "*true-meaning*"; l. 9, "*paine*" = painstaking.

„ 142, *Cantoes Alphabet-wife*, &c., l. 2, the second 'will' no doubt a printer's mistake; l. 4, put comma after 'favouur'; l. 6, put hyphen, "*lame-leg'd*"; ll. 9-18. See Introduction on these suggestive lines. James I. is evidently intended. He was the friend of all Essex's friends.

* * In the 'Cantoes Alphabet-wife' that follow, we must not look for ordinary construction or much sense. The self-imposed fetters hinder both.

„ 143, st. 1, l. 7, "*dares not giue to any.*" There lay the secret. It recurs and recurs. In l. 6, 'Blotted by things vnseene' = secretly spoken of by some of no fame. Most clearly Elizabeth here again. St. 2, l. 1, "*Chastnesse*" = virginity; *ib.*, "*the bed of Glorie*" = thoughts of the 'Queen' marrying a subject; st. 4, l. 1, "*Enuie* is banifht." See Introduction on the 'Enuie' that beset Essex as recognized by other poets as well as Chester; l. 4, "*thing's*" = thing is.

„ 144, st. 1, l. 3—verb singular to plural nominative; l. 7, "*Fetch from the ancient records of a Queene.*" Query—marrying a subject? St. 2, l. 5, "*map of beauty*"— Cf. p. 77, st. 4, l. 2, and relative note; st. 4, reflection of Elizabeth's would and would not.

„ 145, st. 1, l. 3, read 'greene-spre'd'; l. 5, "*when*" = whence; l. 7, "*dorter*" = dortour, *i.e.*, sleeping-place—here bed-room—audacious enough *certes*; but Essex knew to whom he was speaking, and Chester knew both. St. 2, l. 1, "*Aduotrix*" = advocate (feminine); st. 3, l. 1, "*nice Chastity*" = virginity, as before; l. 5, "*time is ouer spent*"—a perilous reminder to Elizabeth; l. 6, "*a kind of feare*"—admirable selection of words, revealing yet concealing; st. 4, l. 1, put hyphen, "*fresh-bloom'd*"; l. 2, "*Rose*"—fitting symbol of England's Queen ('Rosalin') in this faint anticipation of Herrick's delicious 'Gather the rosebuds while ye may.'

„ 146, st. 1, l. 7, read, 'all-disgrace'; st. 3, l. 3, "*Quit*" = requite or quite; st. 4, l. 2, "*Ract*" = racked or rakt.

„ 147, st. 2, l. 2, "*womanifh*"—not a mere 'Phoenix' bird; l. 7, put hyphen, "*new-fram'd*"; st. 4, l. 4 (p. 148), "*vale*" = veil.

„ 148, st. 1, l. 1, "*Xantha*" = Xanthe, one of the daughters of Oceanus; l. 3, 'more-milder'—double comparative; l. 5, "*diseafe*" = disturb, make ill-at-ease; st. 2, l. 4, "*selfe-will*"—again the mark is hit. Read with hyphens, 'selfe-will-anguish.'

Cantos Verbally written.

