THE VERSE EPISTLES OF SAMUEL DANIEL:
A CRITICAL EDITION

DISSERTATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

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1956

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank the Huntington Library and the Public Record Office for granting me permission to reproduce my copy-texts and collated material of *A Letter from Octavia*, *Certaine Epistles*, and *To Iames Montagu*. I am also indebted to the staffs of the University of Pennsylvania Library and the Ohio State University Library for their cooperation.

I am grateful to Professor Edwin Robbins and Professor Francis Utley for reading this dissertation and for their helpful advice and suggestions. Finally, I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Ruth Hughey, my adviser, whose profound knowledge, dedicated scholarship, and sympathetic teaching have inspired me to a greater understanding and love of the Renaissance, and without whom this dissertation would never have been written.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations Used in this Work .................................. iv

## Introduction

I Renaissance Verse Epistles ........................................ 1
II Daniel's Life and Work .......................................... 33
III A Letter from Octauia ........................................... 69
IV Certaine Epistles .................................................... 86
V To James Montagu Bishop of Winchester ......................... 128
VI A Note on the Text .................................................. 133

A Letter from Octauia .................................................. 135

Certaine Epistles ........................................................ 160

To James Montagu Bishop of Winchester .............................. 191

Variants ..................................................................... 196

Explanatory Notes ....................................................... 213

Bibliographical Descriptions ......................................... 299

List of Works Cited ..................................................... 312
Abbreviations Used in this Work


INTRODUCTION

Samuel Daniel's verse epistles fall into three chronological groups. A Letter from Octavia (1599) is a dramatic epistle modeled upon Ovid's Heroïdes, a type which finds its most prominent English example in Drayton's Englands Heroicall Epistles. A Letter from Octavia was followed in 1603 by Daniel's Certaine Epistles "after the manner of Horace,"¹ a group of six poems, moralizing, elevated, didactic, written to distinguished personages of the day. The last group is composed of one poem written to James Montagu, Bishop of Winchester, on his "seacret-wasting Sicknes," a poem evidently written late in Daniel's life, and not published during his lifetime.

Although these poems show many striking differences, they have one thing in common: they were all considered

verse epistles. Now, what did the poets and critics of the Renaissance consider a verse letter? How exact were they in their use of the label "verse epistle"? And finally we should ask ourselves, what writers did they choose as their models for such poems?

The English critics of the sixteenth century did not consider the verse epistle as a form, but since in so many instances French criticism was similar to that of England, the remarks of the French critics may be helpful.

Thomas Sebillet, writing in 1548, defined the French verse epistle as he understood it:

L'épître Françoise faîte en vers, ha forme de missive envoyée à la personne absente, pour l'acertener au autrement avertyr de ce que tu veus qu'il sache, ou il desire entendre de toy, soit bien, soit mal: soit plaisir, soit despiaiser: soit amour, soit haine. Par ce moyen tu discours en l'Epistre beaucoup de menues choses et de differentes sortes sans autre certitude de suget propre à l'Epistre. Et en un mot, l'Epistre Françoise n'est autre chose qu'une lettre missive mise en vers: comme tu peux voir sus Epistres d'Ovide tant Latines queFrançöises: et sus Epistres de Marot, et autres telz famés Poètes.

In 1555, Jacques Peletier du Mans attempted to separate the verse letter from other genres:


But does such familiar subject matter merit being put into verse? Why should it not be consigned to prose? Peletier feels that the epistle is proper to verse:

*Mes il i à têz discours que la prose ne râçourçot pas de si bonâgrâçé, comme fera le vers: Comme quand on à anuis de parler allegorique-mont e souz ficcion: e qu'on à fantôsie de s'ebatir par comparâsions, raconter songes, e autrez gueytez: l'Epîtres s'ét fêt an Rimé continue de vers a autrez: e presqu'à toutes mesures de vers. Els ét tant longus qu'on veut: els finit quand on veut, e la ou lon veut.*

The genre, then, to the sixteenth century was a loose one. Its length separated it from the epigram, and its familiar tone separated it from lyric poetry.

Both Sebillet and Peletier note that the differences between the epistle and the elegy are not easy to discern. Although each critic attempts a separation of the two genres, such distinctions were not clear to Renaissance poets.

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5 *Loc. cit.*
7 Sebillet separates the genres on the grounds that the elegy is restricted to the sad and amorous, and thus does not have the epistle's variety of tone. Peletier adds to this distinction the observation that the epistle uses one meter, while the elegy uses distichs.
The labels "elegy" and "verse epistle" were not differentiated in practice, so that one can find, for example, a poem in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody* entitled "Elegie II. Or Letter in Verse." More than half of Drayton's *Elegies upon Sundry Occasions* are verse epistles, including as they do formal salutation and epistolary conclusion. For example, in the poem "To Master George Sandys" Drayton begins,

Friend, if you thinke my papers may supply You, with some strange omitted Noveltie, Which others Letters yet have left untold, You take me off . . .

and closes,

Yet I should like it well to be the first, Whose numbers hence into Virginia flew So (noble Sandys) for this time adue.11

To the Renaissance poets, then, there were not always clear-cut distinctions between the elegy and the verse epistle.12

It was because of the familiar tone of the verse epistle that Du Bellay rejected it in his *Deffence et
Illustration de la Langue Françoysse (1549):

Quand aux epistres, ce n'est un poème qui puisse grandement enrichir notre vulgaire, pour ce qu'elles sont volontiers de choses familières et domestiques, si tu ne les voulois faire à l'imitation des élegies, comme Ovide, ou sentencieuses et graves, comme Horace.\(^\text{13}\)

In his demand for greater elegance and a return to imitation of the classical writers, Du Bellay pointed to the two great models of Renaissance verse epistles.

The Renaissance dramatic or heroic epistle was modeled upon the poems in Ovid's *Heroïdes*. In these poems the letter is from one dramatic character to another and is concerned with the unhappiness caused by the lovers' separation. The epistolary form of the poem is often merely a device to tell the lovers' story. However, the epistolary devices are clear; there is usually some reference to the poem as a letter. For example:

Quam legis, a rapta Briseide littera venit,
vix bene barbarica Graeca notata manu.
quascumque adspicies, lacrimae fecere lituras;
sed tamen et lacrimae pondera vocis habent.

From stolen Briseis is the writing you read, scarce characterized in Greek by her barbarian hand. Whatever blots you shall see, her tears have made; but tears, too, have none the less the weight of words.\(^\text{14}\)


Quam nisi tu dedenis, caritura est ipsa, salutem mittit Amazonio Cressa puella viro.
perlege, quocumque est--quid epistula lecta nocebit?
te quoque in hac aliquid quod iuvet esse potest;
其osa notis terra pelagoque feruntur.

With wishes for the welfare which she herself, unless you give it her, will ever lack,
the Cretan maid greets the hero whose mother was an Amazon. Read to the end, whatever is here contained--what shall reading of a letter harm? In this one, too, there may be something to pleasure you; in these characters of mine, secrets are borne over land and sea.15

The Renaissance writers did not limit the dramatic characters of this form to legendary heroes as did Ovid; they often used characters from English or Roman history. Thus we find Drayton drawing upon English history in his Englands Heroicall Epistles, while Daniel draws upon Roman history in his Letter from Octavia. Ovid's epistolary form, however, is retained by the Renaissance writers. For example, we find Drayton's epistle from "Elinor Cobham to Duke Humphrey" beginning,

Me thinks, no knowing who these Lines should send,
Thou straight turn'st over to the latter end;
Where, thou my Name no sooner hast esp'y'd,
But in disdain my Letter casts aside.16

The Renaissance verse letter which was modeled upon

15 Ovid, "Phaedra to Hippolytus," Heroides IV; Ibid., pp. 44-45.
Horace's **Epistles** was written from the poet himself to some friend or patron. Horace had himself separated his **Epistles** and **Satires** from more elevated poetry on the grounds that they were "talking verse":

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nec sermones ego mallem
repentis per humum
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As for myself, I should not prefer my "chats," that crawl along the ground.17

The familiar tone which Horace had recognized in his **Epistles** is also recognized by the Renaissance critics already cited and can be found in many Renaissance verse epistles. Didacticism is, however, perhaps the most important element usually found in Renaissance verse epistles of the Horatian type. This kind of epistle readily lends itself to both satire and the formal moral essay, so we find the Renaissance verse epistle ranging from the familiar tone of Wyatt's and Lodge's satires to the stately, organ-like tone of Daniel's didactic epistles. Within this range of tone, however, the didactic element is strong.

Dryden, in his preface to *Religio Laici*, casts further light on the tone of the Horatian verse epistle as the seventeenth century understood it:

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If anyone be so lamentable a critic as to require the smoothness, the numbers, and the turn of heroic poetry in this poem, I must tell him, that if he has not read Horace, I have studied him, and hope the style of his Epistles is not ill imitated here. The expressions of a poem, designed purely for instruction, ought to be plain and natural, and yet majestic; for here the poet is presumed to be a kind of lawgiver, and those three qualities, which I have named, are proper to the legislative style. The florid, elevated, and figurative way, is for the passions; for love and hatred, fear and anger, are begotten in the soul by showing their objects out of true proportion, either greater than life, or less; but instruction is to be given by showing them what they naturally are. A man is to be cheated into passion, but to be reasoned into truth.

And in Religio Laici Dryden tells us that he has chosen for his epistle a style which is "fittest for discourse, and nearest prose." Thus, to the sixteenth and seventeenth century writers, the verse epistle of the Horatian type was "plain and natural" and yet could include the majesty that we find in Daniel's verse letters.

In the latter part of the fifteenth and early decades of the sixteenth century the verse epistle was a popular form in France and Italy. Both the heroical and the Horatian verse epistle were represented. In Italy, Luca

18 John Dryden, Works, ed. Sir Walter Scott and George Saintsbury, X (Edinburgh, 1885), 32-33.
19 Religio Laici, 1. 454; Ibid., X, 53.
20 However, we have only to name Chaucer's "Lenvoy de Chaucer a Scogan" and "Lenvoy de Chaucer a Bukton" to note that the verse epistle was not a new genre. These two short poems of Chaucer's are essentially verse epistles.
Pulci (1431-70) had written some heroical epistles in verse,\(^{21}\) while capitoli and epistles of the Horatian type were practiced by most of the minor poets and cultivated amateurs of the early sixteenth century.\(^{22}\) The most important Italian writers of the verse epistle at this time were Francesco Berni and Ariosto. These writers took the terza rima, the heroic stanza of the Divine Comedy, and applied it to the witty, sometimes mocking epistle. In the epistles of Ariosto, indeed, the terza rima becomes so modified that it is "pedestrian, sharpened, and pithy."\(^{23}\) "The terzina would have remained stationary and conventional, like the sonnet and the canzone, except that Berni and Ariosto endowed it with a new life, by snatching it away from Heaven and putting it on the earth and giving it a dress suited to the day. The ottava rima sang; the terzina discoursed, ridiculed, satirized, expressed the prosaic and everyday part of life."\(^{24}\) As we shall see later, the terza rima made its first appearance into English verse in the epistles of Sir Thomas Wyatt, who was influenced by Alamanni, and was again used for a verse epistle in Daniel's poem "To the Ladie Lucie, Countesse of Bedford."

\(^{23}\) Sanctis, op. cit., p. 484.
\(^{24}\) Loc. cit.
The verse epistle was also popular in France in the early sixteenth century. Octavien de St. Gelais' translation of Ovid's *Heroides* (1500) went through many editions and enjoyed great popularity. Verse epistles of both the heroical and Horatian type were cultivated assiduously, if unimaginatively, by the Rhetoriqueurs in the early decades of the century. The Rhetoriqueurs went beyond the amatory poem in their imitations of Ovid's *Heroides*; in addition to the amatory poems, one can find epistles such as the following modeled upon the *Heroides*: "Epistre envoyée par feu Henry, roy d'Angleterre, à Henry son fils, huyniesme de ce nom" (1512); "Epistre envoyée de Paradis au tres chrestien roy de France Francoys, premier de ce nom, de par les empereurs Pepin, et Charlemaigne, ses magnifiques predecesseurs" (1515). Among the many writers of the Horatian epistle at this time we may note Guillaume Cretin, Lemaire, Roger de Collerye and Bouchet. The verse epistles of the Rhetoriqueurs, although numerous, are not distinguished. Their poetry is noted for its stiffness, affectation, and lack of imagination.

However, it was the first half of the sixteenth

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27 Ibid., pp. 107-8.
century which was to produce the most distinguished verse epistles in France. Clement Marot's first collected poems were published in 1532. With Marot the verse epistle gained an indubitable place in French literature. "Il est le 'prince de l'épître', comme Ronsard sera celui de l'ode. Lorsque, près d'un siècle après sa mort, il se créera en France un style artificiel de poésie, dit style marotique, c'est surtout à l'épître qu'on l'affectera. De fait, Marot s'est complu dans l'épître." Most of Marot's epistles show the influence of Horace; they show ease, good-humor, liveliness. Although Marot's fame rests upon his Horatian epistles, he did not confine himself to this type. One of his earliest poems was an heroic epistle, l'Épître de Maguelonne à son amy Pierre de Provence (1513-14).

It was after Marot that the French critics had to make room in their treatises for the verse epistle. Although the Pléiade did not think highly of Marot or of the verse letter, the epistle had found a place in French poetry from which it could not be dislodged.

The popularity of the verse epistle in France and

30 Vianey, op. cit., pp. 33-35.
Italy during the early decades of the sixteenth century was not paralleled in England. Indeed, it was not until Wyatt imported so many poetic forms into England that we have our first important English Renaissance verse epistles. Wyatt's three satiric verse epistles were probably written in 1536-37. The first satire, to "Myn owne John Poyntz," is based upon Luigi Alamanni's tenth satire to Thomaso Sertini. In this poem Wyatt describes in terza rima the hollowness and hypocrisy of the courtier's life. Although Wyatt used the terza rima for an epistolary style in imitation of Alamanni, he modified it by giving it greater freedom in his verse letters. Alamanni had adhered to the strict form of the terza rima, confining the thought unit to the tercet and only occasionally allowing any overflow from one tercet to another. Wyatt, however, adapted the form by allowing a free overflow of meaning between the tercets. This modification of the form allows the greater

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32 In our discussion of English verse epistles before Daniel we shall omit all verse letters written in Latin, and all dedicatory and commendatory epistles, as well as epigrams modeled upon Martial.
freedom and relaxation one would expect to find in a verse letter. Daniel, much later, in his epistle to the Countess of Bedford, also modified the form to fit the continuity of thought suitable for a letter.

Wyatt's second epistle, "My mothers maydes when they did sowe and spin," is also addressed to John Poynz and is based upon Horace's fable of the town and the country mouse. Wyatt again drew upon Horace for his third satire on how to use the court, an epistle addressed to Sir Francis Brian. It is significant that in these three poems Wyatt reflects both continental and classical influences. The classical verse epistle had not enjoyed the popularity in England that it had had on the continent, and Wyatt in introducing into English the terza rima which had been used in Italian epistles used it for the first important epistolary poems of the English Renaissance.

Wyatt's verse epistles were first printed in Tottel's Miscellany (1557). This miscellany included other epistles as well. Nicholas Grimald's short verse letters range in tone from good wishes for the New Year (#144, 145,

39 #124-126; Tottel's Miscellany (1557-1587), ed. Hyder E. Rollins, I (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), 82-90. I have used Rollins' numbers to refer to poems in this miscellany.
147) to the complimentary, moralizing epistle, "Another to 1.M.S." (#143). Grimald has one pair of epistles which are parallel in form. The first, "N. Vincent. to G. Blackwood, against wedding" begins,

Sythe, Blackwood, you have mynde to wed a wife:
I pray you, tell, wherefore you like that life.

The second poem, "G. Blackwood to. N. Vincent, with weddyng" is a direct answer to the first:

Sythe, Vincent, I have minde to wed a wife:
You bid me tell, wherfore I like that life.40

Unlike Wyatt's, Grimald's epistles are not satiric; they are usually complimentary and moralizing.

Ten years after the publication of Tottel's Miscellany, Thomas Drant's translation of Horace his Arte of Poetrie, Epistles, and Satyres appeared. This translation evidently did not enjoy the popularity of Turbervile's translation of Ovid's Heroides, which was published the same year, for only one edition is listed.41

During the 1560's and 70's many examples of the Horatian verse epistle can be found, but the form was not nearly as popular as the heroic epistle. In 1563 Barnabe Googe's Eglogs, Epytaphes, & Sonettes included a number of verse letters to Alexander Nevell and Edward and Henry Cobham, as well as to others. Googe printed the answers

40 #131, 132. Ibid., I, 95-97.
41 STC #13797.
to many of his verse epistles. Although Googe's epistles often have a personal tone, they are essentially didactic. For example, in two poems to Nevell he warns against the passion of love, and in his epistle "To M. Henrye Cobham of the most blessed state of Lyfe," Googe extolls the virtues of the country and attacks the vices of the court. Although the poetry in these letters is not distinguished, the tone is essentially that of Horace.

George Turberville included many verse letters in his *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songes and Sonets* (1567). Some of these epistles are light and witty, such as his poem "To His Loue that controlde his Dogge for Fawning on Hir."

But the majority of Turberville's epistles of the Horatian type are didactic: "To his Friende P: of Courting, Travailing, Dysing and Tenys," "The Aunswere to the vile and cancred counsell of the outrageous Epicure," "To His Friend T. having bene long studied and well experienced, and now at length loving a Gentlewoman that forced him naught at all," "To His Friend Francis Th., leading his lyfe in the Countrie at his desire." In 1568 Turberville went to Russia whence he sent three verse epistles to friends,

describing in poulter's measure the customs of the Russian people. The tone of these epistles is friendly and warm, and there is little moralizing. The three epistles were published in Hakluyt's *Voyages*. 46

George Gascoigne included several verse epistles in *The Posies* (1575). Gascoigne could write a purely topical, chatty verse letter, as we see in his two epistles to Lord Grey of Wilton.47 In the first of these poems Gascoigne is merely excusing his bad marksmanship, while in the second he describes his trip to Holland. However, most of Gascoigne's verse letters, while friendly and informal, are quite didactic. His "Councell given to master Bartholmew Withipoll a little before his latter journey to Geane. 1572" with its gentle advice shows this tone clearly:

Mine owne good Bat, before thou hoyse up saile,  
To make a furrowe in the foming seas,  
Content thy selfe to heare for thine availe,  
Such harmelasse words, as ought thee not displease.  
First in thy journey, jape not over much,  
What? laughest thou Batte, because I write so plaine?  
Believe me now it is a friendly touch,  
To use fewe words where friendship doth remaine.48

This blending of informality with didacticism is typical of the tone of most early Elizabethan verse letters.

Although most of the verse epistles in the miscellanies are heroic epistles or adaptations of the type, there are some Horatian epistles. The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576), for example, includes a verse letter by Jasper Heywood, "Who mindes to bring his shippe to happy shore, / Must care to knowe the lawes of wysdomes lore." This epistle, like so many other verse letters of this period, is instructive. Heywood begins,

My freend, yf thou wylt credite me in ought,
To whom the truth by tryall well appeares:
Nought woorth is wit, till it be dearely bought,
There is no wysedome oft define,
As well as others haue of happinesse:
Then to my woordes my freende, thy eare encline,
The thinges that make thee wyse, are these I gesse.

Pære God, and knowe thy selfe in eche degree,
Be freend to all, familiar but to fewe,49

and he continues with such platitudes through the rest of the poem. Among the poems added in the 1578 edition of this miscellany is George Whetstone's "Verses written of 20. good precepts, at the request of his Especiall good freend & kinseman, M. Robart Cudden of Grayes Inn," which begins,

Olde frendship binds (though faine I would refuse)
In this discouse, to please your honest minde:
For trust me frend, the counseling words I vse,
Are rather forst of cause, then come of kind.50

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50 #110; Ibid., pp. 108-11.
Whetstone develops sententia such as "Sarve God," "Obey thy Prince," "Like well thy frende," throughout his poem. Again we find the predominant didacticism of the early Elizabethan verse letter.

During the 1580's and, indeed, until 1595, the Horatian epistle seems almost to have dropped out of use. One can find poems like Nicholas Breton's "A Letter sent unto a Gentilwoman in verse" (The Toyes of an Idle Head, 1582), in which the poet thanks his hostess for a good dinner, but poems such as this seem to be exceptions. Clay Hunt suggests that the lyrical tendencies of these fifteen years were not conducive to the conversational style of the epistle. Because of the dearth of Horatian epistles during this period, Thomas Lodge can claim to have revived the form in A Fig for Momus: Containing Pleasant variety, included in Satyres, Eclogues, and Epistles (1595), maintaining as he does, "For my Epistles, they are in that kind, wherein no Englishman of our time hath publiquely written, which if they please, may draw on more, if dis-

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51 Clay Hunt, "The Elizabethan Background of Neo-classic Polite Verse," ELH, VIII (1941), 279, was unable to find any examples of the informal verse epistle during this period.
52 Nicholas Breton, A Flourish Upon Fancie ... To which are annexed The Toyes of an Idle Head, ed. Thomas Park in Heliconia, I (London, 1815), 209.
53 Hunt, op. cit., p. 279.
please, have their privilege by authority." Lodge's epistles are modeled upon Horace and range in subject from discourses on dreams or fatness to a plea for virtuous poetry. The poems are not very distinguished; indeed, Edmund Gosse, Lodge's editor, can only write, "The best that can be said of them is that they are lucid and Horatian." However, it is after Lodge that the Horatian verse epistles appear frequently. Here we need only name the most important epistles; they will be discussed later. Daniel's Certaine Epistles were probably written between 1596 and 1603; Grierson speculates that the majority of Donne's verse letters were written between 1596-7 and 1607; some of Ben Jonson's epistles can be dated as early as 1599; and Drayton's Elegies, which are really Horatian verse epistles, are dated about 1621-22. Although the Horatian epistle did not come into its

54 Thomas Lodge, Complete Works, ed. Edmund Gosse, III (Hunterian Club, 1883), 6-7. As we have already seen, Edmund Gosse is mistaken when he maintains that "Lodge proved himself an innovator . . . by publishing . . . for the first time in English, epistles in verse to private persons, founded in form upon those of Horace" (Ibid., I, 35).
55 Ibid., I, 36.
56 John Donne, Poems, ed. Herbert Grierson, II (Oxford, 1912), 133.
58 Drayton, op. cit., V, 214-18. For a discussion of these epistles, see below, pp. 88-92.
own until after 1595, the heroical epistle enjoyed an earlier popularity. The "Epistle of Penelope to Ulysses" in Tottel's Miscellany is said to be the first translation of Ovid into English verse. Sir Thomas Chaloner's translation of Ovid's epistle from Helen to Paris is another early translation which antedates Turberville's influential translation. In 1567 appeared George Turberville's translation of The Heroycall Epistles of Ovid, done into various English meters. The translation enjoyed considerable popularity, going through five editions between 1567 and 1600. And significantly enough, it is between these dates that the heroical epistle was most popular.

However, some of the love letters in verse which one finds in this period do not use dramatic characters. Many of these poems seem to have been influenced by the heroical epistle, but some are merely love complaints in epistolary form. In The Paradise of Dainty Devices, for example, the poem by "R.L.," "Beyng in loue, he complaineth," which begins,

Enforst by loue and feare, to please and not offende,

Within the words you would me write, a message must I sende:
A wofull errande sure, a wretched man must write,
A wretched tale, a woeful head, besemeth to endite, 62

is a love complaint in epistolary form. Another example of the epistolary complaint is "Elegie. To his Lady, who had vowed Virginitie" in A Poetical Rhapsody. This poem begins,

Ev'n as my hand my Pen on Paper laies,
My trembling hand my Pen from Paper stales,
lest that thine eyes which shining made me loue you
Should frowning on my sute, bid cease to moue you, 63

and continues to describe the young man's love.

Some of Barnabe Barnes' elegies in Parthenophil and Parthenophe (1593) are love letters. For example, Elegy XXI begins,

Happy! depart with speed! Than me, more fortunate ever!
Poor Letter, go thy ways! until my sweet Lady's hands!
She shall look in thee! and then, with her beautiful eyes bless! 64

These poems, like the others we have mentioned, are love letters in verse rather than adaptations of the Heroides, for they neither use dramatic characters nor tell a story.

"Elegie II. Or Letter in Verse," which appeared in A Poetical Rhapsody, begins,

62 #93; Edwards, op. cit., pp. 91-92.
63 #66; Davison, op. cit., I, 116-20.
My dearest Sweets, if these sad lines do happe
The raging fury of the Sea to scape,
O be not you more cruel than the Seas;
Let Pity now your angry Minde appease.

Although there are no dramatic characters in this poem, its clearly epistolary form and its tale of unhappy love make it seem close to the adaptations of the heroical epistle.

The dramatic characters in the adaptations of this period are often not "heroical" in any sense of the term, but the theme is always that of unhappy love and separation. George Turbervile's *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songes and Sonets*, which appeared the same year as his translation of Ovid, includes quite a number of such heroical epistles: "To his absent Friend the Lover writes of his unquiet and restless state," "The answer of a woman to her Lover, supposing his complaint to be but fayned," "The ventrous Lover, after long absence craves his Lady to meet with him in place to enterparle of her adventures," "A Letter sent by Tymetes to his Ladie Pyndara at the time of his departure," "Pyndara's answer to the Letter which Tymetes sent her at the time of his departure."66 Gascoigne included several such epistles in *The Posies* (1575), such as "Patience perforce, wherein an absent lover doth thus encourage his Lady to continuow constant" and "A letter devised for a young lover."67 We should also mention "A

65 #25; Davison, op. cit., I, 69-75.
Letter written by a young maiden to a Lover of hers. Wherein she detecteth the treachery of many men, and their great dissimulation" in The Forrest of Fancy (1579),68 and "A Letter sent by a Gentlewoman, in verse, to her Husband, being over sea" in Nicholas Breton's The Toyes of an Idle Head (1582).69

Such adaptations of the heroical epistle can be found in quantity throughout the period. A sampling of the epistles in A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions (1578) will give us an idea of the kind of epistle which can be found in an Elizabethan miscellany: "A loving Epistle, written by Ruphilus a young Gentleman, to his beloved Lady Elriza"; "NARSETVS a wofull youth, in his exile writeth to Rosana his beloved mistresse, to assure her of his faithfull constancie, requiring the like of her"; "A Letter written by a yonge Gentilwoman and sent to her husband vnawares (by a freend of hers) into Italy"; "A Letter sent from beyond the Seas to his Louer, perswading her to continew her loue towards him."70 Hyder Rollins says of this miscellany: "There are, of course, as in most other Elizabethan miscellanies, bountiful examples of epistles sent to and from the love-lorn, of lamentations by faithful

69 Breton, op. cit., I, 121-23.
and tirades against faithless lovers; there are repeated allusions to Troilus and Cressida, to Helen and Paris, to Penelope and Ulysses, to Polyxena and Paris, to Pyramus and Thisbe; and there is an insistence on the imminence of death, the futility of life, the falsity of friends, the misery of love, the changeableness of women, subjects on which originality of expression was hardly possible. 71 Although these poems are not distinguished by their originality or poetic achievement, they do show the Elizabethan interest in the heroical epistle.

The heroical epistle was so popular that one can find adaptations of it imbedded in longer poems. Willobie his Avisa (1594) includes a number of love letters, 72 and Peter Colse's Penelopes Complaint (1596) also includes heroical epistles. 73 Although the love letter in verse had been very popular among the minor Elizabethan writers, it was with Drayton's Englanda Heroicall Epistles (1597) that the dramatic verse letter included characters which were "heroical." Drayton explains his use of the word: "And though (Heroicall) be properly understood of Demi-gods, as of HERCULES and AENEAS,

71 Ibid., pp. xxiii-xxiv.
72 Willobie his Avisa (Spenser Society, XLII, 1886), Cantos XXXI, XL, LIX, LX, LXVI, LXVII, LXVIII-LXXI, LXXII.
73 Peter Colse, Penelopes Complaint (London, 1596; photo­ stat facsmile from the copy in Huntington Library), sigs. E4v, F3v.
whose Parents are said to be, the one, Coelestiall, the 
other Mortall; yet is it also transferred to them, who for 
the greatnesse of Mind come neere to Gods. For to be borne 
of a coelestiall Incubus, is nothing else, but to haue a 
great and mightie Spirit, farre aboue the Earthly weakesnesse 
of Men; in which sense OVID (whose Imitator I partly pro-
fesse to be) doth also use Heroicall."74

Drayton's epistles, in closed couplets, deal almost 
entirely with English history; the epistles are arranged 
in pairs, the letter and the reply, and thus give more 
dramatic immediacy to the situation. Englands Heroicall 
Epistles enjoyed enormous popularity; Indeed, it earned 
for Drayton the title of "our English Ovid."75 Five sepa-
rate editions of the work appeared between 1597 and 1602,76 
and the epistles were quoted sixty-seven times in Englands 
Parnassaus (1600), eighty-eight times in Belvedere (1600),
and seven times in the second edition of Burton's Anatomy 
of Melancholy (1624).77

Drayton's adaptation of the heroical epistle to 
historical characters was followed by later epistle writers. 
In 1598 Samuel Brandon's tragedy The Virtuous Octavia was 
published with two verse epistles written in a loose ballad

74 Drayton, op. cit., II, 130.
75 Ibid., V, 970.
76 STC, p. 180.
77 Drayton, op. cit., V, 970; Bernard Newdigate, Michael 
Drayton and His Circle (Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 
In January 1598-99, Daniel's *A Letter from Octavia* used the same subject matter. Although Donne's heroical epistle, "Sapho to Philaenis," was not published until 1635, Grierson assigns it the possible date of 1597-8. Thus, in these last years of the sixteenth century the heroical epistle was a popular form. Indeed, Daniel's *A Letter from Octavia* appeared at the time when perhaps the form enjoyed its greatest popularity.

Although, as we have seen, the heroical and the Horatian epistle fluctuated in popularity during the reign of Elizabeth, we have yet to consider some of the reasons for the appeal of the epistle to the Elizabethans. The greater number of heroical epistles may be partly explained by the appeal of Ovid. Although Horace was esteemed by the Elizabethans, it is really in the eighteenth century that his greatest influence is felt. But the Elizabethans were captivated by Ovid's tales. The heroical epistles which

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79 Donne, op. cit., II, 91
80 Edmund Gosse ("Epistle," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., IX [New York, 1910], 702) is in error when he says that "in England the verse-epistle was first prominently employed by Samuel Daniel in his Letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius."
used characters from history had a double appeal: not only could they interest because of the perennial appeal of a love story, but their historical subject matter suited the contemporary interest in both English and classical history. The popularity of the heroical epistle can be partly explained by its concentration: "Because of its comparative brevity, the epistle had a concentration which the narrative legend lacked; this brevity encouraged emphasis on the dramatic aspects of the situation; and the subject matter—historical characters at a specially significant moment of their relationship to each other—was suited to the taste of the public which applauded history plays in the theater and bought the versified chronicles of Daniel, which began to appear in 1595, for reading at home."  

The appeal of both kinds of epistles may be due, as Mrs. Tillotson suggests of Drayton's heroical epistles, to the contemporary interest in formal letter writing. Books on letter writing found an audience even outside the grammar schools. William Fulwood's *The Enimie of Idlenesse: Teaching the maner and stile how to endite, compose, and write all sorts of Epistles and Letters* (1568) was addressed

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83 Hallett Smith, *Elizabethan Poetry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 127. It should be noted that the heroical epistle is similar in its concentrated unfolding of a situation to the dramatic monologue.  
84 Drayton, op. cit., V, 97.
chiefly to the middle class and included in its fourth section love letters both in prose and in verse. Fulwood's work evidently supplied a need, for the book was in its seventh edition in 1598. Abraham Fleming's A Panoplie of Epistles, Or, a looking Glasse for the unlearned (1576) was apparently unable to compete with Fulwood's book, for only one edition is recorded. Angel Day's The English Secretary (1586) was intended to supply in English an equivalent of the grammar school textbooks in Latin. This book also found a large public, for numerous editions appeared well into the next century.

Far more important to the writing of verse epistles in the period was the training the sixteenth-century schoolboy received in writing letters. One of the most widely used textbooks of the century was Erasmus' De Conscribendis Epistolis. The writing of epistles as set forth in this book was a rhetorical exercise: the students were expected to write epistolary arguments persuasory, encomiastic, judicial, and familiar. According to Erasmus, the themes

87 STC, p. 252.
90 1586, 1592, 1595, 1599, 1607, 1614, 1618, 1626; STC, p. 142.
92 Erasmus also sets forth the writing of epistles as a rhetorical exercise in De Ratione Studii. Ibid., II, 251; Donald Lemen Clark, John Milton at St. Paul's School (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), pp. 186-87.
of these exercises could be found among the ancient writers, and the first classical model he recommends is the Heroides:

Et prīmi quīdē generīs sunt amatorīae Nasonis, in quibus fortasse tūtū nō sit rudē aetāte exerceri. Quam horocrūra sunt castiores: neque quidē uētat et hoc genus castē uercūdeq; tractēri.93

And of the first class are the amatoriae of Naso, in which perhaps it would not be safe to exercise callow youth. But the Heroides are more chaste, nor does anything forbid that this kind of thing be treated chastely and modestly.94

In De Ratione Studii Erasmus not only recommended exercise in the prose epistle; one of the other exercises he suggested was turning prose into verse:


At times let them be ordered to make verse into prose, prose into verse. Meanwhile, let them imitate in words and figures an epistle of Pliny or Cicero. Rather frequently let them set forth the same sententia in varied words and figures. Sometimes let them vary the same thing in Greek and Latin, meter and prose. Sometimes let them vary the same thing in five or six kinds of verse which the master shall have designated.96

95 Erasmus, Opera, I (Leyden, 1703), col. 525.
Thus, one of the exercises which Erasmus recommended for the schools was the writing of verse epistles.

The curricula of the schools show that exercises in both prose and verse epistles were practiced. The epistle was the first extended example of Latin composition, and by the fifth form the boys were receiving intensive drill in epistle writing. The curricula of the schools show only minor changes throughout the century, so we may take the 1607 examinations at Merchant Taylors' School to show the students' training in the epistle:

2nd form, afternoon. They shall translate an epistle, being a dictatum, or English made out of Tully his Epistles.

3rd form, afternoon. They shall write, in construingwise, some short and easy epistle of Tully, and make use of the rarest and best phrases alone. They shall of themselves make another epistle like unto the former.

4th form, forenoon. They shall write, in construingwise, some easy epistle of Tully, and make another like unto it.

5th form, forenoon. They shall make a longer theme, or treatise, in prose than the former forme did. They shall make verses upon the same theme or sentence. They shall make a dialogue or an epistle in Latine.

6th form, forenoon. The schoolemaister having opened, on the sodayne, some part of Tully, shall read one period, word by word, without naming either with what letters any word is to be written, or where any point is to bee sett; or telling them any thing that may help their understanding of the same period. And the scholars shall write, word by word, after the scholemaster and presently translate the same into proper and playne English, leaving empty spaces so often as they are not able to translate it themselves.

They shall turne the same period into other Latine, one or more waies, and also into Greeke. They shall turn it into Latine hexameters and pentameters, or sapphicks. They shall make two, three, or more, periods, in prose, upon some theme or sentence propounded, and also verses upon the same.®®

At Eton, around 1530, a student in the fifth form was to use Ovid's Heroides as his epistolary model,®® while around the same date, a boy in the seventh form at St. Paul's would use Horace's Epistles as his model.®®

Erasmus's suggestion that the students turn prose into verse was put in practice in the schools. In the Ipswich-Paul curriculum of about 1530, the seventh-form student wrote epistles and poetry, combining them in the verse epistle.®® At Rivington School in the 1570's the students also wrote verse epistles:

But weekly . . . they must write some Epistles or Verses, which they may more easilly do, if they use often to turn their Lectures into English, and then into Latin, again by other words to the same meaning, sometimes in verse, and sometimes in prose; and after turning Greek into Latin, and Latin into Greek, and changing the one kind of verse into another, and verse into prose, and prose into verse,

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®® T.W. Baldwin, op. cit., I, 157; II, 242; Clark, op. cit., pp. 185-86. The Heroides was also connected with letter-writing in the schools late in the century; cf. T.W. Baldwin, op. cit., I, 436; II, 423.
®® T.W. Baldwin, op. cit., I, 155; II, 242; Clark, op. cit., p. 117.
®® T.W. Baldwin, op. cit., I, 126-30, 132-33, 155, 159; Clark, op. cit., p. 117.
observing the propriety of the phrase, the purest Latin words, and making the sentences full. 102

After having received such intensive training in both prose and verse epistles in the schools, the sixteenth-century poets would find the epistle a natural form for their poetic activity. Although we do not know what grammar school Samuel Daniel attended, the curricula of the schools show this training to have been so widespread that it is safe to assume that he also received intensive drill in the epistle.

The treatise-like quality of Daniel's, and some other poets', verse epistles can be partly explained by this early training. In Erasimus' De Conscribendis Epistolis the epistle differs from other formal compositions only in its salutation. Many of the verse epistles written in the schools must have been merely reasoned arguments in verse. Such early training would explain to a great extent the formal, reasoned, philosophic tone of Daniel's Certaine Epistles.

Samuel Daniel was born in 1562 in Somersetshire. According to Thomas Fuller, who says that he received the information from some of Daniel's acquaintances, the poet's birthplace was not far from Taunton. Little is known about Daniel's family, but it evidently was a musical one: Fuller says that the poet's father was a music master "whose harmonious mind made an impression on his son's genius," and Samuel's brother, John, who was one of the better-known musicians of his day, published his Songs for the Lute Viol and Voice in 1606. If Daniel's father was a music master, it seems unlikely that, as Wood asserts, the family was wealthy.

Nothing is known of Daniel's education until, at the age of nineteen, he matriculated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, on November 17, 1581. According to Wood, Daniel remained at Oxford "about three years, and improved himself much in

103 In the Register of the University of Oxford, ed. Andrew Clark, Vol. II, part 2 (Oxford Historical Society, 1887), p. 102, his matriculation date is given as 1581, his age as nineteen, his county as Somerset.
105 Puller, op. cit., p. 500
108 Register of the University of Oxford, Vol. II, part 2, p. 102. The DNB followed Wood's error in saying that Daniel went to Oxford in 1579 when he was seventeen, but this was corrected by Mark Eccles, "A Biographical Dictionary of Elizabethan Authors," HLQ, V (1942), 285.
academical learning by the benefit of an excellent tutor. But his geny being more prone to easier and smoother studies, than in pecking and hewing at logic, he left the university without the honour of a degree."

It was while he was at Oxford, however, that Daniel became a friend of John Florio. In 1582 Daniel wrote commendatory verses for Florio's Giardino di Ricreazione. The friendship with Florio was close and long-lasting; in 1611 and 1613 Daniel referred to Florio as "brother," an epithet which suggests that the two men were related. While in 1585 Joane Florio, daughter of John Florio, was baptized at St. Peter's in the Baylie, Oxford, no record of Florio's marriage is known to exist. The register of this church is missing for earlier years, and although it may have contained Florio's marriage entry, the name of his wife

111 Commendatory poems for Florio's Queen Anna's New World of Words (1611) and the 1613 edition of Florio's translation of Montaigne. The poems are reprinted in Grosart, I, 283-88. Bolton Corney's suggestion, "Samuel Daniel and John Florio," N&Q, 3rd ser., VIII (1865), 4, 40, 52, that the epithet "brother" merely refers to Florio as a fellow servant to the Queen, has been attacked by E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III (Oxford, 1923), 274, as not plausible, for such a relationship would have been expressed by "fellow."
remains unknown. However, it is possible that Florio married Daniel’s sister, and this theory has been accepted by such a reputable scholar as Douglas Bush. 113

Soon after Daniel left Oxford, his earliest publication appeared: In 1585 he published his translation of *Imprese*, a tract on devices by Paulus Jovius. It has been suggested by Margaret Farrand that this translation influenced Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke, and his wife, Lady Mary, to employ the poet as a tutor for their son William. 114 Although we cannot be certain that Daniel actually did serve as tutor for William, 115 he must have acquired the patronage of the Herbergs about this time.

When dedicating *A Defence of Ryme* to William Herbert, Daniel acknowledges his early indebtedness to the Countess and her son:

> Having beene first incourag’d or fram’d thereunto by your most Worthy and Honourable Mother, receiuing the first notion for the formall ordering of those compositions at Wilton, which I must ever acknowledge to have beene my best Schoole, and


115 However, as careful a scholar as Bernard Newdigate accepts the tutorship as fact; *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 149. Cf. Buxton, *op. cit.*, pp. 185, 188-89, 233, 239.
thereof always am to hold a feeling and grateful Memory. Afterward, drawne farther on by the well-liking and approbation of my worthy Lord, the fosterer of me and my Muse, I adventured to bestow all my whole powers there-in, perceiuing it agreed so well, both with the complexion of the times, and mine owne constitution, as I found not wherein I might better Imploy me.116

Fulke Greville, who was associated with the Countess of Pembroke’s Circle and was a friend of Philip Sidney, was another early influence on Daniel’s thinking. In Musophilus (1599) Daniel refers to Greville’s early patronage and influence:

And if herein the curious sort shall deeme My will was caried far beyond my force, And that it is a thing doth ill beseeme The function of a Poem, to discourse: Thy learned judgement which I most esteeme (Worthy Fulke Grovel) must defend this course. By whose mild grace, and gentle hand at first My Infant Muse was brought in open sight From out the darkenesse wherein it was nurst, And made to be partaker of the light; Which peraduenture never else had durst T’appear in place, but had been smothered quite. And now herein incourag’d by thy praise, Is made so bold and ventrous to attempt Beyond example, and to trie those waies. That malice from our forces thinkes exempt: To see If we our wronged lines could raise Above the reach of lightnesse and contempt.117

It is possible, as Geoffrey Bullough suggests,118 that Greville brought Daniel’s work to the notice of the Countess

117 Lines 995-1012; Sprague, pp. 97-98.
of Pembroke's Circle, but the most important influence seems to have been Greville's 'learned judgement' which Daniel acknowledged in Musophilus. Greville was an advocate of the plain style in poetry, and his influence may have spurred Daniel's development toward the restrained style of the verse epistles.

