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*Robert Scott. from D.S. H. etcher  
March 1887.*

NOTES

OF

BEN JONSON'S CONVERSATIONS

WITH

WILLIAM DRUMMOND

OF HAWTHORNDEN.

JANUARY, M.DC.XIX.

Then will I dress once more the faded bower,  
Where JONSON sat in DRUMMOND's classic shade,

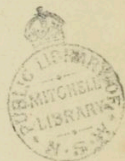
COLLINS.



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## PREFACE.

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Few documents connected with literary history have recently occasioned greater, and, at the same time, more useless and unprofitable controversy, than Drummond of Hawthornden's Notes of Conversations with Ben Jonson. In submitting to the Members of the Shakespeare Society, for the first time in a substantive form, what is presumed to be a full and genuine copy of Drummond's manuscript, it may be necessary to prefix a few remarks on two points. The first is, in regard to the purpose of Jonson's Visit to Scotland; the second, as to the imputations that have been liberally bestowed on the Poet of Hawthornden, in connection with these Notes of Conversations, by inquiring whether they are well founded, and to what extent.

It is, perhaps, vain to inquire what motives induced the great English dramatist to undertake, as it was then viewed, a long and toilsome journey. The editor of Drummond's Works, in 1711, asserts, indeed, that Jonson "came down to Scotland on foot, in the year 1619, on purpose to visit him [Drummond], and stayed some three or four weeks with him at Hawthornden." This statement has been currently repeated for more than a

century. It is, however, apparently nothing but a gratuitous assumption, there being no kind of evidence to shew that any acquaintance existed betwixt the two poets till some months after Jonson had reached Edinburgh. That he was induced to visit Scotland by any supposed admiration of Drummond's genius, may be safely denied, judging from what he himself records of Jonson's "censure of my verses," that "they smelled too much of the schools," and that, *merely to please the King*, he wished he had been the author of Forth Feasting, a congratulatory poem, written by Drummond on occasion of King James's visit to his native kingdom in May 1617.

Jonson, when he commenced his journey, was well advanced in life, having reached the forty-fifth year of his age. He was at the time in special favour at the English court; and the desire of visiting some of his noble friends in the course of his travels may have strengthened his resolution to spend some time in what in one sense he might regard to be his native country, although Jonson could not have felt the same "salmon-like instinct" with his Royal master, (to use his own words) when he announced his long-deferred intentions to revisit Scotland, having "had (he says) these many years a great and naturall longing to see our native soyle and place of our birth and breeding." But "this desire of ours, proceeding from a naturall man," having been accomplished, it might possibly suggest to the English poet a similar journey during the year that followed the King's return. We know at least that, with that sturdy independence which marked his character,



Jonson set out with the resolution to walk all the way both going and returning. This must have been in the summer of 1618. John Taylor, "the Water-Poet," about the same time undertook what he termed his "Pennylesse Pilgrimage" to Scotland—in other words, that he should carry no money with him; and as Jonson, while in Scotland, was impressed with the belief that Taylor, who left London on the 14th of July 1618, and reached Edinburgh on the 13th of August, "had been sent hither to scorn him," this implies that he must have followed, not preceded, Jonson. But the Water-Poet, in 1623, published a rambling account, in verse and prose, of his "Pennylesse Pilgrimage," showing, "how he travailed on foot from London to Edenborough in Scotland, not carrying any money to or fro, neither begging, borrowing, or asking meate, drinke, or lodging," and he there indignantly repels the aspersion of his having been actuated by such a motive, and vows, "by the faith of a Christian," that the insinuations of "many shallow-brained criticks" were wholly unfounded. The address in which this is stated is too curious in itself not to be quoted at full length.

*"To all my Loving Adventurers, by what name or title soever, my  
Generall Salutation.*

"Reader, these Trauailles of mine into Scotland, were not undertaken, neither in imitation, or emulation of any man, but onely deuised by myselfe, on purpose to make triall of my friends, both in this Kingdome of England, and that of Scotland, and because I would be an eye-witnes of diuers things which I had heard of that Countrey; and whereas many shallow-brain'd Critickes, doe lay an aspersion on me, that I was set on by others, or that I did undergoe this project, either in malice or mockage of Master BENJAMIN IONSON,



I vow by the faith of a Christian, that their imaginations are all wide, for he is a Gentleman, to whom I am so much obliged for many undeserved courtesies that I have receiued from him, and from others by his fauour, that I durst neuer to be so impudent or ungratefull, as either to suffer any man's perswasions, or mine own instigation, to incite me, to make so bad a requitall, for so much goodnesse formerly received. So much for that," &c.

After " five and thirty days hunting and travell " in the Highlands, Taylor came back to Edinburgh before the end of September ; and he informs us—

" Now the day before I came from Edenborough [on his return to England] I went to Leeth, where I found my long approued and assured good friend Master Beniamin Iohnson, at one Master Iohn Stuarts house : I thanke him for his great kindnesse towards me ; for at my taking leaue of him, he gaue me a piece of gold of two and twenty shillings to drink his health in England ; and withall, willed me to remember his kind commendations to all his friends : So with a friendly farewell, I left him as well, as I hope neuer to see him in a worse estate : for he is amongst Noblemen and Gentlemen that knowe his true worth, and their owne honours, where, with much respectiue loue he is worthily entertained."<sup>a</sup>

Jonson remained at least four months longer in Scotland, no doubt residing in different parts of the country, with the noblemen and gentlemen to whom Taylor alludes. The precise time of Jonson's visit at Hawthornden is uncertain, and of no moment. But it was previous to the 17th of January, 1619, when Drummond sent him the following note.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> " Workes of Iohn Taylor, the Water Poet," p. 138, London, 1630, folio. Taylor reached London on the 18th of October 1618. See an interesting account of his life and writings, in Mr. Southey's volume on Uneducated Poets.

<sup>b</sup> Drummond's Works, p. 234.

*" To his worthy friend Mr. Benjamin Johnson.*

" Sir,

" Here you have that Epigram which you desired, with another of the like argument. If there be any other thing in this Country, (unto which my power can reach) command it: there is nothing, I wish more, than to be in the Calendar of them who love you. I have heard from Court, that the late Mask was not so approved of the King as in former times, and that your absence was regretted: Such applause hath true worth, even of those who otherwise are not for it. Thus, to the next occasion, taking my leave, I remain

" Your loving friend

" January 17, 1619."

[W. DRUMMOND.]

Two days later, on the 19th of January, the very day "when he took his departure," Jonson sent him the madrigal, "On a Lover's Dust, made sand for an hour-glass," (which will be found at p. 39) with this very flattering inscription:—

" TO THE HONOURING RESPECT,

BORN

TO THE FRIENDSHIP CONTRACTED WITH

THE RIGHT VIRTUOUS AND LEARNED

MR. WILLIAM DRUMMOND,

AND THE PERPETUATING THE SAME BY ALL OFFICES OF LOVE  
HEREAFTER,

I BENJAMIN JOHNSON,

WHOM HE HATH HONOURED WITH THE LEAVE TO BE CALLED  
HIS, HAVE WITH MINE OWN HAND, TO SATISFY HIS  
REQUEST, WRITTEN THIS IMPERFECT SONG."

Jonson reached London in April; and, on the 10th of May, addressed the following letter to Drummond.



*“To my worthy, honoured and beloved Friend Mr. William Drummond,  
Edinburgh.<sup>c</sup>*

“Most loving and beloved Sir,

“Against which titles I should most knowingly offend, if I made you not at length some account of myself, to come even with your friendship. I am arrived safely, with a most Catholick welcome, and my Reports not unacceptable to His Majesty. He professed (I thank God) some joy to see me, and is pleased to hear of the purpose of my Book: To which I most earnestly solicit you for your promise of the Inscriptions at Pinky, some things concerning the Loch of Lomound, touching the Government of Edinburgh, to urge Mr. James Scot; and what else you can procure for me with all speed; Especially I make it my request, that you will enquire for me whether the Students method at St. Andrews be the same with that at Edinburgh, and so to assure me, or wherein they differ. Though these requests be full of trouble, I hope they shall neither burden nor weary such a Friendship, whose commands to me I will ever interpret a pleasure. News we have none here, but what is making against the Queen’s Funeral, whereof I have somewhat in hand, which shall look upon you with the next. Salute the beloved Fentons, the Nisbets, the Scots, the Levingstons, and all the honest and honoured names with you; especially Mr. James Writh, his wife, your sister, &c. And if you forget yourself, you believe not in

“Your most true friend and lover

“BEN JOHNSON.

“London, 10th of May 1619.”

Previous to this letter being received, Drummond had written a note to Jonson as follows, according to the first scroll of the letter still preserved:—

“Sir,

“Mr. Fenton shew mee a letter of yours, in which yee remember your freinds heere, but I am particularly beholden to you for your particular remembrance of mee. Other letters of yours I

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<sup>c</sup> Drummond’s Works, page 154, Edinburgh, 1711, folio.



have not seene. The vncertaintye where to find you, hath made mee so negligent in writing. When I haue vnderstood of your being at London, I will not be so lazie. I haue sent you here the Oth of our Knights, as I had it from Drysdale, haralt, if there be anay other such pieces wherein I can serue you, yee haue but to aduertise mee. Many in this countrie of your friends have trauelled with you in their thoughts, and all in their good wishes place you well at home. What a losse were it to vs if ought should have befallen you but good. Because I doubt if these come vnto you, I shall commit you to the tuition of God, and remains

“Your assured and louing freind,”

[WILLIAM DRUMMOND.]

In the Hawthornden MSS. there is also a corrected copy of this letter in Drummond's hand, which may be given, as it differs in a number of minute particulars :

“*To my good freind BEN JONSON.*

“SIR,—After euen a longing to heare of your happy journey, Mr. Fenton shew mee a letter from you, remembring all your freinds heere, and particularlie (such is your kyndnesse) mee. If euer prayers and good wishes could have made a voyage easie, your must have beene, for your acquaintance heere in their thoughts did trauelle along with you. The vncertaintye where to directe letters hath made mee this tyme by past not to write: when I vnderstand of your being at London I shall neuer (among my worthiest freinds) be forgetful of you. I have sent you the Oth of our Knights, as it was giuen mee by Harald Drysdale: If I can serue you in any other matter, yee shall find mee most willing. Thus wishing that the succeſſe of your fortunes may answer our desires, [be equall to your deserts,] I commite you to the tuition of God.

“Edenbrough, 30 of Aprile 1619.”

Another letter from Drummond to Jonson, dated the 1st of July 1619, and the copy of “The Oath of a Knight,” which accompanied it, were first printed among his Familiar Epistles, at the end of his History of Scot-

land, in 1655. These are here subjoined, as forming the entire correspondence that has been discovered to have passed between the two Poets.

“ *To his worthye Freind M. Benjamin Johnson.*<sup>d</sup>

“ Sir,

“ The uncertaintie of your abod was a cause of my silence this tyme past: I have adventured this packet upon hopes that a man so famous can not be in any place either of the Cittye or Court where hee shall not be found out. In my last I sent you a Description of Lough-Lomound with a Map of Inch-merinloch, which maye by your booke be made most famous; with the form of the Governement of Edenbrough, and the Method of the Colleges of Scotland. For all Incriptions I have beene curious to find out for you: The Impresa’s and Emblems on a Bed of State, wrought and embrodered all with gold and silke by the late Queen Marie, Mother to our sacred Soverayne, which will embellish greatlie some pages of your Booke, and is worthy of remembrance. The first is the Loadstone turning towards the Pole; the word, Her Majesties name turned into an Anagram, MARIA STEUART, SA VERTU M’ATIRÈ, which is not much inferiour to VERITAS ARMATA. This hath reference to a Crucifixe, before which, with all her royal ornaments, she is humbled on her knees most livelie, with the word UNDIQUE. An Impresa of Marie of Lorraine, her Mother, a Phœnix in flames, the word, *En ma fin git mon commencement*. The Impresa of an Apple tree growing in a Thorn, the word, *Per vincula crescit*. The Impresa of Henry the Second the French King, a Crescent, the word, *Donnec totum impleat orbem*. The Impresa of King Francis the First, a Salamander crowned in the midst of flames, the word, *Nutrisco et extingo*. The Impresa of Godfrey of Bullogne, an Arrow passing throw three birds, the word, *Dederitve viam Casusve Deusve*. That of Mercurius charming Argos with his hundred eyes expressed by his Caduceus, two Flutes and a Peacock, the word, *Eloquium tot lumina clausit*. Two

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<sup>d</sup> From Drummond’s History, 1655, page 137, the first part colated with the original scroll preserved in the Hawthornden MSS., vol. ix.



women upon the wheels of Fortune, the one holding a lance the other a Cornucopia; which Impresa seemeth to glance at Queen Elizabeth and herself, the word, *Fortunæ Comites*. The Impresa of the Cardinal of Lorrain, her Uncle, a pyramid overgrown with Ivy, the vulgar word, *Te stante virebo*; A ship with her Mast broken and fallen in the Sea, the word *Nanquam nisi rectam*. This is for herself and her son, a big Lyon and a young whelp beside her, the word, *Unum quidem sed Leonem*. An Emblem of a Lyon taken in a net, and Hares wantonly passing over him, the word, *Et Lepores devicto insultant Leoni*. Cammamel in a garden, the word, *Fructus calcata dat amplos*. A Palm tree, the word, *Ponderibus virtus innata resistit*. A Bird in a cage and a Hawk flying above, with the word, *Il mal me preme et me spaventa peggio*. A Triangle with a Sun in the Middle of a Circle, the word, *Trino non convenit orbis*. A Porcupine amongst Sea rocks, the word, *Ne volutetur*. The Impresa of King Henry VIII., a Portcullis, the word, *Altera securitas*. The Impresa of the Duke of Savoy, the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, the word, *Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit*: He had kept the Isle of Rhodes. Flourishes of Arms, as Helms, Launces, Corslets, Pikes, Muskets, Cannons and the word, *Dabit Deus his quoque finem*. A Tree planted in a Church-yard environed with dead mens bones, the word, *Pietas revocabit ab Orco*. Eclipses of the Sun and the Moon, the word, *Ipsa sibi lumen quod invidet aufert*; glancing, as may appear at Queen Elizabeth. Brennus's ballances, a Sword cast in to weigh Gold, the word, *Quid nisi victis dolor?* A Vine tree watred with wine, which, instead of making it spring and grow, maketh it fade, the word, *Mea sic mihi prosunt*. A Wheel rolled from a mountain into the Sea, *Piena di dolor voda de Speranza*, which appeareth to be her own, and it should be, *Precipitio senza speranza*. A heap of wings and feathers dispersed, the word, *Magnatum vicinitas*. A Trophie upon a tree, with mytres, crowns, hats, masks, swords, books, and a Woman with a vail about her eyes or muffled, pointing to some about her, with this word, *Ut casus dederit*. Three Crowns, two opposite, and another above in the Sky, the word, *Aliamque moratur*. The Sun in an eclipse, the word, *Medio occidit die*.

“ I omit the Arms of Scotland, England and France severally by



themselves, and all quartered in many places of this Bed. The workmanship is curiously done, and above all value; and truly it may be of this piece said *Materiam superabat opus*.

"I have sent you (as you desired) the Oath which the old valiant Knights of Scotland gave, when they received the order of Knighthood, which was done with great solemnity and magnificence.

"W. DRUMMOND.

"July 1st 1619."

#### "THE OATH OF A KNIGHT.

"I shall fortifie and defend the true holy Catholique and Christian Religion presently professed, at all my power.

"I shall be loyal and true to my Sovereign Lord the King his Majesty, and do honour and reverence to all Orders of Chevalrie, and to the noble office of Arms.

"I shall fortifie and defend Justice to the uttermost of my power, but feed or favour.

"I shall never flie from the King's Majesty my Lord and Master, or his Lieutenant in time of battel or medly with dishonour.

"I shall defend my native country from all aliens and strangers at all my power.

"I shall maintain and defend the honest Adoes and Quarrels of all Ladies of Honour, Widows, Orphans, and Maids of good Fame.

"I shall do diligence, wherever I hear tell there is any Traytours, Murtherers, Rovers, and Masterfull Theeves and Outlaws, that suppress the Poor, to bring them to the Law at all my power.

"I shall maintain and defend the Noble and gallant state of Chevalrie with Horses, Harnesses, and other Knightly Apparel to my power.

"I shall be diligent to enquire and seek to haue the knowledge of all Articles and points touching or concerning my duty contained in the Book of Chevalrie.

"All and sundry the premisses I oblige me to keep and fulfil, so help me God by my own hand, and by God himself."

Jonson, it appears, had written a work describing his journey to Scotland; but this was unfortunately destroyed in the fire which consumed several of his other

papers, (probably in 1629), as commemorated by himself in his "Execration upon Vulcan." In his masque of "News from the Moon," presented at court in the January 6th and February 11th, 1620-21, he thus alludes to his Northern journey :

" *P.* How might we do to see your Poet? Did he undertake this Journey, I pray you, to the Moon, on foot?

" *First Herald.* Why do you ask?

" *Printer.* Because one of our greatest Poets (I know not how good a one) went to Edinburgh on foot, and came back: Marry, he has been restive, they say, ever since; for we have had nothing from him; he has set out nothing, I am sure.

" *First Herald.* Like enough, perhaps he has not all in; when he has all in, he will set out I warrant you, at least those from whom he had it: It is the very same party that has been in the Moon now."

Jonson died at London on the 6th of August 1637, and Drummond survived to the 4th of December 1649.

In 1711, there was published at Edinburgh an edition of Drummond's works, both in prose and verse. His son, Sir William Drummond, who still survived, and had preserved his father's papers with religious care, communicated them to the editor of the volume, supposed to be Thomas Ruddiman the grammarian, or to Bishop Sage, who is said to have furnished the biographical account of the author, and the historical Introduction. Among those papers were the original Notes by Drummond of his Conversations with Ben Jonson. Unfortunately, as it has proved, the editor, instead of giving a correct copy of these Notes, or Informations, gave merely an abstract, which he entitled "Heads of a Conversation betwixt the famous Poet Ben Johnson, and William



Drummond of Hawthornden, January 1619," but which left it very doubtful what might be the precise extent and nature of the original. Unfortunately, also, this paper was occasionally employed to asperse Jonson's character, and some scurrilous additions were interpolated by the anonymous editor of Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*, the better to serve such a purpose.

