GEORGE SANDYS' PARAPHRASES ON THE PSALMS AND THE TRADITION OF METRICAL PSALMODY: AN ANNOTATED EDITION OF FIFTY SELECTED PSALMS, WITH CRITICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

DISSERTATION

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By

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To save space, the following abbreviations and short titles are used in the footnotes:


McElwain Photostats: Refers to photostats of primary source material concerning George Sandys, deposited by Alexander McElwain in the Houghton Library, Harvard University (PhM 62 F#).

McElwain Transcription: Used in quoting from transcription made by Mr. McElwain of additional source material unavailable to me in this country. I use them with Mr. McElwain's kind permission.


Sandys, History: S. S. Sandys, History of the family of Sandys of Cumberland. Afterwards of Furness in North Lancashire, and Its Branches in Other Parts of England and in Ireland (Barrow-in-Furness: Barrow Printing Co. Ltd., 1930), I.
There are six known letters written by George Sandys, all reprinted with extreme accuracy in Kingsbury. Individual letters are referred to as follows:


Kingsbury, IV, 64-68.
INTRODUCTION

I. THE METRICAL PARAPHRASES OF THE PSALMS

Literary historians of sixteenth and seventeenth century English poetry, in their discussions of major themes and poetic forms, have little concerned themselves with what Hallett Smith calls one of the "great commonplaces" of Elizabethan poetry: the Book of Psalms. To a large extent, they have passed over in silence or only casually attempted to evaluate the tremendous vogue for paraphrasing the Psalms into English verse which began approximately in the 1530's and attained almost unbelievable popularity in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Unfortunately, the literary scholar interested in the factors which produced this passion for paraphrasing the Psalms and the results of such widespread activity will find little modern scholarship to guide him. It is true that a large amount of work has been done in recent years on early English psalmody, but, as Hallett Smith points


2. That such paraphrases were popular is evident from the fact that the Sternhold-Hopkins' version of the Psalms, which first appeared in 1549 (?), went into 280 independent editions between that date and 1640. And this figure does not include other Psalters which often reprinted individual Psalms from the Sternhold-Hopkins' version.
out, it has been done primarily by historians of music who have not been concerned with metrical Psalms as English poetry.\(^3\) John Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* (rev. ed., New York: 1907) and John Holland's *Psalmists of Britain* (2 vols., London: 1843), two works CEEL still cites as primary authorities on the subject, offer information which is always scattered, often incorrect, and greatly outdated. Apart from these, the scholar can examine several short historical sketches of psalmody which seldom offer literary criticism and which are, like Julian and Holland, outdated and in need of correction: Henry A. Glass's *The Story of the Psalters* (London: 1888); Thomas Young's *The Metrical Psalms and Paraphrases* (London: 1909); W. T. Brooke's *Old English Psalmody...1557-1660* (London: 1916); Henry John Todd's *Observations upon the Metrical Versions of the Psalms, Made by Sternhold, Hopkins, and Others....* (London: 1822); and the introductory chapters to A. W. Kerr's *A Plea for Revision of the Scottish Authorized Version of The Psalms of David in Metre with Paraphrases and Hymns* (Edinburgh: 1926).

A 1938 German dissertation by P. von Rohr-Sauer deals with the English metrical Psalms from 1600 to 1660, but aside from offering a convenient compilation of all the versions that he could find and an elementary classification of these

\(^3\)See bibliography for a selected list of such works. They deal, however, primarily with the French and Scottish Psalters.
versions into various trends, the work is disappointing and often inaccurate.\(^4\) Finally, Virginia Maud Lowell's unpublished dissertation,\(^5\) suggested by Hallett Smith's article,\(^6\) gives in general a descriptive bibliography of English metrical Psalms and paraphrases of other passages of Scripture. The work is not, however, "primarily critical" and, like Rohr-Sauer's dissertation, contains many errors and relies heavily upon secondary material.