About 1590 Daniel made a trip to Italy, possibly in the company of Sir Edward Dymock, the patron to whom he dedicated his translation of Impress. While in Italy Sir Edward and Daniel talked with Guarini, and even in 1602 the conversation must have rankled Daniel, for, addressing Sir Edward, he remembers Guarini's words:

Though I remember he hath oft imbas'd
Vnto us both the vertues of the North,
Saying, our coates were with no measures grac'd
Nor barbarous tongues could any verse bring forth.

Daniel evidently continued writing while he was in Italy, for Sonnets XLVII and XLVIII of the 1594 edition of Delia

119 Some of Philocosmus' arguments are repeated by Greville in A Treatise of Humane Learning, but his main argument against learning is religious; Ibid., pp. 52-62, 154-191. For similarities between the work of the two men, cf. Ibid., "Introduction"; Buxton, op. cit., pp. 211-12.
120 Mark Eccles, "Samuel Daniel in France and Italy," SP, XXXIV (1937), 146-67. The poet may not have been the Daniel who was in France in 1585; cf. W. H. Grattan Flood, "Was Samuel Daniel in France in 1584-1586?" RES, II (1926), 98-99; but see Eccles' argument, pp. 148-60.
121 Commendatory sonnet to a translation of Il Pastor Fido; Grosart, I, 280.
are entitled respectively, "At the Authors going into Italie" and "This Sonnet was made at the Authors beeing in Italie."\textsuperscript{122}

The last decade of the sixteenth century was a productive one for Daniel. In 1591 his poetry first appeared before the public when twenty-eight of his sonnets were included in the pirated edition of Sidney's \textit{Astrophel and Stella}. The following year Daniel himself published an authorized edition of \textit{Delia} containing fifty sonnets.

This edition is dedicated to Mary, Countess of Pembroke, the patroness who had such a great influence on the poet. In addition to the \textit{Delia} sonnets, this edition included \textit{The Complaint of Rosamond}, a poem modeled on items in the \textit{Mirror for Magistrates}. \textit{Delia} and \textit{The Complaint of Rosamond} were evidently popular, for a second edition was called for in 1592, and yet another edition appeared in 1594. The 1594 edition included Daniel's Senecan tragedy, \textit{Cleopatra}. The play is yet another instance of Lady Pembroke's influence on Daniel: not only is it dedicated to the Countess, but Daniel explicitly states that he wrote it as a companion piece to her translation of Robert Garnier's \textit{Antonia}.\textsuperscript{123}

\textsuperscript{122} Sonnet XLVIII appears as sonnet XLIII in 1592; cf. Sprague, p. 188. In Grosart, I, 71-72, the sonnets are numbered LII and LIII.

\textsuperscript{123} Grosart, III, 24. The revisions of \textit{Cleopatra}, which offer a most interesting study, are discussed by Grosart, III, 3-19; Alexander M. Witherpoon, \textit{The Influence of Robert Garnier on Elizabethan Drama} (New Haven, 1924), pp. 107-11; \textit{The Tragedy of Cleopatra}, ed. Max Lederer (Louvain, 1911).
Daniel's Cleopatra is one of the plays produced by the coterie known as "The Countess of Pembroke's Circle" or "The Wilton Circle." This group was primarily concerned with combating the romantic tendencies of the popular stage with formal Senecan plays modeled upon those of Robert Garnier. The Countess of Pembroke herself made a literal if pedestrian translation of Garnier's Antonie. Kyd's Cornelia (1594), another translation of Garnier, shows that even a popular playwright was influenced by the circle. Samuel Brandon's The Tragically of the Vertuous Octavia (1598), while a "rather seville imitation of Cleopatra," is of special interest to us because it appeared a year before Daniel's A Letter from Octavia. Later plays by members of the group, while still modeled upon Garnier, are less lyrical and elegiac and more political and patriotic. Of these later plays we may note Fulke Greville's Alaham and Mustapha, Daniel's Philotas (1605), and

125 Written 1590; published 1592. Ed. Alice Luce, Literarhistorische Forschungen, Vol. III (Weimar, 1897).
126 Witherspoon, op. cit., p. 112.
127 Ibid., pp. 115-18.
William Alexander's four *Monarchick Tragedies* (1604-1607). Of these academic Senecan imitations by far the best is Daniel's *Cleopatra*. Indeed, T.S. Eliot feels that both of Daniel's plays are superior to the others: "The best, the best sustained, the most poetic and the most lyrical, are two tragedies of Samuel Daniel: *Cleopatra* and *Philotas*. They contain many lovely passages, they are readable all through, and they are well built."129

Daniel continued his poetic activity during the 1590's: in 1595 another edition of *Dellia*, *Rosamond*, and *Cleopatra* was brought out, and in the same year the first four books of his verse-history, *The Civil Wars*, was published. From 1595 to 1599 there was a lull in Daniel's publication, but in 1599 appeared *The Poetcall Essayes of Sam. Danyel. Newly corrected and augmented*. This edition included the first four books of *The Ciuill Wars*, *Musophilus*, Daniel's defence of learning, *Rosamond*, and *A Letter from Octauia to Marcus Antonius*.

It was in the last part of this decade that Daniel became associated with another great lady who was to prove an important influence on his work: Margaret Clifford, Countess of Cumberland. In 1599 the poet dedicated his *Letter from Octauia* to her, a dedication peculiarly appropriate, for Margaret was also a noble, virtuous woman.

who was ill-used by her husband, George Clifford. Daniel again referred to the unhappy situation which the Countess endured in his Horatian epistle to her, a poem which may have been written in 1599. It was about 1599 that Daniel became tutor to the Countess of Cumberland's daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford, then a nine-year-old child. The poet was evidently esteemed by his young pupil, who after his death erected a monument over his tomb. Daniel held the post of tutor during the next few years and may still have been Lady Anne's tutor in 1603 when Certaine Epistles was published, for his gentle, didactic epistle to her was evidently written in that year.

In 1601 yet another edition of Daniel's works appeared:

The Works of Samuel Daniel. Newly Augmented, an edition which included A Letter from Octauia, six books of The Ciuill Wars, Musophilus, Cleopatra, and The Complaint of

130 Martha Hale Shackford, "Samuel Daniel's Poetical Epistles, Especially that to the Countess of Cumberland," SP, XLV (1948), 185 dates the poem between 1599 and 1603.
131 In the Skipton Castle account book containing memoranda relative to Lady Anne's education from 1600 to 1602 are lines which are supposed to be in Daniel's handwriting; Thomas Dunham Whitaker, The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven, in the County of York, 2nd ed. (London, 1812), pp. 313-15. Daniel's portrait occurs in one of the panels of the Clifford family picture at Skipton Castle; Ibid., p. 265.
132 Cf. below, p. 114. The letter to Sir Thomas Egerton (reprinted in Sir Egerton Brydges, Censura Literaria, VI London, 1808, 391-93) in which Daniel complains that he has "been constrainted to live with children" is now suspected of being a Collier forgery. Cf. Chambers, op. cit., III, 273-74; Sprague, p. xviii.
Rosamond. Two years later when the new king came to the throne, Daniel joined other poets in welcoming him by issuing *A Panegyrick Congratulatorie*, to which was affixed the *Certaine Epistles* and *A Defence of Ryme*, Daniel's courteous and intelligent answer to Thomas Campion's Observations in the Art of English Poesie* (1602). The *Panegyrick Congratulatorie* was presented to the king on his journey from Scotland when he was entertained by Sir John Harington of Exton at Burleigh-Harington on Saturday, April 23, 1603. Daniel's association with the Harringtons of Exton was not a casual one: Sir John's daughter, Lucy, Countess of Bedford, was the patroness to whom Daniel wrote another one of his Horatian epistles, as well as the dedication of *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*.

It is not chance that the *Certaine Epistles* was issued with the *Panegyrick*. Most of the six personages addressed in these verse letters were already favorites of the royal family and promised to have powerful positions in the new court. James had freed the Earl of Southampton, who had been imprisoned by Elizabeth for his part in the Essex conspiracy, before he left Scotland to claim the English throne. Lord Henry Howard, who had been James' go-

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between in the secret correspondence with Cecil regarding the succession to the throne, promised to be a powerful force in the royal circle. Sir Thomas Egerton, the Keeper of the Seal under Elizabeth, was to retain his influence under James and rise to the post of Lord Chancellor. The Countess of Bedford was among the aristocrats who rushed to Scotland to attain royal favor before James left for England, a favor which she was to enjoy during the lifetime of Queen Anne. The Countess of Cumberland and the young Lady Anne Clifford were the only two aristocrats addressed in the Epistles who were not among the most powerful members of the royal circle, but Daniel's close association with them at the time would account for their being included with the royal favorites.

Daniel's bid for royal favor did not go unheeded, for soon he was busy writing masques for court festivities: The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses was presented at Hampton Court on January 8, 1603/4, a masque in which the Queen herself appeared. In 1605 The Queenes Arcadia was

\[135\] The Vision of the 12. Goddesses, presented in a Maske the 8 of January, at Hampton Court; By the Queenes most excellent Malestie, and her Ladies. London, 1606. Cf. Mary Susan Steele, Plays & Masques at Court (New Haven, 1926), p. 136.
presented before the Queen and the young Prince,136 and in 1610 Tethys Festival was given at Whitehall.137 Daniel's last masque, Hymens Triumph, was presented in February, 1613/14 at Somerset House.138

Daniel was rewarded for his services by being made licenser to the Children of the Queen's Revels in 1606,139 but he severed connections with the children's company the following year, either because of his own difficulties with Philotes or because of the company's difficulty with Eastward Ho.140 However, Queen Anne continued to patronize the poet, for in 1607 he was a Groom of the Queen's Privy


137 Tethys Festival; or the Queenes Wake. Celebrated at Whitehall, the fifth day of June 1610. Devised by Samuel Daniel, one of the Groomes of her Majesties most Honourable Pryvile Chamber. London. 1610. Cf. Steele, op. cit., p. 163.

138 Hymens Triumph. A Pastorall Tragicomadie. Presented at the Queens Court in the Strand at her Majesties magnificent entertainment of the Kings most excellent Maiestie, being at the Nuptials of the Lord Roxborough. London. 1615. Cf. Steele, op. cit., pp. 186-7. Chamberlain, op. cit., I, 507, reported that "the pastorall made by Sa: Daniel was solemn and dull, but perhaps better to be read then presented."

139 Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James I, 1603-1610, p. 72.

Chamber, and in 1613 he was able to call himself Gentleman Extraordinary of her Majesty's Privy Chamber. Although Daniel's services and rewards at court lend credibility to the tradition that he held the office of poet-laureate, there is no evidence that the laureateship existed at the time or that Daniel was given such a title.

In spite of the honors that he received, Daniel did not always enjoy peaceful relations with the court. When his tragedy of Philotas appeared in 1605, the play aroused the suspicion of the authorities, for it was believed that the conspiracy of Philotas cloaked an attempt to sympathize with the Essex rebellion. Daniel was called before the Privy Council to defend himself, and, in 1607, affixed an apology to the play in which he denied any treasonable intent. Two letters in the poet's autograph cast light upon the nature of the unpleasantness and show the extent to which Daniel's otherwise quiet life was disrupted:

142 Commendatory poem for 1613 edition of Florio's translation of Montaigne; Grosart, I, 288.
144 Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James I, 1603-1610, p. 132. The affair is discussed at length in Michel's edition of Philotas, pp. 36-66.
145 Fuller, Op. cit., p. 500, gives us a very tranquil picture of the poet's life: "As the tortoise buried himself all the winter in the ground, so Mr. Daniel would lie hid at his garden-house in Old Street, nigh London, for some months together (the more retiredly to enjoy the company of the Muses) and then appear in public, to converse with his friends, whereof Doctor Cowel and Mr. Camden were principal."
To the right honorable my worthy good L. the Lord Vicont

Cramborne.

Right honorable my good L.

my necessitie I confess hath druen mee to doo a thing vnworthy of mee, and much against my harte, in making the stage the Speaker of my lyne, wc neuer heretofore had any other theater then the uniersall dominions of England, wc so long as it shall keepe the tongue it hath, will keepe my name & travayles from perishing. And for this tragedie of Philotas, wherein I sought to reduce the stage from idlenes to those grave p'sentments of antiquitie used by the wisest nations, I have taken no other forme in personating the Actora y pformd it, then the very Idea of those tymes, as they appeared vnto mee both by the cast of the storie and the uniersall notions of the affayres of men, wc in all ages beare the same resemblances, and are measured by one and the same foote of understanding. No tyme but brought forth the like concurrences, the like interstriuing for place and dignitie, the like supplanta-

tions, ryings & overthrowes, so y t there is nothing new vnder the Sunne, nothing these tymes y t is not in booke,

nor in booke that is not in these tymes. And therefore good my lord let no misapplying wronge my innocent writing, wc in respect of myne owne reputation, undertaeking such a subiect I must not make frivolous, or unlike my stile, understanding the world & the probable course of those tymes. But yf it shall seeme skandulous to any by misconceiuing it, and y r ho: be so pleased I will finde the means to let if fall of it self, by w'drawing the booke & mee to my pore home, p'tending some other occasion, so y t the suppressing it by autorltie might not make the world to ymagen other matters in it then there is. Onely I would beseech my L: of Northampton & yo' ho: (seeing the tyme will yeald me no grace nor comfort & yo' my studies, my faculties are vnnessarie sic complements of the season) to bestow some small visticu to carry me from the world where I may bury my self, & my writings out of the way of envie, & lieue in some other kind, more agreeing to my harte & the nature of my studies, and where yf yo w will doe me good I will labore to doo yo w all the hono' & service I may, and be most faythfully

Yo' hono' s In all humilitie

Samuel Danyel.

1605 Mr Samuel Daniel to my Lord.

To the Earl of Devonshire:

My Lorde.

Vnderstanding yo' ho: is displeased w t mee, it hath more
shaken my harte then I did thinke any fortune could have done, in respect I have not deservd it, nor doone or spoken any thing in this matter of Philotas vnworthy of you or mee. And now having fully satisfye de my L. of Cranborne I crave to vnburrthen me of this imputation wth you ho: and it is the last sute I will ever make. And therefore I first tolde the Lordes I had written 3 Acts of this tragedie the Christmas before my L. of Essex troubles, as divers in the citty could witnes. I saide the maister of the Revells had pvad it. I said I had read some parte of it to you ho: and this I said having none els of powre to grace mee now in Conte & hoping you out of yo knowledge of booke, & fauor of letters & mee might answere that there was nothing in it disagreeing nor any thing as I protest there is not, but out of the vniversall notions of ambition and envie the ppetuall argumts of booke & tragedies. I did not say you incouraged me vnto the presenting of it ye. I should I had bene a villayne for you when I shewed it to you hono: I was not resolud to have had it acted, nor should it have bene had not my necessities overmaistred mee. And therefore I beseech you let not now an Earle of Devonshpd overthrow what a L. Mountjoy hath done, who hath done mee good and I have done him hono: the world must, & shall know myne innocencie whilst I have a pen to shew it. and for you I know I shall shine inter historian temporis as well as greater men, I must not be such an abject vnto my self as to neglect my reputation: sic, and having bene knowne throughout all England for my virtue I will not leave a stayne of villainie vpon my name whatsoever error els might skape me unfortunatly thorow mine indiscreation, & misunderstanding the tyme, wherein good my L. mistake not my harte that hath bene & is a syncere honorer of you and seeks you now for no other end but to cleare it self, and to be held as I ame (though I never more come nere you)
you hono: s
pore follower & faithfull Servant,
Samuel Danychel.146

In his dedication of Philotas to Prince Henry, Daniel reflects a weariness and nostalgia for happier days; he feels that he is a "remnant of another time," that since the reign of Elizabeth "our Songs could never thrive, /
But laine as if forlorn." There is a sense of futility and waste in his words, combined with an overwhelming sadness:

And I although among the latter traine,
And least of those that sung vnto this land,
Have borne my part, though in an humble straine,
And pleas'd the gentler that did understand;
And never had my harmless pen at all
Distain'd with any loose immodestie,
Nor euer noted to be toucht with gall,
To aggravate the worst mans infamie.
But still have done the fairest offices
To vertue and the time, yet naught prevails,
And all our labours are without success,
For either favour or our vertue failes.
And therefore since I haue out-liu'd the date
Of former grace, acceptance, and delight,
I would my lines late-borne beyond the fate
Of her spent line, had never come to light.
So had I not beene tax'd for wishing well,
Nor now mistaken by the censuring Stage
Nor, in my fame and reputation fell,
Which I esteemes more then what all the age
Or th'earth can give. But yecres hath done this
To make me write too much, and liue too long.¹⁴⁷

Daniel seems to have been able to establish his innocence in the Philotæs affair and even to have appeased the aristocrats he had offended, for no further action was taken. If Daniel had offended Lord Devonshire, he more than cancelled that debt by his noble Funeral Poem (1606) for the nobleman, which has been called "the finest contemporary portrait of any Elizabethan."¹⁴⁸

It is possible, as Sprague suggests,¹⁴⁹ that shortly

¹⁴⁷ Lines 87-108; Philotæs, ed. Michel, p. 99
¹⁴⁹ Sprague, p. xxvii.
after the Philotas incident Daniel retired to his farm in
the country. His office as Groom of Queen Anne's Privy
Chamber seems to have been nominal and so would not have
required constant attendance. In 1608 he was evidently
busy with farming as a bayliff for the Earl of Hertford,
for in one of his letters to James Kirton, an officer in
the Earl's household, he says that "we yo" pore Baylifs"
have been awaiting directions concerning the farms; and
the rest of the letter is devoted to such details of farming
as the price of hay. During this period Daniel's time
must have been divided between the country and the court,
for Tethys Festival and Hymens Triumph were presented
during those years, and, as he notes in his dedication, his
prose History of England was written for the most part under
Queen Anne's roof, during his attendance upon her.

In 1615 Daniel was again connected with a theatrical
company, this time in Bristol, a venture in which he was

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150 Fuller, op. cit., p. 500, says that the farm was "in
Wiltshire nigh the Devizes," but Wood, Athenae Oxonienses,
Vol. III, col. 271, says that it was "at Beckington near to
Philips-Norton in Somersetshire." However, Joseph Hunter
in Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum (B.M. Add. MS. 24489), III, fol.
228, points out that since Beckington is on the Wiltshire
border, and Daniel's farm was at the Ridge in that neighbor-
hood, it was probably within the county of Wilts.
151 Cf. New Poems by James I of England, ed. Allan P. West-
cott (New York, 1911), pp. lxiv-lxxv.
152 The two letters to James Kirton are reprinted in Sel-
153 Grosart, IV, 79.
154 Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James I, 1611-1618,
soon joined by his brother, John. Little is known of Daniel's life after 1615; he evidently led a quiet life in retirement. His health was probably failing during these years, for in his poem to James Montagu, Bishop of Winchester, 1618, he refers to his own experiences with the dropsy.

Daniel died in October, 1619, and was buried in Beckington Church, Somerset. The Lady Anne Clifford, his former pupil, erected a monument over his grave with the following inscription:

Here lyeth, expectinge the second coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the dead body of Samuel Danyell, esq; that excellent poet and historian; who was tutor to the Lady Anne Clifford in her youth, she that was sole daughter and heir to George Clifford, earl of Cumberland; who in gratitude to him erected this monument to his memory a long time after, when she was Countesse Dowager of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery. He died in October, An. Dom. 1619.157

In Daniel's will there is no reference to his having had a wife, although Fuller says that his wife's

155 Ibid., p. 549.
156 Daniel's retirement may have been the result of royal displeasure. Thomas Lorkin, in a letter to Sir Thomas Puckering, June 16, 1618, writes, "Yesterday, Daniel and Sir George Reynolds were discharged the queen's service, and banished the court, only for having visited Sir Robert Foul in this his disgrace, or else for having formerly entertained amity with him"; Thomas Birch, The Court and Times of James the First, ed. Robert F. Williams, II (London, 1849), 77.
158 The will is reprinted in Sellers, "Bibliography," p. 54.
159 Fuller, op. cit., p. 50.
name was Justinia, and there is a 1619 entry of a Mrs. Daniell's death in the Beckington Parish Register. His publisher, Simon Waterson, is named one of the overseers of the will, while Samuel's brother, John Daniel, is appointed executor. These were the two men who were responsible for the 1623 edition of *The Whole Works of Samuel Daniel Esquire in Poetrie*, the edition which has since become standard for Daniel's collected works.

Daniel's life seems to have been passed in comparative quietness with the esteem of his contemporaries. Even such a stringent critic of his poetry as Ben Jonson could find no fault with his personal life. Jonson, who said that Daniel "was at jealousies with him" and was "no poet," still had to admit that he was "a good honest man." 161

However, Jonson's contempt for Daniel's poetry was not shared by most of his contemporaries. As early as 1591 Spenser referred to Daniel in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*:

> And there is a new shepheard late up sprong,  
> The which doth all afore him far surpass;  
> Appearing well in that well tuned song  
> Which late he sung unto a scornfull lasse.  
> Yet doth his trembling Muse but lowly flie,  
> As daring not too rashly mount on hight,  
> And doth her tender plumes as yet but trie  
> In loves soft laies and looser thoughts delight.  
> Then rouze thy feathers quickly, Daniell,

160 Sprague, p. xxviii.  
And to what course thou please thy selfe advance:
But most, me seemes, thy accent will excell
In tragick plaints and passionate mischance. 162

In 1592 Nashe attacked the enemies of poetry with these words: "you shall find there goes more exquisite paines and puritie of witte, to the writing of one such rare Poem as Rosamond, than to a hundred of your dunsticall Sermons." 163 In the same year Gabriel Harvey named Daniel as one of those men "whome I affectionately thancke for their studious endeours, commendably employed in enriching, & polishing their native Tongue, neuer so furnished, or embellished as of-late." 164 Thomas Churchyard, writing in 1593, praised Daniel's Complaint of Rosamond: "because Rosimond is so excellently sette forth (the actor whereof I honour) I have somewhat beautified my Shore's Wife." 165 The anonymous author of Zepheria, 1594, referred to the popularity of Delia:

Report throughout our Western Isle doth ring
The sweet tuned accents of your Delian sonnetry,

Which to Apollo's violin ye sing. 166

In 1595 Thomas Lodge addressed an eclogue in *A Fig for Momus* "To Master Samuel Daniel," 167 while Churchyard coupled Rosamond with nothing less than *The Faerie Queene*:

In Spenser's morall faerie Queene 
And Daniels roseie mound 
If they be throwly waid and seen 
Much matter may be found. 168

In the same year William Covell praised Daniel's achievement: "And unlesse I erre, (a thing easie in such simplicitie) deluded by dearlie beloved Delia, and fortunatelie fortunate Cleopatra; Oxford thou maist extoll thy courte-deare-verse happie Daniell, whose sweete refined muse, in contracted shape, were sufficient amongst men, to gaime pardon of the sinne to Rosamond, pittie to distressed Cleopatra, and everlasting praise to her loving Delia." 169

Sir John Davies, in 1596, referred to Daniel's masterful versification:

O, that I had Homer's aboundant vaine, 
I would hierof another Ilias make; 
Or els the man of Mantua's charmed brains, 
In whose large throat great Joue the thunder spake.

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166 Elizabethan Sonnets, ed. Sidney Lee, II (Westminster, 1904), 155.
167 Lodge, op. cit., III, 28-34.
O that I could old Gefferie's Muse awake,
Or borrow Colin's feyre heroike stile,
Or smooth my rymes with Delia's servants file.170

In 1598 Francis Meres included Daniel among the best lyric poets in England and compared his work with that of the ancients:

As Partheius Nicaeus excellently sung the praises of his Arete: so Daniel hath diuinely sonetted the matchlesse beauty of his Delia.

As euery one mourneth, when hee heareth of the lamentable plangors of Thracian Orpheus for his dearest Euridice: so euery one passionateth, when hee readeth the afflicted death of Daniel's distressed Rosamond.

As Lucan hath mournefully depainted the ciuil wars of Pompey & Caesar: so hath Daniel the ciuil wars of Yorke and Lancaster.171

In the same year Richard Barnfield referred to

... Daniell, praised for thy sweet-chast Verse:
Whose Fame is grav'd on Rosamonds blacke Herse.
Still mayst thou live: and still be honored,
For that rare Worke, The White Rose and the Red.172

In 1599 John Weever referred to the continuing popularity of Delia:

I cannot reache up to a Delians straine, . . .
Nor Draytons stile, whose hony words are meete
For these your mouths, far more than hony sweet.173

Charles Fitzgeffrey, writing in 1601, would place Daniel second only to Spenser:

Spenserum si quis nostrum velit esse
Spenserum si quis nostrum velit esse
Maronem,
Tu Daniele mini Naso Britannus eris:
Tu Daniele mini Naso Britannus eris:
Sin illum potius Phoebum velit esse
Sin illum potius Phoebum velit esse
Britannum,
Tum Daniele mini, tu Maro noster eris.
Tum Daniele mini, tu Maro noster eris.
Nil Phoebo ulterius: si quld feret,
Nil Phoebo ulterius: si quld feret,
ilud haberet,
ilud haberet,
Spenserus, Phoebus tu Daniele feres.
Spenserus, Phoebus tu Daniele feres.
Quippe logui Phoebus cuperet si more
Quippe logui Phoebus cuperet si more
Britanno,
Britanno,
Haud scio quo poterat, no velit ore tuo.
Haud scio quo poterat, no velit ore tuo.

If Spenser merits noble Virgil's name,
If Spenser merits noble Virgil's name,
Daniel at least comes in for Ovid's fame;
Daniel at least comes in for Ovid's fame;
If Spenser rather claims Apollo's wit,
If Spenser rather claims Apollo's wit,
Virgil's illustrious name will Daniel fit.
Virgil's illustrious name will Daniel fit.
No higher than Apollo we can go;--
No higher than Apollo we can go;--
But if a loftier title you can show,
But if a loftier title you can show,
The greater name let Spenser's Muse command,
The greater name let Spenser's Muse command,
For, In my judgment, if the god of verse,
For, In my judgment, if the god of verse,
In English, would heroic deeds rehearse,
In English, would heroic deeds rehearse,
No language so expressive he could chuse
No language so expressive he could chuse
As that of English Daniel's lofty Muse.174
As that of English Daniel's lofty Muse.174

In 1602 Francis Davison went even further and extravagantly placed Daniel above Spenser.175 More reasonable is Henry Chettle's allusion to Daniel as "Thou sweetest song-man of all English swaines."176 Edmund Bolton, in 1610, was

173 John Weever, Epigrammes in the oldest cut and newest fashion; quoted in Newdigate, op. cit., p. 98.
175 Davison, op. cit., I, 96-97.
more critical of Daniel's work: "The Works of Sam. Daniel contain'd somewhat aflat, but yet withal a very pure and copious English, and words as warrantable as any Mans, and fitter perhaps for Prose than Measure." 177

In 1611 John Davies of Herford referred to Daniel's connection with the court in his poetical address "To my worthily-disposed friend Mr. Sam. Daniell":

I saw thy Muse in Court doth travel now;
Arts speede her feete, and Grace (there) speede her plow;
If they come short, then gain by other drifts,
The more thou getst, the more its like thy gifts.
If yet too short; (to ad another size)
Get one Footes length, thou by thy feete shalt rise
With Pegasus from Pernasse to the skyes.178

Thomas Freeman, writing in 1614, played with Daniel's motto "Aetas prima canat veneres postrema tumultus":

I see not (Daniel) why thou shouldst disdain
If I vouchsafe thy name amongst my mirth;
Thy Aetas prima was a merry vaine,
Though later Muse tumultuous in her birth;
Know, here I praise thee as thou wast in youth:
Venereous, not mutinous as now;
Thy Infancie I love, admire thy growth,
And wonder to what excellence twill grow.179

179 Grosart, IV, xv-xvi.
In the same year Drummond praised Daniel, "for Sweetness in Ryming Second to none,"\(^{180}\) and William Browne's epithet "well-languag'd Daniel"\(^{181}\) has become one of the most popular ways of identifying the poet.

John Penny, in *Anagramata Regia*, 1626, praised Daniel's virtue:

> Samuel Daniel.  
> Diceris egregius duplici tu nomine Vates;  
> Quam sanctus Samuel, quam sapiens Daniel.  
> Romanum sperare potes, me Juicice, Vatem:  
> Non tibi lascive est Pagina, Vita proba est.

A noble bard art thou in twofold guise:  
As Samuel holy and as Daniel wise;  
The Roman bard, methinks thou dost out shine;  
Thy life is pure, no wanton page is thine.\(^{182}\)

The contemporary reaction to Daniel's work was not all praise, however. In *Every Man in his Humour*, Jonson ridiculed the first line of *Delia*:

> Clem.: What! all this verse? Bodie o' me,  
> he carries a whole realm, a commonwealth of paper in his hose! let's see some of his subjects!  
> Unto the boundlesse Ocean of thy face,  
> Runnes this poore riuer charg'd with streames of eyes.  
> How? this is stolne!  
> E. Know: A Parodie! a parodie! with a kind of miraculous gift, to make it absurder than it was.\(^{183}\)

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182 Text and translation given in Grosart, IV, xvi-xvii.  
In *Every Man out of his Humour*, Jonson refers to lines 121-2 of *Rosamond* and unjustly parodies Daniel's choice of words ending in -ize. Pastidius Brisk, speaking of his mistress, says: "You shall see sweet silent rhetorique, and dumbe eloquence speaking in her eye; but when shee speakes her selfe, such an anatomie of wit, so sinewiz'd and arteriz'd, that 'tis the goodliest modell of pleasure that euer was, to behold."\(^{184}\)

Edward Guilpin, in 1598, noted some contemporary reactions to Daniel:

Daniel (as some holds) might mount if he list,  
But others say that he's a Lucanist.\(^{185}\)

There is also a reference to Daniel in the first part of *Return from Parnassus*:

Gull: Pardon mee, moy mittressa, ast am a  
gentleman, the moone in comparison of thy bright  
hue a  
meere slutt, Anthonie's Cleopatra a  
blacks browde  
milkmaide, Hellen a dowdie.  

Ingen: (Marke, Romeo and Juliet! O monstrous  
theft!  
I thinke he will runn throughe a whole  
booke of  
Samuell Daniel's!)\(^{186}\)

In *Returne from Pernassus*, Part II, the praise of Daniel is combined with criticism:

\(^{184}\) Johnson, "Every Man out of his Humour," Act III, Sc. iii, 24-7 ibid., III, 500.  
Sweete hony dropping Daniell doth wage
Warre with the proudest big Italian,
That melts his heart in sugred sonneting.
Onely let him more sparingly make use
Of others wit, and use his owne the more:
That well may scorne base imitation.\textsuperscript{187}

Drayton's numerous allusions to Daniel are for the most part encomiastic. In Matilda (1594) he speaks of

Fair Rosamond, of all so highly graced,
Recorded in the lasting Booke of Fame,
And in our Sainted Legendarie placed,
By him who strives to stellifie her name,
Yet will some Matrons say she was to blame.

Through all the world bewitched with his ryme,
Yet all his skill cannot excuse her cryme.\textsuperscript{188}

Daniel is praised in Endimion and Phoebe (1595) as

thou the sweet Museus of these times,
Pardon my rugged and unfiled rymes,
Whose scarce invention is too meane and base,
When Delias glorious Muse dooth come in place.\textsuperscript{189}

In a sonnet appended to Englands Heroicall Epistles (1599) Drayton speaks of Daniel as one of the best poets of his kind:

Many there be excelling in this kind,
Whose well trick'd rimes with all invention swell,
Let each commend as best shall like his mind,
Some Sidney, Constable, some Daniell.
That thus their names familiarly I sing,

\textsuperscript{187} The Returne from Pernassus, Part II, I, ii, 241-46;
\textsuperscript{188} Drayton, op. cit., I, 214.
\textsuperscript{189} Ibid., I, 155.
Let none thinke them disparaged to be,
Poore men with reverence may speake of a
King.
And so may these be spoken of by me." 190

In 1627, however, when Drayton refers to Daniel in the
epistle to Henry Reynolds, his admiration is qualified,
perhaps reflecting public taste:

Amongst these Samuel Daniel, whom if I
May speake of, but to sensure doe denie,
Onely have heard some wisemen him rehearse,
To be too much Historian in verse;
His rimes were smooth, his meeters well did
close.
But yet his maner better fitted prose. 191

Contemporary allusions to Daniel show a pattern. The
erlier criticism, based on Delia and Rosamond, is usually
encomiastic, while the later criticism contains qualifi-
cations to the praise. The references to Daniel as "too
much Historian in verse" and as a poet whose "maner better
fitted prose" are based for the most part upon The Ciuill
Wars, the poem in which he wanted to "versifie the troth,
not Poetize." 192 In Daniel's maturer poetry we see less
and less of the lyricism found in Delia, and a heightened
awareness that it is "the function of a Poem, to discourse." 193

This increasing tendency toward reflective poetry as the
poet matured led to his triumphs of ethical poetry which we
find in the verse letters. The greater clarity and direct-
ness of his manner, which some critics felt was on the

190 Ibid., I, 485.
191 Ibid., III, 229.
192 Ciuill Wars, I, vi, 8; Grosart, II, 12.
193 Musophilus, line 998; Sprague, p. 97.
borderline between prose and poetry, was admirable suited for the verse epistle. Coleridge, in Biographia Literaria, notes this appropriateness: "This poet's well-merited epithet is that of the 'well-languaged Daniel;' but likewise, and by consent of his contemporaries no less than of all succeeding critics, the 'prosaic Daniel.' Yet those, who thus designate this wise and amiable writer, from the frequent incorrespondency of his diction to his metre in the majority of his compositions, not only deem them valuable and interesting on other accounts; but willingly admit, that there are to be found throughout his poems, and especially in his Epistles and in his Hymen's Triumph, many and exquisite specimens of that style which, as the neutral ground of prose and verse, is common to both." 194 Thus, those qualities which were criticized by Daniel's contemporaries when found in The Ciuill Wars are the same qualities which account for some of his finest poetry as we find it in Musophilus and the verse epistles.

Daniel's contemporaries usually praised him for the smoothness of his lines and the purity of his diction. These were the qualities, as well as his morality, which also appealed to Coleridge, one of Daniel's most appreciative and perceptive critics. Coleridge refers again and again to Daniel's diction: "Samuel Daniel, whose diction bears no mark of time, no distinction of age, which has

been, and as long as our language shall last, will be so far the language of the to-day and for ever, as that it is more intelligible to us, than the transitory fashions of our own particular age. A similar praise is due to his sentiments. No frequency of perusal can deprive them of their freshness. For though they are brought into the full day-light of every reader's comprehension; yet are they drawn up from depths which few in any age are privileged to visit, into which few in any age have courage or inclination to descend"; 195 "Read Daniel—the admirable Daniel—in his Civil Wars, and Triumphs of Hymen. The style and language are just such as any very pure and manly writer of the present day—Wordsworth, for example—would use; it seems quite modern in comparison with the style of Shakespeare"; 196 "Daniel is a superior man; his diction is preeminently pure—of that quality which I believe has always existed somewhere in society. It is just such English, without any alteration, as Wordsworth or Sir George Beaumont might have spoken or written in the present day." 197 Daniel's gravity and patriotism also appealed to Coleridge, who felt that "thousands of educated men would become more

195 Ibid., II, 119-20.
197 Ibid., p. 156.
sensible, fitter to be members of Parliament or ministers, by reading Daniel—and even those few who, quoad intellectum, only gain refreshment of notions already their own, must become better Englishmen."198

It is appropriate that Daniel's diction has received universal praise, for he strove throughout his life for greater conciseness, accuracy and clarity. He was indeed "something of a neo-classicist born before his time."199 This striving for more accurate expression can be seen most clearly in his revisions. Daniel was a poet who revised incessantly, and in his revisions we can see not only an Elizabethan poet in action,200 but the developing standards of a writer as he matures. In his preface "To the Reader" of the 1607 Certaine Small Workes, Daniel notes the importance of his revisions:

Behold once more with serious labor here
Have I refurnisht out this little frame,
Repaird some parts defective here and there,
And passages new added to the same,
Some rooms inlargd, made some les the they were
Like to the curious builder who this yeare
Puls downe, and alters what he did the last
As if the thing in doing were more deere
Then being done, & nothing likes thats past...

I may pull downe, raise, and reedifie
It is the building of my life the fee

199 Sprague, p. xxxii.
200 Sprague, p. xxxi.
Of Nature, all th'inheritance that I
Shall leave to those which must come after me
And all the care I have is but to see
These lodgings of my affections neatly dress'd
Wherein so many noble friends there be
Whose memories with mine must therein rest
And glad I am that I have lived to see
This edifice renewed, who do but long
To live t'mend.201

In general, Daniel's revisions 202 show a desire to correct what he considered technical errors, such as the mingling of feminine with masculine rhymes,203 and the dissyllabic -ion. in his striving for conciseness, Daniel omitted many expletives and avoided the use of double adjectives; thus, his "sad and mornefull Songes" (Delia, III, 2) of 1592 become "lamentable" in 1601, and his "O then loue I" (Delia, IX, 14) is toned down to "Then do I loue." In his increasing concern for accuracy, Daniel was sometimes guilty of being overly literal: in the 1599 edition of Musophilus he could say, "How many thousands never heard the name / Of Sydney, or of Spencer, or their bookes?" (11. 440-1), but in 1607 he felt it necessary to change "heard" to "weigh." The results of such revision,

201 Lines 2-10, 19-29; Sprague, p. 3.
202 Daniel's revisions are discussed by Sprague, pp. xxxi-xxxiii.
203 Cf. Daniel, A Defence of Ryme, ll. 969-78; Sprague, pp. 156-57.
especially in Delia, are not always happy, for the lyricism of the sonnet sequence must suffer. For example: in 1591 Daniel wrote, "Whiles dearest blood my fierie passions sealeth"; in 1592 the line became "Whilst my best blood my younge despiers sealeth"; and by 1594 the line had been changed to "whilst age vpon my wasted body steales."\textsuperscript{204} The loss of passion which such revision shows is not an improvement. Such revisions do show, however, Daniel's development from the hyperbolic Elizabethan sonneteer to the thoughtful, concise and restrained writer of verse epistles.

If Daniel's revisions show a tendency toward the exactness of eighteenth-century neo-classicism, his themes place him well within the stream of sixteenth-century humanism. Daniel felt strongly the relationship between "verse and vertue,"\textsuperscript{205} and in most of his work he is consciously attempting to inculcate virtue. In Certaine Epistles, for example, particular classical virtues are discussed and applied to persons in high estate. In these epistles Daniel is urging or commenting on virtuous action. The good life that the humanists found in virtuous, active service to the state is the theme of Vlisses and the Syren and is the basis of such lines as the following from

\textsuperscript{205} "To the Reader," 1. 61, Certaine Small Workes, 1607; Sprague, p. 4.
Musophilus (ll. 922-24):

No state standes sure but on the grounds of Right
Of vertue, knowledge, judgement to preserue,
And all the powres of learnings requisite.