That Drummond committed to writing such recollections of his conversations with a person of so much eminence as the English Dramatist, can excite no surprise : it is what hundreds of persons before his time and since have done with impunity in similar circumstances. That he was actuated by any unworthy motive, is neither confirmed by internal evidence, nor by any proper use that can be made of such notes. It is strange, however, to find a person of so much natural acuteness and sagacity as the editor of Massinger and Jonson, speaking of Drummond as "decoying Jonson under his roof," as "betraying the confidence of his guest," as "publishing his remarks and censures, without shame," and such like assertions. But it is necessary to hear the critic's own words :—

"It is not known (says Gifford) at what period, or in what manner, Jonson's acquaintance with Drummond began ; but the ardour with which he cherished his friendship is almost unexampled ; he seems, upon every occasion, to labour for language to express his grateful sense of it ; and very depraved must have been the mind, that could witness such effusions of tenderness with a determination to watch the softest moment, and betray the confidence of his guest. For this perfidious purpose no one ever afforded greater facilities than Jonson. He *wore his heart upon his sleeve, for daws to peck at it* : a bird of prey, therefore, like Drummond, had a noble quarry before him ; and he could strike at it without stooping.

"It is much to be lamented that our author did not fall into kindly hands. His learning, his judgment, his love of anecdote, his extensive acquaintance with the poets, statesmen, and eminent characters of the age, of whom he talked without reserve, would have rendered his conversations, had they been recorded with such a decent respect for the characters of the living as courtesy demanded, the most valuable body of contemporary criticism that had ever appeared. Such was not Drummond's object. He only sought to injure the man whom he had decoyed under his roof; and he, therefore, gave his remarks in rude and naked deformity. Even thus, however, without one qualifying word, without one introductory or explanatory line, there is little in them that can be disputed; while the vigour, perspicuity, and integrity of judgment which they uniformly display, are, certainly, worthy of commendation.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Such are the remarks of Jonson on his contemporaries; set down in malice, abridged without judgment, and published without shame, what is there yet in them to justify the obloquy with which they are constantly assailed, or to support the malicious conclusions drawn from them by Drummond? Or who, that leaned with such confidence on the bosom of a beloved friend, who treacherously encouraged the credulous affection, would have passed the ordeal with more honour than Jonson.

\* \* \* \* \*

"As Ben Jonson (say the collectors of Drummond's works) has been very liberal of his censures (opinions) on all his contemporaries, so our author *does not spare him*.

"But Jonson's censures are merely critical, or, if the reader pleases, hypercritical; and, with the exception of Raleigh, who is simply charged with taking credit to himself for the labours of others, he belies no man's reputation, blasts no man's moral character, the apology for the slander of his host, therefore,

— who should against his murderer shut the door,  
Not bear the knife himself,

is weaker than water.

\* \* \* \* \*



“The words put into Drummond’s mouth, do not, indeed, belong to him; of this, however, the critics, who trusted merely to Shiels, and quote a work which they never saw, were ignorant. No matter: there is still enough to justify the rhapsody on the ‘sweets of friendship!’ It must not be concealed, however, that there have been persons free enough to question the purity of Drummond’s conduct, and that even the wretched scribbler who interpolated the passage, cannot avoid saying:—‘We have inserted Ben’s conversations, though, perhaps, it was not altogether fair of Mr. Drummond to commit to writing things that passed over a bottle, and which, perhaps, were heedlessly advanced. As few people are so wise as not to speak imprudently sometimes, it is not the part of a man who invites another to his table to expose what may drop inadvertently.’ (Cibber’s *Lives*, vol. i., p. 310.) This gentle reproof from Lauder the second, is extremely pleasant!—perhaps it was a *compunctious visiting*. Mr. A. Chalmers, too, has an awkward observation. Drummond’s return, (he says) to the unreserved conduct of Jonson, ‘has been thought *not very liberal*.’ Is it possible! Fie, fie! ‘*Not very liberal*!’ To do Mr. Chalmers justice, he has no doubts of this kind himself; in tenderness, however, to those who have, he suggests, ‘that this *suspicion of illiberality* is considerably lessened, when we reflect that Drummond appears not to have intended to publish his remarks,’ &c. Mr. Chalmers never heard, perhaps, of a legacy of half-a-crown left to a hungry Scotsman, to fire off a pistol, which the ruffian who loaded and levelled it, had not the courage to discharge. At any rate, he seems to think that there is nothing unusual or improper in framing a libellous attack on the character and reputation of a friend, keeping it carefully in store for thirty years, and finally bequeathing it, fairly engrossed, to the caprice or cupidity of an executor.”—(*Jonson’s Works*, by Gifford, vol. i., pp. 116, 124, 126, 129.)

It is strange, I repeat, to find a man like Gifford making use of such language. From all this, and similar remarks obtruded in, and occurring in other parts of the work, one might suppose that no calumny would ever have assailed Jonson’s memory, unless for

these unfortunate notes, committed to writing by Drummond, in January 1619. The only publication of them, in 1711, he terms "The costive and splenetic abridgement of his Conversations," (p. xxiii.) but, as Drummond obviously could not be charged with the abridgment, he elsewhere says, (p. cxxiv.) "It is observable that every addition by Drummond is tinctured with spleen," and exclaims, "*What a tissue of malevolence must the original record of those Conversations have been!*" Now, supposing all this to have been so, it may be asked, what reasonable motive can be assigned to have made Drummond feel any desire "to blazon Jonson's vices, and bequeath them to posterity?" If this question could be answered in any satisfactory manner, we might then inquire, what were the steps he took to accomplish this object? But no credible motive has, or can be, assigned: and Gifford knew well that during Jonson's life his intercourse with Drummond could not in the smallest degree have influenced his fate, or injured his reputation. He admits (vol. vi., p. 50) that this "gentleman, whose prudence was almost equal to his malignity, kept this libel to himself, at least while the poet lived." But he likewise knew that if Drummond was deterred, during a period of eighteen years, in the life-time of the English poet by the dread of retaliation, he, nevertheless, allowed the other twelve years that he survived Jonson to pass away without employing his notes, or "libel," for any such purpose. This was, undoubtedly, a very unusual mode for any person to take who is alleged to have harboured such malice. As to what Mr. Gifford chooses to insinuate of Drummond



having bequeathed his papers "fairly engrossed," and of the half-crown legacy, such insinuations betray a mean and vindictive spirit, to which silent contempt is the most fitting reply.

Whether the estimate which Drummond was led to form of Jonson's private character be harsh and unfounded, is quite a different matter. This remains for a dispassionate biographer to investigate. Here it may be sufficient to show that "the original record," as now published, is genuine, although the autograph copy is not known to exist. Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden, the poet's son, died in 1713, (two years after the publication of his father's works,) in the seventy-seventh year of his age. None of his immediate successors seem to have inherited a literary disposition; and little or no care was, probably, taken of the poet's books and papers, and many of them, there is reason to believe, were destroyed through sheer neglect. At length, in November 1782, the Reverend Dr. Abernethy Drummond (who had assumed the name on his marriage, in 1760, with the heiress of Hawthornden, Sir William Drummond's grand daughter) presented a large mass of papers, chiefly in the hand-writing of the poet, to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. This we learn from the following announcement, made by the Earl of Buchan, at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society on the 14th of November, 1782: "From the Rev. Dr. Abernethy Drummond we have lately received the whole manuscripts of the celebrated historian and poet, William Drummond of Hawthornden, consisting of thirteen volumes; which donation, so generously bestowed, will,

I hope, be exemplary, and productive of similar exertions in favour of the Republic of Letters, through the channel of the Society.”—“The gift of Doctor Abernethy Drummond (his Lordship continues) being immediately on our table, and recently presented with peculiar generosity, has forced me to report it as part of the ordinary business of the day.” — (*Minutes of the Society*, vol. i., p. 268.)

These MSS. were said to consist of thirteen volumes; but the bulk of the papers remained unbound and unarranged for upwards of forty years; no inventory or list of their contents appears to have been made; and a belief prevailed that either from accident or design many of the more interesting autographs were lost. After careful investigation, I am persuaded that such a notion was unfounded; and it is just as likely that a portion of the letters and papers made use of by the editor of Drummond's Works, in 1711, had never been returned to Hawthornden; or it may be that some of them may still remain among the family papers. Having already, in the fourth volume of the “*Archæologia Scotica*,” given a pretty copious account of the Hawthornden Manuscripts in the possession of the Antiquarian Society, it is not necessary in this place to say further, than that the original Notes of Conversations, and the autographs of the various original letters addressed to Drummond that were published in 1711, form no part of these manuscripts; and thus it seemed most probable that we never should be able to ascertain the actual form in which Drummond committed to writing his record of Ben Jonson's Conversations.



At a later period, while examining some of the manuscript collections of Sir Robert Sibbald, a well-known antiquary and physician in Edinburgh, I was agreeably surprised to find in a volume of "*Adversaria*," what bears very evident marks of being a literal transcript of Drummond's original Notes. The volume has no date, but was probably anterior to 1710, when Sibbald was in his seventieth year. It is transcribed with his own hand; and the volume containing it was purchased after his death, with the rest of his MSS., for the Faculty of Advocates, in 1723. He might either have been a personal acquaintance of Sir William Drummond, or have obtained the use of the original papers through his friend Bishop Sage, who contributed to the publication of Drummond's Works in 1711. At all events, Sir Robert Sibbald was merely an industrious antiquary, and with considerable learning and unwearied assiduity, no doubt copied these Notes on account of the literary information they contained; while his character is a sufficient warrant for the literal accuracy of his transcript. Conceiving it, therefore, to be a literary document of considerable interest, after communicating it to Sir Walter Scott, and other gentlemen well qualified to judge of its genuineness — and no doubt has ever been expressed on this head — it was communicated to a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, and printed in the "*Archæologia Scotica*," as a sequel to the Account of the Hawthornden Manuscripts.

The Transactions that contain the communications alluded to, having had but a very limited circulation, and being almost wholly unknown in England, it was

thought the Notes of Jonson's Conversations might prove a suitable republication for the members of the Shakespeare Society. For this purpose, the foot notes, illustrating some of the concise or obscure allusions, have been amplified and corrected, by the kind and efficient aid of my excellent friends, Mr. J. PAYNE COLLIER, and Mr. PETER CUNNINGHAM; the text has been compared carefully with the manuscript, and it is hoped this work, in its present form, may serve the purpose at once of freeing the memory of Drummond from unjust aspersions of treachery and want of good faith; and of furnishing additional facts, in the most authentic form, of the life and manners of one of England's greatest dramatic writers.

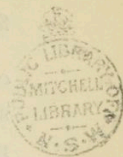
Brief and meagre as these Notes of Conversations are, they furnish us, in fact, with the only satisfactory evidence respecting the parentage, education, and early life of the English poet; they explain many obscure allusions in regard to his employments, such as his visit to Paris in 1613, in the capacity of tutor to a son of Sir Walter Raleigh; and, if they bear testimony to Jonson's occasional arrogance and boasting, they exhibit him also in a more favourable aspect, as of a warm-hearted kindly disposition, easily offended, it is true, but as easily appeased. Without enlarging, however, on the views they give of his own personal character, we could have wished that Jonson had proved more communicative, or Drummond been more curious in inquiring into the personal history of those master-spirits, whose writings have shed so much lustre over that age. But, either Drummond was more disposed to hear of those



poets, who, like himself, were writers of sonnets, madrigals, and courtly compliments, or Jonson, with a natural degree of vanity, was more accustomed to speak of the gay and high-born personages, for whom his Court Masques were written, than of those who, like himself, lived "by their wit." Still, even the casual glimpses and brief allusions to such men as Raleigh, Sidney, Bacon, Selden, Fletcher, Beaumont, and "the gentle" Spenser, have an indescribable charm; and, above all, the incidental mention of the name of Shakespeare fortunately contains nothing to justify the idle outcry of malignity and jealousy on the part of Jonson, or to call in question the sincerity of that affection, so beautifully expressed in his exquisite verses, "To the Memory of my beloved Master William Shakespeare, and what he hath left us," or in that touching passage of his "Discoveries," where he says, "I LOVED THE MAN, AND DO HONOUR HIS MEMORY, ON THIS SIDE IDOLATRY, AS MUCH AS ANY."

DAVID LAING.

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BEN JONSON'S CONVERSATIONS  
WITH  
WILLIAM DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN.

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CERTAIN INFORMATION AND MANERS OF BEN JOHNSON'S  
TO W. DRUMMOND.<sup>a</sup>

I.

That he had ane intention to perfect ane Epick Poeme intituled Heroologia, of the Worthies of this Country rowsed by Fame; and was to dedicate it to his Country: it is all in couplets, for he detesteth all other rimes. Said he had written a Discourse of Poesie both against Campion and Daniel,<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This title corresponds so far with a stray leaf in Vol. ix. of the Hawthornden MSS., and which, probably, was the envelope of the original: bearing, in the hand-writing of Drummond's son, these titles: [Certain] "Informations & Manners of Ben Jonson to W. D., 1619;" and "Informations be Ben Jonston to W. D., when he cam to Scotland upon foot, 1619." In Sibbald's transcript the same titles are thus repeated: "Informations be Ben Johnston to W. D., when he came to Scotland upon foot, 1619," and "Certain Informations and Manners of Ben Jonson's to W. Drummond;" preceded by another, (apparently interlined at a subsequent time, and no doubt his own invention) "Ben Ionsiana."

<sup>b</sup> Thomas Campion's "Observations in the Art of English Poesie" were first printed in 1602, and Daniel's answer in the same year. It was reprinted in 1603, with the following title: "A Defence of Ryme agaynst a pamphlet, entituled Observations in the Art of English Poesie; wherein is demonstratively proued that Ryme is the fittest harmonie of wordes that comportes with our language. By Sa: D. At London, 1603," 8vo. Both these pieces are reprinted in the late Mr. Haslewood's collection of "Ancient Critical Essays upon English Poets and Poesy." Vol. ii., London, 1815, 4to.



especially this last, wher he proves couplets to be the bravest sort of verses, especially when they are broken, like Hexameters ; and that crosse rimes and stanzaes, (becaus the purpose would lead him beyond 8 lines to conclude) were all forced.

## II.

He recommended to my reading Quintilian, (who he said would tell me the faults of my Verses as if he lived with me) and Horace, Plinius Secundus Epistles, Tacitus, Juvenall, Martiall ; whose Epigrame *Vitam quæ faciunt beatioorem*, &c., he hath translated.<sup>c</sup>

## III.

HIS CENSURE OF THE ENGLISH POETS WAS THIS :

That Sidney did not keep a decorum in making every one speak as well as himself.

Spenser's stanzaes pleased him not, nor his matter ;<sup>d</sup> the meaning of which Allegorie he had delivered in papers to Sir Walter Raughlie.

Samuel Daniel was a good honest man, had no children ; but no poet.

That Michael Drayton's Polyolbion, if [he] had performed what he promised to writte (the deeds of all the Worthies) had been excellent : His long verses pleased him not.

That Silvester's translation of Du Bartas was not well done ; and that he wrote his verses before it, ere he understood to conferr :<sup>e</sup> Nor that of Fairfax his.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>c</sup> See Mr. Collier's "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," (printed for the Shakespeare Society) p. 54, where this translation is inserted, from a copy in the hand-writing of Ben Jonson.

<sup>d</sup> Alluding, of course, to the Faerie Queene.

<sup>e</sup> That is, before Jonson understood French sufficiently to judge of the merits of Silvester's translation. Jonson's Epigram was prefixed to the 4to. edition of Du Bartas's "Weeks and Days," printed in the year 1605. (See note in Gifford's Ben Jonson, vol. viii., p. 239.)

<sup>f</sup> Alluding to Fairfax's beautiful version of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, first printed in the year 1600, folio. Jonson entertained particular notions

That the translations of Homer and Virgill in long Alexandrines were but prose.<sup>g</sup>

That [Sir] John Harington's Ariosto, under all translations, was the worst. That when Sir John Harrington desyred him to tell the truth of his Epigrames, he answered him, that he loved not the truth, for they were Narrations, and not Epigrames.<sup>h</sup>

That Warner, since the King's comming to England, had marred all his Albion's England.<sup>i</sup>

That Done's Anniversarie was profane and full of blasphemies: that he told Mr. Done, if it had been written of the Virgin Marie it had been something; to which he answered, that he described the Idea of a Woman, and not as she was. That Done, for not keeping of accent, deserved hanging.

That Shakspeer wanted arte.<sup>j</sup>

in regard to poetical translations, which led him to underrate some of those that still continue to be justly admired. Fairfax's *Jerusalem*, Mr. Campbell emphatically says, "was inscribed to Queen Elizabeth, and forms one of the glories of her reign."

<sup>g</sup> Referring, evidently, to Chapman's Homer's Iliad, and to Phaer and Twyne's Virgil. Chapman commenced his translation of Homer in 1598, in common heroic couplets, but afterwards altered it to verses of fourteen syllables.

<sup>h</sup> Ben Jonson published a Book of Epigrams, or, rather, Epistles. By an epigram, says Gifford, Jonson meant nothing more than a short poem, chiefly restricted to one idea. An epigram, in our modern acceptation, is a short poem, terminating in a point. But many of Jonson's epigrams, instead of being, (to use his own language)

bold, licentious, full of gall,

Wormwood, and sulphur, sharp, and tooth'd withal,

are mere harmless effusions. Jonson, however, had wormwood and sulphur for his verse, when he wished to be severe. We shall see that Jonson said Owen's epigrams were not epigrams, but narrations.—P. C.

<sup>i</sup> Warner's poem, under the title of *Albion's England*, which had passed through several editions, the earliest in 1586, and of which "A Continuance" appeared in 1606.

<sup>j</sup> In the printed selections, 1711, this remark is very improperly connected with Jonson's subsequent observation in regard to *The Win-*



That Sharpham, Day, Dicker, were all rogues;<sup>k</sup> and that Minshew was one.<sup>1</sup>

That Abram Francis,<sup>m</sup> in his English Hexameters, was a foole.