- * * The headings of these stanzas seem to be posies out of rings. Cf. *As You Like It*, act iii, sc. 2. Be it kept in mind that Chester is not speaking in his own person, but is interpreting the 'truth of love' between Elizabeth and Essex.
- Page 149. 1. l. 4, "*Dies*"—used as causal; l. 6, "*woe*"=woo; 2. l. 5, punctuate ';' for comma; 3. l. 3, "*containing*"=contained.
- ,, 150. 4. st. 2, l. 2, put hyphen, "*true-sworne*"; l. 6, "*Not in thy flowering youth*"—repeat 'do not smother' (in thought), and read [do] Not in thy flowering youth [smother]—else you turn a compliment into a jeer; 5. l. 1 (motto) 'u,' misprint for 'n'; l. 8, "*Knowne*"—to be read as 'knownen.'
- ,, 151. 5. l. 4, "*fulfill*"=fill full *r.g.*; 6. motto, "*idolatrize*"—verb-form, *frequentes* in Chester; l. 3, put hyphen, "Heart-comfortable"—qu. comfortable? l. 7, "*surphet*"=surfeit; 7. st. 2, l. 3, "*varietie*"=rarity, as before.
- ,, 152. 8. l. 1, "*What*"=whatever, and put hyphen, "*thunder-stormes*"; l. 4, "*inexorable*"=unchangeable; l. 6, 'dayes,' disyllabic unless 'the' have been omitted, at [the] or [at] midnight; 9. l. 6, put hyphen, "*true-sworne*," as before; st. 2, l. 5, "*Of holy loue, Loue's Temple to aspire*"=the Church and marriage therein; st. 3, l. 4, delete comma after 'desire.'
- ,, 153. Motto. This third repetition of this couplet shews skilful flattery of the kind that most pleased Elizabeth; 11. 2, punctuate ';' after will; l. 7, "*denayes*"=denials.
- ,, 154. Motto, l. 2, "*empiring*"=over-queenly, stately—see st. 2, l. 3; l. 4, read 'happie-bleft'; l. 9—metre faulty—some word left out.
- ,, 155. 14. l. 2, "*disgrasue*"=disgracing; l. 4, "*our*"—misprint for 'or'; 15. l. 1, "*For*"=through; l. 5, punctuate ';' after 'pride.'
- ,, 156. 18. l. 4, put hyphen, "*night-waking*"; l. 5, read "*Hart-fore*"; 19. l. 1, "*O tongue*," &c., viz., by talking of her 'bright brow wrinkled with disdaine'—the wrinkles, not the 'disdaine,' being the ground of offence; l. 8—qu. 'Dear [I give] that to thee [to whom] I offered wrong.'
- ,, 157. 21. l. 6, "*the*"=thee; 22. l. 3, "*aduotrix*"—see p. 145, st. 2, l. 1; 23. ll. 5-6—certainly at most a comma for ';' in l. 5, or, 'hower I may,' &c.
- ,, 158. 25. l. 2, "*selfe-will*"=self-will or foolishnesse sprung of self-will—a constant word between Elizabeth and Essex in their Letters; 26. l. 3, put hyphen, "*haruest-labores*"; l. 4, put ';' after 'feene,' and delete comma in next line; l. 6, "*Should I be welcome ere thy beautie fade*"—another perilous reminder, but just the bold kind of speech fitting from Essex to Elizabeth—as witness their letters. See Devereux, as before.