Like the earlier humanists Daniel believes that learning is the basis of the power that guides a state, so he can apostrophize,

Powre aboue powres, O heavenly Eloquence,
That with the strong reine of commanding words,
Dost manage, guide, and master th' eminence
Of mens affections, more then all their swords. 206

Like many other Elizabethans and later humanists, Daniel was intensely patriotic. His love for his country and its past is seen throughout the pages of The Ciuill Wars and The History of England, and is reflected in A Defence of Ryme:

Let vs go no further, but looke vpoun the wonderfull Architecture of this state of England, and see whether they were deformed times, that could glue it such a forme. Where there is no one the least pillar of Maiestie, but was set with most profound judgement and borne vp with the iust covenienci of Prince and people. No Court of Justice, but laide by the Rule and Square of Nature, and the best of the best commonwealths that euer were in the world. So strong and substantial, as it hath stood against al the storms of factions, both of beliefe & ambition, which so powerfully beat vpon it, and all the tempestuous alterations of humorous times whataeuer. Being continually in all ages

206 Musophilus, ll. 939-42; Sprague, p. 96.
Daniel's patriotism included a recognition of English achievements in literature. In his dedication of *Cleopatra* to the Countess of Pembroke, he writes:

> O that the Ocean did not bound our stile Within these strict and narrow limits so: But that the melodie of our sweete Ile, Might now be heard to Tyber, Arne, and Po: That they might know how far Thames doth out-go The Musike of declined Italy: And listening to our Songs another while, Might learne of thee, their notes to purifie.208

Daniel's great faith in the future of the English language animates a memorable and prophetic passage which reflects the discoveries in the New World:

> And who in time knowes whither we may vent The treasure of our tongue, to what strange shores This gaine of our best glorie shall be sent. T'Inrich vunknowing Nations with our stores? What world in th'yet vnformed Occident May come refin'd with the accents that are ours?209

Daniel was at one with his age in his faith in the immortality of his work. Although he recognized that he was not among the best poets,

> But, (Madam,) this doth animate my mind

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207 Lines 583-99; Sprague, pp. 145-6.
208 Lines 73-80; Grosart, III, 26.
209 *Musophilus*, ll. 957-62; Sprague, p. 96.
That yet I shall be read among the rest,
And though I doe not to perfection grow,
Yet something shall I be, though not the best, 210
yet he could say:

I know I shalbe read, among the rest
So long as men speake english, and so long
As verse and vertue shalbe in request
Or grace to honest industry belong. 211

Although Daniel as a poet is not noted for his fire or passion, at his best and most mature he is one of the finest reflective poets of his time. As Lowell said, "There is an equable dignity in his thought and sentiment such as we rarely meet. His best poems always remind me of a table-land, where, because all is so level, we are apt to forget on how lofty a piano we are standing." 212 The gravity and nobility of thought found in Daniel's mature poetry must command our respect and admiration. Indeed, C.S. Lewis notes that

Daniel is, in the nineteenth-century sense of the words, a poet of ideas. There had of course been ideas in Chaucer, and Spenser: but I think those poets felt themselves to be simply transmitting an inherited and accepted wisdom. There are, again, plenty of ideas in Donne, but they are, in my opinion, treated merely as the tools of his peculiar rhetoric: he was not

210 "Dedication" of Cleopatra, ll. 109-12; Grosart, III, 27.
211 "To the Reader," ll. 59-62, Certaine Small Workes, 1607; Sprague, p. 4.
interested in their truth or falsehood. But Daniel actually thinks in verse: thinks deeply, ardously, and perhaps with some originality. This is something quite different from Dryden's power of neatly poetizing all the stock arguments for the side on which he is briefed. Dryden states: Daniel can doubt and wrestle. It is no necessary quality in a poet, and Daniel's thinking is not always poetical. But, its result is that though Daniel is no one of our greatest poets he is the most interesting man of letters whom that century produced in England.213

The combination of ethical seriousness and melodious phrasing which is so characteristic of Daniel's mature work is found to a marked degree in his verse epistles, those poems which have been considered his highest achievements and his most characteristic and attractive contribution to poetry.214

III

A Letter from Octavia has not received the high praise that is accorded to Certaine Epistles. Those critics and literary historians who have considered it differ sharply in their evaluations. Although Sprague dismisses the poem as "dismal,"216 it is sometimes placed among Daniel's best

216 Sprague, p. xx.
work. And again, when Sprague considers the letter "an inferior Rosamond," he is countered by C.S. Lewis, who feels that it is "more gracefully executed than the Rosamond."

Perhaps one of the reasons for critical disagreement concerning this poem is its subdued tone. The verse itself does not soar, but is a competent, flowing ottava rima. Daniel's achievement lies in the subordination of his verse form to his thought. The reader is apt to forget the subtle craftsmanship of the verse, as it does not intrude upon the singular excellence of the poem, which is the sensitive portrayal of Octavia herself.

In his characterization of Octavia, Daniel has fortunately avoided the pitfalls of presenting a cold virtue. Indeed, Octavia emerges, not as a wooden figure of an outraged empress, but as a warm woman revealing her hurt and offering her love and forgiveness to the husband who has wronged her. In many of his poems Daniel shows an unusual sensitivity for the feelings and situations of woman. His life-long association with the illustrious women of his age bore fruit in his characterizations of Rosamond and Cleopatra and can be seen in his ever greater sympathy with

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217 The Cambridge History of English Literature, IV, 159; Wiffen, op. cit., II, 95.
218 Sprague, p. xviii.
219 Lewis, op. cit., p. 528.
Octavia. In the character of Octavia, Daniel found an appropriate vehicle for his essential morality and nobility of thought. The conception of Octavia as a lofty character had been present in Daniel's source, Plutarch's "Life of Marcus Antonius," and Daniel followed the narrative of his source closely, but included in his poem Octavia's interesting digressions on the situation of women. In her letter, Octavia speaks of the subordinate position of women:

Vnequall partage to b'allowed no share
Of power to do of lifes best benefite... You can be onely heard whilst we are taught
To hold our peace, and not to exercise
The powers of our beat parts.
(ll. 140-1, 153-5)

She reflects upon the inevitable loneliness arising from such a situation:

We in this prison of our selues confin'd
Must here shut vp with our own passions liue
Turn'd in vpon vs,
(ll. 158-60)

and she cries out against the double standard of behavior when she asks, "What? are there bars for vs, no bounds for you?" (l. 176).

Daniel conceives of the letter as being written after Octavia had tried to take supplies to Antony for his intended war with Parthia, but had been stopped at Athens. Thus, the picture of the long-suffering wife is intensified, and

220 Parallel passages from North's translation of the "Life" are given in the explanatory notes.
the letter is given greater dramatic value as Octavia writes her plea to her husband with the catastrophe of Actium looming near.

It is possible that A Letter from Octavia influenced Shakespeare in his far greater work, Antony and Cleopatra. Several critics have noted similarities of phrasing and idea which are not found in Plutarch, the common source. In the "Argument" to the poem, for example, Daniel mentions "the fetters of Aegypt" (l. 15), and Shakespeare seems to be echoing the phrase when Antony resolves:

> These strong Egyptian fetters I must break,  
> Or lose myself in dotage.221

In the same "Argument" Antony is described as "having his heart turned Eastward whither the point of his desires were directed" (ll. 18-19). It has been suggested 222 that Shakespeare also borrowed from these lines when Antony says, "I' th' East my pleasure lies" (II, iii, 40), for in Plutarch Antony is not obsessed by Cleopatra during the first years of his marriage to Octavia. Another possible borrowing by Shakespeare has been noted.223

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imagines Antony's embarrassment at receiving her letter in Cleopatra's presence:

Whilst proud disdainfull she, gessing from whome
The message came, and what the cause hath beene,
Wil skorning say, faith, this comes from your Deere,
Now sir you must be shent for staying heere.

(11. 18-21)

Although this incident is not in North's Plutarch, Shakespeare has a similar situation when Cleopatra taunts Antony after a messenger has arrived from Rome: she suggests that "Fulvia perchance is angry" or that "scarce-bearded Caesar" has sent his "powerful mandate"; and then she teases her lover:

Thou blusheest, Antony, and that blood of thine
Is Caesar's homager; else so thy cheek pays shame
When shrill-tongued Fulvia scolds.

(I,i,30-32)

A Letter from Octavia was appropriately dedicated to Daniel's patroness, Margaret, Countess of Cumberland. This distinguished lady was of the same strong moral fibre as Octavia, and, like the Roman empress, was ill-used by her profligate husband. In some copies of Certaine Small Poems (1605), however, the original dedication to the Countess of Cumberland is cancelled and a dedication to

224 For Lady Margaret's life, see explanatory notes below, p. 250-54.
Lady Bedford substituted.225 There is a possible explanation for this substitution. Lady Margaret's husband, the Earl of Cumberland, died in 1605, after a death-bed reconciliation with his wife. As the dedication was then no longer appropriate, and, indeed, might open old wounds for the newly widowed lady, it was cancelled in some copies of the 1605 edition. While the dedication to Lady Bedford is not particularly appropriate, at least it could not revive old hurts, and perhaps Daniel was merely complimenting one of the most illustrious and distinguished ladies of the court circle. The substitution of the dedication to Lady Bedford was not repeated in 1607 or in later editions, possibly because, after the lapse of two years, such a substitution was not necessary to save the feelings of the Countess of Cumberland.

A Letter from Octauia was first printed in 1599. As we have seen earlier, Octauia was not Daniel's first treatment of the events concerning Antony: in 1594 he had published his play Cleopatra, in which the story begins after the death of Antony and has the interest centered on the Egyptian queen. Daniel's play, written as a companion piece to Lady Pembroke's translation of Garnier's Antonie,
was followed in October 1598\textsuperscript{226} by Samuel Brandon's \textit{The Tragicomédie of the Virtuous Octavia}, a play closely modeled in form on Daniel's \textit{Cleopatra}.\textsuperscript{227} Very little is known about Brandon, but Alexander Witherspoon conjectures that "Brandon was certainly familiar with the works of Daniel, and it is highly probable that they were friends."	extsuperscript{228}

The \textit{Virtuous Octavia} was published with two verse epistles written in a loose ballad meter: "Octauia to Antonius" and "Antonius to Octauia." Since they were published only three months before Daniel's \textit{Letter} it is highly improbable that Brandon's work influenced Daniel. Daniel had already dealt with the Antony and Cleopatra story in a work which influenced Brandon, and there is also the possibility that Brandon may have seen an early draft of the \textit{Letter} from Octauia. However, in his dedication Brandon states that he has "lately extracted the memory of Octauia out of the ashes of oblivion,"\textsuperscript{229} implying that he had no recourse to an early version of Daniel's poem.

It is possible that the two treatments of the story were independent of each other, for there are great differences of approach. Brandon lacks the sensitive in-

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[226]{\textit{Stationers' Register}, III, 127.}
\footnotetext[227]{ Cf. Witherspoon, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 112-15.}
\footnotetext[228]{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 112.}
\footnotetext[229]{Samuel Brandon, \textit{The Virtuous Octavia} (Malone Society Reprints, 1909), sig. F/F. All quotations from Brandon are from this edition.}
\end{footnotes}
sight into character which is one of the finest things in Daniel's poem. Brandon's Octavia is not only a paragon of virtue, she is almost a personification of abstract virtue. She never becomes the warm human being of flesh and blood which Daniel created. Daniel created a woman; if Brandon's Octavia ever becomes human at all, it is as an empress only, not as a woman.

The tone of Brandon's play is shown in the following lines of Octavia:

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Yecld, all things yecld, to vertues sacred name.
How then? euen thus, with patience make thee strong,
The heauens are iust, let them reuenge thy wrong.
Cruell to me, selfe-wronging Antony,
Thy follie shall not make Octauia sinne:
Ile be as true in vertuous constancie,
as thou art false and infamous therein.
Ile be as famous for a vertuous wife,
As thou notorious for so leawd a life.
(ll. 1085-93)
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The cold righteousness of Brandon's heroine is so strongly marked that the reader is unconvinced when she adds that if Antony will return, she will love him. The entire play seems to be a treatise on the abstractions, Virtue and Sin, Love and Lust.

The play does include lines which remind one of Daniel: Brandon's lines, "O poore Octavia, how thy state affordes, / Nought but despaire to stand within thy resche" (ll. 660-61), may be compared with Daniel's "For now poore hart, there's nothing in the waie / Remaines to
stand betwixt despaire and thee" (ll. 63-4). When Brandon writes, "Yet with this strange Dylemma workes my spight, / Who s'euere winne Octavia is vndone" (ll. 1582-83), Daniel says, "My bloud said I with either of you goes, / Who euere win, I shall be sure to lose" (ll. 290-291). Some of the phrases which recall Daniel's style could be explained by Brandon's familiarity with Cleopatra. However, even granting that both men had a common source, North's Plutarch, there are remarkable similarities in phrasing. We should note, however, that although Brandon's letter from Octavia is similar in tone to his play, the letter of a coldly righteous wife to her erring husband, there is no similarity in phrasing between Brandon's and Daniel's letters.

In spite of these resemblances in phraseology, there is such a vast difference in the two treatments of the story that we cannot assume any direct imitation. However, we must consider the possibility that Brandon's work suggested to Daniel a treatment of Octavia. We may infer from the text in the Arundel MS. that an early version of Daniel's poem existed. Whether this early version was made before October 1598, we cannot say with certainty, but since the

230 These passages are evidently based on a passage in North's Plutarch: "But for me, on which side soever victorie fall, my state can be but most miserable still," VI (Shakespeare Head Press, 1928), 338. The similarity in phrasing is striking even if we acknowledge the common source.
1599 version shows so many revisions it seems likely that the earlier draft pre-dated October 1598. At least we can conclude that the possible existence of the earlier version casts considerable doubt upon Brandon's influence on Daniel's poem.

Although the 1599 edition of *The Poeticall Essayes* contains a printed version of *A Letter from Octauia*, it is probable that the poem also had a separate printing in that year. In *The Poeticall Essayes* the poem has a separate title page and separate signatures. Since Simon Waterson, Daniel's publisher, is known to have bound left-over copies of Daniel's poems in this edition, it is quite possible that extra copies of the separately printed *Octauia* were also remaindered by being included in the collection. Further support of this possibility is given by the separate entry in the Stationers' Register:

9 Januarij [1598/99]
Symon waterson Entred for hi a copie
under the
handes of master Harsnet and the Wardens,
a booke called *A Letter sent from Octavia to her husband Marcus Anthonius Into Egipt...* vjd.232

232 Stationers' Register, III, 134.
Both Corser and the White Catalogue\textsuperscript{233} list separate printings of \textit{Octavia}, and there is a copy of the poem bound with the 1599 edition of \textit{Cleopatra} in the University of Pennsylvania library.\textsuperscript{234} Although these copies may be merely pages from \textit{The Posticall Essayes}, their existence, when combined with the Stationers' Register entry and the poem's separate title-page and signatures in \textit{The Posticall Essayes}, makes the separate printing of the poem highly probable.

The poem was reprinted in 1601, 1605, 1607, 1611, and 1623.\textsuperscript{235} Although it is unusual for Daniel, the texts of the later editions do not show signs of revision. The text of 1607 contains more variants than the other texts, but even these are such as a printer might make.

The poem is also included in the Arundel MS., ff. 159\textsuperscript{v}-160\textsuperscript{v}. The poem is written in double columns in a very small script, the hand of Sir John Harrington.\textsuperscript{236} The variants


\textsuperscript{234} Call number: Rare Book EC. D2268.5991. This copy yields no variants from the text that appears in \textit{The Posticall Essayes}.

contained in this version are numerous and interesting. Stanzas VIII and IX are transposed in the manuscript. Now there are two alternatives that might explain this transposition: either that Daniel had first written the poem using the Arundel arrangement and then decided that the transposition was more effective logically and dramatically; or that Sir John Harington skipped VIII when he was copying and, realizing his error after he had copied IX, included the earlier stanza out of place and forgot to note the error in the margin. This second explanation, however, seems overly ingenious; the rest of the manuscript copy of the poem shows Sir John to have been a careful copyist, so it is likely that he would have marked such an error. It is more probable that the Arundel text correctly represents an earlier version, which Daniel revised before printing. In addition to the greater logical effectiveness brought about by the transposition of the stanzas, Daniel could avoid a jarring repetition of vowel sounds: Stanza VII ends with the sounds newe, true, vntrue; in the Arundel version the repetition becomes monotonous when the next line begins, "Which makes me as I do" (my italics). Such excessive repetition is avoided in the printed version.

There are seven stanzas of the 1599 version missing from the manuscript. The manuscript itself seems to have been copied from an earlier version of the poem. Since Sir
John Harington also lived in Somersetshire and knew Daniel well enough to call him "my good friend," it is quite possible that Harington had access to an authoritative early draft. As we said before, Daniel revised his work a great deal; in a comparison between the readings of the manuscript and the printed version we may have the opportunity of watching this revision. Stanzas XVI-XVIII are omitted from the manuscript: I suggest that Daniel added the three stanzas in a later draft in order to heighten the unfair double standard under which women must suffer. Not only does this moralizing add to the formality of the poem, but it heightens its effectiveness, for without these additional stanzas we have the possibility of the woman giving into her desires which we find in XIX following directly the lines which cry out against false charges of the infidelity of woman ("Thogh our life with thousand..."

237 Of honest Theft. To my good friend Master Samuel Daniel.

Proud Paulas late my secrecies revealing,
Hath told I got some good conceits by stealing.
But where got he those double Pistolets,
With which good clothes, good fare, good land he gets?
Tush, those, he saith, came by a man of warre,
That brought a Prize of price, from countries farre.
Then, fellow Thiefe, let's shake together hands,
Sith both our wares are filcht from forren lands.
You'll spoile the Spaniards, by your writ of Mart:
And I the Romanes robb, by wit, and Art.

proofs shews no"). The addition of the three stanzas helps to avoid this jarring juxtaposition and makes for a smoother transition.

Stanza XXIV is omitted in the manuscript. Perhaps Daniel added this stanza in a later draft to moralize on Antony's sin. Again we have an instance of a trend toward sententiousness. Indeed, most of the revisions of the poem show a change from the personal and intimate to the more formal and general. In the later version there is more emphasis on the wronged Octavia, and her appeal is less to Antony's affection and more to his sense of right and to his public honor.

By including Stanza XXIV in the printed version Daniel has again avoided an awkward juxtaposition: in the last line of XXIII the "you" refers to womankind; if Stanza XXIV is omitted, the "thou" of the very next line refers to Antony--a confusing shift of subject. By including the stanza on Antony's sin, Daniel has smoothed his transition from "women" to "Antony."

In the Arundel MS, a stanza is inserted between XLIII and XLIV. By omitting this stanza in later versions Daniel has tightened his poem. The stanza adds nothing that is not stated in XLIII and XLIV. By the omission of the superfluous stanza, Octavia's cry "Cannot the busie world let me alone" is given greater dramatic intensity.
Stanzas XLVII to XLIX are omitted in the manuscript.

I think it is likely that in the earlier version Daniel merely allowed the coming "horror" and "tempests" which Octavia foresees to stand without amplification. How much more effective is the ominous dream in which the disaster at Actium is foreshadowed! The addition of the prophetic dream provides a background of approaching doom: the lowering shadow of world-shaking conflict and Cleopatra's betrayal. This heightening of the impending catastrophe makes Octavia's final plea, "Come, come away from wrong, from craft, from toil, / Possess thine own with right, with truth, with peace," not only the cry of an abandoned wife, but the call of sanity and peace to a doomed man.

The other variants between the 1599 edition and the manuscript are of such a kind as to strengthen the belief that Harington copied an earlier version of the poem. There seems to be no doubt that the 1599 was Daniel's final version, for although it was reprinted frequently during his lifetime, he did not revise it. The variants between the 1599 version and the manuscript are those which an author would make as he revised his poem: single words are emended in order to improve the meaning or rhythm of the line; changes are made for more effective phrasing (ll. 170, 177, 406); some inversions are expunged (ll. 46, 57, 68); and lines are emended for greater smoothness (ll. 48, 104, 206,
235, 302). A glance at the table of variants will provide other examples of these revisions. As I have indicated, the variants between the manuscript and the printed version are too numerous and important for the two versions to have been derived from the same manuscript source. It would seem, then, that the Arundel text is based upon an early manuscript version of the poem which has since been lost.

There have been few modern editions of the Letter from Octauia. The poem was included in the two-volume edition of Daniel's works which was published in 1718. In this edition the spelling, capitalization, and punctuation are modernized. The editor has used the 1623 version as his copy-text, although he is not completely faithful to his base.

The poem also appears in Robert Anderson's The Works of the British Poets (1795). This is a corrupt text evidently based on the 1718 edition. Alexander Chalmers' 1810 edition of The Works of the English Poets, from Chaucer to Cowper includes the poem and also follows the

238 The Poetical Works of Mr. Samuel Daniel, Author of the English History. To which is prefix'd Memoirs of his Life and Writings, I (London: R. Gosling, W. Mears, J. Browne, 1718), 65-84.
1718 readings. The poem occurs in Alexander Grosart's 1885 edition of Daniel's Works. Grosart bases his text on the 1623 version; he retains the original spelling, but gives no variants or explanatory notes. Although Grosart's readings can have no authority in establishing the text, I have collated his text and include it in the table of variants for those people who might be interested in the most authoritative modern edition. Because the Letter from Octavia is not one of Daniel's more popular poems, it has been excluded from Beeching's and Sprague's selections of Daniel's poetry.

242 Grosart, I, 115-38.
The Certaine Epistles of 1603 are the basis for most of the critical praise of Daniel's verse letters. Douglas Bush, for example, while praising the "noble series of Horatian epistles," states that in those to the Countesses of Bedford and Cumberland "Daniel achieved the perfect statement of his Christian Stoicism." These are the poems which are considered "characteristic poems of Daniel's maturity" and his "highest feats."

The six verse epistles which form this collection are unlike the Horatian epistles which preceded them. The urbane chattiness of Wyatt's and Lodge's epistles, while similar to Horace, is very unlike the elevated formality of Daniel's verse letters. Indeed, although the Epistles are said to be "in the manner of Horace," they are curiously unlike Horace in tone. The autobiographical allusions and references to the commonplaces of everyday life which add so much to the charm of Horace's Epistles are notably lacking in Daniel's verse letters. In Daniel's Epistles a moral virtue is discussed and applied to the particular personage to whom the epistle is addressed, but

244 Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, p. 93.
245 Sprague, p. xxii.
246 Brooke, op. cit., p. 402.
247 Cf. above, p. 1.
the poet keeps his usual reserve and does not intrude the
details of his life upon the poem. Indeed, the pronoun "I"
does not occur at all in the epistles to Sir Thomas Egerton,
to the Earl of Southampton, to the Countess of Bedford, or
to the Lady Anne Clifford, and occurs only once in each of
the other two poems, to Lord Henry Howard, and to the
Countess of Cumberland. Daniel's verse epistles have the
formality, dignity, and ethical tone of the moral essay,
and although they are addressed to specific persons and
discuss virtues appropriate to the recipient's life, they
lack the personal quality of a letter. Much of this tone
may be explained by the dignity and sobriety of Daniel's
thought, but the academic exercises that he wrote in school
must also have had their influence on his exposition of
philosophical subjects. Many of these verse letters show
that at least one of Daniel's sources was Seneca's Moral
Essays. Although Daniel avoids the many examples that
Seneca supplies and thus removes his poems from the specific,
the source helps to account for the tone of the Epistles.
Daniel's verse letters are akin to the prose essay,
but he does not seem to have been directly influenced by
either Montaigne249 or Bacon. Miss Shackford has said250

249 He certainly knew Montaigne's work, for he wrote a
commendatory poem for Florio's translation.
250 Shackford, op. cit., p. 181.
that Bacon's *Essays* influenced Daniel, but she fails to specify just what these influences are. A comparison of the works of both men does not readily provide support for her assertion. What similarities one finds can be explained by Daniel's Senecan source and the academic exercises of the schools.

In style and tone Daniel's *Epistles* are unlike the verse letters of Donne, Jonson, and Drayton. The majority of Donne's thirty-five *Letters to Several Personages* (1633) were written from 1596/7 to 1607/8, and the rest belong to the next six years.251 These poems fall into two groups: those personal, essentially Horatian epistles written to friends; and the extravagant eulogies addressed to various patronesses. Because both Donne and Daniel wrote verse epistles to the Countess of Bedford, Donne's letters252 to this lady provide good examples for a comparison of the tone of the two poets. Donne's poems to Lady Lucy are filled with the most extreme flattery. He addresses her as a goddess:

> Reason is our Soul's left hand, Faith her right
> By these we reach divinity, that's you.253

Her friends are "Saints" (l. 9), and she is "God's master-

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252 Written after 1607/8; *Loc. cit.*
peece" (l. 33). In another poem she is Virtue at court and Beauty in the country; she is, indeed, above the sun:

Out from your chariot, morning breaks at night,
And falsifies both computations so;
Since a new world doth rise here from your light,
We your new creatures, by new reckonings goe.
This showes that you from nature lothly stray,
That suffer not an artificiall day.

In this you have made the Court the Antipodes,
And will'd your Delegate, the vulgar Sunne,
To doe profance autummall offices,
Whilst here to you, wee sacrificials runne;
And whether Priests, or Organs, you wee' obey,
We sound your influence, and your Dictates say.254

The glittering display of wit and extravagant flattery which we see here is characteristic of Donne's poems to noble ladies and provides a striking contrast to the sober good taste with which Daniel addresses his patronesses.

Ben Jonson's epistles are scattered through The Forrest and The Vnder-wood. Except for his "Epistle to Elizabeth Countesse of Rutland,"255 the verse letters of Jonson which can be dated were written after the publication of Daniel's Certaine Epistles.256 Jonson's verse letters are more

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255 The Forrest, XII; Jonson, op. cit., VIII, 113-16. Written 1599; sent New Year's Day, 1600; Ibid., IX, 43-44.
256 Ibid., IX, 55-164.
purely Horatian than either Daniel's or Donne's. They abound in personal allusions; indeed, in these poems one can often find out more about the poet's life than that of the person he is addressing. Although in autobiographical allusions and love of country Jonson's epistles are akin to those of Horace, Jonson is sometimes ill-natured and blustering. Jonson's verse, however, has a swift movement and conversational tone which contrasts with the stately formality of Daniel and the witty roughness of Donne's verse. This tone in Jonson's poetry can be seen in the opening lines of his "Epistle to Katherine, Lady Aubigny":

'Tis growne almost a danger to speake true
Of any good minde, now: There are so few.

Jonson continues for eighteen lines to expand on his own position as an upholder of virtue before he addresses Lady Aubigny with, "I, Madame, am become your praiser."

conversational tone and the frequent allusions to his own life distinguish Jonson's verse letters from the formal and restrained epistles of Daniel.

The seven epistles which are included in Drayton's *Elegies upon Sundry Occasions* were probably written around 1621-2. The topical references and the conversational tone of these poems read more like actual letters than do the formal treatises of Daniel. By constant direct address throughout the epistle, Drayton keeps the recipient before the reader's eye. Even in the epistle "To my Dearely-loved Friend Henery Reynolds Esquire, on Poets and Poesie," which because of its subject matter is less familiar and occasional than some of his other verse letters, Drayton begins on a conversational note:

My dearely loved friend how oft have we,
In winter evenings (meaning to be free,)
To some well chosen place us'd to retire.262

Mrs. Tillotson notes, "Some of the best familiar talking verse of the century is here; such diverse and pervasive influences as the epistles and elegies of Donne and Jonson and the satires of Wither converge in Drayton, at a time when his own style is fixed and flexible enough to keep its individuality. His past experience in the verse-letter form serves him well; the structure is firm, the transitions

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easy, and the balance between the casual and considered is perfectly held."263

If we see in Drayton's Elegies the influence of Jonson and of Donne, we cannot find here the influence of Daniel's Epistles. Although the publication of Daniel's Certaine Epistles preceded those of Donne, Jonson, and Drayton, Daniel does not seem to have influenced these later epistle writers. Indeed, Daniel's verse letters seem to have had little influence on the English verse epistle, for, as Miss Shackford points out,264 the most famous of the later verse letters are essentially Horatian. While it is true that such epistles as Dryden's epistle "To my Honoured Kinsman John Driden," Addison's "Letter from Italy," and Pope's "Epistle to Arbuthnot," to name but a few examples, are essentially Horatian, yet Dryden's Religio Laici and Pope's Epistles to Several Persons, later known as the Moral Essays, approach more nearly the formal philosophical treatise in epistolary form that we find in Daniel's Certaine Epistles.

Daniel's verse letters lie outside the main stream of English verse epistles, not only in tone, but in the verse forms he adapted to the verse letter. The heroic couplet was the verse form used by most writers of epistles. Lodge had shown a predilection for the couplet in his epistles,

263 Ibid., V, 213.
264 Shackford, op. cit., p. 181.
and of Donne's thirty-five letters, seventeen use the couplet, while the rest are in varied forms. Most of Jonson's and Drayton's epistles use the couplet, and it was a decided favorite with later epistle writers. Wyatt, however, had introduced the Italian terza rima into English in his verse letters, and Daniel followed this precedent by adapting Italian verse forms for some of his epistles. In his poems to Sir Thomas Egerton and to the Earl of Southampton, Daniel utilizes the ottava rima, a form which Wyatt had introduced into English, and one which Daniel had used in his Letter from Octavia and in his Ciuill Wars. In the epistle to the Countess of Cumberland, Daniel uses a variation of the ottava rima, rhyming his eight-line stanza abccabbcdd. The epistle to the Countess of Bedford employs another Italian form, the terza rima which Wyatt had used. Although the two remaining epistles do not use Italian forms, they do not employ the heroic couplet: the epistle to Lord Henry Howard rhymes ababab; and the epistle to Lady Anne Clifford, although irregular, echoes the sonnet form. Daniel would not have appreciated the heroic couplet; the form is too delimiting for his expansive thought. And for aesthetic reasons he preferred to vary some of his Italian forms so that the rhymes would not be too close. He says in his Defence of Ryme:

And to auoyde this ouer-glutting the eare
with that alwayes certaine, and ful
incounter of Ryme, I have assaid in some of my Epistles to alter the usual place of meeting, and to sette it further off by one Verse, to trie how I could disuse my owne eare and to ease it of this continuell burthen, which indeed seems to surcharge it a little too much, but as yet I cannot come to please my selfe therein: this alternate or crosse Ryme holding still the best place in my affection.\textsuperscript{265}

The first poem in Certaine Epistles, the verse letter to Sir Thomas Egerton, is, as Miss Shackford points out,\textsuperscript{266} "more analytic than poetical." Daniel has given us a carefully worked-out essay on perfect justice and equity and applied it appropriately to the Lord Keeper. The ideas of the poem are similar to those in Book V of Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics, and Daniel's indebtedness to Aristotle is given further confirmation by his use of the Aristotelian image of the Lesbian square.\textsuperscript{267} To Aristotle, justice is the mean between extremes. In Chapter III of the fifth book of the Ethics he says, "the unjust is what violates the proportion; for the proportional is intermediate, and the just is proportional," and later, "this, then, is what the just is--the proportional; the unjust is what violates the proportion."\textsuperscript{268} Reflecting upon this concept of justice,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[265] Lines 959–68; Sprague, p. 156.
\item[266] Shackford, op. cit., p. 193.
\item[267] Noted by Shackford. Ibid., p. 194.
\end{footnotes}
Daniel refers to Egerton as the isthmus dividing the two oceans "Of Rigor and confus'd Uncertaintie." Conversely, in Aristotle's Ethics injustice is contrary to proportion and the mean: "injustice on the other hand is similarly related to the unjust, which is excess and defect, contrary to proportion, of the useful or hurtful." Daniel uses this concept to emphasize the injustice which often arises from the rigor of statutory law, for

If fixed statutory law can lead to injustice, then perfect justice must be equitable, must maintain "an equall parallell / Just with th'occasions of humanitie" (ll. 133-34). Again we must go to Aristotle for a similar idea. To Daniel equity is better than "surly Law"; to Aristotle:

The equitable, though it is better than one kind of justice, yet is just, and it is not as being a different class of thing that it is better than the just. The same thing, then, is just and equitable, and while both are good the equitable is superior. What creates the problem is that the equitable is just, but not the legally just but a correction of legal justice. The reason is that all law is universal but about some things it is not possible to make a universal statement which shall be correct . . . Hence the equitable is just, and better than one kind of justice--not better than absolute justice but better than the

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269 Ibid., p. 1012.
error that arises from the absoluteness of the statement. And this is the nature of the equitable, a correction of law where it is defective owing to its universality.270

Both Aristotle and Daniel use the metaphor of the Lesbian rule to illustrate equity. To Daniel, equity "is that Lesbian square, that building fit, / Plies to the worke, not forc' th the worke to it" (ll. 131-2). Aristotle says: "for when the thing is indefinite the rule also is indefinite, like the leaden rule used in making the Lesbian mounding; the rule adapts itself to the shape of the stone and is not rigid, and so too the decree is adapted to the facts."271 The similarity of ideas and the use of the building metaphor show that Daniel used Aristotle's Ethics as a source for this poem.

The similar concept of justice and equity can be found in Book V of The Faerie Queene.272 The particular example of equity is found in the episode in Canto IV concerning the two brothers, Amidas and Bracidas, to whose islands the sea brought land and wealth. A more symbolic treatment of equity and justice is found in Canto VII: here Isis is "that part of justice which is equity."273 Her

270 Ibid., p. 1020.
271 Loc. cit.
One foote was set uppon the crocodile,  
And on the ground the other fast did  
stand,  
So meaning to supprese both forged guile  
And open force.  

(V, vii, 7, 1-4)

The crocodile also represents Arthegall or Justice, so we can see the relationship between equity and justice:

For that same crocodile Osyris is,  
That under Isis feete doth sleepe for ever:  
To shew that clemence oft, in things amis,  
Restraines those sterne behests and cruell doomes of his.  

(V, vii, 2?: 6-9)

Equity is an essential part of Spenser's conception of justice. Arthegall had been taught by Astraea, the goddess of justice,

to weigh both right and wrong  
in equall balance with due recompence,  
And equitle to measure out along,  
According to the line of Conscience,  
When so it needs with rigour to dispence.  

(V, 1, 7, 1-4)

And this was "all the discipline of justice" (V, 1, 7, 9) she taught him. I do not mean to imply that Daniel used Spenser as a source for his epistle. Both poets seem to be indebted to Aristotle. However, the treatment in The Faerie Queene gives us another example of the Renaissance interest in the relationship between equity and justice.

Since Sir Thomas Egerton was appointed Lord Keeper on May 6, 1596,274 we can be sure that Daniel's epistle was

274 For Egerton's life, see explanatory notes below, pp 218-28.
written after that date. Although it is not possible to
date the writing of this poem any more exactly than between
1596 and 1603, the tone with which Daniel addresses Egerton
suggests a date shortly after 1596. Daniel lauds the
appropriateness of Egerton's appointment to the post of
Lord Keeper (ll. 5-7, 197-200), an observation which one
suspects would be made to a statesman who had not held his
office for a long period of time.

The epistle to Lord Henry Howard is primarily an essay
on upright action. Like the epistle to Sir Thomas Egerton,
this poem is more analytic than poetical, being an
analysis of whether crafty means are over justified. The
theme of the poem may be stated in a few lines:

For sure those actions which do fairely runne
In the right line of Honor, still are those
That get most cleane, and safest to their end.

(ll. 23-25)

This theme must have been of more than passing interest to
Daniel, for he also discusses it in Musophilus (ll. 885-926):

When it shall not be held wisedome to be
Privately made, and publiquely vndon:
But sound deseignes that judgment shal
decree
Out of a true discern, of the cleare wayes

That lie direct, with safe-going equitie
Imbrouyling not their owne & others dayes.
Extending forth their providence beyond
The circuit of their owne particular;
That euen the ignorant may understand
How that deceit is but a cauiller,
And true unto it selfe can neuer stand,
But stil must with her owne conclusions war.
Can truth and honestie, wherein consists
The right repose on earth, the surest
Of trust, come weaker arm'd into the lists,
Then fraud or vice, that doth it selfe
confound?
Or shall presumption that doth what it
lists,
Not what it ought, carry her courses
sound?
Then what safe place out of confusion
Hath plain proceeding honestie to dwell?
What aue of grace, hath vertue to put on
If vice shall weare as good, and do as well?

The fact that one finds this theme also in Musophilus
emphasizes the lack of personal or occasional qualities in
the epistle to Lord Howard.

Even though a large part of this poem is treatise-like,
the first twenty-two lines are more specific and are direct-
ly addressed to Lord Howard. Howard is not addressed after
this opening section and, as a personality, fades into the
background to give way to the more analytical tone of the
poem. Indeed, the main part of the poem reminds one of a
school exercise. However, the integrity and honesty that
Daniel commends in Howard provide the link between the
direct address and the later general moralizing.

Although a poem on upright action presents a problem
when it is addressed to a man who seems to have been in-
involved in a number of intrigues, it is clear that Daniel himself believed in Howard's integrity. Since Lord Howard was considered one of the most learned nobleman of his time, we are not surprised at Daniel's mentioning his "learning, wit, and happy vtrance." However, the body of the epistle is concerned with integrity. Although Daniel's other epistles included a great deal of analysis, it was fitting for the circumstances of the recipient's life. In this epistle, however, Daniel takes a clear stand for Howard's honesty, a quality which was not generally attributed to the nobleman by his contemporaries. But this epistle is clearly not a sycophant's flattery: Daniel makes a point in his opening lines of the importance of praising only were praise is deserved, and then comes straight out and says that Howard's integrity best deserves his praise. If Daniel had not sincerely believed in the nobleman's integrity, he would not have made such a point of the appropriateness of his praise; and if the councillor's integrity had been generally recognized, it would have been unnecessary for Daniel to defend the emphasis of his poem by his opening lines. If this poem were merely a poet's attempt to insinuate himself into the good graces of a powerful nobleman, Daniel could have ignored such a con-

276 For Lord Howard's life, see explanatory notes below, pp. 237-44.
troversial subject as Howard's integrity and written a poem on the councillor's generally recognized learning and wit. But the poem seems to be almost an attempt to encourage Howard in the line of action he has taken. Daniel seems to be saying in short: You have always walked in the right line of honor and avoided craft and intrigue even though you have been misunderstood. This line of honor always succeeds in the end, even though it has temporary interruptions, so keep up your courage. I will show you why honorable action must achieve ultimate success. And even though things sometimes go amiss and your virtue may not achieve success, you will still achieve fame as a virtuous man.

Howard was made a Privy Councillor in 1603, so we can surmise that Daniel's epistle "To the Lord Henry Howard, One of His Maisties Privie Council" was written in that year. If, as seems apparent, Daniel sincerely believed that the nobleman, contrary to public rumor, avoided crafty means, it was fitting to send this encouraging poem to the newly appointed councillor. In his new powerful position the nobleman might need some encouragement to avoid even the appearance of intrigue. The emphasis of this poem might also be viewed as a gentle and very delicate warning: In your new position it is important that you realize that intrigue is never effective and can never achieve good.
Even the appearance of intrigue can detract from the success of your cause.

Clearly then, Daniel believed that Lord Henry Howard was an honorable man and was willing to defend his integrity.

The epistle "To the Lady Margaret, Countesse of Cumberland," the best known and most often anthologized of Daniel's epistles, has won unqualified praise from most of the nineteenth-century critics. Coleridge thought it was "a noble poem in all respects," and Wordsworth esteemed it so as "an admirable picture of the state of a wise man's mind in a time of public commotion" that he used an entire stanza from it in The Excursion. The universality and high morality of the poem so impressed Wordsworth that he recommended it to Lady Beaumont, for, he said, "the whole poem is composed in a strain of meditative morality more dignified and affecting than anything of the kind I ever read. It is, besides, strikingly applicable to the revolutions of the present times." Hazlitt also joined in the praise of this poem by giving it ascendancy over

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279 Ibid., pp. 451-52.
other epistles of the period: "Of all the poetical
Epistles of this Period, however, that of Daniel to the
Countess of Cumberland, for weight of thought and depth of
feeling, bears the palm,"281 and later in the century
Saintsbury echoed Hazlitt's judgment when he said, "the
splendid Epistle to the Countess of Cumberland is not
surpassed as ethical poetry by anything in the period."282
In the last part of the nineteenth century the poem re­
ceived perhaps its most effusive praise from Arthur Quiller-
Couch: "Certainly, if ever a critic shall arise to deny
poetry the Virtue we so commonly claim for her, of fortifi­
ying men's souls against calamity, this noble Epistle will
be all but the last post from which he will extrude her
defenders."283

More recent critics have joined in commending the poem.
Even C.S. Lewis, although he does not praise Daniel's
Epistles, has to admit that this poem "is almost a success.
It is at any rate frequently moving."284 Douglas Bush, a
more sympathetic critic of Daniel's Epistles, feels that in
this poem Daniel "achieves the perfect statement of his

281 William Hazlitt, "Lectures on the Age of Elizabeth,"
The Collected Works of William Hazlitt, ed. A.R. Waller and
282 George Saintsbury, A History of Elizabethan Literature
(London, 1887); pp. 136-37.
283 Arthur Quiller-Couch, "Samuel Daniel," Adventures in
284 Lewis, op. cit., p. 530.
The quiet stateliness of the poem has led many critics to emphasize its matter rather than its manner. The elevated thought of the epistle and its lack of lyric fire make this emphasis understandable, but I think it would be profitable to analyze the craftsmanship that Daniel shows in the structure of the poem in order to see if such emphasis is completely justified.

The universality and elevation of the poem are achieved partly by the description of the ideal Stoic "wise man" in the first sixty lines, almost half the poem. In this way the theme is lifted above the specific. In the last half of the poem the theme is applied to the particular in the comparison of the Lady Margaret to this Stoic ideal. The poet has, however, avoided the mundane by giving us no hint of Lady Margaret's physical appearance—this is merely a picture of her noble character. Thus the tone set in the first half is sustained and keeps the poem from the lowered key of the very specific.

Elevation and universality are aided by the fact that the sorrow the lady is enduring is not named. Seneca's moral essays De Consolatione may be compared here: while Daniel's poem is very similar to the Senecan Consolation,

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286 Shackford, op. cit., p. 185.
It differs in tone. Seneca is explicit about the individual's suffering and thus can include individual examples for comparison. Daniel, however, achieves greater universality by avoiding the specific.

The diction of the poem adds to the tone of universality. Abstract nouns are found in abundance, as they are in most of Daniel's other epistles. This poem is permeated with such nouns as "Fear," "Hope," "Vanity," "Malice," "Greatness," "Deceit," and "Ambition." Indeed, other than the application of the Lady Margaret to the Stoic ideal, the only specific reference in the poem is to Pompey (1.26).

The smooth flow of the poem contributes to its quietness. This is partly achieved by a great number of run-on lines. The stanza itself is the grammatical unit, and even the stanzas are closely linked by the great number of conjunctions with which they begin. Cecil Seronsy has noted287 that thirteen of the sixteen stanzas begin with some sort of connective and thus the relationship between stanzas is clearly shown grammatically.

We have already pointed out that the thought of the poem is divided by the transitional stanza which introduces the Lady Margaret. The poem flows evenly to this break in line sixty-one when there is a break both in thought and poetic flow. A great number of the stanzas before and after

this division are linked by initial connectives, but with "Thus, Madame" we have a clear-cut break grammatically and in thought.