That next himself, only Fletcher and Chapman could make a Mask.

#### IV.

HIS JUDGEMENT OF STRANGER POETS WAS:

That he thought not Bartas a Poet, but a Verser, because he wrote not fiction.

He cursed Petrarch for redacting verses to Sonnets; which he said were like that Tirrant's bed, wher some who where too short were racked, others too long cut short.

That Guarini, in his Pastor Fido, kept not decorum, in making Shepherds speak as well as himself could.

That Lucan, taken in parts, was good divided; read alto-gidder, merited not the name of a Poet.

*ter's Tale*, implying a general censure on all Shakespeare's works, as follows:—"He said, *Shakespear wanted Art, and sometimes Sense*; for, in one of his plays, he brought in a number of men, saying they had suffered Ship-wrack in Bohemia, where is no sea near by 100 miles."

<sup>k</sup> Edward Sharpham, a member of the Middle Temple, published *The Fleire*, a comedy, in 1610; and John Day wrote several plays, the titles of which will be found in the *Biographia Dramatica*. Thomas Dekker is a still more voluminous author, and his history is better known, partly in consequence of Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*, in which he has ridiculed Dekker, under the character of Demetrius, and Marston, under that of Crispinus: the former retorted upon Jonson as Young Horace, in his *Satyro-Mastix*, or the *Untrussing a Humourous Poet*, 1602.

<sup>1</sup> Minshew is chiefly known as the author of a *Polyglot Dictionary*, in eleven languages, published in 1617.

<sup>m</sup> For the titles of the several publications by Abraham Fraunce, see Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 211. George Peele, in the Order of the Garter, 1593, calls Fraunce "a peerless sweet translator of our time." (Works, by Dyce, vol. ii., p. 221, second edit.)

That Bonefonius Vigilium Veneris was excellent.<sup>n</sup>

That he told Cardinal de Perron, at his being in France, anno 1613, who shew him his translations of Virgill, that they were naught.

That the best pieces of Ronsard were his Odes.

*All this was to no purpose, for he [Jonson] neither doeth understand French nor Italiannes.*<sup>o</sup>

## V.

He read his translation of that Ode of Horace, *Beatus ille qui procul negotiis*, &c., and admired it. Of ane Epigrame of Petronius, *Fæda et brevis est Veneris voluptas*; concluding it was better to lie still and kisse . . .<sup>p</sup>

<sup>n</sup> Jean Bonnefons (Bonnefonius) was born about the middle of the sixteenth century, at Clermont, in Auvergne, where he cultivated Latin poetry with considerable success. He affected to imitate Catullus, though there was one whom he imitated more closely, viz., Johannes Secundus. Bonnefons died in 1614. (Gifford's *Ben Jonson*, vol. iii., p. 347.) Jonson was an admirer of Bonnefonius; his exquisite little song,

Still to be neat, still to be drest,

in "The Silent Woman," is from Bonnefonius, and is a happy pouring out of sentiment, from one language to another—a true translation.—P. C.

<sup>o</sup> These words are printed in italics, as they are evidently the expression of Drummond's own sentiments. Gifford quotes them, with this remark: "It is observable that every addition by Drummond is tinctured with spleen: what a tissue of malevolence must the original record of these conversations have been!" (Vol. i., p. cxxiv.) Had Mr. Gifford lived to see this "original record," as now published, he might, probably, have regretted the intemperate wrath he displayed against the Poet of Hawthornden, as there are so few instances of such "additions." Drummond's remark in this place must, however, be taken in a limited sense, as Jonson could not fail to understand both languages, which, in his day, were far more familiar to Englishmen than at present. But Drummond might only mean that Jonson was unable to comprehend the beauties of these languages.

<sup>p</sup> A word in the MS. at the end of this sentence is illegible. The fragment of Petronius Arbiter here referred to, was translated by Jonson, and printed among his Underwoods. (Works, vol. ix., p. 147.)



To me he read the preface of his Arte of Poesie, upon Horace [’s] Arte of Poesie, wher he heth ane Apologie<sup>a</sup> of a play of his, St. Bartholomee’s Faire :<sup>r</sup> by Criticus is understood Done. Ther is ane Epigrame of Sir Edward Herbert’s befor it : the [this] he said he had done in my Lord Aubanie’s house ten yeers since, anno 1604.<sup>s</sup>

The most common place of his repetition was a Dialogue pastoral between a Shepherd and a Shepherdesse about sing-

<sup>a</sup> This translation of Horace’s Art of Poetry, although one of Jonson’s earliest works, was not printed till some years after his death. The preface alluded to was, probably, destroyed, along with the copious notes prepared to illustrate the translation, in the fire about 1623, which consumed so many of Jonson’s papers. In the preface to his Sejanus, in 1605, he speaks of his Observations upon Horace his Art of Poetry, “ which, (says he) with the text translated, I intend shortly to publish.” The preface appears to have been in dialogue, and the friends of the poet introduced as speakers, under fictitious names—*Vide* p. 29. “ He hath commented and translated Horace Art of Poesie : it is in dialogue wayes ; by Criticus he understandeth Dr. Done.” Dryden wrote his famous Essay on Dramatic Poesy, *dialogue wayes* — and his friends are speakers under classic names.—P.C.

<sup>r</sup> The Comedy of Bartholomew Fair, although acted in 1614, is not included in the folio works, 1616, a circumstance which his late Editor cannot account for. As we here learn that it required an Apology, we may infer that it had given offence to the King, to whom we are told it had been dedicated, and, therefore, purposely omitted. That Bartholomew Fair was acted before the king, is proved by the prologue and epilogue. “ It came out at the Hope Theatre, on the 31st of October, 1614, and was soon after performed at court, for I find, in an old roll of the Account of the Master of the Revels, from 1 November, 1614, to 31 October, 1615, now before me, the following item : — ‘ *Canvas for the boothes and other neccies [necessaries] for a play called Bartholmewe faire, xljs. vjd.* ’ ” — P. C. See also the “ Revels Accounts ” (printed by the Shakespeare Society), by which we find that, on the 11th June, 1615, Nathaniel Field received £10 for Bartholomew Fair, performed at court on the 1st Nov., 1614.

<sup>s</sup> Sir Edward Herbert’s epigram is among the commendatory verses, in the first volume of Gifford’s edition of Jonson. There must be some mistake here, “ ten years since,” and the date 1604 will not agree with the period of Jonson’s visit at Hawthornden.—P. C.

ing.<sup>t</sup> Another, Parabostes Pariane with his letter ; that Epigrame of Gout ; my Lady Bedfoord's bucke ; his verses of drinking, *Drinke to me bot with thyne eyes ; Swell me a Bowle*, &c. His verses of a Kisse,<sup>u</sup>

Bot kisse me once and-faith I will be gone ;  
And I will touch as harmelesse as the bee  
That doeth but taste the flower and flee away.

That is, but half a one ; what sould be done but once, should be done long.

He read a satyre of a Lady come from the Bath ; Verses on the Pucelle of the Court, Mistriss Boulstred,<sup>v</sup> whose Epitaph Done made ; a Satyre, telling there was no abuses to writte a satyre of, and [in] which he repeateth all the abuses in England and the World. He insisted in that of Martiall's *Vitam quæ faciunt beatiorem*.

## VI.

HIS CENSURE OF MY VERSES WAS :

That they were all good, especiallie my Epitaphe of the Prince, save that they smelled too much of the Schooles, and were not after the fancie of the tyme : for a child (sayes he) may writte after the fashion of the Greeks and Latine verses in running ; yett that he wished, to please the King, that piece of Forth Feasting had been his owne.<sup>w</sup>

<sup>t</sup> Probably "The Musical Strife, a pastorall Dialogue."

<sup>u</sup> Most of these pieces are well known. "Swell me a bowl of lusty wine," a little ode, inserted in the Poetaster, was parodied by Decker. "Drink to me only with thine eyes," has always been a popular drinking song. For the lines of a Kisse, see Works, vol. viii., p. 312.

<sup>v</sup> An Epigram on the Court Pucelle will be found among his Works, vol. viii., p. 437. See, afterwards, page 38, where he says it had been stolen out of his pocket, and brought him into trouble. There are two elegies "on Mistris Boulstred," printed in Donne's Poems, pp. 253, and 258, edit. 1669, 8vo.

<sup>w</sup> Drummond's Teares on the Death of Meliades appeared in 1613 ; and his Forth Feasting, written on occasion of the King's visit to Scotland,



## VII.

He esteemeth John Done the first poet in the world in some things : his verses of the Lost Chaine he heth by heart ; and that passage of the Calme, *That dust and feathers doe not stirr, all was so quiet.* Affirmeth Done to have written all his best pieces ere he was 25 years old.

Sir Edward [Henry] Wotton's verses of a happie lyfe,<sup>x</sup> he hath by heart ; and a peice of Chapman's translation of the 13 of the Iliads, which he thinketh well done.

That Done said to him, he wrott that Epitaph on Prince Henry, *Look to me, Faith,*<sup>y</sup> to match Sir Ed : Herbert in obscurenesse.

in 1617. The writer of an excellent article on Drummond's Poetry, in the Retrospective Review, in reference to the current, but unfounded tradition of Jonson's object in visiting Scotland, quotes the above words, and says, "Truly, if this be admiration enough for a pilgrimage, and by such a man as Jonson, there is much less enthusiasm wanting on such occasions, than we have heretofore imagined." (*Retr. Rev.*, vol. ix., p. 355.)

<sup>x</sup> The poem here mentioned, is "The Character of a Happy Life," by Sir Henry Wotton, and is so beautiful, that we may be excused quoting the first two and last verses.

How happy is he born and taught  
That serveth not another's will ?  
Whose armour is his honest thought,  
And simple truth his utmost skill ?  
  
Whose passions not his masters are,  
Whose soul is still prepared for death ;  
Untied unto the World by care  
Of publick fame, or private breath.  
  
This Man is freed from servile bands,  
Of hopes to rise, or fear to fall :  
Lord of himself, though not of lands,  
And having nothing, yet hath all.

See a copy of these verses, taken from the original in Ben Jonson's hand-writing, in Mr. Collier's "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 53. They there vary materially from the copies as printed in the various editions of Wotton's Remains.

<sup>y</sup> Donne's Elegy on the Prince was first printed in 1613.

He hath by heart some verses of Spenser's Calender, about wyne, between Coline and Percy.

## VIII.

The conceit of Donne's Transformation, or *Μετεμψυχώσις*,<sup>z</sup> was, that he sought the soule of that aple which Eva pulled, and thereafter made it the soule of a bitch, then of a shee wolf, and so of a woman: his general purpose was to have brought in all the bodies of the Hereticks from the soule of Cain, and at last left it in the bodie of Calvin: Of this he never wrotte but one sheet, and now, since he was made Doctor, repenteth highlie, and seeketh to destroy all his poems.<sup>a</sup>

## IX.

That Petronius, Plinius Secundus, Tacitus, spoke best Latine; that Quintiliane's 6. 7. 8. bookes were not only to be

<sup>z</sup> His "Metempsychosis, the Progress of the Soule," bears the date August 16, 1601, in the collection of his poems, p. 286. The fragment extends to fifty-two stanzas, of ten lines each. It may be added, that Donne appears to have still better claims than either Bishop Hall or Marston, to be considered the *first* English Satirist. In Drummond's transcript, Donne's Fourth Satire is dated "Anno, 1594," three years previous to the publication of Hall's. Mr. Collier, however, was the first to point out the priority in date of Donne's Satires. In the British Museum, among the Harleian MSS., (No. 5110) is a copy of Donne's three first satires, dated 1593, and headed, "Ihon Dunne, his Satires: Anno Domini 1593." Donne's fourth satire, according to Drummond's transcript, might be written in 1594. Dr. John Donne was born in 1573, and died the 31st of March, 1631.

<sup>a</sup> Donne's poems were not collected and published till after his death, in 1633. Izaak Walton says of him, that "the recreations of his youth were *Poetry*;" and "of those pieces which were facetiously composed, and carelessly scattered," most of them were written before the twentieth year of his age. He adds, "It is a truth, that in his penitential years, viewing some of those pieces too loosely scattered in his youth, he wish't they had been abortive, or so short-liv'd, that his own eyes had witnessed their funerals." The earliest of Donne's poems which appeared in print, was entitled, "An Anatomy of the World," which came out in 1611. (See the Cat. of the Bridgewater Library, p. 9) and was republished anonymously in 1612, 1621, and 1625.



read, but altogether digested. Juvenal, Perse, Horace, Martiall, for delight; and so was Pindar. For health, Hippocrates.

Of their Nation, Hooker's Ecclesiasticall historie (whose children are now beggars,<sup>b</sup>), for church matters. Selden's Titles of Honour, for Antiquities here; and ane book of the Gods of the Gentiles, whose names are in the Scripture, of Selden's.

Tacitus, he said, wrott the secrets of the Councill and Senate, as Suetonius did those of the Cabinet and Courte.

## X.

For a Heroik poeme, he said, ther was no such ground as King Arthur's fiction; and that S. P. Sidney had ane intention to have transform'd all his Arcadia to the stories of King Arthure.<sup>c</sup>

## XI.

HIS ACQUAINTANCE AND BEHAVIOUR WITH POETS LIVING WITH HIM.

Daniel was at jealousies with him.<sup>d</sup>

Drayton feared him; and he esteemed not of him.

That Francis Beaumont loved too much himself and his own verses.

That Sir John Roe loved him; and when they two were ushered by my Lord Suffolk from a Mask, Roe wrott a moral

<sup>b</sup> See, however, the Appendix to Walton's *Life of Hooker*, edit. 1670. p. 113. He died Nov. 2, 1600, leaving four daughters, and a widow, who married again with such indecent haste, that she had not time enough to repent it; "for which (says Walton), doubtless, she would have found cause, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. Hooker's and her death."

<sup>c</sup> Milton also intended Arthur for his subject; and Dryden gave the plan of an Epic poem on Arthur, in the preface to his translation of Juvenal, which Blackmore laid hold of, with what success the neglect of posterity is no doubt a just criterion.

<sup>d</sup> Jonson says (in a letter to the Countess of Rutland) that Daniel "envied him, though he bore no ill will on his part." (Vol. v., p. 251.)

Epistle to him, which began,<sup>e</sup> *That next to playes, the Court and the State were the best. God threateneth Kings, Kings Lords, [as] Lords do us.*

He beat Marston, and took his pistoll from him.

Sir W. Alexander<sup>f</sup> was not half kinde unto him, and neglected him, because a friend to Drayton.

That Sir R. Aiton<sup>g</sup> loved him dearly.

Nid Field<sup>h</sup> was his schollar, and he had read to him the Satyres of Horace, and some Epigrames of Martiall.

That Markam (who added his English Arcadia) was not of the number of the Faithfull, *i. [e.] Poets*, and but a base fellow.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>e</sup> The moral epistle "To Ben Johnson" here incorrectly quoted is dated 6 January, 1603, and is printed as a poem of Donne. (Edit. 1669, p. 197.) It begins:

The State and men's affairs are the best playes  
Next yours.

Other instances of poems erroneously attributed to Donne might be pointed out. Thus, the one beginning *Deare Love, continue*, &c. (*Poems*, p. 59) is transcribed by Drummond, and signed "J. R.," probably the initials of John Roe.

<sup>f</sup> Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, author of the Four Monarchie Tragedies, printed between 1603, and 1607, and of various other poems. He was created Earl of Stirling by Charles the First.

<sup>g</sup> Sir Robert Aiton, of Kinaldie, in Fifeshire, was secretary to Anne of Denmark, wife of James the First. He was an elegant poet, and died in 1638. He lies interred in the south aisle of the choir in Westminster Abbey. See Smith's *Iconographia Scotica*, and the *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. i., pp. 299 to 324.

<sup>h</sup> Nathan Field, an actor and dramatic poet of some celebrity, performed, as one of the Children of the Chapel, a principal part in Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, in 1600. (See *Biogr. Dram.* and Note in Weber's *Beaumont and Fletcher*, vol. i., p. xxvii.) Field was the author of two good comedies, inserted by Mr. Collier in a supplemental volume to Dodsley's *Old Plays*: one is entitled "A Woman is a Weathercock," printed in 1612, and the other "Amends for Ladies," which was twice printed, in 1618 and 1639.

<sup>i</sup> The explanatory word *Poets* was, probably, Drummond's addition. Gervase, or Jervis Markham, a poet, who wrote much, and little well — a sort of bookseller's hack. Markham stole Tofte's translation of Ariosto's Satires, and printed his own name boldly on the title-page. He was



That such were Day and Middleton.

That Chapman and Fletcher were loved of him.

Overbury was first his friend, then turn'd his mortall  
enemie.<sup>j</sup>

## XII.

PARTICULARS OF THE ACTIONS OF OTHER POETS; AND  
APOTHEGMES.

That the Irish having rob'd Spenser's goods, and burnt his house and a litle child new born, he and his wyfe escaped;<sup>k</sup> and after, he died for lake of bread in King Street, and refused 20 pieces sent to him by my Lord of Essex, and said, He was sorrie he had no time to spend them. That in that paper S. W. Roughly had of the Allegories of his Fayrie Queen, by the Blating Beast the Puritans were understood, by the false Duessa the Q. of Scots.

guilty of nearly the same offence with a prose pamphlet by Barnabe Rich. Jonson rendered no injustice to him when he called Markham "a base fellow."—P. C.

<sup>j</sup> When the enmity between Ben Jonson and Sir Thomas Overbury began is nowhere stated; probably anterior to February, 1602-3, under which date we meet with the following in Manningham's Diary. (Harl. MSS. 5353.) "Ben Johnson, the Poet, now lives upon one Townesend and scornes the World. So Overbury." See Collier's *Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage*, i., 334.