It seems important, therefore, to examine anew the movement of metrical paraphrasing; to probe into the motives behind paraphrasers as unlike as Clement Marot and Sternhold and Hopkins, such churchmen as Coverdale, Parker and Henry King, courtiers like Wyatt and Surrey, Sidney and Sir John Harington, and the Virginia colonizer Sandys; and to attempt to evaluate the results of their prolific paraphrases.

(i)

The practice of metrically paraphrasing the Psalms in English did not, of course, suddenly appear full blown at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Psalms, from earliest times, had played a vital part in the private and liturgical devotions of the Christian church, and at no time

\(^4\)English Metrical Psalms from 1600 to 1660. A study in the Religious and Aesthetic Tendencies of that Period (Freiburg: Universitätsdruckerei Poppen & Ortmann, 1938).


was this more true than in the Middle Ages. Even earlier, however, scattered metrical translations of the Psalms in Anglo-Saxon had appeared which, though understandably crude, push back even further the tradition which was later to reach such heights of popularity.

The most important collection of Anglo-Saxon metrical paraphrases of the Psalms is found in a manuscript dating from the eleventh century. Known as the Paris Psalter, it contains in parallel columns Latin and Anglo-Saxon texts of the Psalms written in a single hand. Folios 1r-63v contain an Anglo-Saxon prose translation of Psalms 1 to 50, verse 8, with a corresponding text in Latin; and folios 64r-175v contain an Anglo-Saxon metrical translation of Psalm 51, verse 7, to Psalm 150, verse 3, with a corresponding Latin text. As to authorship and date of composition, there is no evidence available, although George Philip Krapp suggests that the "very general metrical irregularity of the verse translation" indicates "a relatively late time of origin, perhaps the latter ninth or early tenth century." Whether or not the Psalter was prepared for private use, we do not


8A complete description of the manuscript is given by Krapp, pp. vii-xix.

9Ibid., p. xvii.
know, although Max Forster suggests it was commissioned by a distinguished Anglo-Saxon lady.\textsuperscript{10}

A number of fragments of the Anglo-Saxon Psalter also appear in the Bodleian Library in MS. Junius 121,\textsuperscript{11} an early eleventh century devotional work which was primarily compiled for use in the Benedictine monasteries.\textsuperscript{12} These metrical paraphrases of the Psalms agree so closely with those in the Paris Psalter that, as Krapp remarks,

all possibility of coincidence is ruled out and the conclusion seems necessary that the compiler of the Benedictine offices quoted Psalms in his work from the same metrical Psalter that underlies the metrical translation in the Paris Psalter.\textsuperscript{13}

A lengthy and perhaps independent paraphrase of Psalm 51 (Vulgate, 50) also appears in MS. Cotton Vespasian D. VI, folios 70r-73v.\textsuperscript{14} Written in the late tenth century in a mixture of Kentish and West Saxon dialect, this metrical

\textsuperscript{10}"Die altenglischen Texte der Pariser Nationalbibliothek," Englische Studien, LXII (1927), 130.

\textsuperscript{11}A description of these fragments and their location in the manuscript are given in The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems, ed. Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), pp. lxxiv-lxxviii. They are printed by Dobbie, pp. 80-86. Dobbie also lists other editions of the Benedictine Office and articles of critical and textual comments, pp. clxvii-clxviii.

\textsuperscript{12}Detailed analyses of the contents of the Benedictine Office are given by Emil Feiler, Das Benedictiner-Offizium (Heidelberg: 1901), pp. 28-42; and K. W. Bouterwek, Caedmon's des Angelsachen bibleshe Dichtungen, I (Gutersloh: 1854), pp. clxxix-cxciii.

\textsuperscript{13}Krapp, op. cit., p. xx.