- Page 159. 27. Motto, and l. 8, "*Nar*"= near; 28. l. 5, "*Cause*"= [Thou are] cause, and ';' for comma and comma after 'best,' l. 6; 29. st. 2, l. 1, "*Affections*"—qu. 'Affection'—cf. l. 2, 'her'; l. 3, "*foule bondage*"= slavery of 'selfe-will.'
- ,, 160. 29. l. 1 — put (.) after 'courtesie'—required by change of person in next line ('Thou'); 31. l. 6, put hyphen, "*dwelling-place*."
- ,, 161. 32. l. 6, "*Niobes cup*"= of tears; l. 7, "*My dutie yet remembred*"—Essex's ever-recurring phrase in letters to Elizabeth; 34. This should have been numbered '33' in order, it will be noticed. From this the numbering ceases without explanation. l. 3, "*Not one*"= No one; l. 4, punctuate ';' after cruelty; *Thoughts*, &c., l. 2, "*faining*"= fanning—but with a double sense; l. 3 (p. 162), "*fond*"= foolish, as before; l. 4, "*further*"= cast further or off.
- ,, 162, st. 1, l. 4, "*Selfe-will*"—the thing in Elizabeth that needed overcoming; ll. 6-7 suggestive of Essex's consciousness of his royal Mistress's favour (to say the least); l. 6, "*tels*"—qu. 'tel'?' st. 3—the very things wherein Elizabeth was pre-eminently praised, and the very strain followed by all who essayed to recount her virtues and greatness.
- ,, 163, l. 1, "*curelesse smart*"—so Shakespeare, 'cureless ruin' (*Merchant of Venice*, act iv, sc. 1); st. 1—a reflection again of Elizabeth's capricious favour and as capricious angers and withdrawals; st. 2, l. 3, "*nominate*"= name, as before, qu.—punctuate ';'?' st. 3, l. 2, put hyphen, "*sharpe-conceited*"; *ib.*, "*ere*"= e'er—double negative otherwise; l. 4, "*ignoble*"—courage of the author: specially note "*imperiall crowne*"—again no sense unless to Elizabeth or of Elizabeth; st. 4, Motto. Essex's letters to Elizabeth are full of the word and thing 'friendship.' See Devereux, as before. l. 2, "*Ebone*"= ebony or black?
- ,, 164, l. 2, "*regreet*"= salute; st. 3, l. 5, "*I*"= aye; l. 6, read "*true-approved*."
- ,, 165, st. 1, l. 1, "*Seene in all learned arts is my beloued*"—true as simple matter-of-fact of Elizabeth, who was of rare and unquestionable accomplishments as well as of natural intellectual capacity after the type of her prodigious father, 'King Hal.' 'Seene' = skilled, as in *Taming of the Shrew*, "It's a schoolmaster well seen in music" (act i, sc. ii); l. 4, "*Eye for eye*"—the first 'Eye' so spelt on account of the marginal 'eie,' is really the old 'I'= yea, *i.e.*, she not only moves the stony savage, but her eye indeed tempts chastity itself; ll. 5-6—this is a very frequent contemporary tribute to Elizabeth. I have been surprized at the universality of belief in her poetical gifts; and I have a suspicion that much of her verse has perished; st. 2, l. 1, "*seeke*"—used as sometimes in that age without an objective

= try to find and does not—query semicolon (;) after ‘seeke’ and colon (:) after ‘thee’; st. 3, l. 4, “*amazing*”= confused wonderment, as elsewhere; *ib.*, punctuate comma (,) after ‘not’ and nothing after ‘amazing,’ or at most a comma (,); l. 5, “*To*”—infinitive form used as in that age. We should write ‘Do or [continue] to’; st. 4, motto—reflection of Essex’s suspense and mingled hope and despair, expectation and weariness, as expressed in his poems and letters to Elizabeth; ll. 5-6—In this rather oddly-constructed sentence, the subject to ‘In all things gracious’ is his unnamed Mistress, *i.e.*, Elizabeth. For throughout these ‘Cantoës,’ as in *Love’s Martyr*, Chester is interpreting *his* conception—based on close personal knowledge—of the ‘feeling’ between Elizabeth and Essex. All the known facts make it simply impossible that he could have been speaking for himself. Besides, in “The author’s request to the Phoenix” he avows his purpose. There his pleading is—

“Accept MY home-writ praises of THY LOUE
And kind acceptance of THY TURTLE-DOUE (p. 5).

- l. 5, “*gracious*”—he means [thou art] gracious.
- Page 166, st. 1, l. 2, “*fairest faire*”—not objective after ‘maintained,’ but = O fairest faire; l. 5, “*Turtle-Doue*”= mate of himself *the* Turtle Doue. See note on st. 1, ll. 5-6, *supra*; st. 2, l. 1, “*Great Miftris*”—clearly applicable (and in those times most especially) to Elizabeth, and to no subject; st. 3, l. 4, “*Loue*”—being emphatic is counted as one foot, ‘Loue | that eaf | eth minds | opprest | with neede |; l. 6 = only to be relieved by thee that [always] yeeld’st relief. Again words only at that time to be applied to Elizabeth; st. 4, l. 5, “*yea so they say*”—is supposed to be her answer, and therefore her “*owne confession*”; st. 5, l. 2, “*for to*”—as before. See also p. 168, st. 4, l. 2; l. 4 (p. 167)—Of whom in the Court of Elizabeth could this be said but of Elizabeth? ll. 5-6—not intelligible to me; but qu.—faith-denying?
- „ 167, st. 1, l. 4, “*thee most admirable*”= O most admirable [one]; st. 2, l. 3, “*Me sometimes*,” &c.—this line is made rather mysterious by the necessity of finding a rhyme to “*afraid*”= yet sometimes terrifying me that I am nevertheless given up to him, “*unless*,” &c.; st. 3, l. 1, “*Remorce triumphantly*”= (as frequently at that time) pitifulness, albeit here tacitly implying penitence for past delays and cruelty. So in Shakespeare and in Parry, quoted in our Introduction. st. 4, l. 4 (p. 168, l. 1), “*not named*”= not [to be] named, unnameable.
- „ 168, st. 2, l. 1, “*Thine euer vnremou’d and still kept word*”—most notice-