<sup>k</sup> Edmund Spenser accompanied Arthur Lord Grey to Ireland as his Secretary, August 12, 1580; and was appointed Clerk in Chancery March 22, 1581; but Lord Grey being recalled from his Irish government in 1582, Spenser returned with him to England. It has been nowhere stated that Spenser was ever in Scotland, and it is a mere conjecture that the poet was the person who is mentioned in the following postscript of a letter to Queen Elizabeth from James VI., dated St. Andrews, July 2, 1583 (in the King's own hand): "Madame I haue staied maister Spenser upon the lettr quhilk is uritten uith my auin hand, quhilk sall be readie uithin tua daies." (MS. Cotton. Calig., c. vii., f. 191.) By the "Revels' Accounts," published by the Shakespeare Society, it appears that Spenser had been employed to convey despatches from France as early as 1569; the same year in which his Sonnets in the translation of Vander Noodt's Theatre of Worldlings appeared. It is probable, therefore, that the date usually assigned of his birth is erroneous. Unfortunately, after his return to Ireland, he rendered

That Southwell was hanged;<sup>1</sup> yet so he had written that piece of his, the Burning Babe, he would have been content to destroy many of his.

himself obnoxious to the Irish by some proceedings in regard to the forfeited lands that had been assigned him. Various interesting particulars respecting the poet and his descendants are given by Mr. Hardiman in his *Irish Minstrelsy*, 1831, vol. i., p. 319 &c. Spenser died broken-hearted, and Phineas Fletcher, in his *Purple Island*, thus alludes to Lord Essex's having paid him attention at the time of his death.

And had not that great Hart (whose honour'd head  
Ah lies full low) pitied thy woful plight,  
There hadst thou lien unwept, unburied,  
Unblest, nor graced with any common rite.

<sup>1</sup> Southwell entered the order of the Jesuits, and, having returned to England to convert his countrymen, was apprehended and executed at London in 1595. As the reader may have some curiosity to see a poem so much admired by Jonson, and not easily to be met with, it is here inserted from the edition of Southwell's Works, London, 1636, 12mo., sign. G 6.

As I in hoarie Winters night  
Stood shivering in the snow,  
Surpriz'd I was with sudden heat,  
Which made my heart to glow;  
And lifting up a fearefull eye  
To view what fire was neere,  
A prettie Babe, all burning bright,  
Did in the aire appeare;  
Who, scorched with excessive heat,  
Such flouds of teares did shed,  
As though his flouds should quench his flames,  
Which with his teares were bred:  
Alas (quoth he) but newly borne,  
In fierie heats I frie,  
Yet none approach to warme their hearts  
Or feele my fire, but I;  
My faultlesse brest the furnace is,  
The fuell wounding thornes:  
Love is the fire, and sighs the smoke,  
The ashes shames and scornes;  
The fuell justice layeth on,  
And mercy blowes the coales,



Francis Beaumont died ere he was 30 years of age.<sup>m</sup>

Sir John Roe was ane infinit spender, and used to say, when he had no more to spende he could die. He died in his armes of the pest, and he [Jonson] furnished his charges 20 lb.; which was given him back.<sup>n</sup>

The metall in this furnace wrought  
 Are Mens defiled soules :  
 For which, as now on fire I am,  
 To worke them to their good,  
 So will I melt into a bath,  
 To wash them in my blood.  
 With this he vanisht out of sight,  
 And swiftly shrunke away,  
 And straight I called unto minde  
 That it was Christmasse Day.

<sup>m</sup> Beaumont died in the beginning of March, 1616, and was buried on the ninth of that month in Westminster Abbey. Jonson's lines, "How I do love thee, Beaumont, and thy Muse," evince his great regard for his young friend. But see his remark at p. 10.

<sup>n</sup> Jonson, in more than one copy of verses, embalmed Roe's memory, (See Jonson's Works by Gifford, vol. viii., pp. 165, 168, 196), and in particular in the following beautiful lines :

In place of Scutcheons that should deck thy herse,  
 Take better ornaments, my tears and verse.  
 If any sword could save from Fates, ROE's could;  
 If any muse outlive their spight, his can;  
 If any friend's tears could restore, his would;  
 If any pious life ere lifted man  
 To heaven,—his hath: O happy state! wherein  
 We, sad for him, may glory and not sin.

And again, "To the same."

I'll not offend thee with a vain tear more,  
 Glad-mention'd ROE; thou art but gone before,  
 Whither the World must follow: and I, now  
 Breathe to expect my When, and make my How.  
 Which if most gracious Heaven grant like thine,  
 Who wets my grave, can be no friend of mine.

Mr. Gifford supposes Sir John Roe, for whom Jonson had so much regard and esteem, to have been a son of Sir Thomas Roe, an eminent merchant of London.

That Drayton was chalenged for intitling one book *Mortimeriados*.<sup>o</sup>

That S. J. Davies played in ane Epigrame on Draton's, who, in a sonnet, concluded his Mistriss might been the Ninth<sup>p</sup> Worthy; and said, he used a phrase like Dametas in Arcadia, who said, For wit his Mistresse might be a gyant.

Done's grandfather, on the mother side, was Heywood the Epigramatist. That Done himself, for not being understood, would perish.

That Sir W. Raughley esteemed more of fame than conscience. The best wits of England were employed for making his *Historie*. Ben himself had written a piece to him of the Punick warre, which he altered and set in his booke.

S. W.<sup>a</sup> heth written the lyfe of Queen Elizabeth, of which ther is [are] copies extant.

Sir P. Sidney had translated some of the Psalmes, which went abroad under the name of the Countesse of Pembrock.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>o</sup> That is, he was found fault with by the pedants of 1596 for styling "The Barons' Wars," "*Mortimeriados; the lamentable Civil Warres of Edward the Second and the Barons*." "Grammaticasters," says Drayton, in his second and improved edition, "have quarrel'd at the title of *Mortimeriados*, as if it had been a sin against Syntaxis to have inscribed it in the second case: But not their idle reproof hath made me now abstain from fronting it by the name of Mortimer at all, but the same better advice which hath caused me to alter the whole." He complied with their murmurs, and changed his stanza as well as his title.—P. C.

<sup>p</sup> Drummond has written *Ninth* for *Tenth*.—Drayton's Sonnet is the XVIIIth of "Ideas." (Chalmers's *British Poets*, vol. iv., p. 402.) The following is the Epigram by Sir John Davies, *In Decium*.

Audacious painters have Nine Worthies made,  
But Poet Decius more audacious farre,  
Making his Mistresse march with men of warre,  
With title of Tenth Worthie doth her lade.

Methinks that Gul did use his termes as fitt,  
Which termde his Love a Giant for her witte.

<sup>a</sup> By "S. W." is evidently meant Sir Walter Raleigh.

<sup>r</sup> The metrical version of the Psalms, begun by Sir Philip Sidney, and completed by his sister, Lady Pembroke, remained unpublished till 1823, but it was probably extensively circulated in manuscript.



Marston wrott his Father-in-lawes preachings, and his Father-in-law his Commedies.<sup>s</sup>

Sheakspear, in a play, brought in a number of men saying they had suffered shipwrack in Bohemia, wher ther is no sea neer by some 100 miles.<sup>t</sup>

Daniel wrott Civill Warres, and yett hath not one batle in all his book.<sup>u</sup>

The Countess of Rutland<sup>v</sup> was nothing inferior to her Father Sir P. Sidney in poesie. Sir Th : Overburie was in love with her, and caused Ben to read his Wyffe to her, which he, with ane excellent grace, did, and praised the author. That the morne thereafter he discorded with Overburie, who would have him to intend a sute that was unlawful. The lines my Lady keep'd in remembrance, *He comes to[o] near who comes to*

<sup>s</sup> Little is known of Marston's personal history, and nothing of his father-in-law, excepting that Mr. Gifford has shown that the latter, probably, was William Wilkes, chaplain to King James, and that Marston died June 25, 1634. (*Ben Jonson*, vol. i., p. cxxiii., note.)

<sup>t</sup> See before, p. 3, note j. In justice to the author, Mr. Gifford's note on this passage should be here added: "This (he says) is the tritest of all our author's observations. No one ever read the play without noticing the 'absurdity,' as Dr. Johnson calls it; yet, for this simple *truism*, for this casual remark in the freedom of conversation, Jonson is held up to the indignation of the world, as if the blunder was invisible to all but himself, or as if he had uttered the most deliberate and spiteful calumny." (*Ben Jonson*, vol. i., p. cxxii., note.)

<sup>u</sup> The allusion is to Daniel's narrative poem of the Civil Wars, of which four books were printed in 1595: a fifth was added in 1599, a sixth in 1602, and two others, eight in all, in 1609.

<sup>v</sup> And Jonson tells us so in an Epistle of the Countess of Rutland, unhappily a fragment. (Vol. viii., p. 275.)

With you I know my offering will find grace—  
For what a sin 'gainst your great father's spirit,  
Were it to think, that you should not inherit  
His love unto the Muses, when his skill  
Almost you have, or may have when you will?

This lady, Elizabeth, only child of Sir Philip Sidney, was the wife of Roger, fifth Earl of Rutland, who died 26 June, 1612. She herself died issueless in the August of the same year.—P. C.

*be denied.*<sup>w</sup> Beaumont wrot that Elegie on the death of the Countess of Rutland;<sup>x</sup> and in effect her husband wanted the half of his. [*sic* in MS.] in his travells.

Owen is a pure pedantique schoolmaster, sweeping his living from the posteriors of litle children; and hath no thinge good in him, his Epigrames being bare narrations.<sup>y</sup>

Chapman hath translated Musaeus, in his verses, like his Homer.<sup>z</sup>

Flesher and Beaumont, ten yeers since, hath written the Faithfull Shipheardesse,<sup>a</sup> a Tragicomedie, well done.

Dyer<sup>b</sup> died unmarried.

Sir P. Sidney was no pleasant man in countenance, his face being spoiled with pimples, and of high blood, and long: that my Lord Lisle, now Earle of Wor[ce]ster, his eldest son, resembleth him.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>w</sup> Another and a more celebrated lady kept this line in remembrance. See Lady Mary W. Montague's Poems, where this maxim is printed as her own.—(MS. note by Charles K. Sharpe, Esq.)

<sup>x</sup> See the Elegy in Beaumont and Fletcher's works, vol. xiv., p. 441.

<sup>y</sup> This is too harsh a sentence, as any one will perceive who looks into Owen's book, which passed through several editions. See the "Revels' Accounts," Introd., p. xvi., where it is stated that Prince Henry gave Owen £30 as a reward for his Latin poetry.

<sup>z</sup> The poem of Hero and Leander, here alluded to, was begun by Marlowe, and finished by Chapman, and printed at London, 1606, 4to. If it be meant that Chapman's part of Musæus is, like his Homer, in fourteen-syllable lines, it is a mistake; it is in ten-syllable couplets, conformable with Marlowe's portion.

<sup>a</sup> The Faithful Shepherdesse, a pastoral drama of great beauty, was the sole production of Fletcher. It was brought out in 1610, but not printed for some years. The first edition has no date. Of the numerous plays published under their joint names, in 1647, Sir Aston Cockayne asserts,

For Beaumont of those many writ but few:

————— the main

ing sweet issues of sweet Fletcher's brain.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Edward Dyer, whose poetry, if we may judge from what remains of it, was strangely overrated by his contemporaries. (See note by Mr. Dyce in his excellent edition of Greene's Works, vol. i., p. xxxiv.)

<sup>c</sup> As Jonson was only thirteen at the time of Sidney's death, in 1586,



## XIII.

## OF HIS OWNE LYFE, EDUCATION, BIRTH, ACTIONS.

His Grandfather came from Carlisle, and, he thought, from Anandale<sup>d</sup> to it: he served King Henry 8, and was a gentleman. His Father losed all his estate under Queen Marie, having been cast in prison and forfeitted; at last turn'd Minister: so he was a minister's son. He himself was posthumous born, a moneth after his father's decease;<sup>e</sup> brought up poorly, putt to school by a friend (his master Cambden);<sup>f</sup> after taken from it, and put to ane other craft (*I think was to be a wright or bricklayer*), which he could not endure; then went he to the Low Countries; but returning soone he betook himself to his wonted studies. In his service in the Low Countries, he had, in the face of both the camps, killed ane enemie and taken *opima spolia* from him;<sup>g</sup> and since his com-

and then moved in a very different sphere of life, it is very unlikely that he could have known any thing of his personal appearance.

<sup>d</sup> Mr. Gifford makes some remarks as to the spelling of Ben Johnson's name; but, if Ben's grandfather went, as Johnson supposed, from Annandale to Carlisle, which lies very near it, he must have pronounced and written, if he could write, his name *Johnstone*. I believe there never was a Johnson heard of in Annandale or its vicinity; but it was the nest of the *Johnstones*: the lairds of the Lochwood, ancestors of the marquisses of Annandale, were the chiefs of the clan, and this consisted of many considerable families of the name of Johnstone—the lairds of Wamphray, Powdean, Lockerby, Greta, &c. I have examined as many of their pedigrees as I possess, in order to ascertain if Benjamin were ever a family name among them, but have not found it in Annandale. — (MS. note by C. K. Sharpe, Esq.)

<sup>e</sup> Jonson's birth must be placed in 1573, and not 1574, as stated by Mr. Gifford and other authorities. See p. 40 of 'this tract. His mother married her second husband in November, 1575.

<sup>f</sup> On many occasions, Jonson expressed his sincere regard towards his old Master; but it may be sufficient to notice that his first play, "Every Man in his Humour," is dedicated "To the most learned and my honoured friend MASTER CAMDEN, Clarencieux."

<sup>g</sup> Ben Jonson's Epigram, addressed to true Soldiers, touches on this incident of his life with some elation of heart. (Works, vol. viii., p. 219.)

ming to England, being appealed to the fields, he had killed his adversarie, which [who] had hurt him in the arme, and whose sword was 10 inches longer than his; for the which he was emprissoned, and almost at the gallowes.<sup>h</sup> Then took he his religion by trust, of a priest who visited him in prisson. Thereafter he was 12 yeares a Papist.

He was Master of Arts in both the Universities, by their favour, not his studie.<sup>i</sup>

He married a wyfe who was a shrew, yet honest: 5 yeers he had not bedded with her, but remayned with my Lord Aulbanie.

In the tyme of his close imprisonment, under Queen Elizabeth, his judges could get nothing of him to all their demands but I and No. They placed two damn'd villains to catch advantage of him, with him, but he was advertised by his keeper: of the Spies he hath ane epigrame.<sup>j</sup>

When the King came in England at that tyme the pest was in London, he being in the country at Sir Robert Cotton's

<sup>h</sup> See the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," by J. Payne Collier, p. 50, for an original letter from P. Henslowe, to the founder of Dulwich College, by which it appears that the adversary whom Ben Jonson killed, was a player of the name of Gabriel Spencer. In the same letter Ben Jonson is called "bricklayer." The date of this event is 1598, and Henslowe's letter giving an account of it, is of the 26th of September, in that year.

<sup>i</sup> This is, probably, what Jonson refers to when he says, "to render myself grateful, and am studious to justify the bounty of your act," in his dedication of *Volpone* in 1607, "To the two famous Universities." There is no evidence that he had ever the benefit of an academical education. According to Anthony Wood (*Fasti*, vol. i., p. 392), "Benjamin Johnson, the father of English poets and poetry, and the most learned and judicious of the comedians, was then actually created Master of Arts, in a full House of Convocation," 19th July, 1619. From this date it would appear that the honour had been conferred on him a second time at Oxford, while on a visit to Dr. Corbet, Dean of Christ's Church, after his return from Scotland.

<sup>j</sup> Spies, you are lights in state, but of base stuff,

Who, when you've burnt your selves down to the snuff,

Stink, and are thrown away. End fair enough.

(Works, vol. viii., p. 182.)



house with old Cambden, he saw in a vision his eldest sone, then a child and at London, appear unto him with the mark of a bloodie crosse on his forehead, as if it had been cutted with a suord, at which amazed he prayed unto God, and in the morning he came to Mr. Cambden's chamber to tell him; who persuaded him it was but ane apprehension of his fantasie, at which he sould not be disiected; in the mean tyme comes there letters from his wife of the death of that boy in the plague.<sup>k</sup> He appeared to him (he said) of a manlie shape, and of that grouth that he thinks he shall be at the resurrection.

He was dilated by Sir James Murray to the King, for writting something against the Scots, in a play *Eastward Hoe*,<sup>l</sup> and voluntarily imprissonned himself with Chapman and Marston, who had written it amongst them. The report was, that they should then [have] had their ears cut and noses. After their delivery, he banqueted all his friends; there was Camden, Selden, and others; at the midst of the feast his old Mother dranke to him, and shew him a paper which she had (if the sentence had taken execution) to have mixed in the prisson among his drinke, which was full of lustie strong poison, and that she was no churle, she told, she minded first to have drunk of it herself.

He had many quarrells with Marston, beat him, and took his pistol from him, wrote his *Poetaster* on him;<sup>m</sup> the beginning of them were, that Marston represented him in the stage,

<sup>k</sup> This plague broke out in 1603, and Jonson's child was then in his seventh year. (See Gifford's note, *Works*, vol. viii., p. 175.)

<sup>l</sup> The objectionable passage was, probably, omitted in the printed copy of the play. Jonson was a second time in prison with his friend Chapman in 1605, and the cause—a play. We know no more than that Jonson solicited Lord Salisbury to protect them. What the offence was, and the very name of the play, remain unknown. The letter, and it is a manly one, is in Gifford. (*Works*, vol. i., p. cxxxix.)

<sup>m</sup> The *Poetaster* was brought out in 1601, and in it he ridicules Marston and Dekker, under the respective names of Crispinus and Demetrius. (See before, p. 4, note k.)

in his youth given to venerie. He thought the use of a maide nothing in comparison to the wantoness of a wyfe, and would never have ane other mistress. He said two accidents strange befell him:<sup>n</sup> one, that a man made his own wyfe to court him, whom he enjoyed two yeares ere he knew of it, and one day finding them by chance, was passingly delighted with it; ane other, lay divers tymes with a woman, who shew him all that he wished, except the last act, which she would never agree unto.

S. W. Raulighe sent him governour with his Son, anno 1613, to France.<sup>o</sup> This youth being knavishly inclyned, among other pastimes (as the setting of the favour of damosells on a cwd-piece), caused him to be drunken, and dead drunk, so that he knew not wher he was, therafter laid him on a carr, which he made to be drawn by pioners through the streets, at every corner showing his governour streetched out, and telling them, that was a more lively image of the Crucifix then any they had: at which sport young Raughlie's mother delyghted much (saying, his father young was so inclyned), though the Father abhorred it.