The sustained and effective imagery of building, which we find in many of Daniel's poems, does much to add to this poem's quiet beauty. This imagery is introduced in the very first lines of the poem:

HE that of such a height hath built his mind,
And rear'd the dwelling of his thoughts so strong,

and suggested by the "stormes" and "thunder crackes" of the outside world which cannot destroy the well-built house. Lady Margaret is introduced as setting her thought near "his glorious mansion" and as being secure "within the brassen walls / Of a cleere conscience," and the poem ends with the explicit house metaphor with which it began:

You that haue built you by your great desarts,
Out of small meanes, a farre more exquisit
And glorious dwelling for your honoured name
Then all the gold of leadeen mindes can frame.

The appropriateness of this building image in a poem to the Lady Margaret has already been noted with discernment by Miss Shackford. What more felicitous imagery could a poet use when addressing the mistress of so many castles?

Daniel has, then, intentionally kept the poetic quality of this epistle on a subdued key. He has even altered the

289 Loc. cit.
rhyme scheme of his _ottava rima_ to _abcabddd_ so that the
beginning of each stanza gives the impression of blank
verse, for a too lyrical expression of the theme would
have detracted from its thoughtful stateliness. Thus, the
manner of the poem moves with the matter, and Daniel's
triump nutcomes from the singular coincidence of stately
quietism in verse and thought."291

Douglas Bush, in the statement quoted above, has pointed
out that this epistle is Stoical. Although the epistle
is very similar to some of Seneca's _Moral Essays_, I have
not found any specific source. The Senecan passages given
in the explanatory notes are given merely as interesting
parallels and not as specific sources. However, it does
seem to me that the cumulative effect of these passages is
enough to suggest a strong Senecan influence. These
passages from Seneca show quite clearly, I think, that the
ideal set forth at the beginning of this epistle is the

291 _loc. cit._
292 Calvin Thayer, _Verse and Virtue, A Study of Samuel_ Dnaiel's _Poetry_ (University of California: unpublished dis­
sertation, 1952), pp. 242-43, also points out that the poem
is Stoical and reflects typical Senecan ideas.
293 Lowell, _op. cit._, p. 139, is certainly mistaken when
he says that the poem is an amplification of Horace's
"Integer Vitae." It is interesting to note that in the
Skipton family picture, Lady Margaret, the noblewoman to
whom this epistle is addressed, is standing by the works
of Seneca; Whitaker, _op. cit._, 265.
Stoics' "wise man." The ideas of the Senecan moral essay seem to have formed a basis for Daniel's poem, but the parallels are not close enough to suggest any one essay as a source. If any essay were to be singled out, it would be perhaps "De Vita Beata," for it is here that Seneca expounds most fully the ideal concept of the Stoical wise man.

The major difference between the Senecan essay and Daniel's philosophy as shown in this poem is that the Senecan emphasis on death as an escape is not touched upon by Daniel. However, the elevation of the noble mind above the toil of common humanity, the wise man's self-sufficiency, imperviousness to injury and Fortune, his acceptance of the worst that Fortune can do, and his kinship with both god and man, can be found in both Seneca and Daniel. The ideas of the two men are remarkably similar.

We cannot date this poem with any certitude. In A Letter from Octavia (1599) Daniel had included a dedicatory sonnet to the Countess of Cumberland, which is so similar to this epistle that it is quite possible that this poem was also written about 1599. However, Daniel was apparently connected with the Countess's household as tutor from about 1599 to 1603, so the epistle could have been written at any time during this period.

Lady Margaret, the aristocrat to whom this epistle is addressed, was a virtuous woman who led a most unhappy life
because of the neglect and flagrant infidelity of her husband. The appropriateness of the poem concerning the high-minded man surrounded by troubles and strife to this virtuous and noble lady surrounded by sorrow is quite apparent. Daniel shows his usual good taste by not specifying her particular troubles but merely allowing her virtue to shine forth amidst the discord of man's world.

The epistle to Lucy, Countess of Bedford, with its association of virtue and learning, is perhaps the most obviously humanistic of all the epistles. If we were asked to state briefly the theme of this poem, we could do no better than to fall back on Sidney's great humanistic statement that the "end of all earthly learning" is "virtuous action." Appropriately, the poem more than once reminds us of Musophilus, Daniel's best-known statement of humanism, and we find more than one parallel between the two poems. Daniel closes this epistle with an explicit statement of his belief in the power of learning to lead toward truth and virtue (ll. 83-92). Surely here, as well as in Musophilus, we see a poet who is set squarely within the humanistic tradition.

The structure of this poem is tightly-knit. Opening

294 For Lady Margaret's life, see explanatory notes pp. 250-54.
with a general discussion of virtue and the fact that its glory is enhanced in high places, the poet moves to the particular with the appropriateness of Lady Lucy's virtue. Lady Lucy then supplies the transition to the poet's next topic, for she combines both virtue and learning. Now Daniel can again move from the particular to the general importance of the mind as our only true possession. Unless we find all our good in the mind, we do not truly own ourselves, for then we belong to others and must dissimulate to please. In lines 67 to 82 the poet depicts the life of dissimulation. Although this section follows logically that on the importance of owning oneself, it should, for perfect structure, be subordinated. However, the section carries such personal conviction and vigor that one suspects that Daniel the courtier is bursting out with the fervor we find in the passage. The poem is rounded out by the closing section which merges the earlier discussions of virtue and of mind in the final explicit statement that learning can lead to virtue. In the last lines we are again reminded that Lady Lucy herself is taking this path to worthiness.

The emphasis of this poem is on the greater advantage virtue has when it is found in the nobility. The poem is aristocratic and shows the Renaissance man's respect for the ordered strata of society.
It is appropriate that Daniel addressed a poem on virtue and learning to the Countess of Bedford, for she was "a lady not more celebrated for beauty and vivacity of wit than for her generosity to men of genius, the taste which she carried into all her pursuits, and the success with which she cultivated some of those lighter sciences that minister to taste its most refined gratification."296 She was one of the most famous patronesses of the poets of her day,297 receiving verses expressing praise and gratitude from Jonson, Donne, and Drayton. Her learning is often alluded to,298 and it seems to have been quite varied: in addition to her interest in literature and skill in languages, she made a special study of medallic history.299 Lady Lucy's love of poetry may have caused her to write some verses herself. Donne, in a letter to her, alludes to some verses which she evidently had written:

Happiest and worthiest Lady!--I do not remember that ever I have seen a petition in verse; I would not, therefore, be singular, nor add these to your other papers. I have yet adventured so near as to make a petition for verse: it is for those your ladyship did me the honour to read in Twickenham Gardens, except you

296 Wiffen, op. cit., II, 63.
298 Cf. Donne's epistle to her "On New-yeares day" in which he praises her "beauty, learning, favour, blood"; Donne, op. cit., I, 198-201.
299 Wiffen, op. cit., II, 117-18.
repent your making (them), and have mended
your judgment by thinking worse, that is
better, because juster of their subject.
They must needs be an excellent exercise
of your wit, which speaks so well of so
ill. I humbly beg them of you ladyship,
with two such promises, as to any other of
your compositions were threatenings, that
I will not show them, and that I will not
belie them; and nothing should be so used
that comes from your brain or breast. If
I should confess a fault in the boldness of
asking them, or make a fault by doing it in
a longer letter, your ladyship might use
your style and old fashion of the court to­
wards me, and—pay me with a pardon. Here,
therefore, I humbly kiss your ladyship's
fair, learned hands, and wish you good
wishes and speedy grants.
Your ladyship's servant, JOHN
DONNE.

It is not possible to date this epistle with any exact­
ness. The Lady Lucy had become Countess of Bedford in
1594, so we know that the poem was written between 1594
and 1603. The fact that Daniel's dedication of The Vision
of the Twelve Goddesses to the Countess was written in
1604 shows that she was patronizing Daniel during the first
decade of the seventeenth century, and thus suggests a date
for this epistle not long before 1603. Moreover, the
Panegyrike Congratulatorie, which was printed with the
Epistles, was presented to the king in 1603 at the home of
Lady Lucy's father, Sir John Harington of Exton, a fact
which would suggest the possibility that this epistle was

300 The letter is reprinted Ibid., II, 111.
301 For Lady Lucy's life, see explanatory notes below p. 270.
written not long before the presentation and perhaps for that occasion.\textsuperscript{302}

The Senecan influence that we find in many of Daniel's other epistles is to be found in the section of this poem concerning the importance of the mind as our only true possession. However, the body of the poem is based upon a central tenet of humanism; thus, although many parallels can be found, it is not possible to specify one source.

The epistle to Lady Anne Clifford differs in tone from the other epistles in that it has a delicacy and tenderness not conspicuously present in the other poems. I do not mean to imply that this poem is not didactic, for it is the gentle teaching of a moralizing tutor to a very young girl. Thus, there is appropriately less heavy philosophical thought, more practical advice on conduct and greater overall simplicity in the poem.

The first line sets this tone of tenderness: "Unto the tender youth of those fair eyes." Saintsbury has pointed out that in this line "the adjustment of 'tender' and 'fair' has the secret" to the "more strictly poetic notes" one finds in this epistle and suggests that this tone is derived from Daniel's earlier practice with the sonnet.\textsuperscript{303} Cecil Seronsy has also noted that the first line

\begin{footnotes}
\item[302] Cf. Buxton, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 228.
\end{footnotes}
of this poem is "reminiscent" of the first sonnet in Delia,\textsuperscript{304} and as we shall see, the structure of the two first lines is the same:

\begin{quote}
Vnto the boundless Ocean of thy beautie
Vnto the tender youth of those fair eyes.
\end{quote}

However, a much more striking echo of Daniel's sonnet practice can be found in the rhyme scheme of the poem. The arrangement of rhymes in this epistle is most confusing. Miss Shackford has suggested that since "the rhymes in this poem are not completely arranged, it may be supposed that it was composed somewhat hastily for a special occasion, probably to include in the volume with the other epistles."\textsuperscript{305} This seems most likely because the tone of the poem suggests a tutor speaking to his pupil, and it was evidently during this period that Daniel was teaching the young girl. The poem is based on a general \textit{abcabc} rhyme, but some rhymes, such as "haue" and "staine," are extremely rough. Such rhymes would suggest hasty composition, for, after all, this is the poet whom Drummond declared was "for Sweetness in Rymling Second to none."\textsuperscript{306} Lines 46 to 55 substantiate this supposition, for the \textit{abcabc} scheme is very imperfectly carried out.

It is with lines 56 to 69 and 84 to 97 that we are

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{304} Seronsy, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 180.
\item \textsuperscript{305} Shackford, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 189.
\item \textsuperscript{306} Drummond, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 226.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
particularly concerned here. These lines really form two sonnets which show interesting variations from the rhyme scheme of Delia: lines 56 to 69 rhyme ababcddefgfg, and lines 84 to 97, ababcdecdef. In the first group we have the dominant rhyme scheme ababc which becomes a sonnet when the couplet is added. The second group could be considered a cross between the Italian and English rhyme schemes. In both these groups of lines the aphoristic couplet at the end suggests the form of the English sonnet.

The echoes of the sonnet form in this epistle are neither unusual nor inappropriate. We need only remember Romeo and Juliet, I, v, 95-108, to realize that imbedding sonnet forms in larger poems was practiced in the Renaissance. Moreover, these echoes of the sonnet form are very appropriate in a poem to a young girl, and Lady Anne would have been thirteen in 1603.

As in the epistle to Lady Margaret, we have here the imagery of a building, but in this poem the house metaphor is not as basic to the structure and is not sustained throughout the poem. However, this image does predominate

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307 This is not the only use that Daniel made of his sonnet practice in connection with the young girl; H. Sellers, "Samuel Daniel: Additions to the Text," MLR, XI (1916), 30, reprints a sonnet to Lady Anne which had appeared in the 1607 Worke.

308 For Lady Anne's life, see explanatory notes below, pp. 278-82.
in the first part of the poem. We are told that Lady Anne has her

well-wrought hart full
furnisht so
With all the images of worthinesse,
As there is left no roome at all t'

Figures of other forme but Sanctitie:
Whilst yet those cleane-created thoughts,

The Garden of your innocencies rest,
Where are no notions of deformitie
Nor any dore at all to let them in.

(11. 14-21)

and that her mother has labored

to adorne
That better parte, the mansion of your minde,
With all the richest furniture of worth.

(11. 23-25)

The mansion of the mind seems to be a favorite image of Daniel's for we have seen it before in line sixty-seven of the epistle to Lady Margaret.

The imagery of astronomy is much more dominant in this epistle than it was in the poem to Lady Margaret (where it only occurred in lines 93-100). In Daniel's imagery of astronomy we see the familiar Renaissance concept of what Hardin Craig calls "correspondences."309 The order of the universe is reflected in the corresponding order of man's social position as well as in his mind and soul. Daniel states explicitly:

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This honour, Madame, hath his stately frame
From th' heau' nly order.
(11. 57-8)

Therefore Lady Anne must not descend below the sphere of her nature and birth. Of course, here also is implicit the Renaissance belief that virtue is most often found in the aristocracy, a variation on the theme we found in the epistle to the Countess of Bedford. The concept of the correspondence between the order in the universe and that in human society and in man's mind and soul can be found either explicitly or implicitly throughout the works of the period and finds its most famous expression in Ulysses' speech on order in Troilus and Crescida, I, iii, 85-126.

Following the imagery of astronomy is that of warlike

310 Cf. Elyot, The Governour: "The inferior persone or subiecte ought to consider, that all be it (as I haue spoken) he in the substaunce of soule and body be equall with his superior, yet for als moche as the powars and qualities of the soule and body, with the disposition of reason, be nat in every man equall, therfore god ordyned a diueritie or pre-eminence in degrees to be amonge men for the necessary drection and preseruation of them in conformitie or lyvinge." Op. cit., II, 209.

311 As well as earlier. Cf. Chaucer's "Parson's Tale": "But certes, sith the time of grace cam, God ordeyned that some folk sholde be moore heigh in estaat and in degree, and som folk moore lough, and that everich sholde be served in his estaat and in his degree. . . . but the commune profit myghte nat han be kept, ne pees and rest in erthe, but if God hadde ordeyned that som men adde hyer degree and som men lower, therfore was sovereynetye ordeyned, to kepe and mayntene and defensende hire underlynges or hire subgetz in resoun, as ferforth as it lich in hire power, and nat to destroyen hem ne confounde." Chaucer, Poetical Works, ed. F.N. Robinson (Cambridge ed., 1933), pp. 300-301.
and deceitful ambush:

And none, we see, were ever overthrown
By others flattery more than by their owne.

(11. 76-7)

Although we live among "troopes of soothing people,"

yet t'is within our harts
Th'ambushment lies, that euermore betraies
Our judgements . . .
So that we must not only fence this
Of ours, against all others fraud, but
most
Against our owne.

(11. 80-86)

Daniel's warning against the self-assurance which he evidently saw already in the young girl is almost prophetic, for Lady Anne's later life shows that she had her full share of self-sufficiency and determination.

As we have seen, neither the imagery nor the rhyme scheme is sustained throughout this poem. While it thus lacks the unity and finish of the epistle to Lady Margaret, it does have a tone of informal affection which is appropriate to its subject: it gives one the impression of being a series of slightly connected notes of advice from a kindly and perceptive tutor who wants his charge to be virtuous in mind and body and feels that he must remind the girl of her obligation to live up to the honor of her birth.

The ideas and the advice that Daniel gives are for the most part Renaissance commonplaces or seem so personal that there is no reason to believe that the poem was influenced by any particular work.
The epistle to Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, has been commended for a greater personal feeling than is to be found in the other epistles. This may be due to the vigor of the language and imagery, for although the poem has personal conviction and gives the impression of originality, it is for the most part a translation of Seneca's moral essay "De Providentia." The parallels and sources will be given in the explanatory notes, but here we should note a passage from the essay (IV, 6-8) which reads like a synopsis of Daniel's poem:

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calamitas virtutis occasio est. Illos
merito quis dixerit miseros qui nimia
felicitate torpescunt, quos velut in mari
lento tranquillitas iners detinet; quid
illis incident, novum veniet . . . .
Hos itaque deus quos probat, quos amat,
indurat, recognoscit, exercet; eos autem
quibus indulgere videtur, quibus parcere,
molles venturis malis servat . . . . Quare
deus optimum quemque aut malis valuitudine
aut luctu aut alis incommodos afficit?
. . . Item dicant quicumque iubentur pati
timidis ignavisque flebilis: 'Digni visi
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312 Shackford, op. cit., p. 193.
313 Cf. Ibid., pp. 192-93; Seronsy, op. cit., pp. 180-81.
314 Seronsy, pp. 202-3, has observed that "the whole idea of the poem, namely, that adversity is the test of character, is a familiar Stoic idea that had been given great prominence in Seneca's De Providentia" and has noted that the examples in lines 13-23 of Daniel's poem resemble Seneca's (III, 4), but he has not observed that the motto accompanying Daniel's poem is from De Providentia or that the poem is for the most part translated from the essay. Thayer, op. cit., pp. 251-53, notes the Senecan ring to the poem but suggests incorrectly that the source is Seneca's "On Firmness."
sumus deo in quibus experiretur humana natura posset pati.'

Disaster is Virtue's opportunity. Justly may those be termed unhappy who are dulled by an excess of good fortune, who rest, as it were, in dead calm upon a quiet sea; whatever happens will come to them as a change. . . . In like manner God hardens, reviews and disciplines those whom he approves, whom he loves. Those, however, whom he seems to favour, whom he seems to spare, he is really keeping soft against ills to come. . . . Why is it that God afflicts the best men with ill health, or sorrow, or some other misfortune? . . . In like manner, all those who are called to suffer what would make cowards and poltroons weep may say, "God had deemed us worthy instruments of his purpose to discover how much human nature can endure."315

Although Daniel has followed his source closely, he occasionally departs from it. The series of questions found in the fifth stanza of Daniel's epistle are paralleled by the series in "De Providentia," IV, 2-5, but, although Daniel has used the same device as Seneca, he has altered the details to conform with the circumstances of Southampton's imprisonment. Similarly, in the last stanza of his poem Daniel has omitted Seneca's specific examples, thus moving the tone of his ending to the more elevated plane of general moralizing. However, he does not often take such liberties with his source.

It is of interest to note that the epistle to Southampton is not the only translation that Daniel made of "De

Providentia." There is a prose "Letter written to a worthy Countesse" included in some copies of the 1623 quarto of Daniel's Works. Much of this letter is also translated from "De Providentia." Of additional interest for readers of the Epistles is Harry Sellers' assertion the "worthy Countesse" is "almost certainly" Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery, the lady to whom Daniel addressed another verse epistle.

The poem to Southampton was probably written between April 10 and May 30, 1603. On April 10, the Earl, who had been imprisoned by Elizabeth for his part in the Essex rebellion, was released by James I. On May 30, 1603, the volume in which the Epistles appear was entered in the Stationers' Register. Thus, Daniel's poem congratulating the nobleman on his release from prison can be dated with confidence between April 10 and May 30, 1603.

The release of this powerful nobleman called forth congratulations from other writers as well. When singing James' praises in the Preface to Microcosmus, John Davies of Herford calls upon Southampton to join him:

Then let's be merry in our God, and King That made vs merry, being ill bestadd;

317 Ibid., p. 28.
318 For Southampton's life, see explanatory notes below pp. 284-85.
319 Stationers' Register, III, 96.
South-hampton, vp thy cappe to Heauen fling
And on the Violl there sweet praises sing,
For he is come that grace to all doth bring.

If thou did'st fault, (judge Heau'n, for I will spare thee
Because my faults are more than can be cast)
It did to greater glorie but prepare thee,
Sith greater vertue now thereby thou hast.
Before our troubles we seeme goodnesse past.
But cold Affliction's water cooles the heat
Which Youth, and Greatnesse oft too much doth wast;
And Queene's are coy, and cannot brooke the sweat
That such heat causeth, for it seemes vnsweta.

But yet thy woorth doth wrest from what soere
Thereeto oppossed, by vnswene violence,
Acknowledgment of what in thee is deere
That is, the glory of much excellence
Fitt for the use of high'est preheminence:
The World is in the wane, and worthy Men Haue not therein in each place residence:
Such as are worthy should be cherisht then,
And being overthrownne rais'd vp agen.

The same poet has written a sonnet celebrating Southampton's release:

To the Right Noble and intirely beloved Earls of Southampton, &c.

Welcome to shore, vnhappy-Happie Lord,
From the depe Seas of danger and distresse;
Where, like thou wast to be throwne over board
In every storme of discontentednesse.

320 Davies, Microcosmus, p. 14, in op. cit., vol. I.
O living Death, to die when others please!
O dying Life, to live how others will!
Such was thy case (deere Lord) such al
thine ease;
O Hell on Earth, can Hell more vex the
Will!
This Hell being harrowed by his substitute
That harrowed Hell, thou art brought forth
from thence,
Into an earthly Heaven absolute,
To taste his sweetness, see his excellence:
Thy Liege well wotts, true Love that
soul must wound,
To whom Heav'n's grace, & His, doth so
abound.321

Even such a foe of the Essex conspirators as Francis Bacon
greeted Southampton's release with a letter which shows
how politic it was to be smiled upon by the nobleman:

It may please your Lordship,
I would have been very glad to have pre­
sented my humble service to your Lordship
by my attendance, if I could have foreseen
that it should not have been unpleasing
unto you. And therefore, because I would
commit no error, I choose to write;
assuring your Lordship (how credible so
ever it my seem to you at first) yet it
is as true a thing that God knoweth, that
this great change hath wrought in me no
other change towards your Lordship than
this, that I may safely be now that which
I was truly before. And so craving no
other pardon than for troubling you with
this letter, I do not now begin, but
continue to be
Your Lordship's humble and much devoted
Francis Bacon.322

Daniel joined this rejoicing with his verse epistle to
Southampton. While the poem depicts Southampton as a man

321 Ibid., I, 96.
322 The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon, ed. James
Spedding, III (London, 1868), pp. 75-76.
unjustly accused, this does not necessarily mean that Daniel was whole-heartedly in favor of the Essex conspirators, for the other celebrations of Southampton's release show that even writers who did not approve of the rebellion could rejoice at the nobleman's return to favor.

The Certaine Epistles were published in a folio with the Panegyrike Congratulatorie in 1603. There are two issues of this folio: the first issue (STC 6258) contains only the Panegyrike and the Epistles; while the second (STC 6259) includes in addition, "The Passion of a Distressed Man" and A Defence of Ryme. Both issues are the same except for the title-page and the additional material included in the second issue. Harry Sellers suggests that the first issue may have been an incomplete advance copy from the press because the tablet intended for the imprint is empty. Because of the occasional nature of the poems in the first issue, it is quite possible that the sheets containing the Panegyrike and the Epistles to the royal favorites were rushed from the press to be available as soon after the accession as possible.

There are some differences between the British Museum and the Huntington Library copies of this first issue. Sellers notes that the BM copy has margins and divisions

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323 Sellers, "Bibliography," p. 36.
324 Loc. cit.
of red lines on each page. Mr. Herbert Mead, Bibliographer at the Huntington Library, surmises that the lines in the BM copy are evidently added by hand. Mr. Mead has also supplied me with the following information concerning the Huntington copy: the title-page is lacking, but a photostat of the BM title-page has been substituted; Fl is wrongly bound preceding El; a stub follows Fl. In answer to my question Mr. Mead says that he would consider the two copies as being alike. The misplaced leaf in the Huntington copy affects the text only in that the epistle to the Earl of Southampton follows that to Lord Henry Howard instead of occurring at the end of the volume.

The second issue of the 1603 folio, which includes "The Passion of a Distressed Man" and A Defence of Ryme, is the volume which was entered in the Stationers' Register:

30. Maij [1603]
Edward Blunt Entred for his copy under the h Jords of master Doctor BUCKERIDGE and the wardens A booke called A pane-gyrike Congratulatory Delivered to the Kinges most excellent Maiestie at Burleigh Harrington in Rutlandshire by SAMUELL DANNYELL With a Defence of Ryme heretofore wrytten and nowe pub­lished by the same Aucthor/ . . . .vjd.326

Some copies of the 1603 folio may have been used as

325 Information in a letter to the author from Mr. Herbert Mead, Bibliographer at the Huntington Library, April 19, 1955.
326 Stationers' Register, III, 96. The STC errs in assigning this entry to the first issue.
gifts to noble persons. Collier describes a copy which has Lady Pembroke's autograph on it and surmises that Daniel may have given other copies of the folio to the personages addressed in the Epistles. 327

The Epistles were published again in 1603 with the Panegyrick, this time in octavo, 328 and in 1607 with The Tragedie of Philotas. They also occur in the posthumous 1623 Whole Workes. These editions show no revisions of the Epistles, a practice which is unusual for Daniel, especially considering the roughness of poems like that to the Lady Anne Clifford. The occasional nature of the poems may, however, explain the lack of revision.


327 Collier, A Bibliographical and Critical Account, I, 216.
328 Cf. bibliographical descriptions below, pp. 299-311.
329 Longman, Bibliotheca Anglo-Poetica (London, 1815), p. 76, notes a copy of this edition bound with Certaine Small Poems (1605); the Epistles themselves were not reprinted in 1605.
330 IV, 202-7.
331 III, 527-32.
332 Grosart, I, 139-219.
333 Sprague, pp. 99-123.
1623 edition and includes no table of variants; Sprague uses the British Museum copy of the first issue of the 1603 folio and includes variants. Neither edition includes critical notes. Of the Epistles the poem to the Countess of Bedford and especially that to the Countess of Cumberland have been most frequently anthologized.
The epistle to James Montagu, Bishop of Winchester, is more Horatian in tone than Daniel's other epistles. While in the Certaine Epistles Daniel blends the didactic and complimentary verse letter, this poem is almost entirely complimentary and personal; it is concerned with the Bishop's ill health and his restorations of church buildings.

Since Montagu had been made a member of the Privy Council in 1617, we know that the poem was written after that date. The Bishop must have been failing from the "seacret-wasting Sicknes" in the spring of 1618. John Camberlain wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton on April 29 of that year that Montagu was so weak "that the first warme weather will cary him away of a dropsie." Daniel's epistle on the Bishop's illness was probably written at approximately this time, for the manuscript copy which forms the base text of this edition is dated by the State Papers about June, 1618.

The rough meter of this epistle might be explained by its date. If it was written in the spring of 1618,

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334 For Montagu's life, see explanatory notes below, pp. 294-97.
335 Chamberlain, op. cit., II, 160.
336 Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James I, 1611-1618, p. 549.
Daniel probably did not have an opportunity to revise it because of Winchester's death and his own death the following year. The autobiographical reference in lines 12-13 concerning the poet's own experiences with the disease presents an interesting possibility: perhaps Daniel too suffered from and finally died of the dropsy. Certainly the rough meter of the poem shows haste and precludes the possibility of revision. Daniel was so experienced a craftsman that he could have adjusted the meter of the following lines with ease:

And so long as the Walles of Pietie
Stand, so long shall stand the Memorie of you.
(ll. 66-67)

This last line in the middle of an iambic pentameter poem is unlike Daniel's usual careful versifying.

Although the roughness of the meter and the occasional quality of the poem suggest haste, the imagery is carefully worked out. The conventional imagery of war with the disease is sustained through most of the poem. The first lines present this image:

Although you have out of your proper store
The Best Munition that may fortifie
A Noble Hart as no Man can have more
Against the Batteries of Mortalitie
(ll. 1-4)

And the image is carefully and thoroughly carried out in the succeeding lines. The Bishop is reminded that he could not have found a "gentler warring Enemie," that other
sicknesses "fyre vs out of our inflamed Forte," while this one "glues vs time of treaty to discuss / Our Suffrings."
This disease, "the foe with whom wee haue the Battaille fought / Hath not subdue vs but got our forte." The last part of the poem does not carry through this imagery of warfare, but introduces briefly images just as conventional: death as a port after the stormy seas of illness, the withering leaf of approaching death, and the actor's exit from the scene of life.

The Horatian tone of this poem is striking when compared with Daniel's other epistles. The Certaine Epistles have a weight, formality and ethical tone which is far from some of Horace's lighter occasional epistles, and unlike Horace's poems, they have no autobiographical references. This poem, however, does have the more purely occasional quality and personal touch of autobiography that we often find in Horace, and it has no affinity with the Senecan moral essay which the Certaine Epistles so closely resemble. The subject of the poem is Montagu's illness, and Daniel never really leaves his specific topic to rise to the more elevated plane of general ethics, as he does, for example, in his epistle to the Countess of Cumberland.

The epistle to the Bishop of Winchester was not printed during Daniel's lifetime, but was included in the posthumous 1623 quarto. The manuscript, which is dated
1618 by the *State Papers,*\(^{337}\) and the printed version have
only one variant which is not obviously due to the printer:
line fifty, which in the manuscript reads "therefore Lord," is
smoothed in the printed version to read "therefore reverend Lord." This variant alone is not enough to sug­
gest that the author revised the poem, for the epistle is
extremely rough in both versions. The manuscript, which
is in a conventional scribe’s hand, and the printed version
are so close in their readings that they seem to have been
derived from the same manuscript.

The poem is not one of Daniel’s more popular poems.
It has been reprinted in the 1718 edition,\(^{338}\) which is
based on the 1623 quarto; Anderson’s *The Works of the
British Poets* (1795);\(^{339}\) Chalmers’ *The Works of the English
Poets* (1810);\(^{340}\) and Grosart’s 1885 edition.\(^{341}\) The poem’s
primary importance, however, lies in its Horatian tone,
which is so unusual in Daniel’s epistles, and in its
autobiographical reference.

The three chronological groups into which Daniel’s
epistles fall also represent three kinds of verse letters.
The Certaine Epistles, with their formality and ethical

\(^{337}\) See preceding note.
\(^{338}\) II, 426-28.
\(^{339}\) IV, 229.
\(^{340}\) III, 551.
\(^{341}\) Grosart, I, 294-96.
tone, are the kind for which Daniel is best known, but, as we have seen, he started with the heroical epistle, moved through the formal verse essay, and concluded with the more purely Horatian epistle. In this Daniel follows the general development of the form: the heroical epistle enjoyed an early popularity, but the more occasional Horatian epistle was the kind that finally achieved popularity after Jonson. Daniel's epistles had little influence on the later writers of verse letters. Yet in Daniel we not only find some of the finest poems of the genre, but in his use of the various kinds we see mirrored the development of the form.
VI

A Note on the Text

The general bibliographical principles followed in this edition are those set forth by Ronald B. McKerrow in Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959). I have adopted the readings of my copy-texts at all times, except for obvious printer's errors. I have retained the original spelling and punctuation, with the exception of swash marks and the long s. Due to the exigencies of binding, I have been unable to put the marginal notes to the poems in their proper place in this edition. Such notes are given at the bottom of the page, and an asterisk indicates where they should occur. In my table of variants I have not included variants in spelling unless they affect the rhythm or meaning of the poem.

Although the Arundel text may be an early version of A Letter from Octavia, there can be no doubt that the 1599 text represents Daniel's final version. Since he did not revise the poem in subsequent editions, I have chosen the 1599 edition as my copy-text. I have used a microfilm of the Huntington Library copy of this edition. For my variants from the Arundel MS. I have used Miss Ruth Hughey's transcription.

Because Daniel did not revise the Certaine Epistles, I have chosen the first issue of the 1603 folio as my
copy-text. I have used a microfilm of the Huntington Library copy of this issue. Since F1 has been incorrectly bound in this copy, I have departed from my copy-text by placing the epistle to the Earl of Southampton at the end of the Certaine Epistles, where according to signature it belongs.

My text of the epistle to the Bishop of Winchester is based on the manuscript in the Public Record Office (S. P. 14 - 97 - 172 A [f. 141r]) because this text seems to be the only extant version of the poem from Daniel's lifetime. I have used a photostat of this manuscript. A few words in the manuscript are obscured by a spot on the paper. In these places I give the 1623 readings in brackets.
A LETTER FROM OCTAVIA
TO MARCUS ANTONIUS.
To the right Honourable and most vertuous Lady, the Lady Margaret Countesse of Cumberl.
The Argument.

Upon the second agreement (the first being broken through jealously of a disproportion of eminence) betwixt the Triumvir Octavius Caesar, Marcus Antonius, and Lepidus: Octavia the sister of Octavius Caesar, was married to Antonius, as a link to combine that which never yet, the greatest strength of nature, or any power of nearest respect could long hold together, who made but the instrument of others ends, and delivered up as an Ostage to serve the opportunity of advantages, met not with that integrity she brought: but as highly preferred to affliction encountered with all the grievances that beate upon the miseries of greatness, exposed to stand betwixt the divers tending humours of unquiet parties. For Antonia having yet upon him the fetters of Aegypt, layde on by the power of a most incomparable beautie, could admit no new lawes into the state of his affection, or dispose of himself being not himselfe, but as having his heart turned Eastward the point of his desires were directed, toucht with the strongest allurements that ambition, and a licentious soveraintie could draw a man unto: could not trulie descend to
the private love of a civil nurthred Matrone, whose entertainment bounded with modestie and the nature of her education, knew not to cloth her affections in any other colours then the plain habit of truth; wherein she ever suited all her actions, and used all her best ornaments of honestie, to win the good liking of him that helde her but as a Curtaine drawne betweene him and Octauilus to shadow his other purposes withall; which the sharpe sight of an equallie jealous ambition could soone pierce into, and as easily looke thorow and ouer bloud and nature as he to abuse it: And therefore to prevent his aspiring, he armes his forces either to reduce Antonie to the ranke of his estate, or else to disranke him out of state and al. When Octauilus by the imploiment of Antonie (as being not yet ready to put his fortune to her triall) throwses her selfe, great with child, and as big with sorrowe, into the travaile of a most laboursome reconciliation: taking her journey from the farthest part of Grece to find Octauilus, with whom her care and teares were so good agents that they effected their Commissio beyond all expectation: and for that time quite disarmed their wrath, which yet long could not hold
so. For Antonius falling into the relapse of his former disease, watching his opportunity got over againe into Egypt, where he so forgot himselfe, that he quite put off his own nature, and wholly became a pray to his pleasures, as if hee had wound himselfe out of the respect of Country, bloud and alliance, which gave to Octauia the cause of much affliction, and to me the Argument of this letter.
A Letter sent from Octauia to her husband Marcus Antonius into Egypt.

I

TO thee (yet deere) though most disloiall Lord, Whom impious loue keepes in a barbarous land, Thy wronged wife Octauia sendeth word Of th'vnkind wounds receiued by thy hand, Grant Antony, 6 let thine eyes afford But to permit thy heart to understand The hurt thou doast, and do but read her teares That still is thine though thou wilt not be hers.

2

Although perhaps, these my complaints may come Wilst thou in th'armes of that incestious Queene The staine of Aegypt, and the shame of Rome Shall dallying sit, and blush to haue them seene: Whilst proud disdainfull she, gessing from whome The message came, and what the cause hath beene, Wil skorning saie, faith, this comes from your Deere, Now sir you must be shent for staying heere.

3

From her indeed it comes, delitious dame,
(Thou royal Concubine, and Queene of lust)
Whose Armes yet pure, whose breasts are voide of blame,
And whose most lawfull flame proues thine vnjust:
Tis shee that sendes the message of thy shame,
And his vntruth that hath betrayd her trust:
Pardon, deare Lord, from her these sorrowes are
Whose bed brings neither infamie nor warre.

And therefore heare her wordes, that too too much
Hath heard the wronges committed by thy shame;
Although at first my trust in thee was such
As it held out against the strongest fame;
My heart would never let in once a touch
Of least beliefe, till all confirmed the same:
That I was almost last that would believe
Because I knew mee first that most must grieue.

How oft haue poore abused I tooke parte
With falshood onely for to make thee true?
How oft haue I argued against my heart
Not suffering it to know that which it knew?
And for I would not haue thee what thou arte
I made my selfe, vnto my selfe vntrue:
So much my loue labourd against thy Sinne
To shut out feare which yet kept feare within:

For I could neuer thinke th'aspiring mind of worthie and victorious Antonie,
Could be by such a Syren so declind,
As to be traynd a pray to Luxury:
I could not thinke my Lord would be s'vnkind
As to despise his Children, Rome and me:
But 6 how soone are they deceiud that trust
And more their shamo, that wilbe so vniust.

But now that certaine fame hath open layd
Thy new relaps, and straunge reuolt from mee,
Truth hath quite beaten all my hopes awaie
And made the passage of my sorrowes free:
For now poore hart, there's nothing in the waie
Remaines to stand betwixt despaire and thee;
All is throwne downe, there comes no succors newe
It is most true, my Lord is most vntrue.

And now I may with shame inough pull in
The colours I advaunced in his grace
For that subduing powre, that him did win
Hath lost me too, the honour of my face:
Yet why should I bearing no part of sinne
Beare such a mightie part of his disgrace?
Yes though it be not mine, it is of mine;
And his renowne being clips'd, mine cannot shine.

Which makes me as I do, hide from the eie
Of the misjudging vulgar that will deeme,
That sure there was in me some reason why
Which made thee thus, my bed to disesteeme:
So that alas poore undeserving I
A cause of thy uncleane deserts shall seeme,
Though lust takes neuer ioy in what is due,
But still leaues knowne delights to seeke out new.

And yet my brother Caesar laboured
To haue me leaue thy house, and liue more free,
But God forbid, Octavia should be led
To leaue to liue in thine, though left by thee
The pledges here of thy forsaken bed,
Are still the objects that remember me
What Antony was once, although false now,
And is my Lord, though he neglect his vow.
11

These walls that here do keepe me out of sight
Shall keepe me all vnspotted vnto thee,
And testifie that I will do thee right,
Ile neuer staine thy house, though thou shame me:
The now sad Chamber of my once delight
Shall be the temple of my pietie
Sacred vnto the faith I reuerence,
Where I will pale my teares for thy offence.

12

Although my youth, thy absence, and this wrong
Might draw my bloud to forfeit vnto shame,
Nor need I frustrate my delights so long
That haue such meanses to carrie so the same,
Since that the face of greatnesse is so strong
As it dissolves suspect, and beares out blame,
Hauing all secret helps that long thereto
That seldome wants there ought but will to do:

13

Which yet to do, ere lust this heart shall frame
Earth swallow me alieue, hel rap me hence:
Shall I because despisde contemne my shame,
And ad disgrace to others impudence?
What can my powre but giue more powre to fame?
Greatnesse must make it great incontinence;
Chambers are false, the bed and all wil tell,
No doore keepes in their shame that do not well.

Hath greatnesse ought peculiar else alone
But to stand faire and bright above the base?
What doth divide the cottage from the throne,
If vice shall lie both level with disgrace?
For if uncleannesse make them but all one
What privilege hath honor by his place?
What though our sinnes go brave and better clad,
They are as those in rags as base as bad.

I know not how, but wrongfullie I know
Hath undiscerning custome plac'd our kind
Under desert, and set us farther below
The reputation to our sexe assign'd;
Charging our wrong reputed weaknesses, how
We are unconstant, fickle, false, unkinde:
And though our life with thousand proofs shewes no
Yet since strength saies it, weakness must be so.

Unequal partage to be allow'd no share
Of power to do of life's best benefits;
But stand as if we interdicted were
Of vertue, action, libertie and might:
Must you haue all, and not vouchsafe to spare
Our weakness any intrest of delight?
Is there no portion left for vs at all,
But sufferance, sorrow, ignorance and thrall?

Thrice happie you in whom it is no fault,
To know, to speake, to do, and to be wise:
Whose words haue credit, and whose deeds though naught
Must yet be made to seeme far otherwise:
You can be onely heard whilst we are taught
To hold our peace, and not to exercise
The powers of our best parts, because your parts
Haue with our fredome robb'd vs of our hearts:

We in this prison of our selues confin'd
Must here shut vp with our own passions liue
Turn'd in vpon vs, and denied to find
The vent of outward means that might relieve:
That they alone must take vp all our mind;
And no roome left vs, but to thinke and grieve,
Yet oft our narrowed thoughts look more direct
Then your loose wisdoms borne with wild neglect.
For should we to (as God forbid we should)
Carrie no better hand on our desires
Then your strength doth; what interest could
Our wronged patience pais you for your hires?
What mixture of strange generations would
Succeed the fortunes of uncertain Sires?
What foule confusion in your blood and race
To your immortall shame, and our disgrace?

What? are there bars for vs, no bounds for you?
Must leuitie stand sure, though firmnes fall?
And are you priviledged to be vntrue,
And we no grant to be dispens'd withall?
Must we unviolable keep your due,
Both to your loue, and to your falshood thrall?
Whilst you haue stretch'd your lust vnto your will
As if your strength were licenc'd to do ill.

O if you be more strong then be more iust,
Cleare this suspition, make not the world to doubt
Whether in strong, or weeke be better trust,
If frailtie, or else valour be more stout:
And if we haue shut in our harts from lust
148
Let not your bad example let them out,
Thinke that there is like feeling in our bloud,
If you will haue vs good, be you then good.

22
Is it that loue doth take no true delight
In what it hath, but still in what it would,
Which drawes you on to do vs this vnright,
Whilst feare in vs of loosing what we hold
Keeps vs in still to you, that set vs light,
So that what you vntiea, doth vs infold?
Then loue tis thou that dost confound vs so
To make our truth the occasion of our wo.

23
Distressed woman kind that either must
For louing loose your loues, or get neglect;
Whilst wantons are more car'd for, then the iust
And falshood cheerisht, faith without respect:
Better she fares in whom is lesser trust,
And more is lou'd that is in more suspect.
Which (pardon me) shewes no great strength of mind
To be most theirs, that vse you most vnkind.