able as between Elizabeth and Essex. It seems to me more than ordinarily remarkable that Chester does throughout with such triumphant audacity give expression to the popular belief of Elizabeth's real sentiment toward Essex. The way in which he works into his pleadings personal traits seems to me declarative of dramatic ability of no mean type. I have no idea that Elizabeth herself ever made revelation of her 'love' for Essex to Chester. One can only guess whether Essex exchanged confidence with him. But *certes* from first to last our Poet shows perfect skill in his giving shape and colouring to what was in the air concerning the 'Phoenix' and her 'Turtle-doue.' These 'Cantos,' with Posies for ground-work that perchance were known in society as circulating in the Court, equally with *Love's Martyr*, bring Chester before us as consecrating all his gifts and knowledge and sympathy to celebrating this story, '*shadowing the truth of Loue*' between Elizabeth and Essex when the latter burst upon her in her still susceptible and passionate mid-age in all the brilliance and fascination of his young prime. I would also here notice what follows in the title-page (of 1601) "*in the constant fate of the Phoenix and Turtle,*" i.e., 'fate to be constant' to each other. Chester evidently believed that the 'love' awakened in Elizabeth for Essex lived on uneradicated even by his marriage and her advancing age. Save Sidney's and Stella's 'love' so tragically re-discovered when it was 'too late,' I know nothing more truly a 'Love martyrdom' than that of Elizabeth and Essex. The great Queen's closing melancholy and bursts of weeping with the name of Essex on her lips, and slow-drawn-out dying, reveal Chester's prescience of insight.

- Page 169, st. 1, l. 1, "*from*"—qu.—error for 'for.' The latter yields sense, the former scarcely; l. 6, "*By thy faire,*" &c.—again only applicable to Elizabeth in her Court. See Churchyard's Poems given in our Introduction; motto, l. 3, "*I*"= aye; st. 2, l. 3, "*he*," as in the margin and as required by the sense should be "*she*."
- „ 170, st. 2, l. 6, "*mountaine top of will aspires*"=ambition. In the Song (in *italics*) it is to be noted that the 2nd and 4th lines of each stanza (the alternate lines) are answers to the question or remark in 1st and 3rd. In st. 1, l. 2, the first 'loue' should be 'Loue' and have comma (,) after it.
- „ 171, st. 2, l. 4, "*I*"= aye; st. 3, l. 4, "*awaies*"=alwaies; st. 4, l. 1, read 'foules Life'=his Mistress; l. 2, delete comma (,) after "*villaine*"; st. 4, l. 8 (p. 172, l. 2), "*deare*" delete comma (,) —it is—'deare' shall, or 'deare' is the nominative to 'shall.'
- „ 172, st. 1, l. 4, read 'wind-oppressing.' I may as well note here that