He can set horoscopes, but trusts not in them. He with the consent of a friend cousened a lady, with whom he had made ane apointment to meet ane old Astrologer, in the suburbs, which she kepted; and it was himself disguysed in a longe gowne and a whyte beard at the light of dimm burning candles, up in a little cabinet reached unto by a ledder.

<sup>n</sup> The relation of these "accidents" might have been well spared, but, so much has been said in regard to this literary document, that I could not think myself justified in withholding any passages in it that relate to Jonson's personal history.

<sup>o</sup> The story of Ben Jonson's visit to France as governor of Sir Walter Raleigh's son, is discredited by Mr. Gifford, proceeding on the inaccuracy in the date, 1593, given by Aubrey, which is, indeed, two years before Sir Walter's son was born. The date 1613, when young Raleigh was in the eighteenth year, corresponds with the previous note of Jonson's conversation with Cardinal du Perron, while at Paris.



Every first day of the new year he had 20lb. sent him from the Earl of Pembrok to buy bookes.

After he was reconciled with the Church, and left of to be a recusant, at his first communion, in token of true reconciliation, he drank out all the full cup of wyne.

Being at the end of my Lord Salisburie's table with Inigo Jones, and demanded by my Lord, Why he was not glad? My Lord, said he, yow promised I should dine with yow, bot I doe not, for he had none of his meate; he esteemed only that his meate which was of his own dish.

He heth consumed a whole night in lying looking to his great toe, about which he hath seen Tartars and Turks, Romans and Carthaginians, feight in his imagination.

Northampton was his mortall enimie for beating, on a St. George's day, one of his attenders: He was called before the Councill for his Sejanus,<sup>p</sup> and accused both of poperie and treason by him.<sup>q</sup>

Sundry tymes he hath devoured his bookes, *i. [e.] sold them all for necessity.*

He heth a minde to be a churchman, and so he might have favour to make one sermon to the King, he careth not what thereafter sould befall him: for he would not flatter though he saw Death.

At his hither comming, S<sup>r</sup> Francis Bacon<sup>r</sup> said to him, He loved not to sie Poesy goe on other feet than poetickall Dactylus and Spondaeus.

<sup>p</sup> Sejanus was first acted in 1603, but not published till 1605. Jonson says that it had outlived the malice of its enemies, when he republished it in his works, 1616.

<sup>q</sup> An accusation of popery came with a bad grace from the Earl of Northampton, who, bred a papist, professed protestantism during the reign of Elizabeth, openly reverted to popery at the accession of James, which, at his request, he again abandoned to die—an avowed Catholic. See some account of him in Lord Orford's "Royal and Noble Authors," where all that can be told of him is little to his credit.—P. C.

<sup>r</sup> Jonson, in his "Discoveries," has done himself honour in the affectionate manner in which he delineates the character of Lord Bacon. "My

## XIV.

## 14. HIS NARRATIONS OF GREAT ONES.

He never esteemed of a man for the name of a Lord.

Queen Elizabeth never saw her self after she became old in a true glass; they painted her, and sometymes would vermilion her nose. She had allwayes about Christmass evens set dice that threw sixes or five, and she knew not they were other, to make her win and esteame herself fortunate. That she had a membrana<sup>s</sup> on her, which made her incapable of man, though for her delight she tryed many. At the comming over of Monsieur, ther was a French chirurgion who took in hand to cut it, yett fear stayed her, and his death. King Philip had intention by dispensation of the Pope to have married her.

Sir P. Sidneye's Mother, Leicester's sister, after she had the litle pox,<sup>t</sup> never shew herself in Court therafter bot masked.

conceit of his person (he says) was never increased toward him by his place, or honours: but I have and do reverence him, for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever, by his work, one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had been in many ages. In his adversity I ever prayed, that God would give him strength; for greatness he could not want. Neither could I condole in a word or syllable for him; as knowing no accident could do harm to virtue, but rather help to make it manifest." (Works, vol. ix., p. 185.) See, also, his lines "on Lord Bacon's Birthday." (Ibid. vol. viii., 440.)

<sup>s</sup> "This impediment is mentioned in a letter from our Queen Mary, addressed to her sister queen, printed in the Burghley Papers [by Murdin, p. 558]. I have read somewhere that the epistle was supposed to be a forgery, in order to irritate Queen Elizabeth against Queen Mary. It appeared to me long ago to be a trick of Queen Mary's, to enrage Elizabeth against Lady Shrewsbury. I think there is something about this in Lord Orford's *Royal and Noble Authors*."—(MS. note by Charles K. Sharpe, Esq.) See also Appendix to Hume's History, and Seward's *Anecdotes*.

<sup>t</sup> Jonson has "an Epigram to the Small-pox," which may have allusion to the lady above mentioned. (Works, vol. viii., p. 399.) This is referred



The Earl of Leicester gave a bottle of liquor to his Lady, which he willed her to use in any faintness ; which she, after his returne from Court, not knowing it was poison, gave him, and so he died.<sup>u</sup>

Salisbury never cared for any man longer nor he could make use of him.

My Lord Lisle's daughter, my Lady Wroth,<sup>v</sup> is unworthily married on a jealous husband.

Ben one day being at table with my Lady Rutland, her Husband comming in, accused her that she kept table to poets, of which she wroth a letter to him [Jonson], which he answered. My Lord intercepted the letter, but never challenged him.

to by Lord Brooke, in his Life of Sir Philip Sydney. "The mischance of sickness having cast such a kind of veil over her excellent beauty, she chose rather to hide herself from the curious eyes of a delicate time, than come upon the stage of the world with any disparagement."—P. C.

<sup>u</sup> Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, died September 4, 1588. It had been suspected he died of poison, and that his lady served him as he is said to have served others ; but the above statement goes far to prove that it was unintentional. In the Hawth. MSS. is the following epitaph, "Of the Earle of Lei[ce]ster," probably communicated to Drummond by Ben Jonson :—

Heere lies a valiant warrior,  
 who never drew a sword ;  
 Here lies a noble courtier,  
 who never kept his word ;  
 Here lies the Earle of Leister,  
 who govern'd the Estates ;  
 Whom the' Earth could never living love,  
 and the just Heaven now hates.

<sup>v</sup> Jonson dedicated his *Alchemist*, in 1612, to Lady Mary Wroth, who was daughter to Robert Earl of Leicester, and, consequently, niece to Sir Philip Sidney. She wrote a pastoral romance called *Urania*, in imitation of her uncle's *Arcadia*, printed in 1621, which contains some very pretty verses. Her husband was Sir Robert Wroth, of Durance, in the county of Middlesex. (See notes in Gifford's Jonson, vol. iv., p. 5, and vol. viii., p. 391.)

My Lord Chancelor of England<sup>w</sup> wringeth his speeches from the strings of his band, and other Councillours from the pyking of their teeth.

Pembrok and his Lady discoursing, the Earl said, The woe-men were men's shadowes, and she maintained them. Both appealing to Johnson, he affirmed it true ; for which my Lady gave a pennance to prove it in verse : hence his epigram.<sup>x</sup>

Essex wrote that Epistle or preface befor the translation of the last part of Tacitus,<sup>y</sup> which is A. B. The last book the

<sup>w</sup> Sir Francis Bacon was Lord High Chancellor of England between 1617 and 1621.

<sup>x</sup> See this epigram, or " song," as it is called, in his Works, vol. viii., p. 265.

<sup>y</sup> The Annals of Tacitus, and his Description of Germany, were translated by Richard Greenway, and printed in 1598, with a dedication to Robert, Earl of Essex. The other portions of Tacitus, being his History, in four books (the fifth book being omitted, for which Jonson has here assigned a reason), and the Life of Agricola, had been previously translated and published by Sir Henry Savile, viz., in 1591, and again in 1598, dedicated " To her most Sacred Majestie." In the third edition, printed at London in the year 1604, these translations form one volume; and to Savile's, being the last portion, is prefixed the address of " A. B." " To the Reader," which Jonson here mentions as having been written by the Earl of Essex. Jonson has an epigram to Savile :

If, my religion safe, I durst embrace  
That stranger doctrine of Pythagoras,  
I should believe, the soul of Tacitus  
In thee, most weighty SAVILE lived to us :  
So hast thou render'd him in all his bounds,  
And all his numbers, both of sense and sounds.

There is yet more of this. " Sir Nicholas Bacon," says Jonson, in his Discoveries, " was singular, and almost alone, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time. Sir Philip Sidney and Mr. Hooker (in different matter) grew great masters of wit and language, and in whom all vigour of invention and strength of judgment met. The Earl of Essex, noble and high ; and Sir Walter Raleigh, not to be contemned, either for judgment or style. Sir Henry Savile, grave and truly lettered ; Sir Edwin Sandys, excellent in both ; Lord Egerton, the chancellor, a grave and great orator, and best



gentleman durst not translate for the evill it containes of the Jewes.

The King said Sir P. Sidney was no poet.<sup>z</sup> Neither did he see ever any verses in England to the Scullor's.<sup>a</sup>

It were good that the half of the preachers of England were plain ignorants, for that either in their sermons they flatter, or strive to shew their own eloquence.

## XV.

### HIS OPINION OF VERSES.

That he wrott all his first in prose, for so his Master, Cambden, had learned him.

That verses stood by sense without either colours or accent ; *which yett other tymes he denied.*

A great many epigrams were ill, because they expressed in the end what sould have been understood by what was said. That of S. Joh. Davies, ' Some loved running verses,' *plus mihi complacet.*

He imitated the description of a night from Bonifonius his *Vigilium Veneris.*

when he was provoked. But his learned and able (though unfortunate) successor is he who hath filled up all numbers, and performed that in our tongue, which may be compared or preferred either to insolent Greece, or haughty Rome."

<sup>z</sup> King James, in his youth, wrote a sonnet on Sir Philip Sidney's death, in which he calls upon Mars, Minerva, Apollo, and " the Sisters who dwell on Parnassus," to

Lament for him who duellie serv'd you all.

This sonnet was not only translated into Latin by the King himself, but was honoured in a similar manner by several of his courtiers, namely, by Patrick, afterwards Lord Gray, Sir John Maitland, afterwards Lord Thirlestane, and Alexander Seton, afterwards Earl of Dunfermline, besides two different versions " per Coronellum Ja. Halkerston." The sonnet and these different versions are inserted in the volume entitled " *Academiae Cantabrigiensis Lachrymæ tumulo Nobilissimi Equitis, D. Philippi Sidneij sacratæ, per Alexandrun Nevillum.*" Londini, 1587, 4to.

<sup>a</sup> Apparently meaning John Taylor, the Water-Poet.

He scorned such verses as could be transponed.

Wher is the man that never yett did hear  
Of faire Penelope, Ulisses Queene?  
Of faire Penelope, Ulisses Queene,  
Wher is the man that never yett did hear?<sup>b</sup>

## XVI.

OF HIS WORKES :

That the half of his Comedies were not in print.

He hath a pastorall intituled The May Lord.<sup>c</sup> His own name is Alkin, Ethra the Countesse of Bedford's, Mogibell Overberry, the old Countesse of Suffolk ane inchanteress; other names are given to Somerset's Lady, Pembroke, the Countesse of Rutland, Lady Wroth. In his first storie, Alkin cometh in mending his broken pipe. *Contrary to all other pastoralls, he bringeth the clownes making mirth and foolish sports.*<sup>d</sup>

<sup>b</sup> These are the opening lines of Sir John Davies or Davy's "Orchestra, or a Poeme of Dauncing," first printed in 12mo. 1596. It differs materially from the later impressions. ("Bridgewater Catalogue," by Collier, p. 92.) See the same lines repeated at page 33.

<sup>c</sup> This pastoral, "The May Lord," is supposed to have perished in the fire which accidentally consumed Jonson's papers. Mr. Gifford objects in strong terms to the remark by Drummond at the end of the paragraph, "Contrary to all other pastorals," &c. (Works, vol. vi., p. 250.)

<sup>d</sup> "The criticism," says Gifford, "is worthy of the critic."

But here's an heresy of late let fall,  
That mirth by no means fits a pastoral;  
Such say so, who can make none, he presumes:  
Else there's no scene more properly assumes  
The sock.

They who said this would have

No style for pastoral should go  
Current, but what is stamp'd with Ah! and O!  
Who judgeth so, may singularly err;  
As if all poesie had one character  
In which what were not written, were not right.

These lines are from the prologue to *The Sad Shepherd*, and seem to have some allusion to the critic at Hawthornden.—P. C.



He hath intention to writt a fisher or pastorall play, and sett the stage of it in the Lowmond lake.<sup>e</sup>

That Epithalamium that wants a name in his printed Workes was made at the Earl of Essex[s] mariage.<sup>f</sup>

He is to writt his foot Pilgrimage hither, and to call it a Discoverie.

In a poem he calleth Edinborough

The heart § of Scotland, Britaines other eye.

A play of his, upon which he was accused, The Divell is ane Ass;<sup>h</sup> according to *Comedia Vetus*, in England the Divell was brought in either with one Vice or other: the play done the Divel caried away the Vice, he brings in the Divel so overcome with the wickedness of this age that thought himself ane Ass. Παρεργους is discoursed of the Duke of Drounland: the King desired him to conceal it.

<sup>e</sup> Jonson appears to have greatly admired the beautiful scenery of Loch-lomond, and in his letters to Drummond reminds him of his promise to send him "some things concerning the Loch of Lomond;" and Drummond, in a letter, dated July 1, 1619, and printed in the Preface, says, in his last he had sent a description of Loch Lomond, with a map of Inch-merinoch.

<sup>f</sup> This appears, from the title to the original 4to. edition, "Hymenæi; or the Solemnities of Masque and Barriers, magnificently performed on the Eleventh and Twelfth Nights from Chrystmas, at Court: to the auspicious celebrating of the Marriage-Union betweene Robert Earle of Essex and the Lady Frances, second daughter of the most noble Earle of Suffölke, 1605-6. The Author B. J." 1606, the date of the nuptials. The earl was divorced from the countess in 1613, who then espoused Carr, Earl of Somerset, the favourite of King James, a circumstance sufficient to account for his omitting the names of the parties in his Works, 1616. (See vol. vii., p. 47.)

§ In Sibbald's MS., *part* is written by mistake for *heart*; but the poem by Jonson referred to is not known to be preserved.

<sup>h</sup> The comedy of "The Devil is an Ass," was acted in 1616, but not printed for many years afterwards, and, during that interval, may have undergone alterations by the author in consequence of the accusation referred to above. The "Vice" was the buffoon in the old mysteries and moralities of the English stage.

He hath commented and translated Horace['s] Art of Poesie: it is in dialogue wayes; by Criticus he understandeth Dr. Done. The old book that goes about, The Art of English Poesie, was done 20 yeers since, and kept long in wrytt as a secret.

He had ane intention to have made a play like Plautus['s] Amphitrio, but left it of, for that he could never find two so like others that he could persuade the spectators they were one.<sup>1</sup>

## XVII.

OF HIS JEASTS AND APOTHEGMS.<sup>2</sup>

At what tyme Henry the Fourth turn'd Catholick, Pasquill had in his hand a book, and was asked by Morphorius What it was? he told him, It was gramer. Why doe ye studie gramer, being so old? asked Morphorius. Because, answered he, I have found a positive that hath no superlative, and a superlative that wants a positive: The King of Spain is Rex Catholicus, and is not Catholicissimus; and the French King Christianissimus, yett is not Christianus.

When they drank on him he cited that of Plinie that they had call'd him *Ad prandium, non ad pœnam et notam*.

And said of that Panagyrist who wrott panagyriques in acrostics, windowes crosses, that he was *Homo miserrimæ patientiæ*.

He scorned Anagrams; and had ever in his mouth

Turpe est difficiles amare nugas,  
Et stultus labor est ineptiarum.

<sup>1</sup> If the spectators were so persuaded, they could not possibly relish the play.

<sup>2</sup> Of these "Jests and Apothegmes" several are found repeated by Drummond in what he calls "Democritie; a Labyrinth of Delight, or worke preparative for the apologie of Democritus:" containing a number of anecdotes, pasquils, anagrams, &c. It is preserved among the Hawthornden Manuscripts, in the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. (Arch. Scotica, vol. iv.)



A Cook who was of an evill lyfe, when a minister told him He would to hell; askt, What torment was there? Being answered Fyre. Fire (said he), that is my play-fellow.

A Lord playing at Tennis, and having asked those in the gallerie Whither a strock was Chase or Losse? A Brother of my Lord Northumberland's answered, it was Loss. The Lord demanded If he did say it? I say it, said he, what are yow? I have played your worth! said the Lord. Ye know not the worth of a gentleman! replied the other. And it proved so, for ere he died he was greater than the other. Ane other English Lord lossed all his game, if he had seen a face that liked him not he stroke his balls at that gallerie.

Ane Englishman who had maintained Democritus' opinion of atomes, being old, wrott a book to his son (who was not then six years of age), in which he left him arguments to maintain, and answer objections, for all that was in his book; only, if they objected obscuritie against his book, he bid him answer, that his Father, above all names in the world, hated most the name of Lucifer, and all open writters were *Luciferi*.

Butlar excommunicat from his table all reporters of long poems, wilfull disputers, tedious discoursers: the best banquets were those wher they mistered no musitians to chase tym.

The greatest sport he saw in France was the picture of our Saviour with the Apostles eating the Pascall lamb that was all larded.

At a supper wher a gentlewoman had given him unsavoury wild-foul, and thereafter, to wash, sweet water; he commended her that shee gave him sweet water, because her flesh stinked.

He said to Prince Charles of Inigo Jones, that when he wanted words to express the greatest villaine in the world, he would call him ane Inigo.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>k</sup> Jonson said to Prince Charles, "That when he wanted words to sett forth a knave, he would name him an Inigo." Hawth. MSS. (Arch. Scotica, vol. iv.)

Jones having accused him for naming him, behind his back, A foole: he denied it; but, says he, I said, He was ane arrant knave, and I avouch it.<sup>1</sup>

One who fired a Tobacco pipe with a ballet [ballad] the next day having a sore-head, swoare he had a great singing in his head, and he thought it was the ballet: A Poet should detest a Ballet maker.