24
Yet wel it fits for that sinne euer must
Be tortur'd with the racke of his own frame,
149
For he that holds no faith shall find no trust,
But sowing wrong is sure to reap the same:
How can he looke to have his measure just
That sills deceit, and reckons not of shame,
And being not pleased with what he hath in lot
Shall ever pine for that which he hath not?

25
Yet if thou couldst not love, thou mightst have seem'd,
Though to have seem'd had likewise beene unjust:
Yet so much are lean shewes of vs esteem'd
That oft they feed, though not suffice our trust:
Because our nature grieueth to be deem'd
To be so wrong'd, although we be and must.
And it's some ease yet to be kindly vs'd
In outward shew, though secretly abus'd.

26
But wo to her, that both in shew despis'd,
And in effect disgrac'd, and left forlorn, 
For whom no comforts are to be denis'd,
Nor no new hopes can evermore be borne:
O Antony, could it not have suffiz'd
That I was thine, but must be made her skorne
That enuies all our bloud, and doth devise
Thee from thy selfe, onely to serve her pride?
What fault haue I committed that should make
So great dislike of me and of my loue?  
Or doth thy fault but an occasion take
For to dislike what most doth it reproue?
Because the conscience galdlie would mistake
Her own misdeeddes which she would faine remove,
And they that are unwilling to amend
Will take offense because they will offend.

Or having run beyond all pardon quite
They flie and joine with sin as wholly his,
Making it now their side, their part, their right,
And to turne backe would shew t'haue done amisse:
For now they thinke not to be opposite
To what obraldes their fault, were wickednesse:
So much doth follie thrust them into blame
That euen to leave of shame, they count it shame.

Which do not thou, deere Lord, for I do not
Pursue thy fault, but sue for thy returne
Backe to thy selfe; whom thou hast both forgot
With me, poore me, that doth not spight but mournes:
And if thou couldst as well amend thy blot
As I forgive, these plaints had been forborne:
And thou shouldst be the same unto my heart
Which once thou were, not that which now thou art.

Though deep doth sit the hard recovering smart
Of that last wound (which God grant be the last)
And more doth touch that tender feeling part
Of my sad soul, then all th'unkindnes past:
And Antony I appeal to thine own heart,
(If th'heart which once was thine thou yet still hast)
To judge if ever woman that did live
Had iustest cause, then wretched I, to grieve.

For coming unto Athens as I did,
Weary and weak with toil, and all distress,
After I had with sorrow compassed
A hard consent, to grant me that request:
And how my trouble was considered
And all my care, and cost, thy self knowes best:
That wouldst not move one foot from lust for me
That had left all was deere to come to thee:

For first what great ado had I to win
My offended brother Caesar's backward will?
And praid, and wept, and cride to staie the sinne
Of ciuill rancor rising twixt you still:
For in what case shall wretched I be in,
Set betwixt both to share with both your ill?
My bloud said I with either of you goes,
Who euer win, I shall be sure to lose.

For what shame should such mighty persons get
For two weake womens cause to disagree?
Nay what shall I that shall be deem'd to set
Th'inkindled fire, seeming inflam'd for mee?
O if I be the motiu of this heats
Let these vnguilty hands the quenchers bee,
And let me trudge to mediate an accord
The Agent twixt my brother and my Lord.

With prayers, vowes and tears, with urgynge hard
I wrung from him a slender grant at last,
And with the rich provisions I prepar'd
For thy (intended Parthian war) made haste
Weighing not how my poore weake body far'd,
But all the tedious difficulties past:
And came to Athens; whence I Niger sent
To shew thee of my coming and intent.
Whereof when he had made relation:
I was commanded to approach no nearer;
Then sent I back to know what should be done
With th'horse, and men, and monie I had there:
Whereat perhaps when some remorse begun
To touch thy soul, to think yet what we were,
Th'Inchantress straight steps twixt thy heart & thee
And intercepts all thoughts that came of mee.

She arms her tears, the ingins of deceit
And all her batterie, to oppose my love:
And bring thy coming grace to a retreat
The power of all her subtilty to prove:
Now pale and faint she languishes, and straight
Seems in a sound, unble to move:
Whilst her instructed followers plie thine ears
With forged passions, mixt with fained tears.

Hard-hearted lord, say they, how canst thou see
This mighty Queen a creature so divine,
Lie thus distrest, and languishing for thee
And onely wretched but for being thine?
Whilst base Octavia must intitled bee
Thy wife, and she esteem'd thy concubine:
Aduance thy heart, raise it unto his right
And let a scepter baser passions quit.

Thus they assaile thy natures weakest side
And worke upon th'advantage of thy mind,
Knowing where judgment stood least fortified
And how t'encounter follie in her kinde:
But yet the while O what dost thou abide,
Who in thy selfe such wrastling thoughts dost finde?
In what confused case is thy soule in
Rackt betwixt pitie, sorrow, shame and sin?

I cannot tell but sure I dare believe
My travailes needs must some compassion move:
For no such Locke to blood could nature glue
To shut out pitie, though it shut out loue:
Conscience must leaue a little way to grieue
To let in horror comming to reprooue,
The guilt of thy offence that caus'd the same,
For deepest wounds the hand, of our owne shame.

Neuer haue uniuast pleasures beene compleet
In loyes intire, but still feare kept the dore
And held back something from that ful of sweet
To intersowre unsure delights the more:
For neuer did all circumstances meete
With those desires which were conceiued before
Something must still be left to check our sinne,
And giue a touch of what should not haue bin.

Wretched mankinde, wherefore hath nature made
The lawfull, un delightfull, th' vniust shame?
As if our pleasure onelie were forbade,
But to giue fire to lust, t'ad greater flame;
Or else but as ordained more to lade
Our heart with passions to confound the same,
Which though it be, yet ad not worse to ill,
Do, as the best men do, bound thine owne will.

Redeeme thy selfe, and now at length make peace
With thy deuided hart opprest with toile:
Breake vp this war, this brest dissention cease,
Thy passions to thy passions reconcile;
I do not only seeke my good t' increase,
But thine owne ease, and liberty the while:
Thee in the circute of thy selfe confine,
And be thine owne, and then thou wilt be mine.
I know my pitied loue, doth aggrauate
Enuy and wrath for these wrongs offered;
And that my sufferings adde with my estate
Coales in thy bosome, hatred on thy head:
Yet is not that, my fault, but my hard fate,
Who rather wish to haue beene vp pityed
Of all but thee, then that my loue should be
Hurtfull to him that is so deere to me.

Cannot the busie world let me alone
To beare alone the burthen of my griefe,
But they must intermeddle with my mone
And secke t'offend me with vnsought reliefe?
Whilst my afflictions labourd to moue none
But only thee; must pitie play the thiefe,
To steale so many harts to hurt my hart,
And moue apart against my dearest part?

Yet all this shall not prejudice my Lord
If yet he will but make returns at last,
His sight shall raze out of the sad record
Of my inrowled griefe all that is past;
And I will not so much as once afford
Place for a thought to thinke I was disgrac' st:
And pity shall bring backe againe with me
Th'offended harts that haue forsaken thee.

And therefore come deere Lord, least longer stay
Do arme against thee all the powers of spight,
And thou be made at last the woeful pray
Of full inkindled wrath, and ruin'd quite:
But what presaging thought of bloud doth stay
My trembling hand, and doth my soule affright?
What horror do I see, prepar'd t'attend
Th'euent of this? what end vnlesse thou end?

With what strange formes and shadowes ominous
Did my last sleepe, my grieu'd soule intertaine?
I dreamt, yet 8, dreames are but friuolous,
And yet Ile tell it, and God grant it vaine.
Me thought a mighty Hippopotamus
From Nilus floting, thrusts into the maine,
Upon whose backe a wanton Mermaide sate,
As if she ruld his course and steerd his fate.
* A sea Horse.
With whom t'incounter, forth another makes,
Alike in kind, of strength and powre as good:
At whose ingrappling Neptunes mantle takes
A purple colour dyde with streames of bloud,
Whereat, this looker on, amaz'd forsakes
Her Champion there, who yet the better stood;
But se'ing her gone straight after her he hies
As if his hart and strength laie in her eyes.

On followes wrath upon disgrace and feare,
Whereof th'euent forsooke me with the night,
But my wak'd cares, gaue me, these shadowes were
Drawne but from darknes to instruct the light,
These secret figures, natures message beare
Of coming woes, were they desciphered right;
But if as clouds of sleepe thou shalt them take,
Yet credit wrath and spight that are awake.

Preuent great spirit the tempeasts that begin,
If lust and thy ambition haue left waie
But to looke out, and haue not shut all in,
To stop thy judgement from a true suruay
Of thy estate; and let thy hart within
Consider in what danger thou dost lay
Thy life and mine, to leave the good thou hast,
To follow hopes with shadowes overcast.

Come, come away from wrong, from craft, from toyle,
Possesse thine owne with right, with truth, with peace;
Breake from these snares, thy judgement vnbeguile,
Free thine owne torment, and my griefe release.
But whither am I caried all this while
Beyond my scope, and know not when to cease?
Words still with my increasing sorrowes grow;
I know t'haue said too much, but not ynow.
Wherefore no more but only I commend
To thee the hart that's thine, and so I end.

FINIS.
TO

SIR THO: EGERTON KNIGHT,
LORD KEEPER OF THE GREAT
SEALE OF ENGLAND.

WELL hath the pow'rful hand of Maiestie,
Thy worthines, and Englands happe beside,
Set thee in th'aidfulst roome of dignitie,
As th'Isthmus, these two Oceans to diuide
Of Rigor and confus'd Uncertainitie,
To keepe out th'entercourse of wrong and pride,
That they ingulph not vp unsuccoured right
By th'extreame current of licencious might.

Now when we see the most combining band,
The strongest fasting of societie
Law, whereon all this frame of men doth stand,
Remaine concussed with uncertainitie,
And seeme to foster rather than withstand
Contention, and embrace obscuritie,
Onely t'afflict, and not to fashion vs,
Making her cure farre worse than the disease.

As if she had made covenant with Wrong,
To part the prey made on our weaknesses,
And suffred Falshood to be arm'd as strong
Unto the combate as is Righteousnes,
Or suted her, as if she did belong
Vnto our passions, and did euen profess
Contention, as her only mystery,
Which she restraines not, but doth multiply.

Was she the same sh'is now in ages past,
Or was she lesse when she was vsed lesse?
And growes as malice growes, and so comes cast
Iust to the forme of our vnquietnesse?
Or made more slow, the more that strife runnes fast,
Staying t'undo vs ere she will redresse?
That th'ill shee checks seemes suffred to be ill,
When it yeelds greater gaine than goodnesse will.

Must there be still some discord mixt among
The Harmonie of men, whose moode accords
Best with Contention, tun'd t'a note of wrong,
That when war failes, peace must make war with words,
And b'arm'd unth destruction euen as strong,
As were in ages past our ciuill swordes;
Making as deepe, although vnbleeding wounds,
That when as furie failes, wisedome confounds.

If it be wisedome, and not cunning, this
Which so imbroyles the state of truth with brawles,
And wrapptes it vp in strange confusednesse
As if it liu'd immur'd within the walls,
Of hideous terms fram'd out of barbarousnesse
And forraise Customes, the memorials
Of our subiection, and could neuer be
Deliu'red but by wrangling subtiltis.

Whereas it dwells free in the open plaine,
Vncurious, Gentile, easie of accesse:
Certaine unto it selfe, of equall vaine,
One face, one colour, one assurednesse;
It's Falshood that is intricate, and vaine,
And needes these labirinths of subtilnesse.
For where the cunningst cou'ring most appeare
It argues still that all is not sincere.

Which thy cleere ey'd experience well discrives,
Great Keeper of the state of Equitie,
Refuge of mercie, vpon whom relies
The succour of oppressed miserie:
Altar of safegarde, whereto afflication flies
From th'eger pursue of seueritie:
Hauen of Peace, that labourst to withdraw
Iustice, from out the tempests of the Law.

And set her in a calme and euen way,
Plaine and directly leading to redresse,
Barring these counter-courses of delay
These wasting dilatorie processes:
Ranging into their right, and proper ray,
Errors, demurs, esoines; and trauerses,
The heads of Hydra springing out of death
That giues this Monster malice still new breath.

That what was made for the vtilitie
And good of man, might not be turn'd t'his hurt
To make him worser by his remedie,
And cast him downe, with what should him support:
Nor that the State of Law might lose thereby
The due respect, and reu' rence of her porte,
And seeme a trap to catch our ignorance
And to intangle our intemperance.

Since her interpretations and our deedses,
Vnto a like infinitie arise,
As be'ng a Science, that by nature breeds
Contention, strife and ambiguities:
For altercation controversie feeds,
And in her agitation multiplies:
The field of Cavell lying all like wide,
Yeaalda like advantage vnto eyther side.
Which made the grave Castillian King devise
A prohibition, that no Advocate
Should be conuaid to th'Indian Colonies,
Lest their new setting, shaken with debate,
Might take but slender roots, and so not rise
To any perfect growth of firme estate,
For having not this skill, how to contend,
Th'vnnoirsht strife would quickly make an end.

So likewise did th'Hungarian, when he saw
These great Italian Bartolists, who were
Call'd in, of purpose to exp lance the Law,
T'imbroyle it more, and make it much lesse cleare,
Caus'd them from out his Kingdome to withdraw
With this Infestious skill some other-where:
Whose learning rather let men farther out,
And opened wider passages of doubt.

Seeing even Injustice may be regulare;

#Ferdinand king
of Castile.

#The king of
Hungarie.

#Difficultatem
facit doctrine.
And no proportion can there be betwixt
Our actions which in endless motion are
And th'Ordinances which are alwayes fixt.
Tenne thousand Lawes more, cannot reach so farre,
But Malice goes beyond, or lines immixt
So close with goodnesse, as it euer will
Corrupt, disguise or counterfeite it still.

And therefore did those glorious Monarchs, (who
Deuide with God the Stile of Maiestie
For being good, and had a care to do
The world right, and succour honestie)
Ordaine this sanctuarie whereunto
Th'opprest might flie, this seate of Equitie
Whereon thy vertues sit with faire renowne,
The greatest grace and glory of the Gowne.

Which Equitie being the soule of Law
The life of Iustice, and the Spirite of right,
Dwell's not in written Lines, or lines in awe
Of Bookes; deafe powres that haue nor eares, nor sight:
But out of well-weigh'd circumstance doth draw
The essence of a judgement requisite:
And is that Lesbian square, that building fit,
Plies to the worke, not forc' th the worke to it.
Maintaining still an equal parallel
Just with the occasions of humanity,
Making her judgments ever liable
To the respect of peace and amity:
When surly Law, stern, and unaffable,
Cares only but itself to satisfy:
And often, innocence scarce defends,
As that which on no circumstance depends.

But Equity that bears an even rain
Upon the present courses, holds in awe,
By gluing hand a little, and doth gain
By a gentle relaxation of the Law;
And yet inviolable doth maintain
The end whereunto all constitutions draw;
Which is the well-fare of society
Consisting of an upright policy.

Which first being by Necessity compos'd,
Is by Necessity maintain'd in best estate,*
Where, when as Justice shall be ill dispos'd

*Necessitas est
lex temporum.
It sickens the whole body of the State:
For if there be a passage once disclos'd
That Wrong may enter at the selfe-same gate
Which serves for Right, cladde in a coate of Law,
What violent distempers may it draw?
And therefore dost thou stand to keepe the way,
And stoppe the course that malice seekes to runne
And by thy prouident Injunctions stay
This never ending Altercation;
Sending contentions home, to th'end men may
There make their peace, whereas their strife begun:
And free these pestred streets they vainely weare
Whom both the State, and theirs, do need elsewhere.

Lest th'humor which doth thus predominate
Convert unto it selfe all that it takes;
And that the law grow larger then debate,
And come t'exceede th'affaires it undertakes:
As if the onely Science of the State
That tooke vp all our wits for gaine it makes;
Not for the good that thereby may be wrought
Which is not good if it be dearly bought.

What shall we thinke when as ill causes shall
Inrich men more, and shall be more desir'd
Then good, as farre more beneficially?
Who then defends the good? Who will be hir'd
To intertaine a right, whose gaine is small?
Unlesse the Advocate that hath conspir'd
To pleade a wrong, be likewise made to runne
His Clients chance, and with him be undone.

So did the wisest nations ever strive
To binde the hands of Justice vp so hard,
That lest she falling to prove Lucratius
Might basely reach them out to take reward:
Ordaining her provisions fit to live
Out of the publicke as a publicke Guard
That all preseruas, and all doth entertaine,
Whose end is onely glory, and not gaine.

That eu'n the Scepter which might all command,
Seeing her s'vnpartiall, equall, regulare,
Was pleas'd to put it selfe into her hand;
Whereby they both grew more admired farre.
And this is that great blessing of this land,
That both the Prince and people use one Barre,
The Prince, whose cause, (as not to be withstood)

*A remedy for defending ill causes.
Is never badde but where himselfe is good.

This is that Ballance which committed is
To thy most euen and religious hand;
Great Minister of Iustice, who by this
Shalt have thy name, still gratious in this land:
This is that seale of pow're which doth impresse
Thy Acts of right, which shall for euer stand:
This is that traine of State, that pompously
Attends vpon thy reu'rent dignitie.

All glory else besides, ends with our breath,
And mens respects scarce brings vs to our grave:
But this of doing good, must out-liue Death,
And have a right out of the right it gaue:
Though th'act but few, th'example profiteth
Thousands, that shall thereby a blessing haue.
The worlds respect growes not but on desarts,
Powre may haue knees, but Iustice hath our harts.
TO

THE LORD HENRY HOWARD,
ONE OF HIS MAIESTIES
PRIVIE COUNCIL.

Praise, if it be not choice, and laide aright,
Can yeeld no lustre where it is bestowde,
Nor any way can grace the giuers Arte,
(Tho' it be a pleasing colour to delight,)  
For that no ground whereon it can be shew'd
Will beare it well, but Vertue and Desart.

And though I might commend your learning, wit,
And happy uttrance, and commend them right,
As that which decks you much, and giues you grace,
Yet your cleere judgement best deserueth it,
Which in your course hath caried you vprivright,
And made you to discerne the truest face,

And best complexion of the things that breed
The reputation and the loue of men.
And held you in the tract of honestie
Which euer in the end we see succeed,
Though oft it may have interrupted bin,
Both by the times and mens iniquitie.

For sure those actions which do fairely runne

171
In the right line of Honor, still are those
That get most cleane, and safest to their end,
And passe the best without confusion,
Either in those that act or else dispose,
Hauing the scope made cleore whereto they tend.

When this by-path of cunning doth s'imbroile
And intricate the passage of affaires,
As that they seldome fearely can get out;
But cost, with lesse successe, more care and toile
Whilst doubt and the distrusted cause impaires
Their courage, who would else appeare more stout.

For though some hearts are builded so, that they
Haue diuers dores, whereby they may let out
Their wills abroad without disturbancie,
Int'any course, and into eu'ry way
Of humour, that affection turnses about,
Yet haue the best but one t'haue passage by.

And that so surely warded with the Guarde
Of Conscience and respect, as nothing must
Haue course that way, but with the certaine passe
Of a perswasie right, which be'ng compard
With their conceipt, must thereto answere iust,
And so with due examination passe.

Which kind of men, rais'd of a better frame
Are meere religious, constant and vpright,
And bring the ablest hands for any\'effect,
And best beare vp the reputation, fame
And good opinion that the Action\'s right,
When th\'undertakers are without suspect.

But when the bodie of an enterprise
Shall goe one way, the face another way,
As if it did but mocke a weaker trust,
The motion being monstrous cannot rise
To any good, but falls downe to bewray
That all pretences serue for things vniust.

Especially where th\'action will allow
Apparancie, or that it hath a course
Concentrike with the Vniuersall frame
Of men combind, whom it concerneth how
These motions turne and intertaine their force,
Hauing their being resting on the same.

And be it, that the vulgare are but grosse
Yet are they capable of truth, and see,
And sometimes gesse the right, and doe conceiue
The Nature of that text, that needes a glossa,
And wholy neuer can deluded be,
All may a few, few cannot all deceive.

And these strange disproportions in the traine
And course of things, do euermore proceede
From th'ill-set disposition of their minds,  
Who in their actions cannot but retaine  
Th'incumbred formes which do within them breede,  
And which they cannot shew but in their kindes.  

Whereas the wayes and councells of the Light,  
So sort with valour and with manlinesse,  
As that they carry things assuredly  
Undazeling of their owne or others sight:  
There be'ng a blessing that doth glue success  
To worthinesse, and unto constancie.  

And though sometimes th'euent may fall amisse,  
Yet shall it still haue honour for th'attempt,  
When Craft begins with feare, and endes with shame,  
And in the whole designe perplexed is.  
Vertue, though luckelessse; yet shall skape contempt,  
And though it hath not hap, it shall haue fame.
TO
THE LADY MARGARET
COUETESE OF CUM-
BERLAND.

HE that of such a height hath built his minde,  
And rear'd the dwelling of his thoughts so strong 
As neither Feare nor Hope can shake the frame 
Of his resolved powres, nor al the winde 
Of Vanitie or Malice, pierce to wrong 
His setled peace, or to disturb the same, 
What a faire seate hath he from whence hee may 
The boundlesse wastes, and weilds of man suruay.

And with how free an eye doth he looke downe, 
Upon these lower Regions of turmoyle, 
Where all these stormes of passions mainely beate 
On flesh and blood, where honor, power, renowne 
Are onely gay afflictions, golden toyle, 
Where Greatnesse stands vpon as feeble feete 
As Frailtie doth, and only great doth seeme 
To little mindes, who do it so esteeme.

He lookes vpon the mightiest Monarchs warres 
But onely as on stately robberies,
Where euermore the fortune that preuailes
Must be the right, the ill-succeeding marres
The fairest and the best-fac't enterprize:
Great Pyrat Pompey lesser Pyrates quailes,
Justice, he sees, as if seduced, still
Conspires with powre, whose cause must not be ill.

He sees the face of Right t'appeare as manyfold
As are the passions of uncertaine man,
Who puts it in all coulours, all attires
To serue his ends, and make his courses hold:
He sees that let Deceit worke what it can,
Plot and contriue base wayes to high desires,
That the all-guiding Prouldence doth yet
All disappoint, and mockes this smoake of wit.

Nor is he mocu'd with all the thunder crackes
Of Tyrants threats, or with the surly brow
Of power, that proudly sits on others crimes,
Chardg'd with more crying sinnes, then those he checks:
The stormes of sad confusion that may grow
Vp in the present, for the cumming times,
Appall not him, that hath no side at all
But of himselfe, and knowes the worst can fall.

Although his hart so neere allied to earth,
Cannot but pittie the perplexed State
Of troublous, and distrest mortalitie,
That thus make way unto the ougly birth
Of their owne sorrowes, and doe still beget
Affliction vpon imbecilitie:
Yet seeing thus the course of things must run,
He lookes thereon, not strange, but as foredun.

And whilst distraught Ambition compasses
And is incompast, whil'st as craft deceiues
And is deceiu'd, whil'st man doth ransack man
And builds on bloud, and rises by distresse,
And th'inheritance of desolation leaues
To great expecting hopes, he lookes thereon
As from the shore of peace with unwet eye
And beares no venture in impietie.

Thus, Madame, fares the man that hath prepar'd
A rest for his desires, and sees all things
Beneath him, and hath learn't this booke of man,
Full of the notes of frailtie, and compar'd
The best of glory with her sufferings,
By whom I see you labour all you can
To plant your heart, and set your thought as neere
His glorious mansion, as your powres can beare.
Which, Madame, are so soundly fashioned,
By that cleere judgement that hath caried you
Beyond the feeble limits of your kinde,
As they can stand against the strongest head
Passion can make, invr'd to any hew
The world can cast, that cannot cast that minde
Out of her forme of goodnesse, that doth see
Both what the best and worst of earth can bee.

Which makes, that whatsoever here befallles,
You in the region of your selfe remaine,
Where no vaino breath of th'impudent molests,
That hath secur'd within the brasen walls
Of a cleere conscience, that without all staine
Rises in peace, in innocencie rests:
Whilst all what malice from without procures,
Shews her owne ougly heart, but hurts not yours,

And whereas none reioyce more in reuenge
Then women use to doe, yet you well know,
That wrong is better checkt, by being contemn'd,
Then being pursu'd, leauing to him t'auenge
To whom it appertaines, wherein you show
How worthily your Clearenesse hath condemn'd
Base malediction, liuing in the darke,
That at the raies of goodnesse still doth barke.

Knowing the heart of man is set to be
The centre of his world, about the which
These resolutions of disturbances
Still roule, where all th'aspects of miserie
Predominate, whose strong effects are such
As he must beare, being powrelesse to redresse,
And that vnlesse aboue himselfe he can
Erect himselfe, how poore a thing is man?

And how turnmoyld they are that leuell lie
With earth, and cannot lift themselves from thence,
That neuer are at peace with their desires,
But worke beyond their yeares, and euen deny
Dotage her rest, and hardly will dispence
With Death: that when ability expires,
Desire lies still, so much delight they haue
To carry toile, and travaile to the graue.

Whose ends you see, and what can be the best
They reach unto, when they haue cast the summe
And recknings of their glory, and you know
This floting life hath but this Port of rest,
A heart prepar'd that feares no ill to come:
And that mans greatnesse rests but in his show;
The best of all whose days consumed are,
Eyther in warre, or peace conceiving warre.

This Concord (Madame) of a wel-tun'd minde
Hath beene so set by that all-working hand
Of heauen, that though the world hath done his worst,
To put it out, by discords most vnkinde,
Yet doth it still in perfect union stand
With God and Man, nor euer will be forc't
From that most sweete accord, but still agree
Equall in Fortunes ineqvalitie.

And this note (Madame) of your Worthines
Remaines recorded in so many Hearts
As time nor malice cannot wrong your right
In th'inheritance of Fame you must possesse,
You that haue built you by your great desarts,
Out of small meanes, a farre more exquisite
And glorious dwelling for your honoured name
Then all the gold of leadeen mindes can frame.

S.D.
TO

THE LADY LUCIE, COVNETTES OF BEDFORD.

Though virtue be the same when low she stands
In th'humble shadowes of obscuritie

As when she either sweats in martiall bands,
Or sits in Court, clad with authortie:

Yet Madame, doth the strictnesse of her roome
Greatly detract from her abilitie:

For as inwalld within a living tombe

Her handes and armes of action, labour not;
Her thoughts as if abortiue from the wombe,
Came neuer borne, though happily begot.

But where she hath mounted in open sight
An eminent, and spacious dwelling got.

Where shee may stirre at will, and use her might,
There is she more her selfe, and more her owne:

There in the faire attyre of honour dight,
She sits at ease and makes her glory knowne,
Applause attends her hands, her deeds haue grace,

Her worth new-borne is straight as if ful growne,
With such a goodly and respected face
Doth vertue looks, that's set to looke from his,
And such a faire aduantage by her place

181
Hath state and greatnesse to doe worthily.  
And therefore well did your high fortunes meete 
With her, that gracing you, comes grac't thereby, 
And well was let into a house so sweete 
So good, so faire; so faire, so good a guest, 
Who now remains as blessed in her seats, 
As you are with her residencie blesst. 
And this faire course of knowledge whereunto 
Your studies, learned Lady, are addrest, 
Is th'only certaine way that you can goo 
Vnto true glory, to true happines: 
All passages on earth besides, are so 
Incumbred with such vaine disturbances, 
As still we loose our rest, in seeking it, 
Being but deluded with apparances. 
And no key had you else that was so fit 
T'unlocke that prison of your Sex, as this, 
To let you out of weakenesse, and admit 
Your powers into the freedome of that blisse 
That sets you there where you may oversee 
This rowling world, and view it as it is, 
And apprehend how th'outsides do agree 
With th'inward being of the things, we deeme 
And hold in our ill-cast accounts, to be
Of highest value, and of best esteeme.
Since all the good we haue rests in the mind,
By whose proportions onely we redeem
Our thoughts from out confusion, and do finde
The measure of our selves, and of our powres.
And that all happinesse remaines confind
Within the Kingdome of this breast of ours.
Without whose bounds, all that we looke on, lies
In others Jurisdicctions, others powres,
Out of the circuit of our liberties.
All glory, honor, fame, applause, renowne,
Are not belonging to our royalties,
But t'others wills, wherein th'are onely growne.
And that vnlesse we finde vs all within,
We neuer can without vs be our owne:
Nor call it right, our life we live in.
But a possession held for others use,
That seems to haue most interest therein.
Which we do so disseuer, parte, traduce,
Let out to custome fashion and to shew
As we enjoy but onely the abuse,
And have no other Deed at all to shew.
How oft are we constrained to appeare
With other countenance then that we owe,
And be our selves farre off, when we are neere? How oft are we forc'd on a cloudie hart, To set a shining face, and make it cleere. Seeming content to put our selves apart, To beare a part of others weaknesses: As if we onely were compos'd by Arte, Not Nature, and did all our deeds address To opinion, not t'a conscience what is right: As fram'd b'example, not advisednesse Into those formes that intertaine our sight. And though Bookes, Madame, cannot make this minde, Which we must bring apt to be set aright, Yet do they rectifie it in that kinde, And touch it so, as that it turning that way Where judgement lies: And though we cannot finde The certaine place of truth, yet doe they stay, And intertaine vs neere about the same. And giue the Soule the best delights that may Encheere it most, and most our spirits inflame To thoughts of glory, and to worthy ends. And therefore in a course that best became The cleerenesse of your heart, and best commends Your worthy powres, you runne the rightest way That is on Earth, that can true glory glue, By which when all consumes, your fame shal live.
TO

THE LADY ANNE

CLIFFORD.

VNTo the tender youth of those faire eyes
The light of judgement can arise but new
And yong the world appeares t'a yong conceit,
Whilst thorow th'vnacquainted faculties
The late inuested soule doth rawly view
Those Oibiects which on that discretion waite.

Yet you that such a faire advantage haue,
Both by your birth, and happy powres t'out-go,
And be before your yeares, can fairely guesse
What new of life holdes sweest without staine,
Hauing your well-wrought hart full furnisht so
With all the images of worthinesse,

As there is left no roome at all t'inuest
Figures of other forme but Sanctitie:
Whilst yet those cleane-created thoughts, within
The Garden of your innocencies rest,
Where are no notions of deformitie
Nor any dore at all to let them in.

With so great care doth shee, that hath brought forth
That comely body, labour to adorne

185
That better parte, the mansion of your minde,  [25]
With all the richest furniture of worth,  
To make y'as highly good as highly borne,  
And set your vertues equall to your kinde.

She tells you how that honour onely is  
A goodly garment put on faire desarts,  
Wherin the smallest staine is greatest scene,  
And that it cannot grace unworthinesse;  
But more apparant shewes defective partes,  
How gay soeuer they are deckt therein.

She tells you too, how that it bounded is,  
And kept inclosed with so many eyes,  
As that it cannot stray and breake abroade  
Into the private wayes of carelessenesse,  
Nor euer may descend to vulgarize,  
Or be below the sphere of her abode.

But like to those supernall bodies set  
Within their Orbs, must keep the certaine course  
Of order, destin'd to their proper place;  
Which only doth their note of glory get.  
Th'irregular apparances infirce  
A short respect, and perish without grace.  
Being Meteors seeming hie, but yet low plac't,  
Blazing but while their dying matters last,
Nor can we take the just height of the minde,
But by that order which her course doth shew:
And which such splendor to her actions giues,
And thereby men her eminencie finde,
And thereby only do attaine to know
The Region, and the Orbe wherein she liues.

For low in th'aire of grosse uncertaintie,
Confusion onely rowles, Order sits hie.
And therefore since the dearest thing on earth,
This honour, Madame, hath his stately frame
From th'heau'nyly order, which begets respect,
And that your nature, vertue, happy birth,
Haue therein highly interplac'd your name,
You may not runne the least course of neglect.

For where, not to obseruo, is to prophane
Your dignitie, how carefull must you be
To be your selfe, and though you may to all
Shine faire aspects, yet must the vertuous gaine
The best effects of your benignitie:
Nor must your common graces cause to fall
The price of your esteeme t'a lower rate,
Then doth befit the pitch of your estate.

Nor may you build on your sufficiency,
For in our strongest partes we are but weake,
Nor yet may over-much distrust the same,
Lest that you come to checke it so thereby,
As silence may become worse than to speake;
Though silence women never ill became.

And none, we see, were ever overthrown
By others flattery more than by their owne.

For though we live amongst the tongues of praise
And troops of soothing people, that collaud
All that we do, yet t'is within our harts
Th'ambushment lies, that evermore betraies
Our judgements, when our selues become t'applaud
Our owne ability, and our owne parts.

So that we must not onely fence this forte
Of ours, against all others fraud, but most
Against our owne, whose danger is the most,
Because we lie the nearest to doe hurt,
And soon'st deceive our selues, and soon'st are lost
By our best powres that do us most transport.

Such are your holy bounds, who must convey
(If God so please) the honourable bloud
Of Clifford, and of Russell, led aright
To many worthy stemmes whose off-spring may
Looke backe with comfort, to have had that good
To spring from such a branch that grew s'vpright;

Since nothing cheere the heart of greatnessse more
Then th'Ancestors faire glory gone before.
TO HENRY Wriothesly Erle
OF SOVTHAMPTON.

Non fert ullam ictum illaesa foelicitas.

HE who hath neuer warr'ed with misery,
Nor ever tugg'd with Fortune, and Distresse
Hath had n'occasion nor no field to trie
The strength and forces of his worthinesse:
Those partes of judgement which felicitie
Keepes as conceal'd, affliction must expresse;
And only men shew their abilities,
And what they are, in their extremities.

The world had neuer taken so full note
Of what thou arte, hadst thou not beene undone,
And onely thy affliction hath begot
More fame then thy best fortunes could have done:
For euer by aduersitie are wrought
The greatest workes of admiration,
And all the faire examples of renowne,
Out of distresse and misery are growne.

Mutius the fire, the torturs Regulus,
Did make the miracles of Faith and Zeale:
Exile renown'd, and Grac'd Rutilius:
Imprisonment, and Poyson did reveale
The worth of Socrates; Fabricius
Pouertie did grace that Common-woale
More then all Syllaes riches got with strife,
And Catoes death did vie with Caesars life.

Not to b'vnhappy is vnhappinesse;
And miserie not t'haue knowne misery:
For the best way vnto discretion is
The way that leads vs by aduersitie:
And men are better shew'd what is amisse,
By th'expert finger of Calamitie,
Then they can be with all that Fortune brings,
Who neuer shewes them the true face of things.

How could we know that thou could'st haue indur'd
With a reposed choise, wrong and disgrace,
And with a heart and countenance assur'd
Haue lookt sterne Death, and Horror in the face?
How should we know thy soule had bin secur'd
In honest counsels, and in wayes vnbase?
Hadst thou not stood to shew vs what thou wert,
By thy affliction, that describe thy heart.

It is not but the Tempest that doth shew
The Sea-mans cunning: but the field that tries
The Captaines courage: and we come to know
Best what men are, in their worst ieoperdies:
For lo, how many haue we seene to grow
To hie renowne from lowest miseries,
Out of the hands of death, and many a one
T'haue bin undone, had they not bin vndone.

He that indures for what his conscience knowes
Not to be ill, doth from a patience hie
Looke, onely on the cause whereto he owes
Those sufferings, not on his miserie:
The more h'indures, the more his glory growes,
Which neuer growes from imbecilitie:
Onely the best compos'd, and worthiest harts,
God sets to act the hard' st and constant' st parts.

S: D.
TO IAMES MONTAGU

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER
To the right Reverend Father in God James Montagu
Bishop of Winchester Deane of the Chapell, and One
of his Maiesties most Honorable privie Councell.

Although you haue out of your proper store
The Best Munition that may fortifie
A Noble Hart as no Man can haue more
Against the Batteries of Mortalitie
Yet Reverend Lord voutsafe mee leaue to bring
One Weapon more vnto your furnishment
That you th'Assaults of this close vanquishing
And seacret-wasting Sicknes may preuent
For that my self haue struggled with it too
A[n d k]now the worst of all that it can doo
A[n d l]et me tell you this You neuer could
Haue found a gentler warring Enemie
And one that with more faire proceeding would
Encounter you without extremitie
Nor giue more tyme to make Resistances
And to repaire your Breaches then will this

For whereas other Sicknesses surprise
Our Spirits at vnawares, disweopning sodainely
All Sense of Understanding in such wise
As that they lay vs dead before wee Dy
Or Fyre vs out of our inflamed Forte
With raving Phrensies in a fearfull sorte

This comes and steales vs by Degrees away
And yet not that without our privitie
They rap vs hence as Vultures doe their pray
Confound vs with Tortures instantly
This fairely kills they fowly murther vs
Tripp vpp our Heeles Before wee can discerne
This giues vs tyme of treaty to discuss
Our Suffrings and the cause thereof to learne

Besydes herewith wee oftentimes haue Truce
For many Mon'ths sometimes for many yeares
and are permitted to injoy the vse
Of Study; and although our Bodie weares
Our Witt remains our Speach our Memory
Faile not, or come before our selues to Dy
Wee part together and wee take our leasue
Of Prends of kindred wee dispose our State
And yeeld vpp fairelie what wee did receaue
And all our Businesses accomodate
So that wee cannot say wee were thrust out
But wee depart from hence in quiet sorte
The foe with whom wee haue the Battaile fought
Hath not subdude vs but got our forte
And this Disease is held most incident
To the Best Natures and most innocent
And therefore Lord their cannot bee
A gentler Passage then there is hereby
Vnto that Port wherein wee shall bee free
From all the Stormes of Worldly Miseree
And though it shew vs dayly in our Glass
Our Fading Leafe turnde to a Yallow Hue
And how it withers as the Sap doth pass
And what wee may exspect is to insue

Yet that I knowe disquiets not your Minde,
Who knowes the brittle Mettayle of Mankinde
And haue all Comforts Virtue can begett
And most the Conscience of well acted daies
With all those Monuments that you haue sett
On Holy Ground to your perpetuall praise
(As things best sett) must euer testifie
And shew the worth of Noble Monʃbagueʃ
And so long as the Valles of Pietie
Stand, so long shall stand the Memorie of you
And Bath and Wells and Winchester shall shew
Their faire Repaires to all Posteritie
And how much blest and fortunate they were
That euer Gratious Hand did plant you there
Besides you haue not only built vpp walles
But also (woorthyer Edifices) Men
By whom you shall haue the Memorialles
And everlastieng Honof of the Pen.

That whensoever you shall come to make
Your Exit from this Scene wherein you haue
Perform'd so Noble Parts you then shall take
Your Leaue with Honof have a glorious Graue

For when can Men goe better to their Rest

Then when they are Esteem'd and Loued Best.
Variants

A Letter from Octauia

Key


C: Certaine Small Poems Lately Printed: with the Tragedie of Philotas (London, 1605).


Ar: Miss Ruth Hughey's transcription of the Arundel MS., ff. 159V-160V.