- there are so many compounded words in Chester not marked by hyphen, that I could only call attention to the more important ; others the reader will fill in or not at his discretion ; st. 2, l. 8, " *by my*"—qu.—" *by thy*"—true Bird as I = true Bird as I [am]—see ll. 1-3, for these interpretations ; st. 3, l. 1, " *Till that leane fleshles cripple, pale-fac'd Death*"—so in *Old Fortunatus* "There's a lean fellow beats all conquerors."
- Page 173, l. 3, read 'spring[s], *i.e.*, whence springs all these my 'passions' ; punctuate in l. 6, ; after 'sonne' ; " *Most devine,*" &c., l. 6, " *I*"= aye ; l. 8, put hyphen, " *neuer-ceasing.*" The want, &c., l. 2, " *want*"—verb—its nominative 'day and night.'
- „ 174, st. 3, l. 1, " *my affection*" = [by the object of] my affection ; st. 3, l. 2, punctuate ' ; ' after 'disgrace.'
- „ 175, st. 2, l. 1, " *Where two harts,*" &c. — a final impassioned appeal to Elizabeth to let 'Loue' be 'Soueraigne'—quite in accord with the style she was addressed to the end, as though she never could be other than 'young,' and with possibilities or impossibilities of result at her command ; l. 5, " *dignified*" = given dignity.
- „ 177, Title-page—The Latin motto is from Horace, Od. iv, 8, 28. In the original is a rude wood-cut of an anchor.
- „ 179, l. 6, " *Bromius*"—one of the varying names of Bacchus ; l. 9, " *Ingles his cheek*" = treats his cheek as one does one's ingle or delight, or loved youth playfully pinches or strokes it ; l. 12, " *subtend*" = our present 'subtend' ; l. 14, " *honorable friend,*" viz., Sir John Salisburie, as on title-page ; l. 15, " *illustrate*"—used as = illustrious or giving lustre, and by Ben Jonson on p. 182, last st. but one ; l. 19, " *profuse*" = pour forth. In olden days each did not as now drink the health from his own glass, but a large bowl being filled, it was passed to each successively, thus going the 'round.' (l. 21)
- „ 180, Heading—Sir John Salisburie. See our Introduction on this 'worthily honor'd Knight' ; l. 4, " *exhaust*" = drawn out ; l. 14, " *Responsible*" = answering. These 'Vatum Chorus' pieces are in good sooth poor enough. They have touches like Chapman at his worst.
- „ 181, l. 5, " *But one sick Phoebe*"—an unmistakable allusion to Elizabeth as 'sick'—such indeed as it was impossible to apply to any other at the time ; *ibid.*, " *fever-shaking Light.*" "The influence of the moon on disease was so prevalent an opinion that this may have meant = 'causing fever-shaking' ; but it might also refer to the shaking glimmering light of the moon likened to the shivering in a fever. Possibly both meanings were intended to be understood by the reader." So Dr. Brinsley Nicholson to me ; but qu.—is not the latter half of the line an

ep-exegesis of the former, *i.e.*, 'one sicke *Phæbe*' = 'Light feuer-shaking' by its sickness the nation? Men spoke even recently of England as in a '*feverish* state of excitement and suspense' during the illness of the Prince of Wales. Note likewise that Shakespeare in his '*Phœnix and Turtle*' introduces the '*feuer*' — p. 182, st. 2, '*Augour of the feuers end.*' Notice also that the '*vrne*' of "*The Burning*" (l. 7) reappears in '*Threnos*,' st. 3, l. 1, '*To this vrne*' — see on ll. 15-16; l. 6, "*the world one Phœnix*" — once more who would have then dared to sing of any save Elizabeth as the '*one Phœnix*' of '*the world*'? ll. 15-16, — these are purposely enigmatical — the words, "*Her rare-dead ashes, fill a rare-line vrne,*" evidently point at the fact that the Phœnix or Elizabeth was really living, although as '*Love's Martyr*,' dead. The last line is obscure; l. 17, "*fgnote.*" — This was Raleigh's signature; but it is also contemporaneously found attached to pieces certainly not his. Everything forbids our regarding these Lines as by him.

Page 182, st. 1, l. 1, "*bird of lowdeſt lay*" — Because the '*Phœnix*' is the bird associated with the '*Turtle*' in *Love's Martyr*, and throughout, it has been assumed, by apparently all the commentators on Shakespeare, that it is intended here. Surely this is a gross mistake, inasmuch as (1) It is the '*Phœnix's*' death ('*shadowing*' Elizabeth) that the poem celebrates; and it were absurd to imagine it could be called on to '*sing*' its own death. See '*Threnos*' and st. 6 of this poem. (2) Nowhere — even supposing the '*Phœnix*' possible — is this legendary bird represented as gifted with '*song*.' I think it was left intentionally indefinite. I would suggest the '*Nightingale*'; others may think of another. l. 2, "*On the ſole Arabian tree.*" Malone has excellently adduced a parallel passage in *The Tempeſt*:

" Now I will believe

That there are unicorns; that in *Arabia*

There is *one tree*, the phœnix' throne: one phœnix

At this hour reigning there" (act iii, sc. 3, p. 23).