He saw a picture painted by a bad painter, of Easter, Haman and Assuerus. Haman courting Esther, in a bed after the fashion of ours, was only seen by one leg. Assuerus back was turned, with this verse over him, And wilt thou, Haman, be so malicious as to lye with myne own wyfe in myne house?

He himselfe being once so taken, the Goodman said, I would not believe yee would abuse my house so.

In a profound contemplation a student of Oxeford ran over a man in the fields, and walked 12 miles ere he knew what he was doing.

One who wore side hair being asked of ane other who was bald, why he suffered his haire to grow so long, answered, It

<sup>1</sup> These notes bear ample testimony to the fact of Jonson's quarrel with Inigo Jones, although no doubt they were reconciled previous to their fresh animosity, when Jones, with a spirit unworthy of a man of such genius, embittered the declining years of the poet, then suffering under the two-fold pressure of disease and poverty. In the Hawth. MSS. is the following epigram "Of Inigo Jones," by Sir William Alexander:

This man so conversantye acts his part

That it turnes naturall to him what late was art.

This fresh animosity between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones seems to have broken out in 1631, because (according to a letter from John Pory to Sir T. Puckering, quoted in Collier's "Annals of the Stage," vol. ii., p. 37), on the title-page of *Chloridia*, Ben Jonson had put his own name before that of Inigo Jones. Jonson subsequently wrote the part of Vitruvius Hoop, in his "Tale of a Tub," in ridicule of Jones; and, when Sir H. Herbert licensed it, the offensive character and the motion of the tub were struck out "by command from my Lord Chamberlain, exceptions being taken against it by Inigo Jones, surveyor of the King's works, as a personal injury to him."—(*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 53.)



was to sie if his haire would grow to seed, that he might sow of it on bald pates.<sup>m</sup>

A Painter who could paint nothing but a rose, when ane Inn-keeper had advised with him about ane ensing, said, That a horse was a good one, so was a hare, but a rose was above them all.

A little man drinking Prince Henrie's health between two tall fellowes, said, He made up the H.

Sir Henry Wotton,<sup>n</sup> befor his Majesties going to England, being disguised at Leith on Sunday, when all the rest were at church, being interrupted of his occupation by ane other wenche who came in at the door, cryed out, "Pox on thee, for thou hast hindered the procreation of a chyld," and betrayed himself.

A Justice of Peace would have commanded a Captaine to sit first at a table, because, sayes he, I am a Justice of Peace; the other drawing his sword comanded him, for sayeth he, I am a Justice of War.

What is that, the more yow out of it, groweth still the longer? — A Ditch.

He used to say, that they who delight to fill men extraordinarie full in their own houses, loved to have their meate againe.

A certain Puritain minister would not give the Communion save unto 13 at once: (imitating, as he thought, our Master.) Now, when they were sett, and one bethinking himself that some of them must represent Judas, that it sould not be

<sup>m</sup> This jest of beards running to seed, "to sow bald pates withall," is introduced by Jonson in *The Staple of News*, act iii., scene i.

<sup>n</sup> Isaak Walton relates of Sir Henry Wotton, that about a year before Queen Elizabeth's death, Sir Henry came to Scotland, taking the name and language of an Italian, and remained there three months under the assumed name of Octavio Baldi, only known to James VI.; having been sent by Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Florence, "who had intercepted certain letters, that discovered a design to take away the life of the then King of Scots."

he returned, and so did all the rest, understanding his thought.

A Gentlewoman fell in such a phantasie or phrensie with one Mr. Dod, a puritan preacher, that she requested her Husband that, for the procreation of ane Angel or Saint, he might lye with her ; which having obtained,<sup>o</sup> it was but ane ordinarie birth.

Scaliger writtes ane epistle to Casaubone, wher he scorns his [us?] Englishe speaking of Latine, for he thought he had spoken English to him.<sup>p</sup>

A Gentleman reading a poem that began with

Wher is the man that never yet did hear  
Of fair Penelope, Ulysses Queene?

calling his Cook, asked If he had ever heard of her? Who answering, No, demonstrate to him,

Lo, ther the man that never yet did hear  
Of fair Penelope, Ulysses Queene!

A waiting woman having cockered with muskadel and eggs her mistresse page, for a shee meeting in the dark, his mistress invaded ; of whom she would of such boldness have a reason. “ Faith, Lady (said hee) I have no reason, save that such was the good pleasure of muskadel and eggs.”

A Judge comming along a hall, and being stopped by a throng, cried *Dominum cognoscite vestrum*. One of them ther said, They would, if he durst say the beginning of that verse (for he had a fair wyfe) : *Actæon ego sum*, cryed he, and went on.

A packet of letters which had fallen over board was devored of a fish that was tane at Flushing, and the letters were safely delivered to him to whom they were written at London.

<sup>o</sup> It is, perhaps, scarcely worth remarking, that this is not a very credible anecdote, in regard at least to Mr. Dod.

<sup>p</sup> This seems to allude to a curious passage in a letter of Scaliger's, addressed, not to Casaubon, but to Stephanus Ubertus, in 1608. (Scaligeri Epistolæ, p. 706, edit. 1627, 8vo.)



He scorned that simplicitie of Cardan about the peeble stone of Dover, which he thought had that vertue, kept betweene one's teeth, as to save him from being sick.

A scholar expert in Latine and Greke, but nothing in the English, said of hott broath, that he would make the danger of it: for it could not be ill English that was good Latine, *facere periculum*.

A translatour of the Emperours lyves, translated Antonius Pius, Antonie Pye.<sup>q</sup>

The word Harlott was taken from Arlotte,<sup>r</sup> who was the mother of William the Conquerour; a Rogue from the Latine, Erro, by putting a G to it.

Sr Geslaine Piercy asked the Maior of Plimmouth, Whether it was his own beard or the Town's beard that he came to welcome my Lord with? for, he thought, it was so long that he thought every one of the Town had eked some part to it.

That he stroke at Sr Hierosme Bowes' breast, and asked him If he was within.

An epitaph was made upon one who had a long beard,

Here lyes a man at a beard's end, &c.<sup>s</sup>

He said to the King, his master, M. G. Buchanan, had cor-

<sup>q</sup> The worthy old Roman is so called in "the booke of the life of the noble and eloquent Mark Aurelye Anthony Emperour." A small black letter volume, printed in the early part of the sixteenth century. There are other amusing renderings of Roman names. Seneca, is *Senec*; Pyrrhus, *Pyrhe*; Cneius Rufinus, *Cnee Ruffyn*; and Aulus Gellius, *Aule Gele*, or *Aul Gely*.—P. C.

<sup>r</sup> See note by Gifford, to a passage in Jonson's *Volpone*, (Works, vol. iii., p. 311.) Moth, the antiquary, in Cartwright's *Ordinary*, gives the very definition that Jonson gives.

<sup>s</sup> This epitaph occurs in the Hawthornden MSS. as follows:

*Epitaph of a Longe Bearde.*

At a Beards end, heere lies a man,  
The odds'tween them was scarce a span;  
Living, with his wombe it did meet,  
And now dead, it covers his feet.

rupted his eare when young, and learned him to sing verses when he sould have read them.

Sr Francis Walsingham said of our King, when he was Ambassadour in Scotland, *Hic nunquam regnabit supernos.*

Of all his Playes he never gained two hundreth pounds.

He had oft this verse, though he scorned it :

So long as we may, let us enjoy this breath,  
For nought doth kill a man so soon as Death.

. . . . .

Heywood the Epigrammatist<sup>t</sup> being apparelled in velvet by Queen Mary, with his cap on in the presence, in spight of all the Gentlemen, till the Queen herself asked him what he meant? and then he asked her, If he was Heywood? for she had made him so brave that he almost had misknowen himself.

His Impressa was a compass with one foot in center, the other broken, the word, *Deest quod duceret orbem.*

Essex, after his brother's death, Mr. D'Evreux, in France, at tilt had a black shield void, the word, *Par nulla figura dolori.* Ane other tyme, when the Queen was offended at him, a diamond with its own ashes, with which it is cutt, about it the word, *Dum formas minuis.*

He gave the Prince, *Fax gloria mentis honestæ.*<sup>u</sup>

He said to me, that I was too good and simple, and that oft a man's modestie made a fool of his witt.

His armes were three spindles or *rhombi*; his own word about them, *Percunctabor* or *Perscrutator.*<sup>v</sup>

<sup>t</sup> Old John Heywood, the epigrammatist, was among the earliest of the English dramatic writers, and his works possess a good deal of wit and coarse humour. Jonson introduces his name in his "Tale of a Tub."

<sup>u</sup> This is the motto of the badge which our Nova Scotia baronets now bear, but it runs :—*Fax mentis honestæ gloria.*

<sup>v</sup> Mr. J. P. Collier is in possession of a title-page of a copy of the "Diana" of Montemayor, translated by B. Yonge, which formerly belonged to Ben Jonson, and upon the title-page he has written his name, with the addition of the words, *Tanquam Explorator.*



His Epitaph, by a companion written, is,

Here lyes BENJAMIN JOHNSON dead,  
And hath no more wit than [a] goose in his head;  
That as he was wont, so doth he still,  
Live by his wit, and evermore will.<sup>w</sup>

Ane other.

Here lyes honest Ben,  
That had not a beard on his chen.

### XVIII.

#### MISCELLANIES.

John Stow had monstrous observations in his Chronicle, and was of his craft a tailour. He and I walking alone, he asked two criples, what they would have to take him to their order.

In his Sejanus he hath translated a whole oration of Tacitus: the first four bookes of Tacitus ignorantly done in English.<sup>x</sup>

J. Selden liveth on his owne, is the Law book of the Judges of England, the bravest man in all languages; his booke "Titles of Honour," written to his chamber-fellow Heyward.

Tailor was sent along here to scorn him <sup>y</sup>

Camden wrot that book "Remaines of Bretagne."<sup>z</sup>

Joseph Hall the harbenger to Done's Anniversarie.<sup>a</sup>

The epigramme of Martial, *Vir verpium* he vantes to expone.

<sup>w</sup> In the Hawth. MSS., these lines are also found, with some verbal alteration, entitled, "B. Johnson his Epitaph, told to mee by himselfe: not made by him." (Arch. Scotica, vol. iv.)

<sup>x</sup> This, undoubtedly, refers to Saville's translation, and rather contradicts his encomium of the work, as quoted at page 25, note y.

<sup>y</sup> In the Introduction it has been shown that Taylor vindicates himself from such an imputation.

<sup>z</sup> Camden's "Remains concerning Britain" were published originally in 1605, without the author's name.

<sup>a</sup> Prefixed to "The Second Anniversary" of the Progress of the Soul are forty-two lines, entitled "The Harbinger to the Progress," being evidently what Jonson referred to, as written by Hall.

Lucan, Sidney, Guarini, make every man speak as well as themselves, forgetting decorum; for Dametas sometyes speaks grave sentences. Lucan taken in parts excellent, altogidder naught.<sup>b</sup>

He dissuaded me from Poetrie, for that she had beggered him, when he might have been a rich lawer, physitian, or marchant.<sup>c</sup>

Questioned about English, *them, they, those*. *They* is still the nominative, *those* accusative, *them* newter; collective, not *them men, them trees*, but *them* by itself referred to many. *Which, who*, be relatives, not *that*. *Flouds, hilles*, he would have masculines.

He was better versed, and knew more in Greek and Latin, than all the Poets in England, and quintessence their braines.

He made much of that Epistle of Plinius, wher *Ad prandium, non ad notam* is; and that other of Marcellinus, who Plinie made to be removed from the table; and of the grosse turbat.

One wrote one epigrame to his father, and vanted he had slain ten, the quantity of *decem* being false. An other answered the epigrame, telling that *decem* was false.

S. J. Davies' epigrame of the whoores C. compared to a coule.

Of all styles he loved most to be named Honest, and hath of that ane hundreth letters so naming him.

<sup>b</sup> This is merely the repetition, as regards Lucan, of an opinion assigned to Jonson in an earlier part of these notes, and in nearly the same words. See p. 4.

<sup>c</sup> At a later period, in his "Discoveries," he says, "Poetry, in this latter age, hath proved but a mean mistress to such as have wholly addicted themselves to her, or given their names up to her family. They who have saluted her on the by, and now and then tendered their visits, she hath done much for, and advanced in the way of their own professions (both the law and the gospel), beyond all they could have hoped or done for themselves without her favour."—(Works, vol. ix., p. 175.) Ben Jonson may here have meant to refer to men like Sir John Davys, Dr. Donne, and Bishop Hall.



He had this oft,—

Thy flattering picture, Phrenee, is lyke thee  
Only in this, that ye both painted be.<sup>d</sup>

In his merry humor he was wont to name himself The Poet.

He went from Lieth homeward the 25 of January 1619,<sup>e</sup> in a pair of shoes which, he told, lasted him since he came from Darnton,<sup>f</sup> which he minded to take back that farr againe : they were appearing like Coriat's :<sup>g</sup> the first two dayes he was all excoriate.

If he died by the way, he promised to send me his papers of this Country, hewen as they were.

I have to send him descriptions of Edinbrough, Borrow Lawes, of the Lowmond.

That piece of the Pucelle of the Court was stolen out of his pocket by a gentleman who drank him drousie, and given Mistress Boulstraid ; which brought him great displeasure.<sup>h</sup>

## XIX.

He sent to me this Madrigal :

ON A LOVERS DUST, MADE SAND FOR ANE HOURE GLASSE.<sup>i</sup>

Doe but consider this smal dust here running in the glasse  
by atomes moved,  
Could thou believe that this the bodie ever was  
of one that loved ?

<sup>d</sup> This epigram is printed in Donne's Poems, p. 64, edit. 1669, 8vo.

<sup>e</sup> In Drummond's Works is a short letter to Jonson, dated January 17th, 1619, mentioning his having heard from Court, that Jonson's "absence was regretted : such applause (he adds) hath true worth," &c., p. 234.—See it also in the preface to this tract, p. ix.

<sup>f</sup> Probably Darlington in Durham.

<sup>g</sup> Thomas Coryat of Odecombe, who published his Travels in 1611, under the title of "Crudities," and prefaced with an extensive and most singular collection of mock "Panegyricke verses in praise of the author and his worke," written by Jonson, and most of the principal wits of the time.

<sup>h</sup> See before, p. 7, note v.

<sup>i</sup> This madrigal, and the lines that follow it, dated January 19, 1619, in Drummond's Works, p. 155, are introduced with the dedication, (which is

And, in his Mistresse flaming playing like the flye,  
 turned to cinders by her eye?  
 Yes, and in death, as lyfe unblest  
 to have it exprest  
 Even ashes of Lovers find no rest.

And that which is (as he said) a Picture of himselfe.<sup>j</sup>

I doubt that Love is rather deafe than blinde,  
 For else it could not bee,  
 That shee,  
 Whom I adore so much, should so slight mee,  
 And cast my sute behinde:  
 I'm sure my language to her is as sweet,  
 And all my closes meet  
 In numbers of as subtile feete  
 As makes the youngest hee,  
 That sits in shadow of Apollo's tree.

O! but my conscious feares,  
 That flye my thoughts betweene,  
 Prompt mee that shee hath seene  
 My hundred of gray haire,<sup>k</sup>  
 Told six and forty yeares,<sup>k</sup>  
 Read so much waste, as she cannot embrace  
 My mountaine belly, and my rockye face,  
 And all these, through her eies, have stop'd her eares.

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inserted at page ix. of the preface) and was no doubt printed from Jonson's own autograph. It is not contained in Sibbald's MS., as Drummond had not transcribed this personal compliment to himself. It is uncertain whether the original autograph is still preserved.

<sup>j</sup> According to Drummond's Works, this "Picture," in the original MS., was thus prefaced: "Yet that Love, when it is at full, may admit heap-ing, receive another; and this a Picture of my self."

<sup>k</sup> As this was undoubtedly written in January 1619, and not in January 1619-20, as Mr. Gifford states (vol. i., p. 3), it places Jonson's birth in the year 1573, and not in the subsequent year, the date which is usually assigned. In England, indeed, the year was still reckoned as commencing on the 25th of March; but in Scotland this computation had been changed, and our present mode adopted from and after the first of January 1601.



January 19, 1619.

*He [Jonson] is a great lover and praiser of himself; a contemner and scorner of others; given rather to losse a friend than a jest; jealous of every word and action of those about him, (especiallie after drink, which is one of the elements in which he liveth;) a dissembler of ill parts which raigne in him, a bragger of some good that he wanteth; thinketh nothing well bot what either he himself or some of his friends and countrymen hath said or done; he is passionately kynde and angry; careless either to gaine or keep; vindicative, but, if he be well answered, at himself.*

*For any religion, as being versed in both.<sup>1</sup> Interpreteth best sayings and deeds often to the worst. Oppressed with fantasie,*

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Boswell's remarks on this passage, in his edition of Malone's Shakespeare, vol. i., p. xlix. After the above words, the following interpolations first appeared in Cibber's Lives of the English Poets, which were in fact the compilation of Richard Shiel, though published in Cibber's name. "He was for any religion, being *versed in all*; his inventions were smooth and easy, but above all he excelled in translation. *In short, he was in his personal character the very reverse of Shakespeare, as surly, ill-natured, proud, and disagreeable, as Shakespeare, with ten times his merit, was gentle, good-natured, easy, and amiable.*" (Vol. i., p. 241.) For the words here printed in Italics, Drummond's MSS. furnish no kind of authority. Neither does Sibbald's transcript contain "The Character of several Authors, given by Mr. Drummond" himself, which is inserted in his Works, p. 226, and will be found in the appendix to this tract, p. 48. The summing up of Jonson's character remains, indeed, as unqualified as ever, and it is by no means a flattering picture. The only question, however, is, whether Drummond was a competent and an unprejudiced observer, and whether the impression left on his mind, after several days' social intercourse, be a correct delineation of Jonson's personal character and disposition — points which need not be here discussed. Mr. Gifford admits "that forbearance was at no time our poet's (Jonson's) virtue," while Drummond's testimony was not required in order to satisfy us of Jonson's overweening vanity, of his occasional arrogance, and his despite and jealousy of some of his contemporaries; but, on the other hand, he possessed many redeeming qualities, and a warm-hearted humanity, which had been sacrificed to an imaginary envy

*which hath ever mastered his reason, a generall disease in many Poets. His inventions are smooth and easie ; but above all he excelleth in a Translation.*<sup>m</sup>

*When his play of a Silent Woman was first acted, ther was found verses after on the stage against him, concluding that that play was well named the Silent Woman, ther was never one man to say Plaudite to it.*

## FINIS.

of Shakespeare. His character cannot be better drawn than in the words of Mr. Campbell, with part of which we may conclude. "It is true that he [Jonson] had lofty notions of himself, was proud even to arrogance in his defiance of censure, and, in the warmth of his own praises of himself, was scarcely surpassed by his most zealous admirers ; but many fine traits of honour and affection are likewise observable in the portrait of his character, and the charges of malice and jealousy that have been heaped on his name for a hundred years turn out to be without foundation. In the quarrel with Marston and Dekker his culpability is by no means evident. He did not receive benefits from Shakespeare, and did not sneer at him in the passages that have been taken to prove his ingratitude ; and, instead of envying that great poet, he gave him his noblest praise ; nor did he trample on his contemporaries, but liberally commended them." (Specimens of the British Poets, vol. iii., p. 142.)