Dedication omitted Ar

1 most omitted D E

9 griefes, griefes, D E

17 B'ing B'ing B F Gros
Argument omitted Ar

6 never \_ nere F Gros

7 of nature \_ of omitted F

1-3 A \_ \_ Egypt \_ Octauia to Anthony. Ar

8 by \_ at Ar

9 Grant \_ Great Ar D E Gros

15 that \_ thy E

17 Shall \_ shallt Ar C E F Gros : them \_ it Ar

18 Whilst \_ while Ar

21 staying \_ being Ar

23 indeed it comes \_ yt comes indeed Ar

25 Armes, arme E

27 the \_ this Ar

32 And \_ An D : heare \_ here E

35 As \_ that Ar

36 let in once \_ once let in Ar

37 confirmed \_ confirme Ar

45 thec \_ the Ar

46 I \_ \_ vntrue: \_ vnto my self I made my self vntrew Ar

47 thy \_ my F Gros

48 which yet \_ yt still Ar : kept \_ keepes D E

56 But \_ \_ they \_ Yet soone I see they be Ar

57 their shame \_ shame theirs Ar

59 hath \_ doth Ar : layd \_ lay Ar

60 relaps \_ revollt Ar : reuolt \_ relapse Ar
[Text from the image]

62 made\] lefte Ar
65 comes\] are Ar
66-84 stanzas 8 and 9 transposed in Ar
68 I may] must I Ar
70 that him\] wch him Ar
71 lost me too,\] rob'd me to Ar
72 Yet\] But Ar : bearing\] that beare Ar
74 be\] is Ar
77 the\] th' Ar
81 undeserving,\] undeserved Ar
83 never\] selldome Ar
86 laboured\] counselled D fnaw in copy E
88 be\] he E
91 the\] th' Ar
92 What\] That Ar
97 thee\] the Ar
98 Ile\] and Ar
104 absence, and this\] want, my Powre thy Ar
107 That have\] having Ar
108 Since that\] seeing Ar
109 As\] yt Ar
113 yet\] \(\) Ar : this\] his Ar
117 give\] add Ar
118 must\] doth Ar
120 their\] there Ar
ought peculiar else] else peculyer ought Ar
For] And Ar : but all] all but Ar
though] yf Ar
our] ours F
are] be Ar
showes] say Ar
since] sith Ar : saies] sayth Ar
139-165 16 ... neglect] omitted Ar
power to do] liberty D E
libertie and] practices of D E
intrest of delight?] part of natures right. D E
to do] to judge D E
words] woads E
narrowed] blindfold D E
For ... to] But Æ should wee Ar : to] do D E
interest] interest Ar
wronged patience pai] patience back repay Ar
mixture] mixtures Ar
Succeed] followe Ar
in] to Ar
immortal, eternall Ar
sure, though] firme, and Ar
are you pruiledged] have you priviledge Ar
inuolable] invyoable Ar
loue,] truth Ar
Whilst \\

While \\

stretch'd \\

loos'de \\

vpon \\

Gros \\

make \\

lett \\

to doubt \\

ownt \\

valour \\

manhood \\

in \\

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doth take no \\

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loues \\

lyves \\

Whilst \\

whiles \\

And falsehood \\

falsehood is \\

she \\

they fare, that are in \\

lesser \\

lesse \\

is lou'd de \\

belov'de, \\

is \\

be \\

(pardon . . . mind) \\
is (pt pardon) great defect in \\
you \\
To \\

vnkind \\

To have yo' Love subject to \\

th'vntrrew \\

omitted \\
couldst \\
didst \\
of \\
by \\

24 . . . not?
That oft they oft do.
Because ffor why
To be so so to be
it's yet
In By secretly inwardly
to is
left quite
comforts succors
must be made I must be
haued had
So great thee to
doth did
For doth to dislyke that, that most should
Because or else : the his gladly
would willing to
are be
Will Doe would
wholy only
side cause their right and right
would shew might seeme
For That
fault, sinn is fault where
doth follie thrust their error thrusts
of off B C F Gros
doth doe
were, wast, Ar wert, E
doth do Ar : hard hart E
more . . . tender doth more perce th'inward Ar
thine thy Ar
thy Ar
th' ye Ar : yet still still yet Ar
to . . . ever Yf ever any Ar
wretched woeful Ar
sorrow labor Ar
move stepp Ar : for to Ar
first . . . I what adoe had I at first Ar
My' m' Ar B D E F Gros
praid ply'de Ar : crid . . . sinne prayd to
turne ye ill Ar
in what what a Ar : wretched woeful Ar
Set betwixt plaste betweene Ar : betwixt twixt
F Gros : with of Ar
said (quoth Ar
win wins Ar
For And Ar D E : should shall D E
shall should Ar : shall should Ar
fire fyres Ar
an and Ar
The Th' Ar
praiers . . . hard teares with prayers most infortunate Ar
the such provisions as I gate
thy th' Ar
Weighing ... far'd, not sparing this poore bodies weake estate Ar
And I Ar
Shew tell Ar
no so neare, neare? C
sent I I sent Ar
th' omitted Ar
Whereat . . . some Which whether shame or ells Ar
soule, hart Ar
Inchantres, Inchanters steps stept Gros
But Cleopatra fearing least the ground
Of her ungodly cause should prove unsownd Ar
She Now th' Ar
batterie, falsehood Ar
bring dryve Ar
powre, strength Ar
faint, wann languishes, languisheth Ar
more to move, to remove Ar
Whilst While Ar followers fellowes Gros
passions, tales Ar
Lie thus lying Ar
Whilst] whiles Ar
Aduance] Lifte vpp Ar ; it] thee Ar ; his right)
thy grace Ar
quit.] chase Ar quite. D E
yet the] the meane Ar
Who: that Ar
Rackt betwixt] wrapt betweene Ar
locke] linck Ar loke E
To shut out] To shut our E ; it shut out] it
shut our E
thy] his Ar thine F Gros : caus'd] did Ar
haue] wear Ar : beene so Ar
still feare] feare still D E : kept keepe E
that ful] ye Love Ar
those] the Ar : which] that Ar
must ... left] is left behynd Ar
Wretched mankinde, wherefore] Unhappy man & how Ar :
made] omitted E
pleasure] pleasures Ar
t'ad greater flame:] and more t'inflame Ar
but as] wear but Ar : more to lade] to invade Ar
heart with passions: hould of rest and Ar
thought] thought F
Which ... will.
Yf it be soo yet clear thy self made foule
with thy disordred thoughtes and clense the soule Ar
Redeemest Vnyte Ar

Breske vp Cease from Ar

passions to thy passions thoughts vnto thy thoughts now Ar

only secke secke only Ar

loue, truth Ar

Who that Ar : wish to wish t' D wisht E : have becne be Ar

Stanza inserted in Ar following 390:

What must I love but leve the to
since yf I love I hurt yf not I wronge
ay me unhappy, what would yllnes doe
yf unto goodnes such offence belonge
O yf my Constant faith be made t'vndoe
both thee and me why is yt not lesse stronge

What must my Love take part against my Love
And my softe peace, warr and dissention move

If to vex Ar to offend D E

Whilst While Ar : labour labor Ar B F Gros

To And Ar : to hurt against Ar

make a part Ar

for a thought in my hart Ar : I was disgrac'st:

but what thou wast Ar
And . . . least ] Come then (Deare Love) least happily Ar
thought [ thoughts Ar : doth ] do Ar
doth ] doe Ar
horror ] sorrowes Ar
Th' ] The' F : vnlesse ] except Ar
416-444 47 . . . awake. ] omitted Ar
yet ] yee F Gros
her ] his E
instruct ] instinct E
were ] where C D
tempests ] tempest C
thy ] thyne Ar : thy ] thyne Ar my F
leave ] lean E
wrong ] Warr, Ar
these ] those Ar : thy ] blank Ar : judgement
judgements E
torment ] dangers Ar : griefe ] feares Ar
whither ] whether Ar E : am I caried ] runne my
sorrowes Ar
my ] their Ar
t' ] to Ar : but ] and Ar
that's ] is Ar
Certaine Epistles

Key

A (text): A Panegyrike Congratulatorie To The Kings Maestre. Also certaine Epistles (London, 1603), Fol.

B: A Panegyrique Congratulatorie Delivered To The Kings Most Excellent Maestie At Burleigh Harrington In Rutlandshire. By Samuel Daniel. Also Certaine Epistles, With A Defence Of Ryme Heretofore Written, And Now Published By The Author (London, 1603), 8vo.

C: The Tragedie of Philotas (London, 1607).


"To Sir Tho: Egerton"

12 th' the C D Gros
14 fasting fastning C D Gros Spr
18 Contention Contention C D Gros
29 past past C D Gros
30 lesse lesse: C D Gros
walls,] walls B C D Gros

terms,] terms, B C D Gros

Gentile,] Gentle, C D Gros

Keeper,] Keeper B C D Gros Spr

Plaine,] Plaine, C D Gros

right,] right C D Gros

essoines,] essoines, B C D Gros Spr

Monster malice,] monster, Malice, C D Gros Spr

being,] being B C D Gros

Ferdinand king of Castile,] omitted C D

The king of Hungarie,] omitted C D

Difficultatem facit doctrina,] omitted C D

Malice,] malice C D Gros

The,] B

judgement,] judgement D Gros

surely,] surely B C D Gros : Law,] Law, B C D Gros Spr

innocencies,] innocencies C D Gros

By a,] By a C D Gros

Necessitas est lex temporum,] omitted C D

Necessitas est lex temporis, Gros

sicknes,] sicknes D

draw,] draw C D Gros

the,] the B C D Gros

A remedie for defending ill causes,] omitted C D
"To the Lord Henry Howard"

3 MAIESTIES / MAESTIES B

7 Not D

25 cleane, cleane C D Gros

35 builded, blinded B C D Gros

44 being, being B C D Gros

49 any, any B C D Gros

63 runne, B C D Gros

81 being, being B C D Gros

"To The Lady Margaret Countesse of Cumberland"

7 fear nor hope, fear nor hope D Gros

9 vanity or malice, B C D Gros

15 these, the D Gros

61 the, that C D Gros

63 and, with n inverted A

67 thoughts, thoughts D Gros

77 befall, befall D Gros

80 That, Tbat A

94 his, his D Gros

100 man, man! C D Gros

104 work, work D
"To The Lady Lucie, Countesse of Bedford"

14 hath shath
22 godly godly
47 inward inward, C D Gros : things, things C D Gros
64 right, our life we right our life, that we B Spr right our life that we C D Gros : in. in:

C D Gros Spr
68 custome fashion custome, fashion, B C D Gros
73 neere! neere! C D Gros
77 weaknesses weaknesses! C D Gros
80 conscience conscience, C D Gros
81 b'exemple b'exemple B
90 delights delight B C D Gros

"To The Lady Anne Clifford"

5 new new, B C D Spr new; Gros
7 th' the C Gros
11 birth birth C D Gros : pow'rs, C D Gros
20 notions motions B C D Gros
55 Confusion Confusion A
56 thing things D thinge Gros
211

63 Your] Your C D Gros
64 selfe,'] selfe? C D Gros
75 Though ... became,] Though silence women never ill became. B C D Gros Spr
79 soothing] smoothing D Gros
80 t'is] 'tis C D Gros Spr

"To Henry Wriothesly Earle Of Southampton"

2 SOUTHAMPTON] with inverted M in A SOUTHAMTON B C D Gros
5 Fortune, and Distresse] Fortune, and distresse B
Fortune and Distresse, C D Gros Fortune and Distresse, Spr
11 are,] are B
16 euer'] euer, C D Gros
21 Faith and Zeale:] faith and zeale, D Gros
23 Grac'd:] grac'd B C D Gros Spr
39 Death, and Horror] death and horror B C D Gros : face?] face! C D Gros
41 wayes] way D Gros : vnbase?] vnbase! C D Gros
59 hard'st:] hardest B C D Gros

To James Montagu Bishop of Winchester

Key
A (text): Photostat of the manuscript in the Public Record Office (S. P. 14 - 97 - 172A [f. 141]).


2 Bishop J Lord Bishop Gros

10 th'J the B Gros

11 SicknesJ sicknesse B sicknesse Gros

13 A[nd k]nowJ letters in brackets obscured by spot on paper A

14 A[nd let]J] letters in brackets obscured by spot on paper A

26 by J be B

33 SufferingsJ suffering B Gros

45 quietJ quiet. A

50 therefore LordJ therefore reverend Lord, B Gros

65 MontagueJ] letters in brackets obscured by spot on paper A


Explanatory Notes

A Letter from Octauia

The parallel or explanatory passages to the text are given from Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, translated by Thomas North (Shakespeare Head Press, 1928), vol. VI.

59-60. But . . . me:

Howbeit then, the great haste he made to returne unto Cleopatra, caused him to put his men to so great paines, forcing them to lye in the field all winter long when it snew unreasonably, that by the way he lost eight thousands of his men, and so came downe to the sea side with a small company, to a certaine place called BLANCBOVRG, which standeth betwixt the cities of BERYTVS and SIDON, and there taried for Cleopatra. And because she taried longer then he would have had her, he pined away for love and sorrow. So that he was at such a straight, that he wist not what to doe, and therefore to weare it out, he gave him selfe to quaffing and feasting. But he was so drowned with the love of her, that he could not abide to sit at the table till the feast were ended: but many times while other banketted, he ranne to the sea side to see if she were comming. (pp. 359-60)

86-93. And . . . vow:

When Octavia was returned to ROME from ATHENS, Caesar commanded her to goe out of Antonius house, and to dwell by her selfe, because he had abused her. Octavia answered him againe, that she would not forsake her husbands house, and that if he had no other occasion to make warre with him, she prayed him then to take no thought for her: for sayd she, it were too shamefull a thinge, that two so famous Captaines should bringe in civill
wares among the ROMANES, the one for the love of a woman, and the other for the jeolousy betwixt one an other. Now as she spake the worde, so did she also performe the deede. For she kept still in Antonius house, as if he had bene there, and very honesty and honorably kept his children. (pp. 362-3)

290-1. My . . . lose:
For now, said she, everie mans eyes doe gaze on me, that am the sister of one of the Emperours and wife of the other. And if the worst counsell take place, (which the goddes forbidde) and that they growe to warres: for your selves, it is uncertaine to which of them two the goddes have assigned the victorie, or overthrows. But for me, on which side soever victorie fall, my state can be but most miserable still. (p. 338)

295-6. Nay . . . me: Octavia was "bewailing and lamenting her cursed hap that had brought her to this, that she was accompted one of the chiefest causes of this civill warre." (p. 367)

302-3. With . . . last: "Octavia his wife, whom he had left at ROME, would needes take sea to come unto him. Her brother Octavius Caesar was willing unto it, not for his respect at all (as most authors doe report) as for that he might have an honest culler to make warre with Antonius if he did misuse her, and not esteeme of her as she ought to be." (pp. 360-1)
215

305. Parthian war:

In the mean time it chanced, that the king of the MEDES, & Phraortes king of the PARTHIANS, fell at great warres together, the which began (as it is reported) for the spoyles of the ROMANES: and grew to be so hot betwene them, that the king of MEDES was no lesse affrayd, then also in daunger to lose his whole Realme. Thereupon he sent unto Antonius to pray him to come and make warre with the PARTHIANS, promising him that he would ayde him to his uttermost power. . . . Hereupon, after he [Antony] had spoken with the king of MEDES at the river of Araxes, he prepared him selfe once more to goe through ARMENIA, and to make more cruell warre with the PARTHIANS, then he had done before. (p. 360)

308-9. And . . . intent: "Niger, one of Antonius friends whome he had sent unto ATHENS, had brought these newes from his wife Octavia, and withall did greatly praysie her, as she was worthy, and well deserved." (p. 361)

311-14. Whereof . . . there:

But when she was come to ATHENS, she received letters from Antonius, willing her to stay there untill his coming, and did advertise her of his jorney and determination. The which though it grieved her much, and that she knewe it was but an excuse: yet by her letters to him of aunswer, she asked him whether he would have those thinges sent unto him which she had brought him, being great store of apparell for soouldiers, a great number of horse, summe of money, and gifts. (p. 361)

320-36. She . . . quit:
Cleopatra knowing that Octavia would have Antonius from her, and fearing also that if with her vertue and honest behavior, (besides the great power of her brother Caesar) she did add thereunto her modest kind love to please her husband, that she would then be too strong for her, and in the end winne him away: she suitably seemed to languish for the love of Antonius, pyning her body for lacke of meate. Furthermore she every way so framed her countenance, that when Antonius cam to see her, she cast her eyes upon him, like a woman ravished for joy. Straight againe when he went from her, she fell a weeping and blubbering, looked ru-fully of the matter, and still found the meanes that Antonius should oftentimes finde her weeping: and then when he came sodainely uppon her, she made as though she dryed her eyes, and turned her face away, as if she were unwilling that he should see her weep. All these tricks she used, Antonius being in readiness to goe into SYRIA, to speake with the king of the NISIDES. Then the flatterers that furthered Cleopatraes mind, blamed Antonius, and tolde him that he was a hard natured man, and that he had small love in him, that would see a poore Ladye in such torment for his sake, whose life depended onely upon him alone. For, Octavia, sayd they, that was married unto him as it were of necessitie, because her brother Caesars affayres so required it: hath the honor to be called Antonius lawfull spouse and wife: and Cleopatra, being borne a Queene of so many thousands of men, is onely named Antonius Leman, and yet that she disdaineth not so to be called, if it might please him she might enjoy his company, and live with him: but if he once leave her, that then it is unpossible she should live. (pp. 361-2)

389-90. Of . . . me: "Howbeit thereby, thinking no hurt, she did Antonius great hurt. For her honest love and regard to her husband, made every man hate him,
when they sawe he did so unkindly use so noble a Lady." (p. 363)

419-35. With . . . eyes: Octavia's prophesy of the battle of Actium:

Howbeit the battell was yet of even hand, & the victorie doubtfull, being indifferent to both: when sodainely they saw the three score shippes of Cleopatra busie about their yard masts, and hoying saile to flie. So they fled through the middest of them that were in fight, for they had bene placed behind the great shippes, and did marvelously disorder the other shippes. For the enemies them selves wondred much to see them saile in that sort, with ful saile towards PELOPONNESVS. There Antonius shewed plainly, that he had not onely lost the corage and hart of an Emperor, but also of a valliant man, and that he was not his owne man: (proving that true which an old man spake in myrth, that the soule of a lover lived in another body, and not in his owne) he was so caried away with the vaine love of this woman, as if he had bene glued unto her, and that she could not have removed without moving of him also. For when he saw Cleopatraes shipp under saile, he forgot, forsooke, and betrayed them that fought for him, and imbarked upon a galleys with five banches of owers, to follow her that had already begun to overthrow him, and would in the end be his utter destruction. (pp. 377-8)

"To Sir Tho: Egerton"

The Lord Keeper to whom this epistle is addressed, Sir Thomas Egerton, was born about 1540, the natural son of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley, Cheshire, by Alice Sparke. In 1556 Egerton entered Brasenose College, Oxford, as a commoner, and on October 31, 1560, he was admitted to Lincoln's Inn. He was called to the bar in 1572 and soon distinguished himself in the Chancery courts. In his career as lawyer and statesman Egerton passed step by step to the highest positions: in 1581 he became Solicitor-General, in 1592 Attorney-General, and 1594 Master of Rolls. He had been knighted in 1593. On May 6, 1596, he became...
Lord Keeper and was made a Privy Councillor at the same time.  

Egerton had gained great respect for his integrity and fairness during his distinguished career, and his promotion to Lord Keeper seems to have called forth whole-hearted approval. Anthony Bacon, writing to a friend in Venice concerning the death of Lord Keeper Puckering, had this to say of the new appointment:

into whose place, with an extraordinary speed, her Majesty hath ex proprio motu et speciali gratia, advanced Sir Thomas Egerton, with a general applause both of court, city, and country, for the reputation he hath of integrity, law, knowledge, and courage. It was his good hap to come to the place freely, without competition or mediator.

In a letter to Essex, Reynolds says, "I think no man ever came to this dignity with more applause than this worthy gentleman." And Camden notes the new appointment:

"Successit Thomas Egertonus, primarius Regis Procurator, magna expectatione et integritatis opinione." In a letter to the Earl of Essex, May 10, 1596, Francis Bacon not only praises Egerton's ability, but refers gratefully to the
aid the Lord Keeper has given him; he refers to

the new-placed Lord Keeper; in whose
placing as it hath pleased God to estab-
lish mightily one of the chief pillars of
this estate, that is, the justice of the
land, which began to shake and sink; and
for that purpose no doubt gave her Majesty
strength of heart of herself to do that in
six days which the deepest judgments
thought would be the work of many months;
so for my particular, I do find in an
extraordinary manner that his Lordship
doth succeed my father almost in his
fatherly care of me and love towards me,
as much as he professeth to follow him in
his honourable and sound courses of
justice and estate.®

Few would have argued with the appropriateness of Daniel's
epistle on equity and justice to the Lord Keeper.

Egerton had a warm friendship with Essex, but this
did not stop him from doing his duty in the suppression of
Essex's rebellion.®

When James came to the throne, Egerton was advanced
to even more responsible positions. In 1603 he was
appointed Lord Chancellor® and in the same year became
Baron of Ellesmere.® It was in the early years of James'
reign that Egerton made what were perhaps his two most
important judgments, in the "Postnati Case" and the Coke

® Bacon, op. cit., II, 30. For other particulars of Egerton's aid to Bacon, cf. ibid., I, 288, 291-92; II, 34; III,
293-96.
®® Cf. Egerton Papers, p. 381.
®® Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James I, 1603-1610,
p. 23; Nichols, op. cit., I, 204; II, 334-35.
controversy.

In 1607 a controversy arose concerning the status in England of Scots born after the accession of James to the English throne. The Scots born before the accession (the "antenati") were aliens, but were the "postnati" naturalized citizens and thus able to hold land in England? Egerton decided in the affirmative: the "postnati" were natural-born subjects of the King of England. Such a decision was, of course, very important in the relations between the two countries, and it was published in 1609 as The Speech of the Lord Chancellor in the Exchequer Chamber, the only one of Egerton's works to be printed during his lifetime.

In 1616 the old rivalry between the courts of common law and Chancery came to a head. Sir Edward Coke, then Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, decided in several cases that it was unlawful to imprison individuals for disobeying injunctions issued by Chancery. In opposing Chancery, Coke was fighting for the supremacy of the courts of common law: "If the party against whom judgment was given, might after judgment given against him at the common

12 Cf. Campbell, op. cit., II, 376-78; DNB, VI, 530.
13 STC 7540.
law, draw the matter into the Chancery, it would tend to the subversion of the common law, for that no man would sue at the common law, but originally begin in Chancery, seeing at the last he might be brought thither." Egerton maintained that the injunctions of Chancery did not interfere with the common law, and the King, after consultation, decided in favor of Chancery. In successfully defending the rights of Chancery, "Egerton did much to establish on its modern lines the procedure of the court; and to his efforts the final settlement of its relations to the courts of common law was largely due. This settlement was perhaps his most important achievement because . . . it gave the court a position of equal and in some respects of superior authority to that of the courts of common law; and it thus assured the free and continuous development of equity."16

Because of illness Egerton retired from public life in 1616, but in that year James again honored him by creating him Viscount Backley.17 During his last illness Egerton was notified that the king wished to make him an earl and give him an annual pension, but the Chancellor

15 Holdsworth, op. cit., I, 461
16 Ibid., I, 410-11.
17 Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James I, 1611-1618, p. 402; Nichols, op. cit., III, 222; Egerton Papers, pp. 480-81.
died on March 15, 1617, before the king could confer these new honors.\footnote{18}

As we have seen, Egerton was highly esteemed by his contemporaries. His kindness to young lawyers, which was acknowledged by Francis Bacon, led to Sir John Davies' being restored to the bar.\footnote{19} However, some reports show Egerton as an uncharitable man. John Chamberlain's letter concerning his death gives us some insight into this side of his character:

\begin{quote}
Since my last unto you, I have recev'd yours of the 10th of this present, and the very same day I wrote [March 15], the late Lord Chancelllor left this world, being visited in articulo mortis (or not full halfe an howre before) by the new Lord Keeper with a message from his Majestie that he meant presently to bestow on him the title of the earle of Bridgewater, to make him President of the Counsaile, and gave him a pension of 3000\footnote{11} a yeare during his life: but he was so far past that no wordes or worldly comforts could worke with him, but only thancking hi 3 Majestie for his gracious favor, saide these things were all to him but vanities. But his sonne though he lay then (and so doth still) as were bound hand and foote with the gowte, yet did not neglect this fayre offer of the earledom, but hath sollicited yt ever since, with hopefull successe at first the King having given order for the warrant, yet yt stickes now I know not where, unles yt be that he must geve downs more milke, though yt all be true that is said 20000\footnote{11} was a fayre soope before. His father left a great state both in wealth and land; 12000\footnote{11} a yeare is the least that is talked
\end{quote}

\footnote{18} Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James I, 1611-1618, pp. 448-81.
\footnote{19} Davies, op. cit., IV, xxxvi
of, and some speak of much more. Yet withall he left but an indifferent name being accounted too sore, severe and implacable, a great enemie to parlements and the common law, only to maintain his owne greatness, and the exorbitant jurisdiction of his court of chauncerie. He gave order in his will to have no solemn funeral, no monument, but to be buried in oblivion, alleging the precedents of Seneca, Warrham archbishop of Caunterburie and chaunceller, and Budeus the learned Frenchman, who all tooke the like course, so that yesterday he was carried downe very privately into Cheshire to be laide by his first wife and his sonne. One thing is much noted in his will that he gave nothing to the poore or to any charitable use, nor to any of his servants, nor very little to his grand-children but left all to his sonne. 20

The sternness of which Chamberlain speaks can be seen in Egerton’s treatment of his secretary, John Donne, whom he dismissed and helped to imprison for marrying his niece. Although the young poet was in want, Egerton refused to reinstate him even after the family had been reconciled to the marriage. 21 Egerton himself refers to some adverse opinions of his character. In a letter to Sir Thomas Chaloner, April 12, 1603, he writes:

> Yf I have bene taxed of hautenes, insolencye or pryde in my place (as I partly hear relation), I hope it is by them that have not learned to speake well, and against this poyson I have two precious antidotes: 1. The

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21 DNB, V, 1130-31.
religious wissdome, royall justice and princelye vertues of the King my soveraigne, which wyll soon disperse such foggye mystes. 2. The innocencye and clereunes of myn owne conscience, which is more then mille tastes.22

Although these reports show a certain coldness in some of Egerton's personal relationships, his position as an equitable judge seems to be unquestioned: "as an Equity Judge he gained more applause than any one who had sat before him in the marble chair."23 Fuller praises his dignity and ability: "surely all Christendom afforded not a person which carried more gravity in his countenance and behaviour than Sir Thomas Egerton, insomuch that many have gone to Chancery on purpose only to see his venerable garb (happy they who had no other business) and were highly pleased at so acceptable a spectacle. Yet was his outward case nothing in comparison of his inward abilities; quick wit, solid judgment, ready utterance."24 Anthony a Wood writes that "he was a most grave and prudent man, a good lawyer, just and honest, of so quick an apprehension also, and profound judgment, that none of the bench in his time went before him."25 Ben Jonson also praises his ability by listing him with More, Sidney and Hooker among those

22 Egerton Papers, p. 360.
23 Campbell, op. cit., II, 405.
24 Fuller, op. cit., p. 70.
226

men who "could honour a language, or helpe study": "Lo: Egerton, the Chancellor, a grave, and great Orator; and best, when hee was provok'd."

The court of Chancery with which Egerton was associated from the beginning of his career as Master of the Rolls was primarily a court of equity. In 1468 "the king willed and commanded . . . that all manner of matters to be examined and discussed in the court of Chancery, should be directed and determined according to equity and conscience, and to the old course and laudable custom of the same court, so that if in any such matters any difficulty or question of law happen to rise, that he therein take the advice and counsel of some of the king's justices, that right and justice may be duly ministered to every man." Egerton himself has explained that Chancery is necessary "for that man's actions are so divers and infinite, that it is impossible to make any general law which may aptly meet with every particular act, and not fail in some circumstances." The appropriateness of Daniel's epistle on equity to a man who was associated with and defended the rights of the court of equity needs little comment. Egerton worked hard "to withdraw / Justice, from out the tempests of the Law" (11. 67-8), from the intricacies and obscurities of

27 Cf. Holdsworth, op. cit., I, 446.
28 Ibid., I, 406-7.
29 Ibid., I, 453.
overly-subtle lawyers; indeed, one lawyer was found to be too subtle in drawing bills, so Egerton sent an order that no bills drawn by this man should be but upon the file at Chancery. Egerton's life was given to maintaining equity: this was the Lord Keeper's duty.

Daniel was not the only writer to address Egerton. Sir John Davies dedicated his *Le Primer Report et Matters en ley resolues & adjudges en les Courts del Roy en Ireland*, 1615, to Egerton in a long prose epistle, "A Discourse of Law and Lawyers." Francis Bacon praised the Chancellor's learning in a letter with which he sent a copy of *The Advancement of Learning*: "For, to speak without flattery, few have like use of learning, or like judgment in learning, as I have observed in your Lordship. And again, your Lordship hath been a great planter of learning, not only in those places in the Church which have been in your own gift; but also in your commendatory vote, no man hath more constantly held, detur digniori: and therefore both your Lordship is beholding to learning, and learning beholding to you." This is appropriate praise to the man who founded the fine library at Bridgewater House.

Joshua Sylvester wrote two dedicatory sonnets to Egerton prefixed respectively to *Job Triumphant* and to

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31 Davies, *op. cit.*, II, 249.
Du Bartas His Second Wekes. 33 And Ben Jonson addressed three of his epigrams to Egerton, praising the justness of the Chancellor in each. One of these epigrams will suffice to show the respect that Egerton had earned from his contemporaries:

Whil'st thy weigh'd judgements, EGERTON, I heare,  
And know thee, then, a judge, not of one yeare;  
Whil'st I behold thee liue with purest hands;  
That no affection in thy voyage commands;  
That still th'art present to the better cause;  
And no lesse wise, then skilfull in the laws;  
Whil'st thou art certaine to thy words, once gone,  
As is thy conscience, which is always one:  
The Virgin, long-since fled from the earth, I see,  
To your times return'd, hath made her heaven in thee. 35

15-20. Law . . . disease: cf. A Panegyrike Congratulatorie, stanza 33:

This will make peace with Law, restore the Bar,  
T'her ancient silence, where contention now  
Makes so confus'd a noise; this will debar  
The fostring of debate, and ouerthrow  
That ougly Monster, that foule rauener, Extortion, which so hideously did grow,  
By making prey upon our misery,  
And wasting it againe as wickedly.

34 Jonson, op. cit., VIII, 51-52, 135-86.  
19. **fashion:** form, mould, shape.

20. Making her cure farre worse than the disease: cf. Musophilus, l. 740: "And make the cure proue worse then the disease."

22. part the prey: i.e. share the benefits.

25. suted her: i.e. clothed herself. she: i.e. Law.

26. passions: rather than our reason.

32. **Just:** adapted, appropriate, suitable.

37-44. Must . . . confounds: cf. Ciuill Wars, VII, 54:

Muse, what may we imagine was the Cause
That Furie workes thus vniuersally?
What humor, what affection, is it, drawes
Sides, of such powre, to this Nobilitie?
Was it their Conscience, to redresse the
Lawes;
Or malice, to a wrong-plac't Sov'raintie,
That caus'd them (more then wealth, or
life) desire
Destruction, ruine, bloud-shed, sword and
fire?

Note the imagery of music which Daniel uses: discord, Harmonie, tun'd t'a note.

40. That when war failes, peace must make war with words:
   cf. Ciuill Wars, VIII, 105, 8: "As peace can cut our throats aswell as war."

42. **our ciuill swordes:** the civil wars between the houses of Lancaster and York.
45-52. If . . . subtiltie: cf. Musophilus, ll. 887-96:

But sound deseignes that judgment shall
decree
Out of a true discern, of the cleare wayes
That lie direct, with safe-going equitie
Imbroyling not their owne & others dayes.
Extending forth their providence beyond
The circuit of their owne particular;
That euen the ignorant may understand
How that deceipt is but a cauiller,
And true vnto it selfe can neuer stand,
But stil must with her owne conclusions
war.

Cf. Cicero, De Officiis, Book I, XIX, 63:

Praeclarum igitur illud Platonis: 'Non,'
inquit, 'solum scientia, quae est remota
ab iustitia, calliditas potius quam
sapientia est appellanda, verum etiam
animus paratus ad periculum, si sua
cupiditate, non utilitate communi impellitur,
audaciae potius nomen habeat quam fortis-
tudinis.' Itaque viros fortes et mag-
nanimos easdem bonos et simplices,
veritatis amicos minimeque fallaces esse
volumus; quae sunt ex media laude
iustitiae.

This, then, is a fine saying of Plato's:
'Not only must all knowledge that is di-
vorced from justice be called cunning
rather than wisdom,' he says, 'but even the
courage that is prompt to face danger, if it
is inspired not by public spirit, but by its
own selfish purposes, should have the name
of effrontery rather than of courage.' And
so we demand that men who are courageous
and high-souled shall at the same time be
good and straightforward, lovers of truth,
and foes of deception; for these qualities
are the centre and soul of justice.

(trans. Walter Miller [Loeb Library, 1928],
pp. 64-65)

50-51. the memorials / Of our subiection: to the Roman
Church.
57-58. It's ... subtilness: cf. Daniel's epistle to Henry Howard, ll. 29-31. This and the preceding stanza might well be compared with the entire epistle to Lord Howard.

59-60. For ... sincere: cf. epistle to Henry Howard, ll. 53-58.

68. Justice ... Law: cf. Cicero, De Officiis, Book I, X, 33:

Exsistunt etiam saepe iniuriae calumnias quasam et nimis collida, sed malitiosa iuris interpretationes. Ex quo illus 'Summum ius summa iniuria' factum est iam tritum sermone proverbium.

Injustice often arises also through chicanery, that is, through an over-subtle and even fraudulent construction of the law. This it is that gave rise to the now familiar saw, 'More law, less justice.' (Cicero, op. cit., pp. 34-5)

74. demurs: delays. essoines: excuses for not appearing in court at the appointed time. trauerses: disputes; specifically, formal denial of a fact alleged by the opponent.

75. Hydra: one of Daniel's favorite images:

Against this Hydra of confusion (Cleopatra, l. 1919)

But now (behold) other new heads appeare, New Hydras of rebellion (Ciuill Wars, IV, 15)
So, with this bold opposer, rushes-on
This many-headed monster, Multitude.
(Civil Wars, II, 12)

But if this Hydra of ambition shall
Haue other heads to spring vp in his steed
(Philotas, ll. 2129-30)


86. like infinity: i.e. infinite multiplication.

89-90. For . . . multiplies: cf. Civil Wars, IV, I, 1-4:
The bounds once over-gone, that hold men in,
They never stay, but on, from bad to worse.
Wrongs do not leave off there, where they begin;
But, still beget new mischiefe in their course.

93. Castillian King: Ferdinand V, King of Castile (1452-1516). Ferdinand's policy concerning the New World was rigorous for a number of professions:
The commercial regulations adopted exhibit a narrow policy in some of their features, for which a justification may be found in the spirit of the age, and in the practice of the Portuguese particularly, but which entered still more largely into colonial legislation of Spain under later princes. The new territories, far from being permitted free intercourse with foreign nations, were opened only under strict limitations to Spanish subjects, and were reserved, as forming, in some sort, part of the exclusive revenue of the crown. All persons of whatever description were interdicted, under the severest penalties, from trading with or even visiting the Indies without license with the constituted authorities. It was impossible to evade this, as a minute specification of the ships, cargoes, crews, with the property appertaining to each
individual, was required to be taken at the office in Cadiz, and a corresponding registration in a similar office established at Hispaniola.


Daniel has this to say about the coming of lawyers in The Queen's Arcadia:

one would faine instruct, and teach vs how
To cut our throates with forme, and to contend
With artificiall knowledge, to vndo each other, and to brabble without end.

(11. 1416-19)

101. th'Hungarian: Perhaps Matthias I (1440-1490) or John Zapolya (1487-1540).

102. Italian Bartolists: students of Bartolus (1314-1357), a professor of civil law at the University of Perugia and the most famous master of the dialectical school of jurists; those skilled in law.


109. regulare: according to law.

109-112. Seeing . . . fixt: cf. Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, V, 6: "Injustice on the other hand is similarly related to the unjust, which excess and defect, contrary to proportion, of the useful or
hurtful." (Aristotle, op. cit., p. 1012)

115. as it: i.e. so that malice.

116. it: i.e. goodness.

117. those glorious Monarchs: Probably Edward I and Edward III. During the reign of these kings, the equitable jurisdiction of Chancery became important. For the growth of Chancery and of the equitable jurisdiction of the Chancellor and the Lord Keeper, cf. Holdsworth, op. cit., I, 395-416.

118. Deuide . . . Majestie: a reference to the divine right of kings.

125-132. Which . . . it: cf. Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, V, x:

The equitable, though it is better than one kind of justice, yet is just, and it is not as being a different class of thing that it is better than the just. The same thing, then, is just and equitable, and while both are good the equitable is superior. What creates the problem is that the equitable is just, but not the legally just but a correction of legal justice. The reason is that all law is universal but about some things it is not possible to make a universal statement which shall be correct. . . . Hence the equitable is just, and better than one kind of justice--not better than absolute justice but better than the error that arises from the absoluteness of the statement. And this is the nature of the equitable, a correction of law where it is defective owing to its universality. . . . For when the thing is indefinite the rule also is
indefinite, like the leaden rule used in making the Lesbian moulding; the rule adapts itself to the shape of the stone and is not rigid, and so too the decree is adapted to the facts.

(Aristotle, op. cit., p. 1020.)

Cf. Shackford, op. cit., p. 194. In "A Discourse of Law and Lawyers," Sir John Davies uses a similar image to show the uncertainty of law: "Certaine it is, that Law is nothing but a rule of reason, and human reason is Lesbia regula, pliable in euery way." (Davies, op. cit., II, 259.)


149. Which: i.e. upright policy.

150. Necessitie: cf. Civill Wars, V, 105, 1-4:

But, well; We see, although the King be Head, The State will be the Heart. This Soueraigtie Is but in place, not powre; and gourned By th'equall Scepter of Necessitie.


177. intertaine: maintain.
183. falling: i.e. failing.

195-196. whose . . . good: i.e. the ruler, by not using arbitrary power, proves his goodness even when he takes a bad cause to court.

205-207. All . . . Death: a commonplace. Cf. James Shirley's Contention of Ajax and Ulysses:

The glories of our blood and state
Are shadows, not substantial things . . .
Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet and blossom in their dust.


212. Powre may haue knees, but Justice hath our harts: cf. Ciuill Wars, VII, 5, 8: "And good Kings, with our bodies, haue our harts"; VII, 47, 1: "Though hee their hands, yet Wwarwicke had their hearts."
"To The Lord Henry Howard"

Lord Henry Howard, the second son of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, the poet, and younger brother of Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was born at Shotesham, Norfolk, on February 25, 1540\(^1\), a member of one of the most powerful families in sixteenth-century England.\(^2\) The relations of the Howards with the royal family were, however, not always happy: Lord Henry's father, the Earl of Surrey, was executed in 1547 for high treason, and his paternal grandfather, Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, was saved from following Surrey to the scaffold only by the death of Henry VIII.\(^3\) Henry's elder brother, Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was executed for high treason in 1572, and in 1595

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3 Ibid., pp. 217-18.
his nephew, Philip, first Earl of Arundel, died in the Tower, where he had been imprisoned for his Catholicism.\(^4\)

After the execution of his father in 1547, Lord Henry was given to the care of his aunt, Mary, Duchess of Richmond, who employed John Foxe, the martyrlogist, as his tutor. When Catholic Mary Tudor came to the throne, she released the boy's grandfather, Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, from his five-year imprisonment in the Tower. The Duke immediately dismissed his grandson's Protestant tutor. Henry then was admitted to the household of John White, Bishop of Lincoln, an ardent Catholic. It was while he was with White that the boy seems to have acquired a strong sympathy for Catholicism, a sympathy which was to cause him much difficulty during the reign of Elizabeth.\(^5\)

When Elizabeth ascended the throne, she took charge of young Howard's education. He was restored in blood May 8, 1559, and received his M.A. from King's College, Cambridge, in 1566.\(^6\) On April 19, 1568, he was incorporated M.A. at

\(^4\) DNB, X, 55.

\(^5\) When James came to the throne, however, Howard became a Protestant. On May 23, 1603, the Venetian Secretary writes: "Old Howard, who has lately been appointed to the Council, and Southampton, who are both Catholics, declare that God has touched their hearts, and that the example of their King has more weight with them than the disputes of theologians. They have become Protestants, and go to church in the train of the King." Calendar of State Papers Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, 1603-1607, ed. Horatio F. Brown (London, 1900), p. 42.

The learning for which Daniel commends him was already apparent during Lord Howard's youth; while he was with Bishop White, he read widely in philosophy, civil law, divinity and history; after his graduation from Cambridge, he joined Trinity Hall and soon obtained a good reputation as a scholar, giving Latin lectures on rhetoric and civil law. He also wrote a treatise of natural and moral philosophy, the manuscript of which is dated August 6, 1569.

About 1570 Howard came to court, and because of his name and his Catholic sympathies, he inevitably became involved in some of the more important political intrigues of the time. When the Duke of Norfolk was charged with conspiring to marry Mary, Queen of Scots, Banister, Norfolk's confidential agent, confessed that Norfolk had broached the subject of marrying the Scottish queen, "and tolde me how he was earnestlie movid therunto by dyvers of his Frends, and that he had no great Likinge so to do, but rather wishid to have his Brother Henrie marie hyr, and ment to attempte the same; but suche as wear the Mocioners..."
of that Matche, wold not in anie wise agree therunto. For they said, his Grace was well knawen unto them, and they wear assurid of him what to fynde, but so they wear not of the Lord Henrie his Brother." Lord Henry was arrested, but was able to establish his innocence in the affair to Elizabeth's satisfaction.

Howard's activities, however, were distrusted by the Protestants of the time; for example, in a letter of April 1, 1595, Lady Bacon warned her son Anthony against Lord Howard. "He is," she said, "a dangerous intelligencing man; no doubt a subtle papist inwardly, and lieth in wait . . . . Be not too open. He will betray you to divers. . . . The duke [Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk] had been alive but by his practising and still solliciting him, to the duke's ruin . . . Avoid his familiarity, as you love the truth and yourself. A very instrument of the Spanish papists. For he pretending courtesy, worketh mischief perilously. I have long known him, and observed him. His workings have been stark naught." Although we may attribute some of the violence of this letter to Lady Bacon's prejudice, her charges serve as an example of the Protestant distrust of those with Catholic sympathies.

Lord Howard was closely connected with Mary Stuart for many years and was accused of treasonable correspondence with her. His association with Mary and his suspected intrigues with Spain led to his repeated arrests, but he was able to establish his innocence against every charge. On the rise of Essex, Howard attached himself to the favorite but did not become involved in Essex's rebellion. In spite of his friendship with Essex, Howard continued in the good graces of Sir Robert Cecil, through whose influence he was readmitted to court in 1600 and treated with consideration by Elizabeth.

Howard's position with James was powerful even before the death of Elizabeth. He took part with Cecil in the long secret correspondence with James in Scotland, often acting as go-between for the king and the statesman.

12 "The Spanish Ambassador, Mendoza, according to his own story, was furnished, in 1582-3 with 'confidential and minute accounts twice a week' of all that went on at Court by Howard, whom he promised 1,000 crowns a year," Cokayne, op. cit., IX, 675. Cf. Nott, op. cit., I, 433; Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547-1590, p. 493; Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1591-1599, pp. 1, 29, 32, 159, 499; Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1581-1582, p. 341; Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the Laing Manuscripts, I (London, 1914), 54-35.
Howard's letters must have convinced James of his fidelity, for the king answered in a very friendly way, and as soon as Elizabeth died, sent him a ruby "out of Scotland as a token." On his progress south, James sent many of his orders through the nobleman. Howard was privileged to attend the first conference that James held for his ministers at Theobalds, and was there made a Privy Councillor. It was probably about this time that Daniel wrote his epistle defending the integrity of the newly appointed Councillor.