He remarks: "This singular coincidence, likewise, serves to authenticate the present poem" (Variorum Shakespeare, vol. xx, p. 421, edition 1821). By the '*sole Arabian tree*' the Palm is meant. In Greek *phœnix*, and meaning both phœnix and palm-tree (Dr. Cobham Brewer's *Dictionary*, *s.v.*) l. 3, "*trumpet.*" Steevens addresses King John —

" Be thou the *trumpet* of our wrath

And *sullen preſage* of your own decay" (i, 1).

Variorum Shakespeare, as before; l. 4, "*chaste wings obey*" I have, myself, often watched the lifting and tremulous motion

of the 'singing' Nightingale's wings, and *chaste* was the exquisitely chosen word to describe the nightingale, in reminiscence of the classical story; st. 2. l. 1, "*shrieking harbinger*" = shriek or scritch-owl; l. 2, "*precurrer*" = fore-runner — scarcely 'procurer.' Cf. *Midsummer Night's Dream*:

"Now the wasted brands do glow,
While the scritch-owl, scritch'ing loud;
Puts the wretch that lies in woe,
In remembrance of a shroud" (act v, sc. 2).

Steevens, as before; l. 3, "*Augour*" = augur, fore-teller; *ib.*, "*fever's end*" = death (by fever); l. 4, "*To this troupe come thou not neere.*" Steevens, as before, recalls another *bit* in *Midsummer Night's Dream* — "Ye spotted snakes, &c. . . come not near our fairy queen." St. 3, l. 3 — punctuate "feather'd King" — "So in Gray's Ode on the Progresses of Poetry:

— "thy magick lulls *the feather'd King*
With ruffled plumes and flagging wing"
(Steevens, as before).

St. 4, l. 2, "*defunctive Musicke can*" — "That understands funereal musick. To *can*, in Saxon, signifies to *know*" (Malone, as before). But query — Is it here used from the Latin 'cano'? (Dr. Brinsley Nicholson, to me.) St. 5, punctuate and read —

"And thou treble-dated Crow,—
That thy fable gender mak'ft
With the breath thou giu'ft and tak'ft;
Mong'ft our mourners shalt thou goe."

Steevens, as before, on l. 1, 'treble dated Crow' aptly quotes *Lucretius* [5, 1053]:

— "cornicum ut secla vetusta.
Ter tres ætates humanas garrula vincit
Cornix."

l. 2, "*that thy fable gender mak'ft,*" &c. It is a 'Vulgar Error' still, that the 'Crow' can change its 'gender' at will. My friend Mr. E. W. Gosse puts it — 'thou Crow that makest [change in] thy sable gender, with the mere exhalation and inhalation of thy breath' (letter to me). l. 3, "*With the breath,*" &c. — query, Is there a sub-reference to the (mythical) belief that the crow re-clothes its aged parents with feathers and feeds them? As being 'sable' it is well fitted to be a 'mourner.' It is so introduced in our child-hood favorite of the 'Death and Burial of Cock Robin.' Cf. *Batman upon Barth.*, B 12, C 9.

Sir Thomas Browne has a note on 'White Crows' (=the aged). St. 6, This, as *supra*, makes it impossible that the 'bird of lowdest lay' could be the 'phoenix'; st. 7, ll. 1-2. Query—punctuate comma (,) after 'loued,' and delete comma (,) after 'twaine'? It is to be remembered that the compositor of *Love's Martyr* was especially fond of a comma at the end of a verse line. We have an exactly similar instance in p. 183, st. 1, as *infra*.