<sup>m</sup> Jonson himself and his friends maintained that his Translations were the best parts of his works ; a conclusion in which Gifford and other modern critics are by no means disposed to acquiesce. See Jonson's Works, vol. ii. p. 474, note.







## APPENDIX.

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HEADS OF A CONVERSATION BETWIXT THE FAMOUS POET  
BEN JOHNSON AND WILLIAM DRUMMOND OF  
HAWTHORNDEN, JANUARY, 1619.<sup>n</sup>

(From Drummond's Works, page 224.) —

HE (BEN JOHNSON) said, that his Grandfather came from Carlisle, to which he had come from Annandale in Scotland; that he served King Henry VIII., and was a gentleman, His Father lost his estate under Queen Mary, having been cast in prison and forfeited, and at last he turned Minister. He was posthumous, being born a month after his father's death, and was put to school by a friend. His master was Camden. Afterwards he was taken from it, and put to another craft, viz: to be a Bricklayer, which he could not endure, but went to the Low-Countries, and returning home again, he betook himself to his wonted studies. In his service in the Low-Countries he had, in the view of both the armies, killed an enemy, and taken the opima spolia from him; and since coming to England, being appealed to a duel, he had killed his adversary, who had hurt him in the arm, and whose sword was ten inches longer than his. For this crime he was imprisoned, and almost at the gallows. Then he took his religion on trust of a Priest, who visited him in prison; he was 12 years a Papist; but after this he was reconciled to the Church of

<sup>n</sup> The Conversations in their abridged form is subjoined as a necessary portion of the volume. A comparison will satisfy the reader, that, if an injudicious, it was at least not an unfair abridgment.



England, and left off to be a Recusant. (At his first Communion, in token of his true reconciliation, he drunk out the full cup of wine.) He was Master of Arts in both Universities. In the time of his close imprisonment under Queen Elizabeth there were spies to catch him, but he was advertised of them by the Keeper. He has an Epigram on the Spies. He married a wife, who was a shrew, yet honest to him. When the King came to England, about the time that the Plague was in London, he (Ben Johnson) being in the country at Sir Rob. Cotton's house with old Camden, he saw in a vision his eldest son, then a young child and at London, appear unto him with the mark of a bloody cross on his forehead, as if it had been cut with a sword; at which, amaz'd, he prayed unto God, and in the morning he came to Mr. Camden's chamber to tell him, who persuaded him it was but an apprehension at which he should not be dejected: In the meantime there come letters from his wife of the death of that boy in the Plague. He appeared to him, he said, of a manly shape, and of that growth he thinks he shall be at the Resurrection.

He was accused by Sir James Murray to the King for writing something against the Scots in a play called *Eastward Hoe*, and voluntarily imprisoned himself with Chapman and Marston, who had written it amongst them: It was reported that they should have their Ears and Noses cut. After their delivery he entertained all his friends, there were present Camden, Selden, and others. In the middle of the feast his old mother drank to him, and shewed him a paper, which she designed (if the sentence had passed) to have mixed among his drink, and it was strong and lusty poison, and that she was no churl, she told she designed first to have drunk it herself.

He said, he had spent a whole night in lying looking to his great toe, about which he hath seen Tartars and Turks, Romans and Carthaginians fight in his imagination. He wrote all his verses first in prose, as his master Camden taught him, and said, that verses stood by sense without either colours or accent.

He used to say, that many Epigrams were ill, because they expressed in the end what should have been understood by what was said before; as that of Sir John Davies. That he had a Pastoral intitled the *May Lord*, his own name is Alkin, Ethra the Countess of Bedford, Mogbel Overbery the old Countess of Suffolk, an En-

chantress ; other names are given to Somerset, his lady, Pembroke, the Countess of Rutland, Lady Wroth. In his first scene, Alkin comes in mending his broken pipe. He bringeth in, says our Author, Clowns making mirth and foolish sports, contrary to all other Pastorals. He had also a design to write a Fisher or Pastoral Play, and make the stage of it in the Lomond Lake ; and also to write his foot-pilgrimage hither, and to call it a Discovery, in a poem he calleth Edinburgh ;

“ The Heart of Scotland, Britain’s other eye.”

That he had an intention to have made a play like Plautus’s *Amphytruo*, but left it off, for that he could never find two so like one to the other, that he could persuade the spectators that they were one.

That he had a design to write an *Epick Poem*, and was to call it *Chorologia* of the *Worthies* of his Country raised by fame, and was to dedicate it to his Country : It is all in couplets, for he detested all other rhymes. He said he had written a *Discourse of Poetry* both against *Campion* and *Daniel*, especially the last, where he proves couplets to be the best sort of verses, especially when they are broke like *Hexameters*, and that cross Rhimes and Stanzas, because the purpose would lead beyond 8 lines, were all forced. His censure of the English Poets was this ; that *Sidney* did not keep a decorum in making every one speak as well as himself ; *Spencer’s Stanzas* pleased him not, nor his matter ; the meaning of the *Allegory* of his *Fairy Queen* he had delivered in writing to *Sir Walter Rawleigh*, which was, that by the *Bleating Beast* he understood the *Puritans*, and by the false *Duessa* the *Queen of Scots*. He told, that *Spencer’s goods* were robbed by the *Irish*, and his house and a little child burnt, he and his wife escaped, and after died for want of bread in *King Street* ; he refused 20 pieces sent him by my Lord *Essex*, and said he was sure he had no time to spend them. *Samuel Daniel* was a good honest man, had no children, and was no Poet ; and that he had wrote the *Civil Wars*, and yet hath not one battle in all his book. That *Michael Drayton’s Polyolbion*, if he had performed what he promised, to write the deeds of all the *Worthies*, had been excellent. That he was challenged for intituling one book *Mortimariades*. That *Sir John Davis* play’d on *Drayton* in an *Epi-*



gram, who in his Sonnet concluded his Mistress might have been the ninth worthy, and said, he used a phrase like Dametas in Arcadia, who said, his Mistriss, for wit, might be a giant. That Silvester's translation of Du Bartas was not well done, and that he wrote his verses before he understood to confer; and these of Fairfax were not good. That the translations of Homer and Virgil in long Alexandrines were but prose. That Sir John Harrington's Ariosto, under all translations, was the worst. That when Sir John Harrington desired him to tell the truth of His Epigrams, he answered him, that he loved not the truth, for they were narrations, not Epigrams. He said, Donne was originally a Poet, his grandfather on the mother side was Heywood the Epigrammatist. That Donne for not being understood would perish. He esteemed him the first Poet in the world for some things; his verses of the lost Ochadine he had by heart, and that passage of the Calm, that dust and feathers did not stir, all was so quiet. He affirmed that Donne wrote all his best pieces before he was twenty-five years of age. The Conceit of Donne's Transformation or *Μετεμψυχώσις*, was, that he sought the soul of that apple that Eva pulled, and thereafter made it the soul of a bitch, then of a she-wolf, and so of a woman; his general purpose was to have brought it into all the bodies of the Hereticks from the Soul of Cain; and at last left it in the body of Calvin. He only wrote one sheet of this, and since he was made Doctor, repented hugely, and resolved to destroy all his poems. He told Donne, that his anniversary was prophane and full of blasphemies, that if it had been written on the Virgin Mary, it had been tolerable. To which Donne answered, that he described the idea of a Woman, and not as she was. He said Shakespear wanted art and sometimes sense; for in one of his plays he brought in a number of men, saying they had suffered ship-wrack in Bohemia, where is no sea near by 100 miles. That Sir Walter Rawleigh esteemed more fame than conscience; the best wits in England were employed in making his History. Ben himself had written a piece to him of the Punick War, which he altered, and set in his book. He said there was no such ground for an heroick poem as King Arthur's Fiction; and that Sir P. Sidney had an intention to have transformed all his Arcadia to the Stories of King Arthur. He said, Owen was a poor pedantick Schoolmaster,

sweeping his living from the posteriors of little children, and has nothing good in him, his Epigrams being bare narrations. Francis Beaumont died before he was 30 years of age, who, he said, was a good Poet, as were Fletcher and Chapman, whom he loved. That Sir William Alexander was not half kind to him, and neglected him because a friend to Drayton. That Sir R. Ayton loved him dearly. He fought several times with Marston and says, that Marston wrote his Father-in-laws preachings, and his Father-in-law his Comedies. His judgment of Stranger Poets was, That he thought not Bartas a Poet, but a verser, because he wrote not fiction : he cursed Petrarch for redacting verses into Sonnets, which, he said, was like that tyrant's bed where some who were too short were racked, others too long cut short. That Guarini in his Pastor Fido kept no decorum, in making shepherds speak as well as himself. That he told Cardinal du Perou (when he was in France, Anno 1613.) who showed him his translation of Virgil, that it was naught; that the best pieces of Ronsard were his Odes. But all this was to no purpose (says our Author) for he never understood the French or Italian languages. He said, Petronius, Plinius Secundus and Plautus spoke best Latine, and that Tacitus wrote the secrets of the Council and Senate, as Suetonius did those of the Cabinet and Court. That Lucan, taken in parts, was excellent, but altogether naught. That Quintilians 6. 7 and 8 books were not only to be read but altogether digested. That Juvenal, Horace and Martial were to be read for delight, and so was Pindar; but Hippocrates for health. Of the English nation he said, that Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity was best for Church matters, and Selden's Titles of Honour for Antiquities. Here our Author relates that the censure of his verses was, that they were all good, especially his Epitaph on Prince Henry, save that they smelled too much of the Schools, and were not after the fancy of the times; for a child (says he) may write after the fashion of the Greek and Latin verses in running; yet that he wished for pleasing the King, that piece of Forth Feasting had been his own.

As Ben Johnson has been very liberal of his censures on all his co-temporaries, so our Author does not spare him; For (he says) Ben Johnson was a great lover and praiser of himself, a contemner and scorner of others, given rather to lose a friend than a jest; jea-



lous of every word and action of those about him, especially after drink, which is one of the elements in which he lived, a dissembler of the parts which reign in him; a bragger of some good that he wanted, thinketh nothing well done but what either he himself or some of his friends have said or done; he is passionately kind and angry, careless either to gain or keep; vindictive, but if he be well answered, at himself; interprets best sayings and deeds often to the worst. He was for any religion, as being versed in both; oppressed with fancy, which hath overmastered his reason, a general disease in many Poets. His inventions are smooth and easy, but above all he excelleth in a translation. When his play of the Silent Woman was first acted, there were found verses after on the stage against him, concluding that that play was well named the Silent Woman, because there was never one man to say *Plaudite* to it.

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MR. DRUMMOND GAVE THE FOLLOWING CHARACTER OF SEVERAL  
AUTHORS.

The Authors I have seen (saith he) on the subject of Love, are the Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyat (whom because of their antiquity, I will not match with our better times) Sidney, Daniel, Drayton, and Spencer. He who writeth the Art of English Poesy<sup>o</sup> praiseth much Rawleigh and Dyer; but their works are so few that are come to my hands, I cannot well say any thing of them.

The last we have are Sir William Alexander, and Shakespear,<sup>p</sup> who have lately published their works. Constable,<sup>q</sup> saith some, have [hath]

<sup>o</sup> See Puttenham's Art of English Poesie, London, 1589.

<sup>p</sup> Here Drummond evidently refers to the poems of Shakespeare, and not to his plays.

<sup>q</sup> Henry Constable, as Mr. Collier remarks, (Bridgewater Catalogue, p. 283) "had an extraordinary reputation; but nothing he has left behind him warrants the praise bestowed upon him in an old play, 'The Return from Parnassus,' 1606, in a couplet, which will remind the reader of a beautiful passage in Milton's 'Comus':"

' Sweet Constable doth take the wond'ring ear,  
And lays it up in willing prisonment.'

The only work he published is a collection of sonnets, under the title of

written excellently; and Murray,<sup>r</sup> with others, I know, hath done well, if they could be brought to publish their works: But of secrets who can soundly judge?

The best and most exquisite Poet of this subject, by consent of the whole Senate of Poets, is Petrarch. S. W. R.,<sup>s</sup> in an Epitaph on Sidney, calleth him our English Petrarch; and Daniel<sup>t</sup> regrates he was not a Petrarch, though his Delia be a Laura; So Sidney in his Ast[rophel] and Stella telleth of Petrarch,

You that poore Petrarch's long deceased wooes,  
With new-borne sighes, [and denisend wit do sing.]

The French have also set him before them as a Paragon; whereof we still find, that those of our English Poets who have approached nearest to him, are the most exquisite on this subject. When I say approach him, I mean not in following his invention, but in forging as good; and when one matter cometh to them all at once, who quintessenceth it in the finest substance.

Among our English Poets, Petrarch is imitated, nay, surpast in some things, in matter and manner: In matter none approach him to Sidney, who hath Songs and Sonnets in matter intermingled:<sup>u</sup> In manner the nearest I find to him is W. Alexander; who, insisting

'Delia,' 1592." He appears to have visited Scotland on more than one occasion. In March 1599, he was summoned to appear before the Presbytery of Edinburgh, as being a Roman Catholic; but he excused himself from appearing as a stranger, and soon after left the country.

<sup>r</sup> Probably Sir David Murray of Gorthy, who was tutor of Prince Henry, and was the author of a volume published in 1611, "The Tragickall Death of Sophonisba," and containing a number of sonnets, under the title of "Cælia." His cousin, John Murray, is also known as a poetical writer, but we learn from a letter addressed to Drummond of Hawthornden, by Sir William Alexander, enclosing a sonnet on his death, that John Murray died in April 1615. (Works, p. 150.)

<sup>s</sup> No doubt Sir Walter Raleigh: an Epitaph on Sir Philip Sidney, attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh, is included in the Roxburghe volume, "Sidneiana," published by Dr. Butler, Bishop of Lichfield, in 1837. This, however, is not the epitaph that Drummond refers to.

<sup>t</sup> See his Delia, Sonnet xl.

<sup>u</sup> In his Astrophel and Stella, usually subjoined to his Arcadia.



in these same steps, hath Sextains, Madrigals, and Songs, Echoes and Equivoques,<sup>v</sup> which he hath not; whereby, as the one hath surpast him in matter, so the other in manner of writting, or form. This one thing which is followed by the Italians, as of Sanazarius and others, is, that none celebrateth their Mistress after her death, which Ronsard hath imitated; After which two, next (methinks) followeth Daniel, for sweetness in ryming second to none. Drayton seemeth rather to have loved his Muse than his Mistress; by, I know not what artificial Similes, this sheweth well his mind but not the Passion. As to that which Spencer calleth his *Amoretti*, I am not of their opinion who think them his; for they are so childish, that it were not well to give them so honourable a father.<sup>w</sup>

Donne, among the Anacreontick lyrics, is second to none, and far from all second; but as Anacreon doth not approach Callimachus, tho' he excels in his own kind, nor Horace to Virgil, no more can I be brought to think him to excel either Alexander's or Sidney's verses: They can hardly be compared together trading diverse paths; the one flying swift, but low, the other, like the eagle, surpassing the clouds. I think, if he would, he might easily be the best Epigrammatist we have found in English; of which I have not yet seen any come near the Ancients. Compare Song *Marry and Love* &c.<sup>x</sup> with Tasso's stanzas against beauty; one shall hardly know who hath the best.

Drayton's *Polyolbion* is one of the smoothest poems I have seen in English, poetical and well prosecuted; there are some pieces in him I dare compare with the best transmarine poems. The 7th song pleaseth me much. The 12th is excellent. The 13th also. The Discourse of Hunting passeth with any Poet, and the 18th, which is his last in this edition 1614.<sup>y</sup>

I find in him, which is in most part of my Compatriots, too great

<sup>v</sup> In his "Aurora, containing the first fancies of the Author's youth, William Alexander of Menstrie." London, 1604, 4to.

<sup>w</sup> Whatever opinion may be entertained respecting Spenser's *Amoretti*, there is no reason to call in question his being the author.

<sup>x</sup> The second of Donne's Elegies begins *Marry and love thy Flavia*.

<sup>y</sup> The second part of Drayton's *Polyolbion* was not published until the year 1622.

an admiration of their country; on the History of which, whilst they muse, as wondering, they forget sometimes to be good Poets.

Silvester's translation of Judith, and the Battle of Yvory, are excellent. He is not happy in his inventions, as may be seen in his "Tabacco Batter'd," and "Epitaphes;" Who likes to know whether he or Hudson hath the advantage of Judith,<sup>z</sup> let them compare the beginning of the 4th Book, "O Silver brow'd Diana," &c. And the end of the 4th Book, "Her waved locks," &c. The midst of the 8th [5th] Book, "In Ragau's ample plain one morning met," &c. The 6th Book, after the beginning, "Each being set anon, fulfilled out," &c. And after, "Judas, said she; Thy Jacob to deliver, now is the time," &c. His pains are much to be praised, and happy Translations, in sundry parts equalling the Original.