Howard's position at the court of James continued to be powerful. On January 1, 1604, he became Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports; and on March 13 of the same year, he was created Baron Howard of Marnhull, Dorsetshire, and Earl of Northampton. He was dubbed Knight of the Garter on February 24, 1605, and became Lord Privy Seal on April 29, 1608. Throughout the remaining years of his life, Lord Howard remained a close friend of James, and took an active part in politics. He died on June 15, 1614, from an unsuccessful operation for a tumor on his thigh.

16 Nott, op. cit., I, 444.
17 Cf. Historical Manuscripts Commission, Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquess of Salisbury, ed. M.S. Giuseppi, XV (London, 1930), 44.
Lord Howard was considered one of the most learned noblemen of his time. His *Defensatiue Against the Poison of Supposed Prophecies* (1583) is an erudite attack on astrology. His learning is also evidenced by the number of his works in manuscript which are still extant. Francis Bacon selected Lord Howard to present his *Advancement of Learning* to the king, because having "dedicated the same to his sacred Majesty, whom I dare avouch (if the records of time err not) to be the learnedst king that hath reigned; I was desirous, in a kind of congruity to present it by the learnedst counsellor in this kingdom." George Chapman, in a dedicatory sonnet affixed to his translation of the *Iliad*, also praises Lord Howard's learning:

> To the Most Anciently Noble and Learned Earl,  
> the Earl of Northampton  

Old Homer, the first parent of learning and antiquity, presents this part of his eternal issue; and humbly desires (for help to their propagation) his cheerful and judicial acceptance.

To you, most learned Earl, whose learning can  
Reject illiterate custom, and embrace  
The real virtues of a worthy man,  
I prostrate this great worthy for your grace,

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20 STC 13858. Revised 1620; STC 13859.  
21 The list of his extant works is given in Nott, *op. cit.*, I, 468-70; *DNB*, X, 28-32.  
22 Bacon, *op.cit.*, III, 252.
And pray that Poesy's well-deserved ill name,
Being such as many modern poets make her,
May nought eclipse her clear essential flame;
But as she shines here, so refuse or take her.
Nor do I hope but even your high affairs
May suffer intermixture with her view,
Where Wisdom fits her for the highest chairs,
And minds grown old with cares of state renew.
You then, great Earl, that in his own tongue know
This King of Poets, see his English show.23
Thus, it is not surprising that in an epistle primarily devoted to defending Lord Howard's integrity, Daniel should mention the nobleman's generally recognized learning.

5. choice: well-chosen, appropriate.

11. learning, wit: Cf. above, Lord Howard's life. Howard's wit so impressed Francis Bacon that he included the following anecdotes in his "Apophthegms":

When peace was renewed with the French in England, divers of the great counsellors were presented from the French with jewels. The Lord Henry Howard was omitted. Whereupon the King said to him;
My Lord, how haps it that you have not a jewel as well as the rest? My Lord answered again, (alluding to the fable in Aesop;) Non sum Gallus, itaque non repori gemmam.
(Bacon, Works, ed. Spedding, Ellis, Heath, XIII [New York, 1889], 370-71).

The Lord Henry Howard, being Lord Privy Seal, was asked by the King openly at the table, (where commonly he entertained the King,) upon the sudden; My lord, have you not a desire to see Rome? My lord Privy Seal answered, Yes, indeed, Sir. The King said, And why? My lord answered, Because, and it please your Majesty, it was once the seat of the greatest monarchy, and the seminary of the bravest men in the world, amongst the heathen: and then again, because after it was the see of so many holy Bishops in the primitive church, most of them martyrs. The King would not give it over, but said; And for nothing else? My lord answered; Yes, and it please your Majesty, for two things especially. The one, to see him, who they say hath such a power to forgive other men’s sins, to confess his own sins upon his knees before a chaplain or priest; and the other is, to hear Antichrist say his creed.

There was an agent here for the Dutch, called Caroon; and when he used to move the Queen for further succours and more men, my lord Henry Howard would say; That he agreed well with the name of Charon, ferryman of hell; for he came still for more men, to increase regnum umbrarum.

18. reputation . . . men: Cf. Civil Wars, V, 114, 7-8:

He onely treads the sure and perfect path To Greatnesse, who loue and opinion hath.

21. it: i.e. the success of the action.

26. passe: accomplish.

27. Either . . . tend: i.e. either when those actions are in the doers or planners, because the end toward which
the actions are going is perfectly clear.

29. **When; while on the other hand.**

**this:** Perhaps this by-path of intrigue refers to the times and men's iniquity of line 22. Cf. the epistle to Sir Thomas Egerton, ll. 57-58.

34. **Their . . . stout:** those people who would otherwise give more whole-hearted support to the cause.

35-36. **For . . . dores:** Again we find the building imagery so prevalent in Daniel's epistles.

37. **wills:** desires.

39. **humour:** caprice.

**affection:** emotion. Notice that **wills, humour, and affection** are all opposed to reason.

48. **more:** absolutely.

50-52. **And . . . suspect:** Cf. Ciuiill Wars, II, 9:

So, often, things which seeme at first in showe,
Without the compass of accomplishment once vent'd on, to that success do grove,
That even the Authors do admire th'event;
So many means which they did never knowe do second their designes, and do present Straunge vnexpected helps, and chiefly then
When th'Actors are reputed worthy men.
55. weaker trust: i.e. the trust of the followers.

56. monstrous: contrary to the order of nature because one cannot have motion in opposite ways simultaneously.

58. That... uniaust: Cf. the epistle to Sir Thomas Egerton, II. 59-60.

60. apparencie: gives the appearance of truth. Cf.

Ciuill Wars, I, 37, 3-4:

For, still these broyles, that publike good pretend,
Worke most iniaustice, being done through spight.

Ciuill Wars, II, 97, 5-6:

Offences urg'd in publique are made worse: The shew of iustice aggrauates despight.

Cf. Cicero, De Officiis, I, xiii, op. cit., pp. 45-47:

Totius autem iniaustitia nulla capitalior quam eorum, qui tum, cum maxime fallunt, id agunt, ut viri boni esse videantur.

But of all forms of injustice, none is more flagrant than that of the hypocrite who, at the very moment when he is most false, makes it his business to appear virtuous.

61. concentrike: the image of concentric circles. Since they have a common center, any motion in one circle must affect the other circle. A common Renaissance belief; cf. Hardin Craig, op. cit., pp. 1-31.

63. intertaine: maintain.
65-70. And... deceiue: Cf. "chorus of the vulgar"

Philotas:

For though we be esteem'd but ignorant,  
Yet are we capable of truth and know  
(11. 411-12)

Usually, however, Daniel has the Renaissance man's  
scorn for the multitude. Michel (Philotas, p. 16)  
reminds us of Daniel's indecision in evaluating the  
ability of the multitude to see the right in action  
or in principle. For the attitude contrary to that  
shown in this poem, cf. Philotas, "Epistle to the  
Prince," 11. 20-23:

Here shall you see how th'easie multitude  
Transported, take the partie of distresse;  
And onely out of passions doe conclude,  
Not out of judgement, of mens practises.

Philotas, "Apology," 11. 2336-39:

For though the affection of the multitude  
(whom he did mignion)--and who, as I sayd,  
lookes still upon mens fortunes not the  
cause,--discerned not his ends.

Philotas, "Argument," 11. 53-61:

The Chorus consisting of three Graecians  
(as of three estates of a Kingdome) and  
one Persian, representing the multitude and  
body of a People, who vulgarly (according  
to  
their affections, carried rather with  
compassion on Great-mens misfortunes, then  
with the consideration of the cause) frame  
their imaginations by that square, and  
censure  
what is done.

Chorus in Philotas, 11. 1798-99:
Ah, but it satisfies the world, and we think that well done which done by laws we see.

_Ciull Wars_, II, 97, 7-8:

The multitude, that looke not to the cause, Rest satisfied, so it seeme done by laws.

_Ciull Wars_, IV, 74, 3-8:

the people, who (soone mov'd By such perswaders, as are held vpright; And for their zeale, and charitie belov'd) Vse not t'examine if the Cause be right, But leap into the toyle, and are vndon By following them that they rely'd vpon.

_Musophilus_, ll. 93-104:

Nor meate out truth and right-deseruing praise, By that wrong measure of confusion The vulgar foote: that never takes his wayes By reason, but by imitation; Rowling on with the rest, and never way's The course which he should go, but what is gone. Well were it with mankind, if what the most Did like were best, but ignorance will live By others square, as by example lost; And man to man must th'hand of error give That none can fall alone at their owne cost, And all because I judge not, but beleue.

71. these strange disproportions: i.e. the monstrous motion of l. 56.

75. incumbred: obstructed, entangled, hampered.

78. sort: conformable.

85. When: while on the other hand.
"To The Lady Margaret Countesse of Cumberland"

The noble lady to whom this epistle is addressed, one of the two sisters to whom Spenser dedicated his *Fowre Hymnes*, led a virtuous but sorrowful life. The Lady Margaret Russel, third daughter and youngest child of Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, was born, according to her daughter's account, in the city of Exeter, Devonshire, about July 7, 1560. When she was about seventeen years old she married George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, then almost nineteen, in St. Mary Overs Church in London, June 24, 1577. There were two sons by this marriage, Francis and Robert, but both died before they were six years old. The death of her sons so affected Lady Margaret that "ever after the booke of Jobe was her dayly companion." On January 30, 1590 she also bore one daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford, to whom another of Daniel's epistles is addressed.

Lady Margaret's married life was very unhappy. The sombre and virtuous lady must have made a strange contrast to the flamboyant and adventurous Earl. George Clifford

1 The account of Lady Margaret's life which is the basis for much of this note is to be found in the inscription of the family picture at Skipton Castle made at the request of Anne Clifford, Lady Margaret's daughter. This picture is described at length in Whitaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 265 ff. Cf. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, III, ed. Vicary Gibbs (London, 1915), 568-9.

served his country by commanding nine sea voyages, most of them to the West Indies. The loneliness which these absences must have brought Lady Margaret could hardly have been allayed when he was in England for he was extremely fond of such expensive amusements as tournaments and horseracing. The Earl's infidelity finally led to a separation from his wife. Even his dutiful daughter, who usually tries to see his virtues rather than his faults, mentions the sorrow which this court-intrigue caused his wife: "But as good natures, through human frailty, are often misled, so he fell to love a lady of quality, which did by degrees draw and alienate his affections from his so virtuous and loving a wife; and it became the cause of many sorrows." It is even possible that the Earl's infidelity so pained Lady Margaret's sensitive moral feelings that it affected her health and brought on the threat of consumption. The bleakness and misery of Lady Margaret's married life can be seen in a 1603 entry in her daughter's diary: "My Father at this time followed his suit to the King about the Border lands, so that sometime my Mother and he

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3 Cf. Ibid., p. 266; Wiffen, op. cit., III, 5-7.
4 Birch, James I, I, 472. Shortly after the Earl was appointed Queen's Champion, Spenser in a dedicatory sonnet to The Faerie Queene lauded him as "the flower of chevalry."
5 Countess of Pembroke's MS. Memoirs, quoted Whitaker, op. cit., p. 270n.
6 Wiffen, op. cit., II, 6-7.
did meet, when their countenance did show the dislike they had one of the other, yet he would speak to me in a slight fashion and give me his blessing."

The separation caused by the Earl's affair continued until shortly before his death. According to Sir Edward Hoby, the Earl and his wife were reconciled before his death, but Lady Anne Clifford merely points out that he died "penitently, willingly, and christanly" and that she and her mother were with him at his death. If there was a reconciliation, it probably occurred only a short time before the Earl's death.

Whitaker admirably sums up the complex character of Lady Margaret's husband:

George Earl of Cumberland was a great but unamiable man. His story admirably illustrates the difference between Greatness and Contentment, between Fame and Virtue. If we trace him in the public history of his times, we see nothing but the accomplished courtier, the skilful navigator, the intrepid commander, the disinterested patriot. If we follow him into his family, we are instantly struck with the indifferent and unfaithful husband, the negligent and thoughtless parent. If we enter his muniment-room, we are surrounded by memorials of prodigality, mortgages and

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8 Sir Edward Hoby to Sir Thomas Edmondes, Nov. 19, 1605, Birch, James I, I, 34.
9 Whitaker, op. cit., p. 266.
10 Wiffen, op. cit., II, 93-94, points out that Lady Margaret and her daughter attended the Earl in his last illness, which brought with it contriteness and a reconciliation.
sales, inquietude, and approaching want. He set out with a larger estate than any of his ancestors, and in little more than twenty years he made it one of the least. Fortunately for his family, a constitution, originally vigorous, gave way, at 47, to hardships, anxiety, and wounds. His separation from his virtuous lady was occasioned by a court-intrigue; but there are families in Craven who are said to derive their origin from the low amours of the third earl of Cumberland.11

The death of her husband on October 30, 1605, did not bring Lady Margaret the peace she so well deserved, for the Earl's baronies and lands reverted to his brother Francis. "By industry and search of records she brought to light the then unknown title which hir daughter had to the ancient baronies, honors, and landes, of the Viponts, Cliffords, and Vescyes. So as what good shall accrue to hir daughter's posteritie, by the said inheritance, must, next under God, be attributed unto hir."12 Thus began the lawsuit for her daughter's inheritance which was not to be resolved for thirty-eight years.13 During her lifetime Lady Margaret conducted the suit in her own name and thus bore the brunt of even the King's displeasure.14 Before the suit was settled, however, Lady Margaret died in Brougham Castle, Westmoreland, on May 24, 1616.

Although she suffered through a miserable life, Lady

11 Whitaker, op. cit., p. 270
12 Whitaker, op. cit., p. 267.
13 Sir Matthew Hale's report among the Clifford family papers describing this lawsuit in detail is given in Ibid., pp. 275-77.
14 Wiffen, op. cit., II, 95.
Margaret was well-known for her virtue and charity. Her daughter says that "she was of a great naturall wit and judgement, of a sweete disposition, truly religious and virtuous, and indowed with a large share of those 4 morall virtues, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance." And lest we ascribe this to filial prejudice, we should notice a letter from Sir John Bowyer to Lady Margaret's brother-in-law concerning an interview with the noble Lady:

Her Honour desired and enjoined me to say plainly, what was generally spoken hereof [litigation over the inheritance], and what the world conceived of her. I was loth, but, being commanded, used words to this effect: Your Ladyship is held to be very honourable, much devoted to religion, very respective unto ministers and preachers, very charitable unto the poor: yet under favour, some do tax your Honour to be too much affected to go to law. This is, said my Lady, that I am contentious and over-ruled by busy wrangling fellows. (I did humbly crave pardon for my plainness.) Sir, I do like you much the better for your plainness: and if my Lord of Cumberland will make me any honourable offers, I will deceive the world, or them that think me given to law.\(^1\)

If we remember that this is part of a letter to her opponent in a prolonged and violent legal battle and thus apt to be prejudiced, we can more fully appreciate Lady Margaret's reputation for honor and virtue.

\(^{15}\) Whitaker, op. cit., p. 267.
\(^{16}\) Quoted in Hartley Coleridge, Lives of Northern Worthies, newed., II (London, 1852), 61n.
Senecan passages which are parallel in thought to the poem as a whole:

So the definition of the highest good may at one time be given in prolix and lengthy form, and at another be restrained and concise. So it will come to the same thing if I say: 'The highest good is a mind that scorns the happenings of chance, and rejoices only in virtue,' or say: 'It is the power of the mind to be unconquerable, wise from experience, calm in action, showing the while much courtesy and consideration in intercourse with others.' It may also be defined in the statement that the happy man is he who recognizes no good and evil other than a good and an evil mind—one who cherishes honour, is content with virtue, who is neither puffed up, nor crushed, by the happenings of chance, who knows of no greater good than that which he alone is able to bestow upon himself, for whom true pleasure will be the scorn of
pleasures. It is possible, too, if one chooses to be discursive, to transfer the same idea to various other forms of expression without injuring or weakening its meaning. For what prevents us from saying that the happy life is to have a mind that is free, lofty, fearless and steadfast—a mind that is placed beyond the reach of fear, beyond the reach of desire, that counts virtue the only good, baseness the only evil, and all else but a worthless mass of things, which come and go without increasing or diminishing the highest good, and neither subtract any part from the happy life nor add any part to it? (Seneca, "On the Happy Life," IV, 1-3, op cit., II, 108-11.)

Ergo in virtute posita est vera felicitas. Quid haec tibi virtus suadebit? Ne quid aut malum existimes, quod nec virtute nec malitia continget; deinde, ut sis immobillis et ex bono, ut, qua fas est, deum effinges. Quid tibi pro hac expeditione promittit? Ingentia et aequa divinis. Nihil cogonis, nullo indigebis, liber eris, tutus, indennis; nihil frustra temptabis, nihil prohibebis; omnia tibi ex sententia cedent, nihil adversum accidet, nihil contra opinionem ac voluntatem. Quid ergo? Virtus ad beate vivendum sufficit? Perfecta illa et divina quidni sufficiat, immo superfluat? Quid enim deesse potest extra desiderium omnium posito? Quid extrinsecus opus est ei, qui omnia sua in se collegit? Sed ei, qui ad virtutem tendit, etiam si multum processit, opus est aliqua fortunae indulgentia adhuc inter humana luctanti, dum nodum illum exsolvit et omne vinculum mortale.

Therefore true happiness is founded upon virtue. And what is the counsel this virtue will give to you? That you should not consider anything either a good or an evil that will not be the result of either virtue or vice; then, that you should stand unmoved both in the face of evil and by the enjoy-
ment of good, to the end that—as far as is allowed—you may body forth God. And what does virtue promise you for this enterprise? Mighty privileges and equal to the divine. You shall be bound by no constraint, nothing shall you lack, you shall be free, safe, unhurt; nothing shall you essay in vain, from nothing be barred; all things shall happen according to your desire, nothing adverse shall befall you, nothing contrary to your expectations and wish. 'What! does virtue alone suffice for living happily?' Perfect and divine as it is, why should it not suffice—nay, suffice to overflowing? For if a man has been placed beyond the reach of any desire, what can he possibly lack? If a man has gathered into himself all that is his, what need does he have of any outside thing? But the man who is still on the road to virtue, who, even though he has proceeded far, is still struggling in the toils of human affairs, does have need of some indulgence from Fortune until he has loosed that knot and every mortal bond.

(Seneca, "On the Happy Life," XVI, 1-3, Ibid., II, 140-1.)

Non potest ergo quisquam aut nocere sapienti aut prodesse, quoniam divina nec iuvari desiderant nec laedi possunt, sapiens autem vicinus proximusque dis consistit, excepta mortalitate similis deo. Ad illa nitens pergensque excelsa, ordinata, intrepida, aequali et concordi cursu fluentia, secura, benigna, bona publico nata, et sibi et alius salutaria nihil humile concupiscet, nihil flebit. Qui rationi innexus per humanos casus divino incedit animo, non habet ubi accipiat iniuriam—ab homine me tantum dicere putas? Ne a fortuna quidem, quae quotiens cum virtute congressa est, numquam par recessit. Si maximum illud ultra quod nihil habent iratae leges ac saevissimi domini quod minentur, in quo imperium suum fortuna consumit, sequo placidoque animo accipimus et scimus mortem
malum non esse, ob hoc ne iniuriam quidem, multo facilius alia tolerabimus, damna et dolores, ignominias, locorum commutationes, orbitae, discessidias, quae sapientem, etiam si universa circumveniant, non mergunt, sedum ut ad singulorum impulsus maeret. Et si fortunae iniurias moderate fort, quanto magis hominum potentium quos scit fortunae manus esse!

Omnia itaque sic patitur ut hiemis rigorem et intemperantiam caeli, ut fervores morbosque et cetera forte accidentia, nec de quoquam tam bene judicat, ut illum quicquam potest consilium fecisse, quod in uno sapiente est. Allorum omnium non consilia, sed fraudes et inaidiae et motus animorum inconditae sunt, quae casibus adnumeraret; omne autem fortuitum circa saevit et in vilia.

It is impossible, therefore, for any one either to injure or to benefit the wise man, since that which is divine does not need to be helped, and cannot be hurt; and the wise man is next-door neighbour to the gods and like a god in all save his mortality. As he struggles and presses on towards those things that are lofty, well-ordered, undaunted, that flow on with even and harmonious current, that are untroubled, kindly, adapted to the public good, beneficial both to himself and to others, the wise man will covet nothing low, will never repine. The man who, relying on reason, marches through mortal vicissitudes with the spirit of a god, has no vulnerable spot where he can receive an injury. From man only do you think I mean? No, not even from Fortune, who, whenever she has encountered virtue, has always left the field outmatched. If that supreme event, beyond which outraged laws and the most cruel masters have nothing with which to threaten us, and in which Fortune uses up all her power, is met with calm and unruffled mind, and if it is realized that death is not an evil and therefore not an injury either, we shall much more easily bear all other things—losses and pains, disgrace, changes of abode, bereavements, and separations. These things cannot overwhelm
the wise man, even though they all encompass him at once; still less does he grieve when they assault him singly. And if he bears composedly the injuries of Fortune, how much the more will he bear those of powerful men, whom he knows to be merely the instruments of Fortune!

All such things, therefore, he endures in the same way that he submits to the rigours of winter and to inclement weather, to fevers and disease, and the other accidents of chance; nor does he form so high an estimate of any man as to think that he has done anything with the judgement that is found only in the wise man. All others are actuated, not by judgement, but by delusions and deceptions and ill-formed impulses of the mind, which the wise man sets down to the account of chance; but every power of Fortune rages round about us and strikes what counts for naught!

(Seneca, "On Firmness," VIII, 2-IX, 1, Ibid., I, 72-5.)

**Hos enim Stoici nostri sapientes pronuntiaverunt, invictos laboribus et contempores voluptatis et victores omnium terrorum.**

For we Stoics have declared that these were wise men, because they were unconquered by struggles, were despisers of pleasure, and victors over all terrors.

(Seneca, "On Firmness," II, 1, Ibid., I, 50-51.)

**Intelligis, etiam si non adiciam, sequi perpetuam tranquillitatem, libertatem depulsis iis, quae aut irritant nos aut territant; nam voluptatibus et timoribus proiectis pro illis, quae parva ac fragilis sunt et ipsis flagitiis noxias, ingens gaudium subit, inconcussum et sequele, tum pax et concordia animi et magnitudo cum mansuetudine; omnis enim ex infirmitate feritas est.**

You understand, even if I do not say more, that, when once we have driven away all
that excites or affrights us, there ensues unbroken tranquillity and enduring freedom; for when pleasures and fears have been banished, then, in place of all that is trivial and fragile and harmful just because of the evil it works, there comes upon us first a boundless joy that is firm and unalterable, then peace and harmony of the soul and true greatness coupled with kindliness; for all ferocity is born from weakness.

(Seneca, "On the Happy Life," III, 4, Ibid., II, 106-7.)

Ergo exseundum ad libertatem est. Hanc non alia res tribuit quam fortunae neglengentia. Tum illud orietur inestimabile bonum, quies mentis in tuto conlocatae et sub-limitas expulsisque erroribus ex cognitione veri gaudium grande et immotum comitasque et diffusio anini, quibus delectabitur non ut bonis sed ut ex bono suo ortis.

Therefore we must make our escape to freedom. But the only means of procuring this is through indifference to Fortune. Then will be born the one inestimable blessing, the peace and exaltation of a mind now safely anchored, and, when all error is banished, the great and stable joy that comes from the discovery of truth, along with kindliness and cheerfulness of mind; and the source of a man's pleasure in all of these will not be that they are good, but that they spring from a good that is his own.

(Seneca, "On the Happy Life," IV, 5, Ibid., II, 110-11.)

Beata ergo vita est in recto certoque judicio stabilita et immutabilis. Tunc enim pura mens est et soluta omnibus malis, quae non tantum lacerationes sed etiam vellicationes effugerit, statuta semper ubi constitit ac sedem suam etiam irata et infestante fortuna vindicatura.

Therefore the life that is happy has been founded on correct and trustworthy judge-
ment, and is unalterable. Then, truly, is the mind unclouded and freed from every ill, since it knows how to escape not only deep wounds, but even scratches, and, resolved to hold to the end whatever stand it has taken, it will defend its position even against the assaults of an angry Fortune.

(Seneca, "On the Happy Life," V, 3, Ibid., II, 112-13.)

aegritudo autem in sapientem virum non cadit; serena eius mens est, nec quicquam incidere potest, quod illam obducat. Nihilque aequo hominem quam magnus animus decet; non potest autem magnus esse idem ac maestus. Maeror contundit mentes, abicit, contrahit; hoc sapienti ne in suis quidem accidet calamitatibus, sed omnem fortuna iram reverberabit et ante se franget; candem semper faciem servabit, placidam, inconcussam, quod facere non posset, si tristitiam recipierat.

But no sorrow befalls the wise man; his mind is serene, and nothing can happen to becloud it. Nothing, too, so much befits a man as superiority of mind; but the mind cannot at the same time be superior and sad. Sorrow blunts its powers, dissipates and hampers them; this will not happen to a wise man even in the case of personal calamity, but he will beat back all the rage of fortune and crush it first; he will maintain always the same calm, unshaken appearance, and he could not do this if he were accessible to sadness.

(Seneca, "On Mercy," II, V, 4-5, Ibid., I, 440-41.)

Sola sublimis et excelsa virtus est, nec quicquam magnum est nisi quod simul placidum.

Virtue alone is lofty and sublime, and nothing is great that is not at the same time tranquil.

(Seneca, "On Anger," I, XXI, 4, Ibid., I, 164-5.)

XV, 5, Ibid., II, 138-9:

Illo ergo summum bonum escendat, unde nulla
vi detraxitur, quo neque dolori neque spei
neque timori sit aditus nec ulli rei, quae
deterius summi boni ius faciat; escendere
autem illo sola virtus potest.

Therefore let the highest good mount to a
place from which no force can drag it down,
where neither pain nor hope nor fear finds
access, nor does any other thing that can
lower the authority of the highest good;
but Virtue alone is able to mount to that
height.

Seneca, "On Firmness," I, 1, Ibid., I, 48-9:

Stoici virilem ingressi viam non ut amoena
incuntibus videatur curae habent, sed ut
quam primum nos crupiat et in illum editum
verticem educat, qui adeo extra omnem teli
factum surrexit, ut supra fortunam eminat.

The Stoics, having adopted the heroic course,
are not so much concerned in making it
attractive to us who enter upon it, as in
having it rescue us as soon as possible and
guide us to that lofty summit which rises
so far beyond the reach of any missile as
to tower high above all fortune.

For Biblical use of building imagery, cf. John 14:2;

Ecclesiastes 7:4.

22-24. He . . . right: Cf. Cleopatra, ll. 649-50:

The conquering cause hath right, wherein
thou art,
The vanquisht still is judged the worser
part.

Philotus, ll. 1397-1400:

Authority lookes with so sterne an eye
Upon this wofull bar, and must haue still
Such an advantage ouer misery,
As that it will make good all that it will.

Ciuill Wars, III, 47, 6-8:

If the successes be good, your course is good:
And ending well, our honor then begins.
No hand of strife is pure, but that which wins.


Illis gravis est, quibus repentina est; facile eam sustinet, qui semper expectat . . . Neminem adversae fortuna comminuit, nisi quem secunda decepit. Illi qui munera eius velut sua et perpetua amaverunt, qui se suspici propter illa voluerunt, iacent et maerent, cum vanos et pueriles animos, omnis solidae voluptatis ignaros, falsa et mobilia oblectamenta destituunt; at ille, qui se lastis rebus non inflavit, nec mutatis contrahit. Adversus utrumque statum invictum animum tenet exploratae iam firmitatis; nam in ipsa felicitate, quid contra infelicitatem valeret, expertus est.

Her [Fortune's] attack falls heavy only when it is sudden; he easily withstands her who always expects her . . . No man is crushed by hostile Fortune who is not first deceived by her smiles. Those who love her gifts as if they were their very own and lasting, who desire to be esteemed on account of them, grovel and mourn when the false and fickle delights forsake their empty, childish minds, that are ignorant of every stable pleasure; but he who is not puffed up by happy fortune does not collapse when it is reversed. The man of long-tested constancy, when faced with either condition, keeps his mind unconquered; for in the very midst of prosperity he proves his strength to meet adversity.

77-84. Which . . . yours: Cf. Seneca, "On the Happy Life,"

IX, 3, *op. cit.*, II, 122-23:

> Summum bonum in ipso judicio est et habitu optimae mentis, quae cum cura suum implevit et finibus se suis cinxit, consummatum est summum bonum nec quicquam amplius desiderat; nihil enim extra totum est, non magis quam ultra finem.

The highest good lies in the very choice of it [virtue], and the very attitude of a mind made perfect, and when the mind has completed its course and fortified itself within its own bounds, the highest good has now been perfected, and nothing further is desired; for there can no more be anything outside of the whole than there can be some point beyond the end.


> Tutus est sapiens nec ulla affici aut iniuria aut contumelia potest.

The wise man is safe, and no injury or insult can touch him.


> 'Quid ergo? Non erit aliquis qui sapienti facere temptet inuriam?' Temptabit, sed non perventuram ad eum; maiores enim intervalla a contactu inferiorum abductus est, quam ut ulla vis noxia usque ad illum vires suas perferat.

'What then?' you say; 'will there be no one who will attempt to do the wise man injury?' Yes, the attempt will be made, but the
injury will not reach him. For the distance which separates him from contact with his inferiors is so great that no baneful force can extend its power all the way to him.

"On Firmness," XIV, 3-4, Ibid., I, 90-91:

'At sapiens colapho percussus quid faciet?' Quod Cato, cum illi os percussum esset; non excanduit, non vindicavit iniuriam, ne remisit quidem, sed factam negavit; maiores animo non agnovit quam ignovisset. Non diu in hoc haeremimus; quis enim nescit nihil ex his, quae creduntur mala aut bona, ita videri sapienti ut omnibus? Non respicit, quid homines turpe iudicent aut miserum, non it qua populus, sed ut sidera contrarium mundo iter intendunt, ita hic adversus opinionem omnium vexit.

"But,' you ask, 'if a wise man receives a blow, what shall he do?' What Cato did when he was struck in the face. He did not flare up, he did not avenge the wrong, he did not even forgive it, but he said that no wrong had been done. He showed finer spirit in not acknowledging it than if he had pardoned it. But we shall not linger long upon this point. For who is not aware that none of the things reputed to be goods or ills appear to the wise man as they do to men at large? He does not regard what men consider base or wretched; he does not walk with the crowd, but as the planets make their way against the whirl of heaven, so he proceeds contrary to the opinion of the world.

"On Firmness," XIX, 1-3, Ibid., I, 102-5:

Non est in rixam conluctationemque veniendum. Procul auferendi pedes sunt et quicquid horum ab imprudentibus fiet (fieri autem nisi ab imprudentibus non potest) neglegendum et honores iniuriaeque vulgi in promiscuo habendae. Nec his dolendum nec illis gaudendum . . . libertas est animum superponere iniurias et eum facere se, ex quo solo sibi gaudenda veniant, exteriora
Strife and wrangling we must not come near. We should flee far from these things, and all the provocations thereto of unthinking people—which only the unthinking can give—should be ignored, and the honours and the injuries of the common herd be valued both alike. We must neither grieve over the one, nor rejoice over the other. ... Liberty is having a mind that rises superior to injury, that makes itself the only source from which its pleasures spring, that separates itself from all external things in order that man may not have to live his life in disquietude, fearing everybody's laughter, everybody's tongue. For if any man can offer insult, who is there who cannot? But the truly wise man and the aspirant to wisdom will use different remedies. For those who are not perfected and still conduct themselves in accordance with public opinion must bear in mind that they have to dwell in the midst of injury and insult; all misfortune will fall more lightly on those who expect it.

Seneca, "On Anger," III, V, 7-VI, 1, Ibid., I, 266-69;
Nullum est argumentum magnitudinis certius quam nihil posse quo instigeris accidere. Pars superior mundi et ordinatio ac propinquar a sideribus nec in tempestatem impellitur nec versatur in turbinem; omnium tumultu caret, inferi or a fulminantur. Eodem modo sublimis animus, quietus semper et in statione tranquilla conlocatus, omnis infr se premens, quibus ira contrahitur, modestus et venerabilis est et dispositus; quorum nihil invenies in irato.

But the really great mind, the mind that has taken the true measure of itself, fails to revenge injury only because it fails to perceive it. As missiles rebound from a hard surface, and the man who strikes solid objects is hurt by the impact, so no injury whatever can cause a truly great mind to be aware of it, since the injury is more fragile than that at which it is aimed. How much more glorious it is for the mind, impervious, as it were, to any missile, to repel all insults and injuries! Revenge is the confession of a hurt; no mind is truly great that bends before injury. The man who has offended you is either stronger or weaker than you: if he is weaker, spare him; if he is stronger, spare yourself.

There is no surer proof of greatness than to be in a state where nothing can possibly happen to disturb you. The higher region of the universe, being better ordered and near to the stars, is condensed into no cloud, is lashed into no tempest, is churned into no whirlwind; it is free from all turmoil; it is in the lower regions that the lightnings flash. In the same way the lofty mind is always calm, at rest in a quiet haven; crushing down all that engenders anger, it is restrained, commands respect, and is properly ordered. In an angry man you will find none of these things.

93-98, Knowing redresse: In this comparison of the microcosm with the macrocosm Daniel uses Ptolemaic
terminology: revolution, aspect, predominate. Cf. A Selection from the Poetry of Samuel Daniel & Michael Drayton, ed. Beeching, p. 183. Wordsworth used this stanza in The Excursion, IV, 324-331, because it impressed him as "an admirable picture of the state of a wise man's mind in a time of public commotion" (Poetical Works, p. 867). Cecil Seronsy (op. cit., p. 325) points out that in The Excursion, IV, 59, Wordsworth modifies Daniel's "these revolutions of disturbances" to "of the revolving world's disturbances." Cf. the similar imagery in Civil Wars, VII, 33, 1-4:

Being in a course of motion, could not rest,  
Until the revolution of their rage  
Came to that point, where to it was address.

99-100. And ... man?: G.C. Moore Smith ("Seneca, Jonson, Daniel and Wordsworth," MLR, I [1906], 232) notes that Daniel translated these lines from Seneca, Naturalium Quaestiorum Praefatio, 4: "O quam contempta res est homo nisi supra humana surrexerit!" Smith also notes a parallel in Jonson's Cynthia's Revels, I, v, 30:

O how despicable and base a thing is a man,  
If he not strive to erect his groveling thoughts  
Above the strain of flesh.

117-124. This ... inequalitie: Cf. Seneca, "On the
Happy Life," VIII, 6, op. cit., II, 120-21:

Quare audaciter licet profitearis sumnum bonum esse animi concordiam; virtutes enim ibi esse deebunt, ubi consensus atque unitas erit. Dissident vitia.

Wherefore you may boldly declare that the highest good is harmony of the soul; for where concord and unity are, there must the virtues be. Discord accompanies the vices.
Lucy, Countess of Bedford, the daughter of John
Harington, first Baron of Exton, was born in 1530. On
December 12, 1594, she was married to Edward, third Earl
of Bedford. It was with the accession of James that the
Countess became one of the most brilliant members of the
court. She was among the noblewomen who flocked to Scot­
land after the death of Elizabeth to be the first to pre­
sent their respects to the new queen. Lady Lucy was more
fortunate than some members of this group, for Queen Anne
immediately appointed her to her Privy Chamber. During
the rest of the queen's lifetime Lady Bedford was associ­
ated more than any other noblewoman with the royal tastes
and entertainments. On the death of the queen the
Countess retired from court life, partly because of a
stroke she had suffered, and the rest of her life was
spent in relative quiet until her death at Moor Park,
May 26, 1627.

1 I am indebted to Miss Ruth Hughey for this information.
For Lady Bedford's life, see DNB, XVII, 467; Wiffen, op.
cit., II, passim; Coke, The Complete Peerage, II, ed.
Vicary Gibba, 78 Newdigate, op. cit., pp. 56-69.
3 Wiffen, op. cit., II, 109; cf. Birch, James 1, I, 141.
4 Wiffen, op. cit., II, 109.
4-25. **Though . . . worthily:** Cf. Daniel's discussion of

         virtue in *Musophilus*, ll. 591-94:

         Must she like a wanton Cutezan
         Open her breasts for shew, to win her
         praise,
         And blaze her faire bright beauty unto
         man,
         As if she were enamord of his waies?

4-7. **Though . . . authorite:** Cf. Seneca, "On the Happy

         Life," VII, 3, *op. cit.*, II, 116-17:

         *Virtutem in templo convenies, in foro, in
          curia, pro muris stantem, pulverulentam,
          coloratam, callosa habentem manus.*

         Virtue you will find in the temple, in the
         forum, in the senate-house—you will find
         her standing in front of the city walls,
         dusty and stained, and with calloused hands.


         II, 230-31:

         *Ut salutaria quaedam, quae citra gustum
          tactuque odore proficiunt, ita virtus
          utilitatem etiam ex longinquo et latens
          fundit. Sive spatiatur et se utitur suo
          iure, sive precarios habet excessus
          cogiturque vela contrahere, sive otiosa
          mutaque est et in angusto circumsaepta,
          sive adaperta, in quocumque habitu est,
          proficit.*

         As there are certain salutary things that
         without our tasting and touching them bene-
         fit us by their mere odour, so virtue sheds
         her advantage even from a distance, and in
         hiding. Whether she walks abroad and of her
         own right makes herself active, or has her
         appearances on sufferance and is forced to
         draw in her sails, or is inactive and mute
         and pent within narrow bounds, or is openly
displayed, no matter what her condition is, she always does good.

This idea can be found scattered throughout English literature.

8. strictnesse: narrowness.

18. dight: decked, clothed.

32-35. And . . . happines: A central tenet of humanism.

Cf. Sidney's Apology for Poetry:

This purifying of wit, this enrichting of memory, enabling of judgment, and enlarging of conceyt, which commonly we call learning, vnder what name soever it com forth, or to what immediat end soever it be directed, the final end is to lead and draw vs to as high a perfection as our degenerate soules, made worse by theyr clayey lodgings, can be capable of.

(Elizabethan Critical Essays, I, 160)

For a variation on this theme, cf. Seneca, "To Helvia on Consolation," XVII, 4-5, op. cit., II, 478-79:

Nunc ad illas revertere; tutam te praestabunt. Illae consolabuntur, illae delectabunt, illa si bona fide in animum tuum intraverint, numquam amplius intrabit dolor, numquam sollicitudo, numquam adflictationis irritae spervacua vexatio. Nulli horum patebit pectus tuum; nam ceteris vitis iam pridem clusum est. Haec quidem certissima praesidia sunt et quae sola te fortunae eripere possint.

Do you return now to these studies; they will render you safe. They will comfort you, they will cheer you; If in earnest they gain entrance to your mind, nevermore will sorrow enter there, nevermore anxiety,
nevermore the useless distress of futile suffering. To none of these will your heart be open; for to all other weaknesses it has long been closed. Philosophy is your most unfailing safeguard, and she alone can rescue you from the power of Fortune.

40-42. And . . . weaknesses: The traditional Renaissance view of women as weak by nature; cf. Hardin Craig, op. cit., pp. 131 ff. The same idea is expressed in the epistle to the Countess of Cumberland, ll. 69-71.

45. This rowling world: This phrase is also used in Musophilus, l. 677.

46-49. And . . . esteeme: Cf. Musophilus, ll. 611-22:

Ist not enough that she [Virtue] hath raisd those that be hers, that they may sit and see
Those that be hers, that they may sit and see
The earth below them, and this All to lie under their view: taking the true degree
Of the lust height of swolne mortalitie
Right as it is, not as it seemes to be,
And undeceived with the paralax
Of a mistaking eie of passion, know
By these mask'ed outsides what the inward lacks
Measuring man by himselfe not by his show,
Wondring not at their rich and golden backs
That have poore minds, and little else to shew.

Also cf. the casket scene from Merchant of Venice.
Cf. Seneca, "To Helvia on Consolation," V, 6, op. cit., II, 426-29:
Itaque ego in illis, quae omnes optant, existimavi semper nihil veri boni inesse, tum inania et specioso ac decipientio ruco circumlita inveni, intra nihil habentera fronti suae simile.

Consequently, I have always believed that there was no real good in the things that most men pray for; besides, I have always found that they were empty and, though painted over with showy and deceptive colours, have nothing within to match their outward show.

50-61. *Since* ... *grown*: A common Stoic idea. Cf. Seneca, "To Helvia on Consolation," VIII, 2-4, Ibid., II, 440-41:

Duo quae pulcherrima sunt, quocumque nos moverimus, sequuntur: natura communis et propria virtus. Id actum est, mihi crede, ab illo quisquis formator univerai fuit, sive ille deus est potens omnium, sive incorporeal is ratio ingenti operum artifex, sive divinus spiritus per omnia maxima ac minima aequali intentione diffusus, sive factum et immutibilis causarum inter se coherentium series—id, inquam, actum est, ut in alienum arbitrium nisi vilissima quaeque non caderent. Quidquid optimum homini est, id extra humanam potentiam iscat, nec dari nec eripi potest. Mundus hic, quo nihil neque maius neque ornatus rerum natura genuit, et animus contemplator admiratorque mundi, pars eius magnific- centissima, propria nobis et perpetua et tam diu nobiscum mansura sunt, quam diu ipsi manebimus.