Page 183, st. 1, l. 1, punctuate comma for (;) ; l. 2, punctuate comma after 'Distance' and delete it after 'feene,' as *supra*; l. 4, "But in them it were a wonder"= Except—another Elizabeth sign; for only of the 'Queene' as placing no 'distance and no space' betwixt herself and 'this *Turtle*,' could it have been said 'it were a wonder'; *ib.*, punctuate comma after 'them'; st. 2, l. 2, "his right," &c.—It is merely a variant mode of expressing seeing love-babies (or one's self imaged) in the other's eyes. This gives the true sense to the 'mine' of l. 4; st. 3, l. 1, "Property was thus appall'd," &c.= great proprietors, or the nobility. I imagine there is an enigmatical hitting at the jealousy of Essex among the nobility of England, in the possibility of marriage between him and Elizabeth. Malone, *in loco*, muddles the matter (*meo iudicio*); l. 2—qu.—delete comma after 'together,' and put comma after 'themselues'—making the whole from 'saw' to 'themselues' one clause; l. 4, "simple," &c.= were so well compounded into a simple, *i.e.*, into one. Punctuate comma for period; st. 5—as in *Love's Martyr*, I detect here, and throughout, Shakespeare's feeling, that Elizabeth's and Essex's relations meant infinitely more than 'friendship'; st. 6, l. 1, "Whereupon," &c. 'This funeral song.' So in Kendal's poems, 1577:

" Of verses, *threnes* and epitaphs,
Full fraught with tears of *teene*."

A book entitled David's *Threanes*, by J. Heywood, was published in 1620. Two years afterwards, it was reprinted under the title of David's *Tears*; the former title probably was discarded as obsolete. For this information I am indebted to Dr. Farmer (Malone, as before).

„ 184—*Thenos*—st. 2, l. 3, "rest." Punctuate with comma; st. 3, l. 1, punctuate ; or ; for comma.

On the significance of these Poems by Shakespeare, in relation to Elizabeth and Essex, see our Introduction.

„ 185, l. 9, "Dians tier"= Dian's tyre; l. 3 (from bottom)—read 'all'[,] and delete comma after 'thoughts' in next line. Perhaps comma should also be deleted after 'Woman' in l. 3 (from bottom).

☛ Note, that though in the heading it is out of the 'ashes' of both, the 'wondrous creature' arises, in the poem (l. 17) he only speaks of what arises from 'the Turtle's ashes'—all this natural, for Essex really was dead, but the 'Phoenix,' or Elizabeth, only allegorically so. And so is it throughout, the real peeps through the 'allegorical,' and the 'allegorical' loses itself in the actual.

ll. 23-4, That whilst my labouring thoughts [do] sing with, &c., of this, &c. [nor] God [nor] Man, nor, &c.

- Page 186, l. 2—qu.—delete comma after 'prefume,' the sense being 'Perfume [to] define,' *rithmi causa*; l. 4 = vouchsafe that my Muse may greet; l. 7, "*slightest*," *i.e.*, [the] slightest [of the perfections] that adorn'd, &c. Query—lightest, *i.e.*, most light, the 's' being caught from 'was?'; l. 10, "*Perfection had no meane*" = was limitless; l. 12, "*instructed*"—which 'even instructed vertue, clothed ['inuested'] and therefore substantial; l. 17, remove comma after 'Hyperbolical'; st. 4, l. 1, "*meane*" = was limitless or had no equal; st. 5, l. 1, "*deck'd and stained*" = decked and adorned, or were lively coloured as an adornment.
- ,, 187, st. 1, l. 3, "*Masks*"—verb singular, nominative plural, through intervention of 'that,' as *frequenter*. Punctuate 'Masks [,] fo choicely sheltred'; st. 2, l. 2, "*wanted*"—used as neuter = were or have been wanting; l. 10, "*penny-shoes*," *i.e.*, made-up shows, as at penny shows at a fair. Perfectioni Hymnus, l. 3, "*feature*" = making, or thing made; used also in the following verses by Ben Jonson: Cf. p. 193, l. 22, and p. 194, l. 14; and also, some think, by Touchstone to Audrey in the sense of 'the verses he has made.' Punctuate 'excellence, . . . confin'd.' This excellence, [that is] confined within all that is best; l. 7, "*I*" = Aye; l. 10, "*nomination*" = naming; *ib.*, "*straight*" = narrow; l. 12, "*giue*"—may be = 'giues'; delete period and supply comma.
- ,, 188, l. 1, punctuate comma after "*Suberbes*"; l. 2, "*Has*" = as, with the unlucky 'H'; the signature "*Iohn Marston*" includes Perfectioni Hymni and preceding poems from p. 183; "*Perifleros*," &c., l. 4, "*Sights*" = eyes, or mode of view; l. 8 = 'ftaid Iudgemēts blow Loues fires, but humorous Paffions only blow falſe fires whose Loues, &c., and quench,' &c.; l. 11, "*contend*"—in Latinate sense = aim at or stretch forward to; l. 18, "*alluded*"—another Latinate word = had reference to, with perhaps a sub-reference to 'favoured'; l. 19, "*Exceſſe*," &c. It would be a little more intelligible if we read Exceſſe[d]; but all is in Chapman's most forced manner; l. 23, "*Exceſſe of all things*" = [He that was], &c.; l. 24, "*But*" = except; l. 25,