<sup>z</sup> "The Historie of Judith" was Englished by Thomas Hudson, from the French of Du Bartas, at the command of James VI., to whom it was dedicated, and printed at Edinburgh, 1584, 8vo. In a list of the king's (James VI.) household, "Mekill Thomas Hudson" appears with three others of the same name, as Violaris. The term "mekill," or large, may apply to his person. He long continued at the Scottish court. On the 5th of June 1586, he was appointed "Maister of his Hienes Chappell Royall." See note in Alexander Montgomery's Poems, p. 302, Edinburgh, 1821, 8vo. Hudson's version of Judith was afterwards reprinted at London in 1608, and in the subsequent editions of Silvester's popular translation of "Du Bartas his Divine Weekes and Dayes." Silvester was so greatly admired for the smoothness of his versification, as to be called "Silver tong'd Silvester."





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LONDON:

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL  
OF  
THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY

TO THE  
FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SUBSCRIBERS,  
HELD ON THE 26th APRIL, 1842, AT THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY  
OF LITERATURE, No. 4, ST. MARTIN'S PLACE, CHARING CROSS.

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At the close of the duties of the first Council of the Shakespeare Society, it may be proper to state briefly the object of the association, that it may be seen how far that object has been attained.

The illustration of the Life and Writings of our great Dramatist was the primary design in the formation of the Shakespeare Society ; and in the original Prospectus it was stated that " every thing, whether derived from manuscript or printed sources, that would throw light on our Early Dramatic Literature and Stage," would also come within its purpose. With this view it was proposed not merely to print works which would directly elucidate some point in the biography of Shakespeare, or in the history of his productions, which works must necessarily be of comparatively rare occurrence, but others which would indirectly come in aid of such an undertaking. Thus, Old Plays, by the predecessors or contemporaries of Shakespeare, were pointed out as peculiarly appropriate : it was considered indisputable that few Tracts of the time by rival authors, advertent to existing manners and opinions, would fail in various respects to explain Shakespeare's character, plays, or poems ; and the early publications, friendly or hostile to the



progress of Theatrical Amusements, would, of course, afford information in connection with the rise and progress of our Stage, and with its condition at the time when Shakespeare became an author and an actor.

The mention of the Works already issued by the Society will tend to shew in what manner and to what extent the Council has carried into effect the intention of its establishment; but it may be right, in the first place, to remark that the funds of an association of the kind must, in the outset, be unavoidably limited. When the full number of One Thousand Subscribers shall have been attained, it is obvious that the Council will be able to accomplish more, than in the present year they have had the means of attempting.

The volumes already issued are seven in number, making in the whole more than 1300 octavo pages; but it is to be observed that the last volume is not included in the first year's subscription. The following are the titles of the Publications of the Society, in the order in which they have come from the press.

1. MEMOIRS OF EDWARD ALLEYN, the Actor, Founder of Dulwich College, from original sources: with new information respecting Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Lodge, Dekker, Marston, and other contemporary Dramatists and Actors. By J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., F.S.A.

2. THE SCHOOL OF ABUSE: containing a pleasant Invective against Poets, Pipers, Players, Jesters, &c. By STEPHEN GOSSON. From the edition of 1579, compared with the impression of 1587.

3. AN APOLOGY FOR ACTORS, &c. By THOMAS HEYWOOD. From the edition printed by Nicholas Okes in 1612, compared with Cartwright's edition printed during the Civil Wars.

4. LUDUS COVENTRIÆ: a Collection of Mysteries, formerly represented at Coventry on the Feast of Corpus Christi. From a MS. in the British Museum of the Reign of Edward IV. Edited by JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c.

5. THE DEBATE BETWEEN PRIDE AND LOWLINESS, pleaded in an Issue of Assize, &c. by FRANCIS THYNN. Imprinted at London by

John Charlwood, &c. n.d. B.L. 8vo. This work is in verse, and is the original from which Robert Greene, the Dramatist, took his "Quip for an Upstart Courtier," 1592, 4to.

6. THE PLEASANT COMEDY OF PATIENT GRISSELL. By THOMAS DEKKER, HENRY CHETTLÉ, and WILLIAM HAUGHTON. 1603. With an introduction on the origin of the story, and its application to the Stage in various countries of Europe.

7. EXTRACTS FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF THE REVELS AT COURT IN THE REIGNS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH AND KING JAMES I., from the original Office Books of the Masters and Yeomen. With an Introduction and Notes, by PETER CUNNINGHAM, Esq.

Upon the manner in which these publications contribute, both immediately and incidentally, to the illustration of the Life and Writings of Shakespeare, it is unnecessary to enlarge; and to the preceding enumeration of Works already delivered to Members, may be added a list of those at present in the printer's hands, or which the Council has ordered for press, without more delay than is consistent with the convenience of the respective Editors.

1. NOTES OF BEN JONSON'S CONVERSATIONS WITH DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN, in the year 1619. Edited by DAVID LAING, Esq., F.S.A.

2. THE OLD PLAY OF TIMON OF ATHENS, which preceded that of Shakespeare, and from which he adopted the banquet scene, and other circumstances in his drama. Edited by the Rev. ALEX. DYCE, from the original manuscript in his possession.

3. A COLLECTION OF ALL THE DOCUMENTS which have reference to the Events of Shakespeare's Life. The Will edited by SIR FREDERICK MADDEN, F.R.S., F.S.A., Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, with Fac-similes of the Signatures. The Marriage Licence, transcripts from the Registers at Stratford-upon-Avon, and all the other Documents, edited by JOHN BRUCE, Esq., F.S.A.

4. THE FIRST SKETCH OF SHAKESPEARE'S MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR, printed in 1602, 4to., which has never been reprinted. To which will be added a collection of early tales, upon which the play is supposed to have been founded. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by J. O. HALLIWELL, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c.



5. THE DIARY AND ACCOUNT BOOK OF PHILIP HENSLOWE, between the years 1590 and 1610, in which he entered his various Transactions relating to Plays, Players, and Dramatic Authors, (parts only of which were imperfectly printed by Malone), from the original MS. at Dulwich College. By permission of the Master, Warden, and Fellows. Edited by J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., F.S.A.

6. DIE SCHÖNE SIEDE. An early German Drama, thought to be a translation of an English Drama from which Shakespeare derived the plot of "The Tempest." Edited, with an English translation, by WILLIAM J. THOMS, Esq., F.S.A. To be followed by translations of three other German Plays, supposed to contain similar versions of Dramas on which Shakespeare founded "Much ado about Nothing," "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," and "Titus Andronicus."

7. EDWARD THE FOURTH: a Historical Play, in two parts, by THOMAS HEYWOOD. To be edited by BARRON FIELD, Esq., from the earliest impression of 1600, in the library of Lord Francis Egerton, collated with the later impressions in 1605, 1613, 1619, and 1626.

To these fourteen Works already issued, or in progress, the Council begs leave to subjoin a list of such as have been recommended to the Society, and all of which, having been approved, will make their appearance with a rapidity proportioned to the means at the disposal of the Council.

1. SIR THOMAS MORE: an unprinted Historical Play, on the Life and Death of that great Statesman and Lawyer: written and licensed for the Stage about the year 1590, and preserved in the original manuscript in the British Museum. To be edited by the Rev. ALEX. DYCE.

2. THE DIARY OF A BARRISTER OF THE NAME OF MANNINGHAM, preserved in the British Museum, containing Anecdotes and Notices of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Spenser, Marston, Sir W. Raleigh, Sir John Davys, &c., with some curious Historical particulars in the years 1601 and 1602.

3. TRANSLATIONS OF TWO ITALIAN COMEDIES, GL' INGANNI AND GL' INGANNATI, the plots of which bear a strong resemblance to Shakespeare's Twelfth Night.

4. A VOLUME OF BALLADS UPON WHICH OLD PLAYS WERE FOUNDED, OR WHICH WERE FOUNDED UPON OLD PLAYS; including, of course, all those employed by Shakespeare. To be edited by W. D. COOPER, Esq., F.S.A.

5. THE TRUE TRAGEDIE OF RICHARD THE THIRD, which preceded Shakespeare's play. From a complete copy of the 4to. of 1594, in the Library of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, supplying the omitted leaves, and correcting many important errors in the imperfect copy in Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell.

6. THE CHESTER WHITSUN-PLAYS: a Collection of Early Dramatic Representations by the Incorporated Trades of Chester. From a MS. in the British Museum, collated with two other transcripts in the same institution, and with the oldest MS. yet discovered, in the Library of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire. To be edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., &c.

7. FUNEBRIA FLORE. The Downfal of May-Games, &c. By THOMAS HALL, B.D. 1668, 4to. To be edited (with an Introduction and Notes) by W. B. D. D. TURNBULL, Esq., F.S.A., &c.

8. HONOUR TRIUMPHANT, OR THE PEER'S CHALLENGE, BY ARMS DEFENSIBLE AT TILT, TURNEY, AND BARRIERS, &c. Also, THE MONARCH'S MEETING, OR THE KING OF DENMARK'S WELCOME INTO ENGLAND. By JOHN FORD. 1606. A totally unnoticed production, in prose and verse, by the celebrated Dramatic Poet.

9. AN ACCOUNT of and extracts from the OLD PLAYS, (some of them *unique*) in the Library of the Right. Hon. Lord Francis Egerton, M.P.: accompanied by remarks historical, bibliographical, critical, and biographical, illustrative of our early Stage and Dramatic Poetry. By J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., F.S.A.

10. A NEST OF NINNIES, SIMPLY WITHOUT COMPOUNDS. By ROBERT ARMIN, the celebrated Actor in Shakespeare's Plays. From the only known edition of 1608. It contains anecdotes, in verse and prose, of various celebrated Fools and Jesters.

11. TARLTON'S NEWS OUT OF PURGATORY: only such a Jest as his Jig, fit for Gentlemen to laugh at an hour, &c.; published by an old companion of his, Robin Goodfellow. From the earliest edition, printed by Edward White about 1590, compared with the impression of 1630.

12. AN ANSWER TO STEPHEN GOSSON'S SCHOOL OF ABUSE. By THOMAS LODGE. This work was printed about the year 1580; but, as the writer informs us, it was "suppressed by authority," and the only copies known are without title-pages.



13. *PIERCE PENNYLESS, HIS SUPPLICATION TO THE DEVIL.* By THOMAS NASH. To be printed from the first edition of 1592, compared with the two other impressions in the same year.

14. *A COLLECTION OF BROADSIDES AND MANUSCRIPT PIECES*, in prose and verse, principally relating to Authors, Plays, Actors, and Theatres, during the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.

15. *A ROYAL ARBOUR OF LOYAL POESIE*, consisting of Poems and Songs. By THOMAS JORDAN. 1664. It contains various Dramatic Ballads, particularly those founded upon Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing*, *Winter's Tale*, *Merchant of Venice*, &c.

16. *PASQUIL'S JESTS*, mixed with Mother Bunch's Merriments. Whereunto is added a dozen of Gulls. Pretty and pleasant to drive away the tediousness of a Winter's Evening. From the earliest edition of 1604, compared with later impressions.

17. A volume of the Names, Lives, and Characters of the Actors in the Plays of MARLOWE, GREENE, PEELE, SHAKESPEARE, LODGE, BEN JONSON, CHAPMAN, MASSINGER, FORD, WEBSTER, MIDDLETON, DEKKER, HEYWOOD, &c., alphabetically arranged, and embracing various particulars hitherto unknown.

18. *A TRANSLATION OF ECHTERMAYER'S INTRODUCTION TO THE "QUELLEN DER SHAKESPEARE,"* containing an account of the sources of the Plots of Shakespeare's Plays.

In this, as in other literary societies, it has been found expedient to appoint Local Secretaries for the management of its affairs in distant situations; and the following gentlemen have kindly consented to act in that capacity in the different places to which their names are attached. To their services the Society at large is greatly indebted.

BRISTOL—Robert Lang, Esq.

CAMBRIDGE—W. A. Warwick, Esq.

DUBLIN—Sir William Betham, *Ulster*.

DUCKINFIELD—Rev. R. B. Aspland.

EDINBURGH—W. B. D. D. Turnbull, Esq., F.S.A.

GAINSBOROUGH—John Mozly Stark, Esq.

GLASGOW—R. Malcolm Kerr, Esq.

IPSWICH—W. Stevenson Fitch, Esq.

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OXFORD—Rev. Philip Bliss, D.C.L., F.S.A.

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PORTSMOUTH—Henry Slight, Esq.

READING—John Richards, Jun., Esq., F.S.A.

SOUTHWOLD—Jonathan Gooding, Esq.

WARWICK—John Twamley, Esq.

WORCESTER—J. M. Gutch, Esq.

LEAMINGTON SPA—J. Sharp, Jun., Esq.

The Council with great pleasure adverts to the prosperous state of the finances of the Shakespeare Society. At the end of the year which closed on the 31st December, 1841, there was a considerable balance in the hands of the Treasurer, as will appear by the annexed Report of the Auditors; and there is every reason to believe that the sum to be placed, in the present year, at the disposal of the Council now to be elected will, by the addition of Members, be greater than that obtained in the first year of the existence of the Society, when its design and character were less known and understood. There is already at the Bankers of the Society a larger amount than the total expenditure of the last year.

In the commencement, various expences were also unavoidable, which it will not be necessary again to incur; and the whole of the Subscriptions will thus in future be applicable to the payment for transcripts of manuscripts or printed books, and to the cost of printing and paper, which, with some trifling incidental charges, will henceforward constitute the whole expenditure of the Society.

The Council cannot conclude without calling the attention of the admirers of Shakespeare, and of our early Dramatic Literature, to the fact that this Society is the only one existing for the purpose of illustrating the character and works of our great National Poet: if the undertaking be followed up in the manner hitherto pursued, it is hoped that some honour may be done to the Members, although it is impossible to add any thing to the universal admiration which adheres to the name of Shakespeare.

*By order of the Council,*

J. PAYNE COLLIER, *Director,*

F. G. TOMLINS, *Secretary.*



## REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

We, the Auditors appointed to audit the Receipts and Expenditure of the Shakespeare Society, certify that the Treasurer has exhibited to us his Accounts from the Institution of the Society to the 15th April, 1842; that we have examined the same, together with the Vouchers relating thereto, and find the same to be correct and satisfactory.

And we farther report that the following is a correct abstract of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society during the period to which we have referred:—

| RECEIPTS.                                                                      |                  | EXPENDITURE.                                                            |                  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
|                                                                                | £ s. d.          |                                                                         | £ s. d.          |
| Amount of Subscriptions for the first year received to the 31st Dec., 1841 . . | 552 3 0          | Mr. Shoberl, Jun., for Printing . . . . .                               | 174 19 0         |
| Amount of Subscriptions for 1841 and 1842 received to the 15th April, 1842 . . | 440 4 0          | Mr. Bonsor, for Paper . .                                               | 119 14 9         |
| Compositions from Two Members . . . . .                                        | 21 0 0           | Messrs. Westley, for Binding . . . . .                                  | 63 10 0          |
|                                                                                |                  | For Transcripts . . . . .                                               | 49 9 0           |
|                                                                                |                  | Mr. Rodd, the Society's Agent, for Postage and Delivery of Books, &c. . | 17 10 0          |
|                                                                                |                  | The Secretary, for Advertisements, Postage, &c. .                       | 20 0 0           |
|                                                                                |                  | Printing Prospectus . .                                                 | 4 4 6            |
|                                                                                |                  | Do. Fac-Simile of Coventry Mysteries . . . . .                          | 4 5 0            |
|                                                                                |                  |                                                                         | 453 12 3         |
|                                                                                |                  | Balance in the hands of the Treasurer . . . .                           | 559 14 9         |
|                                                                                | <u>£1013 7 0</u> |                                                                         | <u>£1013 7 0</u> |

And we, the Auditors, further report that, against the balance of £559 14s. 9d., there are outstanding liabilities to the amount of £50 13s., besides the expences of printing and binding the first publication of the second year.

And we, the Auditors, further state that, over and above the present Balance of £559 14s. 9d., there are still outstanding various Subscriptions, for the First Year, of Foreign Members, Members resident in places distant from London, and of Members recently elected, amounting to nearly £60.

And, also, that about the sum of £200 is still outstanding upon Subscriptions for the Second Year.

EDWARD F. RIMBAULT.  
WM. DURRANT COOPER.  
SCROPE AYRTON.

Dated 18th April, 1842.

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On the reception of the report by the General Meeting, the following resolutions were passed:—

RESOLUTION I. That the Report of the Council for the past year be received and printed, and that the thanks of the Society be given to the Council for their services.

RESOLUTION II. That the thanks of the Society be given to his Grace the Duke of Devonshire for a loan of a copy of the Comedy of "Patient Grissell," and to the Right Honourable Lord Francis Egerton for permission to reprint Thynn's *unique* Poem of "Pride and Lowliness."

RESOLUTION III. That the Report of the Auditors be received and printed, and that the thanks of the Society be given to them for their services.

RESOLUTION IV. That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Director for his services.

RESOLUTION V. That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Treasurer for his services.

RESOLUTION VI. That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Secretary for his services.

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The following Members of the Council retiring in compliance with Law IX.,

DOUGLAS JERROLD, ESQ.,  
 JAMES KENNEY, ESQ.,  
 SIR F. MADDEN, F.R.S., F.S.A., &c.,  
 MR. SERGEANT TALFOURD.,  
 CHARLES M. YOUNG, ESQ.,

the vacancies were filled up by the unanimous election of

BARRON FIELD, ESQ.,  
 HENRY HALLAM, ESQ., F.R.S., V.P.S.A.,  
 J. OXENFORD, ESQ.,  
 T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.,  
 J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., F.S.A.,

and the remaining Members of the Council being elected, the Meeting separated.

#### AGENT TO THE SOCIETY,

MR. THOMAS RODD, Bookseller, 2, Great Newport Street, Long Acre, London, who is empowered to receive Subscriptions, and to whom all letters relative to the delivery of the books must be addressed. Subscriptions also received at the Union Bank, 4, Pall Mall East, London. The Secretary does not receive Subscriptions.



"Done before" 14

"Not half" 11

"Set" 32

"On his own" 36

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