Wherever we betake ourselves, two things that are most admirable will go with us—universal Nature and our own virtue. Believe me, this was the intention of the great creator of the universe, whoever he may be, whether an all-powerful God, or incorporeal Reason contriving vast works, or divine Spirit pervading all things from
the smallest to the greatest with uniform energy, or Fate and an unalterable se-
quence of causes clinging one to the other—this, I say, was his intention, that only
the most worthless of our possessions should fall under the control of another.
All that is best for a man lies beyond the power of other men, who can neither give it
nor take it away. The firmament, than which Nature has created naught greater and
more beautiful, and the most glorious part of it, the human mind that surveys and
wonders at the firmament, are our own everlasting possessions, destined to remain
with us so long as we ourselves shall remain.

Seneca, "To Helvia on Consolation," V, 1, Ibid., II, 424-25:

Id egit rerum natura, ut ad bene vivendum
non magno apparatu opus esset; unusquisque
facere se beatum potest. Leve momentum in
adventicis rebus est et quod in neutram
partem magnas vire habet. Nec secunda
sapientem evahunt nec adversa demittunt;
laboravit enim semper, ut in se plurimum
poneret, ut a se omne gaudium peteret.

Nature intended that we should need no
great equipment for living happily; each
one of us is able to make his own happiness.
External things are of slight importance,
and can have no great influence in either
direction. Prosperity does not exalt the
wise man, nor does adversity cast him down;
for he has always endeavoured to rely upon
himself, to derive all of his joy from
himself.

Seneca, "On Firmness," V, 5, Ibid., I, 60-63:

libera est, inviolabilis, immota, inconcussa,
sic contra casus indurat, ut ne inclinari
quidem, nedum vinci possit; adversus adpa-
ratus terribilium rectos oculos tenet, nihil
ex vultu mutat sive illi dura sive secunda
ostentantur. Itaque nihil perdet quod
perire sensurus sit; unius enim in possessione
Virtue is free, inviolable, unmoved, unshaken, so steeled against the blows of chance that she cannot be bent, much less broken. Facing the instruments of torture she holds her gaze unflinching, her expression changes not at all, whether a hard or a happy lot is shown her. Therefore the wise man will lose nothing which he will be able to regard as loss; for the only possession he has is virtue, and of this he can never be robbed. Of all else he has merely the use on sufferance. Who, however, is moved by the loss of that which is not his own? But if injury can do no harm to anything that a wise man owns, since if his virtue is safe his possessions are safe, then no injury can happen to the wise man.

When Demetrius, the one who had the appellation of Poliorcetes, had captured Megara, he questioned Stilbo, a philosopher, to find out whether he had lost anything, and his answer was, 'Nothing; I have all that is mine with me.' Yet his estate had been given up to plunder, his daughters had been out-
raged by the enemy, his native city had passed under foreign sway, and the man himself was being questioned by a king on his throne, ensconced amid the arms of his victorious army. But he wrested the victory from the conqueror, and bore witness that, though his city had been captured, he himself was not only unconquered but unharmed. For he had with him his true possessions, upon which no hand can be laid, while the property that was being scattered and pillaged and plundered he counted not his own, but the adventitious things that follow the beck of Fortune. Therefore, he had esteemed them as not really his own; for all that flows to us from without is a slippery and insecure possession.


72. own: own.

74-75. How . . . cleere: Cf. Ciuill Wars, VIII, 89, 3-8:

But, being arriu'd at Cort,
He draws a Trauersse 'twixt his greeuances;
Lookes like the time: his eye made not report
Of what he felt within: nor was he lesse
Then vsually he was, in every part;
Wore a cleere face, vpon a clowdy hart.
"To The Lady Anne Clifford"

The Lady Anne Clifford, to whom this poem is addressed, was born at Skipton Castle, January 30, 1590. Her mother was the Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, to whom another of Daniel's verse epistles was addressed, and her father the profligate George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland. The unhappy marital relationship of Lady Anne's parents has been discussed earlier, but certainly it could not have led to a very happy homelife for her. However, as Daniel points out, her mother seems to have seen to it that the child received a virtuous and religious education.

Although Lady Anne was instructed in honor and virtue, her education was far from an expensive one. There is an account book at Skipton Castle which relates to her education from 1600 to 1602, approximately the time when this epistle was written. During this time she was in London with her governess, Mrs. Taylor, and the frugality with which Lady Anne lived is reflected in the receipts, which from August, 1600, to August, 1602, amounted only to 38L 12s. 1d., and the expenditures, which amounted only to 35L 13s. 3d.; hardly an expensive life for a child of

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her social position. Her mother seems to have been the dominant influence on Lady Anne (as we see in Daniel's poem), for the Countess's directions "with respect to her dress, expences, &c. are very numerous and particular; the earl is never mentioned from beginning to end" in the account book.

Although Lady Anne was on the most limited allowance, the generosity which was later to endear her to the less fortunate was already a part of her character. The account book shows that "with an allowance so limited as frequently to reduce her to borrowing, almost one fourth of the numerous articles in her expenditure consisted of acts of bounty."4

Her education must have been indeed thorough, for the books which appear in the picture of her at thirteen include Eusebius, St. Augustine, and Josephus, as well as Sidney's Arcadia.5 Such a careful education produced a woman who was so well-versed in a variety of subjects that Donne is reported to have said that "she knew well how to discourse of all things from predestination to alca-silk."6 Daniel must have been just as careful to inculcate erudition as virtue.

3 Ibid., p. 314.  
4 Ibid., p. 315.  
6 Cokayne, op. cit., III, 296; DNB, IV, 512.
We are fortunate to have Lady Anne's own description of herself in these early years so that we can more clearly picture the child that Daniel tutored and counseled:

I was very happy in my first constitution, both in mind and body, both for internal and external endowments; for never was there child more equally resembling both father and mother than myself. The colour of mine eyes was black like my father's, and the form and aspect of them was quick and lively, like my mother's; the hair of my head was brown and very thick, and so long, that it reached to the calf of my legs when I stood upright, with a peak of hair on my forehead, and a dimple in my chin, like my father; full cheeks and round face, like my mother, and an exquisite shape of body, resembling my father; but now time and age have long since ended all those beauties, which are to be compared to the grass of the field; for now, when I have caused these memorables of myself to be written, I have passed the sixty-third year of my age. And, though I say it, the perfections of my mind were much above those of my body. I had a strong and copious memory, a sound judgment, and a discerning spirit, and so much of a strong imagination in me, as that many times even my dreams and apprehensions beforehand proved to be true; so that old Mr. John Denham, a great astronomer that sometime lived in my father's house, would often say, that I had much in me in nature to shew that the sweet influences of the Pleiads and the bands of Orion, mentioned in Job, were powerful both at my conception and nativity! And my mother did with singular care and tenderness of affection educate me, as her most dear and only daughter, seasoning my youth with the grounds of true religion and moral virtue, and all other qualities befitting my birth. In which she employed, as her chief agent, Mr. Samuel Daniel, that religious and honest poet, who composed 'The Civil Wars of England between the two Houses
of York and Lancaster,1 and also writ many
other treatises, both in prose and verse.
I was not admitted to learn any language,
because my father would not permit it; but
for all other knowledge fit for my sex,
one was bred up to greater perfection
than myself. Thus from my childhood, by
the bringing up of my dear mother, I did,
as it were, even suck the milk of goodness;
which made my mind grow strong against the
storms of fortune, which few avoid that
are greatly born and matched, if they
attain to any number of years, unless they
betake themselves to a private retiredness,
which I could never do, till after the
death of both my husbands.7

Here we see the young aristocrat of Daniel's poem: privi­
leged in natural endowments and in birth, receiving her
basic moral education from her mother.

Lady Anne, like her mother, did not have a very happy
married life. On February 25, 1609, she married Richard
Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, afterwards third Earl of Dorset,
who died March 28, 1624.8 She married her second husband,
Philip Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, on
June 3, 1630. On his death on January 23, 1650, Lady Anne
was finally relieved of her marital troubles. Each of her
husbands must have led Lady Anne a very unhappy life,
although neither seems to have been able to weaken her
sinewy moral fibre. Whitaker summarizes her life:

By the blessing of a religious education,
and the example of an excellent mother,
she imbibed in childhood those principles

7 Quoted in Wiffen, op. cit., II, 97-98.
8 Cokayne, op. cit., III, 295.
which, in middle life, preserved her untainted from the profligacy of one husband and the fanaticism of another; and, after her deliverance from both, conducted her to the close of a long life in the uniform exercise of every virtue which became her sex, her rank, and her Christian profession. 9

The lawsuit for Lady Anne's inheritance has already been discussed under her mother's life. In this, as in her relations with her tenants, Lady Anne showed the determination and self-reliance that were so much a part of her character. Finally, after almost forty years, she came into her estates under her father's will when her cousin died on December 11, 1643, and the long legal battle was ended. 10

After a long life as one of the great ladies of her time, the Lady Anne Clifford died at Brougham Castle, March 22, 1676. Daniel's poem, although to a young girl, emphasizes the traits which were to become dominant in her later life: a sober and virtuous morality, with perhaps a little too much self-reliance. And the poet's hope that she would fill her position with honor was fulfilled by her distinguished career.


9 Whitaker, op. cit., p. 311.
10 Ibid., p. 269.
22. she: Lady Anne's mother, Margaret, Countess of Cumberland.

39-42. Or . . . place: Cf. Ciuill Wars, VIII, 104, 1-4:

I knowe, that I am fixt vnto a Sphere
That is ordayn'd to moue. It is the place
My fate appoints me; and the region where
I must, what-euer happens, there, imbrace.

40. supernal bodies: planets.

54-55. For . . . hie: Cf. Spenser, Cantos of Mutabilitie.

57-58. This . . . order: Cf. Shakespeare, Troilus and Cressida, I, iii, 85-126.

76-77. And . . . owne: Cf. Seneca, "On Tranquillity of Mind," I, 16, op. cit., II, 210-11:

Non est enim, quod magis aliena iudices
adulatione nos perire quam nostra. Cuius
sibi verum dicere ausus est? quis non
inter laudantium bladientiumque positus
grges plurimum tamen sibi ipse adsentatus
est?

For there is no reason for you to suppose
that the adulation of other people is more
ruinous to us than our own. Who dares to
tell himself the truth? Who, though he is
surrounded by a horde of applauding
sycophants, is not for all that his own
greatest flatterer?

79. collaud: praise highly, extol.

92. Russell: Lady Anne's mother was a Russell.
"To Henry Wriothesly Erle of Southampton"

The nobleman to whom this epistle is addressed is perhaps best known to the literary student as the patron of Shakespeare. Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, was born October 6, 1573, the second son of Henry Wriothesley, second Earl of Southampton, by his wife Mary Browne, daughter of the first Viscount Montague. The boy succeeded to the earldom at a very early age on October 4, 1581. On February 19, 1601, he was tried with Essex for treason after his participation in the ill-fated rebellion and condemned to death. Although Cecil had his punishment commuted to life imprisonment, the Earl could hope for no more mitigation while Elizabeth was alive. However, upon the death of Elizabeth, Southampton's fortunes changed. James wrote a letter for his release on April 5, before leaving Scotland for England, and the Earl was released from the Tower on April 10, 1603, amid general rejoicing.

Southampton was given high honors under James, but

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2 Stopes, op. cit., p. 259.
3 Stopes, p. 260, relies on a note in Manningham's diary and concludes that Southampton was released the night of April 9. However, April 10 is the date always given. Cf. Chamberlain, op. cit., I, 192; DNB, XXI, 1058.
his natural impetuousness and the court brawls he took part in kept him from becoming too prominent at court. His colorful career was brought to a close at Bergen-op-Zoom on November 10, 1624, where he died of a fever while on an expedition in the Low Countries.


5. tugg'd with Fortune: "tugg'd by Fortune" was used earlier by Drayton in Mortimeriados, l. 2725; cf. Drayton, op. cit., V, 43. Cf. Shakespeare's use of the phrase in Macbeth, III, i, 112.


Without an adversary, prowess shrivels. We see how great and efficient it really is, only when it shows by endurance what it is capable of. Be assured that good men ought to act likewise; they should not shrink from
hardships and difficulties, nor complain against fate; they should take in good part whatever happens, and should turn it to good. Not what you endure, but how you endure, is important.


III, 4, Ibid., I, 16-17:


The same is true of Fortune. She seeks out the bravest men to match with her; some she passes by in disdain. Those that are most stubborn and unbending she assails, men against whom she may exert her strength. Mucius she tries by fire, Fabricius by poverty, Rutilius by exile, Regulus by torture, Socrates by poison, Cato by death. It is only evil fortune that discovers a great exemplar.

This is a catalogue of stock types of virtue; cf. Cicero, De Officiis, I, 43, 112; III, 10, 11, 16, 77, 99-105, 186-7.

20. Mutius: Gaius Mucius Scaevola, legendary hero of the Roman-Etruscan wars. Mucius stole into the enemy's camp and attempted to kill Porsena, the Etruscan king. He was captured and condemned to be burned alive. To show his contempt for such a death, he thrust his right hand into the fire. Porsena was so impressed
that he released Mucius.

**Regulus:** Marcus Atilius Regulus, hero of the first Punic war. Regulus was captured by the Carthaginians, and, after he had sworn to return to Carthage if the negotiations failed, he was sent to Rome to propose peace. After advising the Romans to continue the war, Regulus fulfilled his oath by returning to Carthage, where he was tortured to death.

22. **Rutilius:** Rufus Publius Rutilius, Roman statesman, who, because he had repressed the extortions of the tax-collectors in Asia, was forced into exile in 92 B.C.

24. **Fabricius:** Gaius Fabricius Luscinus, famous for his honesty and frugality, flourished early in the third century B.C. He was a general in the war against Pyrrhus.

26. **Sylla e r iches:** Lucius Cornelius Sulla (138-78 B.C.), Roman dictator, confiscated vast sums of money from his enemies. Cf. Seneca, "On Providence," III, 7-8, op. cit., I, 18-21, in which Rutilius and Sulla immediately follow the paragraph on Fabricius' poverty:

> Infelix est Rutilius, quod qui illum damnaverunt causam dicent omnibus saeculis? Quod aequiore animo passus est se patrisae
eripi quam sibi exilium? Quod Sullae
dictatori solum aliquid negavit et
revocatus tantum non retro cessit et
longius fugit? 'Viderint,' inquit, 'isti
quos Romae deprehendit felicitas tua.
Videant largum in foro sanguinem et supra
Servilianum lacum (id enim proscriptis
Sullanae spoliarii est) senatorum capita
et passim vagantis per urbem percussorum
greges et multa milia civium Romanorum uno
loco post fidem, immo per ipsam fidem
trucidata; videant ista qui exulare non
possunt.' Quid ergo? Felix est L. Sulla,
quod illi descendenti ad forum gladio
summovetur, quod capita sibi consularium
virorum patitur ostendi et pretium caedis
per quaestorem ac tabulas publicas
numerat?

Is Rutilius unfortunate because those who
condemned him will have to plead their
cause through all the ages? because he
was more content to endure that his country
should be robbed of him than that he should
be robbed of exile? because he was the
only one who refused anything to the
dictator Sulla, and when recalled from
exile all but drew back and fled farther
away? 'Let those,' says he, 'whom your
'happy' era has caught at Rome, behold it.
Let them see the forum streaming with
blood, and the heads of senators placed
above the pool of Servilius—for thence the
victims of Sulla's proscriptions are
stripped,—and bands of assassins roaming
at large throughout the city, and many
thousands of Roman citizens butchered in
one spot after, nay, by reason of, a
promise of security,—let those who cannot
go into exile behold these things!' Is
Lucius Sulla happy because his way is
cleared by the sword when he descends to
the forum? because he suffers the heads
of consulars to be shown him and has the
treasurer pay the price of their assassi-
nation out of the public funds?

27. Cato's death: Marcus Porcius Cato, the Younger (95-46
B. C.), supported Pompey in the Civil Wars. After Caesar's victory at Thrapsus, Cato, realizing his cause was hopeless, committed suicide.


Inter multa magnifica Demetri nostri et haec vox est, a qua recens sum; sonat adhuc et vibrat in auribus meis: 'Nihil,' inquit, 'mihi videtur infelicius eo, cui nihil umquam evenit adversi.' Non licuit enim illi se experiri.

Among the many fine sayings of our friend Demetrius there is this one, which I have just heard; it still rings in my ears. 'No man,' said he, 'seems to me more unhappy than one who has never met with adversity.' For such a man has never had an opportunity to test himself.

"On Providence," IV, 3, Ibid., I, 24-25:

Item dicere et bono viro possum, si illi nullam occasionem difficilior casus dedit in qua una vim animi qui ostenderet: 'Miserum te iudico, quod numquam fuisti miser. Transisti sine adversario vitam; nemo scit quid potueris, ne tu quidem ipse.' Opus est enim ad notitiam sui experimento; quid quiesse posset nisi temptando non didicit. Itaque quidam ipso ultero sa cessantisibus malis obtulerunt et virtutis iturae in obscurum occasionem per quam enitesceret quaeasierunt.

In like manner, also, I may say to a good man, if no harder circumstance has given him the opportunity whereby alone he might show the strength of his mind, 'I judge you unfortunate because you have never been unfortunate; you have passed through life without an antagonist; no one will know what you can do,—not even yourself.' For
if a man is to know himself, he must be tested; no one finds out what he can do except by trying. And so some men have presented themselves voluntarily to laggard misfortune, and have sought an opportunity to blazon forth their worth when it was about to pass into obscurity.

36-43. How... heart: Cf. Seneca, "On Providence," IV, 1-5, Ibid., I, 24-27:

Semper vero esse felicem et sine morsu animi transire vitam ignorare est rerum naturae alteram partem. Magnus vir es; sed unde acio, si tibi fortuna non dat facultatem exhibendae virtutis? ... Unde possum scire quantum adversus paupertatem tibi animi sit, si divitiis diffiluis? Unde possum scire quantum adversus ignominiam et infamiam odiumque populare constantiae habes, si inter plausus senescis, si te inexpugnabilis et inclinatione quadam mentium pronus favor sequitur? Unde scio quam aequo animo laturus sis orbitatem, si quoscumque sustulisti vides?

Truly, to be always happy and to pass through life without a mental pang is to be ignorant of one half of nature. You are a great man; but how do I know it if Fortune gives you no opportunity of showing your worth? ... How can I know with what spirit you will face poverty, if you wallow in wealth? How can I know with what firmness you will face disgrace, ill fame, and public hatred, if you attain to old age amidst rounds of applause,—if a popularity attends you that is irresistible, and flows to you from a certain leaning of men's minds? How do I know with what equanimity you would bear the loss of children, if you see around you all that you have fathered?

44-46. It... courage: Cf. Seneca, "On Providence," IV, 5, Ibid., I, 26-27:
Ipsis, inquam, deus conculit, quos esse quam honestissimos cupidit, quotiens illis materiam praebet aliquid animose fortiterque faciendo, ad quam rem opus est aliqua rerum difficultate. Gubernatorem in tempestate, in acie militem intellegas.

God, I say, is showing favour to those whom he wills shall achieve the highest possible virtue whenever he gives them the means of doing a courageous and brave deed, and to this end they must encounter some difficulty in life. You learn to know a pilot in a storm, a soldier in the battle-line.

52-55. He ... miserje: Cf. Seneca's comparison of the tortured Regulus with Maecenas, "On Providence," III, 10, Ibid., I, 22-23:

sed illi solacium est pro honesto dura tolerare et ad causam a patientia respicite, hunc voluptatibus marcidum et felicitate nimia laborantem magis his quae patitur vexat causa patiendi.

But while the one, consoled by the thought that he is suffering hardship for the sake of right, turns his eyes from his suffering to its cause, the other, jaded with pleasures and struggling with too much good fortune, is harassed less by what he suffers than by the reason for his suffering.

56. The ... growes: Cf. Seneca regarding the tortures Regulus, "On Providence," III, 9, Ibid., I, 20-21:

Quanto plus tormenti tanto plus erit glorise.

But the greater his torture is, the greater shall be his glory.

Cf. Cicero, De Officiis, I, XIX, 64, pp. 66-67:
Sed quo difficilium, hoc praecelarius; nullum enim est tempus, quod iustitia vacare debet.

But the greater the difficulty, the greater the glory; for no occasion arises that can excuse a man for being guilty of injustice.

57. inbecilitie: moral weakness. Cf. epistle to the Countess of Cumberland, 1. 50.


"On Providence," I, 6, Ibid., I, 6-7:

And so, when you see that men who are good and acceptable to the gods labour and sweat and have a difficult road to climb, that the wicked, on the other hand, make merry and abound in pleasures, reflect that our children please us by their modesty, but slave-boys by their forwardness; that we hold in check the former by
sterner discipline, while we encourage the latter to be bold. Be assured that the same is true of God. He does not make a spoiled pet of a good man; he tests him, hardens him, and fits him for his own service.

"On Providence," IV, 11-12, Ibid., I, 30-31:

Hanc itaque rationem dii sequuntur in bonis viris quam in discipulis suis praeceptores, qui plus laboris ab is exigunt, in quibus certior spes est . . . . Quid mirum, si dure generosos spiritus deus temptat? Numquam virtutis molle documentum est.

And so, in the case of good men the gods follow the same rule that teachers follow with their pupils; they require most effort from those of whom they have the surest hopes. . . . Why, then, is it strange if God tries noble spirits with severity? No proof of virtue is ever mild.
To James Montagu Bishop of Winchester

The prelate to whom this epistle is addressed, James Montagu, was born about 1568, the fifth son of Sir Edward Montagu of Boughton, Northamptonshire, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Harington of Exton, Rutlandshire. He matriculated at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1585, and received the degree of Doctor of Divinity by special Grace, 1598. He was connected with the foundation of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, having laid the first stone, May 20, 1595, and serving as the college's first Master from 1596 to 1608. His generosity in restoring buildings, to which Daniel alludes, was already endearing Montagu to many people. His efforts in beautifying the chapel of his college have been described in an eighteen-century manuscript:

He wainscoted the Altar end of the Chapel in a very handsome manner; but this was done, as I should guess, when he was Bp. of Bath and Wells, for over the Altar is carved the Arms of that See impaling his own. The same Arms with a most beautiful Mitre over them in a Window of the great Dining Room of the Master's Lodge is still preserved: from which I should gather that

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2 Peile, op. cit., I, 181.
3 Loc. cit.
he also glazed and finished the Windows in that part of the Lodge: however it is certain that he was a great Benefactor to it in many other Respects. Nor did he while private Master of this College confine his Munificence within the Walls thereof; for the King's Ditch in Cambridge being at that time very offensive to the Inhabitants, he at ye Expence of an Hundred Pounds brought a clear running Water into it, to the no small Convenience and Pleasure both of the Town and University. 4

Montagu was installed Dean of Litchfield July 16, 1603, but resigned that office the following year on being installed Dean of Worcester. On April 17, 1608, he was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells. In this office he spent a goodly sum repairing and beautifying the episcopal palace and cathedral at Wells and the manor house at Banwell. He also spent one thousand pounds repairing the nave of the abbey at Bath. Since Daniel specifies these repairs in his epistle, a description of Montagu's restorations at Bath might be of interest:

When Bishop Montagu set the church up again he must have shrunk from so great a work as vaulting the nave, and so put a ceiling over it—a very valuable one. It was the old type of cove roof of the district, carried out in a sort of Jacobean form; it was flat and low, still it was an old local roof, with the details of the time of James I. 5

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4 Quoted in Robert Willis, The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge, ed. John Willis Clark, II (Cambridge, 1886), 739.

On October 4, 1616, Montagu became the Bishop of Winchester, the office he held until his death. He continued to restore many of the buildings he was associated with: John Chamberlain, writing in 1617, says that "the bishop of Winchester hath bestowed great cost in repaying and beautifying his house at St. Marie Overies, and on Monday to warm yt made a great feast, to all the Lords and others of qualitie that went the Scottish journy." Montagu, according to Fuller, was "highly in favour with King James." He was close to the court, having been made dean of the chapel to James, and he also gave the sermon at the wedding of the Princess Elizabeth to the Count Palatine. He was made a member of the Privy Council in 1617. Montagu's association with the royal family included his 1616 edition of the prose works of James I in one volume.

Montagu must have been failing from the "seacret-wasting Sicknes" in the spring of 1618. John Chamberlain wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton on April 29 of that year that the Bishop was so weak "that the first warme weather will carry

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8 Fuller, op. cit., p. 439.
9 DNB, XXXVIII, 251.
10 Ibid., II, 226.
11 Ibid., II, 37.
12 Peile, op. cit., I, 181; DNB, XXXVIII, 251; Birch, James I, I, 390.
him away of a dropsie." On July 20, 1618, Winchester, aged fifty, died of jaundice and dropsy at Greenwich, and was buried in Bath Abbey, the church he had done so much to restore.

11. **secret-wasting Sickness**: Montagu died of jaundice and dropsy.

12-13. And . . . doo: Such autobiographical references are not usually found in Daniel's epistles.

21. **disweopning**: disweaponing, disarming.

51-53. A . . . Miseree: Cf. another example of this common image in *The Faerie Queene*, I, IX, xi, 8-9:

Sleepe after toyle, port after stormie seas,
Ease after warre, death after life does greatly please.

Cf. line 14 of "Comparison of lyfe and death," #171, Tottel's Miscellany, I, 124-5: "Death is a port, wherby we passe to ioy."

55-56. Our . . . pass: Cf. Macbeth, V, iii, 22-23:

my way of life
Is fall'n into the sear, the yellow leaf.

Cf. Shakespeare's sonnet 73, ll. 1-3:

That time of year thou mayst in me behold

14 DNB, XXXVIII, 251; cf. Birch, James I, II, 87.
When yellow leaves, nor none, or few, do hang
Upon those boughs which shake against the cold.

68. Bath . . Repairs: See Montagu's life above for a discussion of these repairs.
Poeticall Essayes, 1599 (STC 6261):

THE / POETICALL / ESSAYES / OF / Sam. Danyel. / Newly corrected and aug- / mented. / AEtas prima canat veneres, postrema tumultus. / AT LONDON / Printed by P. Short for Simon / Waterson. 1599. [Within an ornamental arch, McKerrow & Ferguson, #179].


Contents: [A1],r. 'A / LETTER / FROM OCTAV/ IUS TO MARIUS/ US, / SAMUEL DANIEL. / AT LONDON / Printed by P. Short for Simon / Waterson. 1599. [Within an ornamental border, McKerrow & Ferguson, #182]; [A1],v. blank; [A2],r. Dedicatory sonnet to Margaret Countesse of Cumberland; [A2],v. blank; B1, The Argument; B2,r.-D2,v. the text.

Copy used: Microfilm of Huntington Library copy.

Ornaments: [A2],r. head ornament; B1,r. head ornament, same as on [A2],r.; B2,r. head ornament, same as on [A2],r.

Stationers' Register Entry:

9 Januarij [1598/99] 299
Symon waterson Entred for his copie vnder the handes of master Harsnet and the Wardens. a booke called A Letter sent from Octavia to her husband Marcus Anthonius into Egipt ... v
d
(Stationers' Register, III, 134)

Works, 1601 (STC 6236):

THE / WORKS / OF / Samuel Daniel / Newly augmented. / AEtas prima canat veneres / postrema tumultus. / London / Printed for Simon Waterson. / 1601. [Within an ornamental arch, McKerrow & Ferguson, #229].


Contents: Dl,r. [head ornament] / [line] / A / LETTER / from Octavia to Marcus Antonius. / [line] ; Dl, v. blank; D2,r. Dedicatory sonnet to Margaret Countesse of Cumberland; D2,v. blank; D3, The Argument; D4,r.-[E4],r. the text; [E4],v. blank.

Copy used: Microfilm of Huntington Library copy.

Ornaments: Dl,r. head piece; D2,r. head piece, same as on Dl,r.; D3,r. 'The Argument' within an ornamental border; D4,r. head piece.
A Panegyrike Congratulatorie. Also certaine Epistles, 1603, folio (STC 3258):

A / PANEGYRIKE / CONGRATULATORIE / To The King a Maiestie. / Also certaine Epistles, / By Samuel Daniel. / Carmen amat quisquis carmina digna / gerit. [Within an ornamental arch, McKerrow & Ferguson, #229].

Folio: Title, A^6, B^-c^4, D^2, F^1, E^6: no pagination.

Contents: Title, v. blank; Al,r. 'A Panegyrike Congratulatorie To His Maiestie.' [Text, Al,r.-B^4,r.]; [B^4],v. blank; Cl,r. 'To / Sir Tho: Egerton Knight, / Lord Keeper of The Great / Seal of England.' [Text, Cl,r.-C^4,r.]; [C^4],v. blank; Dl,r. 'To / The Lord Henry Howard, / One Of His Maiesties / Privie Councel.' [Text, Dl,r.-D^2,r.]; D^2, v. blank; Fl,r. 'To Henry Wriothesly Erle / Of Southampton.' [Text, Fl,r.&v.]; El,r. 'To / The Lady Margaret, / Countesse of Cum- / berland.' [Text, El,r.-E^3,r.]; E^3,v. 'To / The Lady Lucie, Countess of Bedford.' [Text, E^3,v.-E^4,v.]; [E^5],r. 'To / The Lady Anne / Clifford.' [Text, E^5,r.-F^6,r.].

Copy used: Microfilm of Huntington Library copy.

Ornaments: Al,r. head ornament; cherub on either side facing child in center; B^4,r. line about one inch below
Note: The title-page border is assigned by McKerrow & Ferguson to V. Sims. The tablet intended for the imprint is empty. Sellers, "Bibliography," p. 36, notes that the British Museum copy of this issue has margins and divisions of red lines on each page. The Huntington Library copy, however, has no red lines. In a letter to the author, April 19, 1955, Mr. Herbert Mead, Bibliographer at the Huntington Library, surmises that the lines in the BM copy are evidently added by hand. Mr. Mead has also supplied me with the following information concerning the Huntington copy: the title-page is lacking, but a photostat of the BM copy has been substituted; Fl is wrongly bound preceding El; a stub follows Fl. Mr. Mead, in answer to my question, says that he would consider the British Museum and Huntington copies as being alike. The STC errs in assigning the
Stationers' Register entry to this issue, for it should properly be assigned to the 1603 folio which includes the Defence of Ryme.

A Panegyrike Congratulatorie. Also Certaine Epistles, With A Defence of Ryme, 1603, 8vo. (STC 6260):


8vo: A-H8 [A1, B6 and B8 wanting]: no pagination.

Contents: [A2],r. Title; [A2],v. blank; A3,r. 'A / Panegyrike Congratulatorie to the Kings Most Excellent / Maestic.' [Text, A3,r.-B7,r.]; C1,r. 'TO / Sir Tho: Egerton / Knight, Lord Keeper of / The Great Seale of / England.' [Text, C1,r.-C5,r.]; [C5],v. blank; [C6],r. 'To / The Lord Henry Ho- / ward, One of his Ma- / maesties [sic] Privie / Councl.' [Text, C6,r.-C7,v.]; [C8],r.&v. blank; D1,r. 'To / The Lady Marg- / ret Countesse of / Cumberland.' [Text, D1,r.-D5,v.]; D4,r. 'To / The Lady
Lucie / Countesse of Bed- / ford.' [Text, D4,r.-D5,v.]; [D6],r. 'To / The Lady Anne/Clifford.' [Text, D6,r.-D7,v.]; [D8],r.&v. blank; El,r. 'To / Henry Wriothesly / Erle of Southamton.' [Text, El,r.-E2,r.].

Copy used: Microfilm of Huntington Library copy.

Ornaments: A3,r. head piece; [B7],r. tail ornament; C1, r. head piece, same as on A3,r.; [C6],r. head piece; [C7], v. tail ornament; D1,r. head piece, same as on A3,r.; D3, v. tail piece; D4,r. head piece, same as on [C6],r.; [D5], v. tail ornament; [D6],r. head piece; [D7],v. tail piece; E1,r. head piece, same as on A3,r.; E2,r. tail ornament.

Certaine Small Poems, 1605 (STC 6239):


8vo: A-H8, A-F8: no pagination.

Contents: [A1],r. Title; [A1],v. blank; A2,r. Dedicatory sonnet to Margaret Countesse of Cumberland; A2,v. blank; A3, The Argument; A4,r. 'A Letter sent from Octauia to her husband Marcus Antonius into AEgypt.' [Text, A4,r.-B3,v.].
Copy used: Microfilm of Huntington Library copy.

Ornaments: A2,r. head and tail pieces; A3,r. head piece; A4,r. head piece; B3,v. tail ornament: man's head with long mustache within design.

Stationers’ Register Entry:

29 November
master waterson
Edward Blunt
Entred for their copy
vnder th[e] handes of
Master Pasfeild and the
Wardens A Booke called
the tragedie of PHILO-
TAS wrytten by Samuel
Daniell...vd
(Stationers’ Register, III, 277)

Certaine Small Workes, 1607 (STC 6240):


8vo: B8 [1 wanting], A7, B–V8 [G4 misprinted O4] : ff. 113 [6, 7, 8 unnumbered; unnumbered leaf between 12 and 13; another between 36 and 37; 49 misprinted 69; 59 misprinted 56; 64, 74, 79 unnumbered; 103 misprinted 10; leaf numbered
673 between 104 and 105; 108, 110 unnumbered; 112 misprinted 110].

Contents: [F2],r. 'A / LETTER / SENT FROM / Octavia to her husband / Marcus Antonius / into Egypt. / [Device, Mc-Kerrow #271] / LONDON / Printed by I.W. for Simon Waterson. / 1607.'; [F2],v. blank; F3,r. Dedicatory sonnet to Margaret Countesse of Cumberland; F3,v. blank; F4, The Argument; [F5],r.-G2,v. the text.

Copy used: Microfilm of Huntington Library copy.

Ornaments: F3,r. head and tail ornaments; F4,r. head ornament, same as tail ornament on F3,r.; [F5],r. head ornament.

Note: See Sellers, "Bibliography," p. 40, for description of the seven extra leaves signed A.

**Philotas, 1607 (STC 6263):**


12mo: A-F\(^{12}\), G\(^{10}\) : no pagination.

Contents: [D1],r. 'A / Panegyrike / Congratulatorie, / Delivered to the Kings / Most excellent / Majestie / At
Burleigh Harrington in / Rutland-shire: / By / Samuel Daniel. / Also certaine Epistles, with a / Defence of Ryme heere- / tofore written, / And now published by the / Author. / Carmen amat quisquis carmine digna gerit. / [ornament, same as on first title-page] / LONDON, / Printed by Melch. Bradwood / for Edward Blount. / 1607. [Within an ornamental border, same as on first title-page]; [D1], v. blank; D2,r. -[D11],r. text of Panegyrike; [D11], v. blank; [D12],r. 'TO / Sir Thomas Egerton / Knight, Lord Keeper of the / Great seals of England.' [Text, D12,r.-E3, r.]; E3,v. blank; D4,r. 'TO / The Lord Henrie / Howard, one of his Ma- / isties Privy Councell.' [Text, E4,r. -E5,r.]; E5,v. blank; [E6],r. 'TO / The Ladie Margaret / Countesse of Cumberland.' [Text, E6,r.-E8,r.]; [E8],v. blank; [E9],r. 'TO / The Ladie Lucie / Countesse of Bed- ford.' [Text, E9,r.-E10,r.]; [E10],v. blank; [E11],r. 'TO The Ladie Anne / Clifford.' [Text, E11,r.-E12,r.]; [E12],v. blank; F1,r. 'TO / Henrie Wriothesly / Erle of Southamton.' [Text, F1,r.&v.].

Copy used: Microfilm of Huntington Library copy.

Ornaments: D2,r. head ornament; [D11],r. tail ornament; [D12],r. head ornament; E3,r. tail ornament, same as on [D11],r.; E4,r. head ornament, same as on [D12],r.; E5,r. tail ornament, same as on [D11],r.; [E6],r. head ornament
same as on [D12],r.; [E8],r. tail ornament; [E9],r. head ornament, same as on [D12],r.; [E10],r. tail ornament, same as on [D11],r.; [E11],r. head ornament, same as on [D12],r.; [E12],r. tail ornament, same as on [D11],r.; Fl,r. head ornament, same as on [D12],r.

Certaine Small Workes, 1611 (STC 6242):

CERTAINE / SMALL WORKES / HERETOFORE DI- / vulged by Samuel Daniell / one of the Groomes of the Queenes / Maiesties most Honourable pri- / uie Chamber, and now / againe by him corrected / and augmented. / AEtas prima canat veneres, postrema tumultus. / [Device, McKerrow #259] / AT LONDON / Printed by I.L. for Simon Waterson. / 1611.

12mo: A-12, N11, O-12, 1-2 [A2 signed L2; M3 not signed; N12 does not seem to be missing according to the text]: ff. 1-5, 19-67 [26 misprinted 13; 20, 27, 29, 30, 34, 52, 60, 64 unnumbered; 2 unnumbered leaves between 36 and 38; 49 misprinted 69; 2 unnumbered leaves between 54 and 56; 58 misprinted 57; 63 misprinted 3].

Contents: [D5],r. 'A / LETTER / SENT FROM / Octavia to her husband / Marcus Antonius. / into Egypt. / [ornament: head with long mustache within design] / AT LONDON / Printed by I.L. for Simon Waterson. / 1611.'; [D5],v.
blank; [D6],r. Dedicatory sonnet to Margaret Countesse of Cumberland; [D6],v. blank; [D7], The Argument; [D8],r.-El, v. the text.

Copy used: Microfilm of Huntington Library copy.

Ornaments: [D6],r. head and tail pieces; [D7],r. head piece; [D8],r. head piece.

Note: Sellers, "Bibliography," p. 42, gives A-p12, Q3 for British Museum copy. He gives 43r.&v. Faults escaped in printing. If this leaf exists in the Huntington copy, it was not microfilmed. N12 does not seem to be missing according to the text. Sellers also gives ff. 1-5, 9-67 for BM copy. 9 could not be an error for 19 because he notes unnumbered leaf between 12 and 13.

The Whole Workes, 1623 (STC 6238):

Esquire / in Poetrie. / [line] / [ornament] / [line] / LONDON, / Printed by Nicholas Okes, for / Simon Waterson, and are to be / sold at his shoppe in Paules Church- / yard, at the Signe of the Crowne. / 1623. / [ornament].

4to: A1, Title, Dedication, A2, B-C4, D-Q8, R4, A-M8, N4 [N4 wanting], Aa-Tt8 [Aa2 wanting; Cc4 misprinted Bb4;
Hh4 seems to have been microfilmed twice; Tt7 & 8 seem to be missing: pp. 231 [192 misprinted 162], 1-180 [21, 75, 110, 116, 117, 118, 132, 133, 171, 172, 173, 174, 179 misprinted 11, 57, 100, 108, 109, 108, 133, 132, 111, 112, 113, 114, 119, 186-479 231, 233 252, 264 misprinted 23, 234, 253, 26].

Contents: [A1]r, [head ornament] / 'A LETTER FROM / Octavia to Marcus / Antonius. / [line] / [ornament] / LONDON. / sic, / Printed by Nicholas Okes for / Simon Water- / son. / 1623.' / [ornament, same as at head]; [A1],v. blank; A2,r. Dedicatory sonnet to Margaret Countesse of Cumber- / land; A2,v. blank; A3, The Argument; A4,r.-62,r. the text; [C1],r. 'A / PANEGYRIKE / Congratulatorie, / Delivered to / the Kings most excell- / lent Maiestie, at Burleigh / Harrington / in Rutland-shire. / By Samuel Daniel. / Also / certaine Epistles, with a defence of / Ryme heretofore / written, and now / Published by the Author. / Carmen amat, / quisquis Carmine digna gerit. / [line] / [ornament] / [line] / LONDON. / Printed by Nicholas Okes for / Simon Water- / son. / 1623. / [C1],v. blank; C2,r.-D3,r. the text of / the Panegyrike; D3,v. blank; D4,r. "TO / SIR / THOMAS / EGERTON / Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great / seal of / England." [Text, D4,r.-D7,r.]; [D7],v. blank; [D8],r. "TO / THE LORD HENRIE / HOWARD, one of his Maiesties / Priuy.
Copy used: Microfilm of Huntington Library copy.

Ornaments: [A₁], r., identical head and tail ornaments; A₂, r. head ornament, same as on [A₁], r.; A₃, r. head ornament; A₄, r. head ornament; D₄, r. head ornament; [D₈], r. head ornament; E₂, r. head ornament; E₄, r. tail ornament; [E₅], r. head ornament; [E₇], r. head ornament, same as on [E₅], r.; F₁, r. head ornament; N₂, v. head ornament.

Note: [A₁], r., Cockson title-page for 1609 Ciuill Wars is facing general title-page. Appears to have been pasted on back of front board. Tt7 & 8 appear to be missing; but cf. Sellers' statement, "Bibliography," p. 43, that Tt 5 & 6 are stubs only.
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I, Ann Louise Hentz, was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, June 23, 1921. My undergraduate training was obtained at the University of Rochester, from which I received the degree Bachelor of Arts with High Honors in 1950. From Ohio State University, I received the degree Master of Arts in 1951. Having been appointed a University Scholar at Ohio State University in January, 1951, I retained that status until September, 1952. From September, 1952, until June, 1956, when I completed the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy, I taught English composition at Ohio State University in the capacity of Graduate Assistant and Assistant.