"change me from" = [her] that is. Specially note the change to 'me,' showing that the Phoenix is not only a living person but a present person. So that albeit *Love's Martyr* necessitated an 'allegorical' death, the 'Phoenix' really was alive while the 'Turtle Dove' was dead. All this has no motif, much less significance, unless Elizabeth were meant. See our Introduction. Last line, "*forme*" seems to be a word in vogue (probably from the philosophy of the day) and = pattern, mould, or ideal thought on which I act. Cf. p. 192, l. 10.

- Page 189, "*Preludium*." As noticed in our Introduction, Gifford — to put it mildly — prints this most corruptly. He deliberately changes all the we's to I's, and our's to my's; l. 6, "*Let's*" — in Gifford, 'I!'; st. 5, l. 1, "*Mankind*" = masculine; st. 6, l. 1 — construction is, Light Venus go cramp, &c.; l. 2, "*Tribade*" — one may hope he used this word as = artful only. See Latin Dictionary and Martial; st. 7, l. 2, "*old Boy*," i.e., Let Cupid turn to lie, &c., alluding to the custom exemplified by Moth in *Love's Labour Lost*.
- „ 190, st. 1, l. 1, "*cannot*" — 'shall not' in Gifford; l. 3, "*Petafus*" = broad-leaved hat or cap; st. 3, l. 3 — note the words 'deep eares'; last line, "*taste*" = discover.
- „ 191, l. 8, "*shal*" — 'should' in Gifford; l. 20, "*their*" — 'the' in Gifford; l. 3 (from bottom) "*gentile*" — Latinate, whence 'genteel' = one of good or honourable family. In Gifford, 'far more gentle, fine.'
- „ 192, l. 22, "*Luxurie*" = lasciviousness or lust; l. 5 (from bottom), "*our selfe*" — in Gifford 'ourselves.'
- „ 193, l. 1, "*or*," in Gifford 'and'; l. 22, "*Feature*" = making. So in 'The Phoenix Analyfde,' st. 2, l. 3. In connection with this word it is to be noted that Shakespeare uses it curiously in verb form, e.g., "a glass that *feated* them" (*Cymbeline*, act i, sc. 1) = featured; '*Defeat* thy favour with an usurped beard' (*Othello*, act i. sc. 3) = defeature or disfeature.
- „ 194, l. 5, "*Man may securely sinne, but safely neuer*." Note the distinction between 'securely' and 'safely'; note the spelling 'Iohnfon' always used by 'rare Ben' prior to 1604. *The Phanix Analyfde*. St. 2, l. 1, "our *Turtles* Augure" = Robert Chester's augury; l. 3, "*Feature*" = making, as before. Ode 'ερθουσιαστικη', l. 3, "illustrate" — illustrious in Gifford.
- „ 195, l. 4, "*as*" — our unhappily over-looked misprint for 'in.'

A. B. G.





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Chester, Robert
[Love's martyr]

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