\textsuperscript{14}Dobbie, op. cit., pp. lxxviii-lxxxiii, describes the manuscript in detail, printing Psalm 51, pp. 88-94. Other texts and critical articles are listed by Dobbie, p. clxviii.
Psalm differs from those in the Paris Psalter in its length and freedom of translation.\(^\text{15}\) The text of the Psalm, which is preceded by a thirty-line metrical introduction, consists of 115 lines of verse, or, as Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie points out, "an average of nearly six lines for each verse of the Latin text."\(^\text{16}\)

Beginning with the fourteenth century, metrical paraphrases of the Psalms appeared with increasing frequency, in spite of the agitations and disputes growing out of the question of translating the Bible into the vernacular. As Margaret Deanesly remarks in her authoritative study of the Lollard Bible, however, the various prohibitions against translating the Bible into English seem "never to have been interpreted as applying to verse translations of the psalms, and the renderings of Clement Maidstone, Lydgate and Brampton never aroused comment."\(^\text{17}\)

The only complete fourteenth-century verse translation of the Psalter which has survived appeared sometime during the first half of the century. A crude translation from

\(^{15}\text{Ibid.}, p. lxxviii.}\)

\(^{16}\text{Ibid.}, p. lxxx.}\)

\(^{17}\text{The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions (Cambridge: 1633), p. 147. See also p. 320 and passim. Deanesly mistakenly refers to Richard Maidstone as Clement Maidstone.}\)
the Vulgate, it is printed by the Surtees Society from Cottonian MS. Vespasian D. VII, with variant readings from the Egerton MS. 611, and the Harleian MS. 1770. The Vespasian MS. is written in couplets although other manuscripts of the Psalter, though generally in couplets, sometimes have stanzas of ababcdcd. The effectiveness of its method of translation can be judged from the following Psalm (Hebrew 23; Vulgate 22):

1. Laverd me steres, noght want sal me;  
2. In stede of fode āpare me loked he.  
   He fed me over watre of fode;  
3. Āi saule he tomes in to gode.  
   He led me over sties of rightwisenes,  
   For his name swa hat es.  
4. For and if I go in mid schadw of dede,  
   For ȝou with me ert, iven sal l noght drede.  
   Āi yherd and āi staf of mighte  
   Āi ere me roned, dai and nighte.  
5. ȝou graiped in mi sighte borde to be,  
   0gaines ȝas ȝat droved me;  
   ȝou fatted in oli mi heved yhit,  
   And mi drinke drenkenand whilk schire es it.


Other manuscript versions of this Psalter are listed in Wells, 401; and Brown and Robbins, 3103.
6. And filigh me sal ℜ mercy,
And daies of mi life for-ℜ;
And at I wone in house of Laverd ℜse
In length of daies al with blisse. 20

Translators seeking a smaller unit than the entire Psalter often turned to the traditional grouping of the Seven Penitential Psalms, 21 which had long been interpreted by the church as expressing David's sorrow and penitence for his sins against Uriah and Bathsheba (2 Samuel xi-xii). These Psalms were traditionally recited together in the Latin Rite, especially at Lent in accordance with an order issued by Innocent III (1198-1216). 22

A typical version is that commonly ascribed to Richard Maidstone, a friar of the "orde of ℜe Carme," 23 who possibly

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21 Psalms 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, and 143 in the Hebrew; Psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 112 in the Vulgate.
wrote it about 1370. 24 A long, loose paraphrase, it contains 952 four-stress verses, each stanza rhyming ababab. As Miss Deanesly remarks:

These later verse psalms were not, like the northern verse gospels, close translations written in verse for the instruction of the "Iewid," but rather religious jeux d'esprit, hardly intended as translations at all. 25

Another similar verse translation of the Seven Penitential Psalms appears in MS. Sloane 1853 26 in the British Museum, ascribed in a sixteenth-century hand to "Frater Thomas Brampton, sacrae Theologiae Doctor, fr. minorum pauper-culus confessor, de...Anglicum. Anno. Dom. 1414." 27 As in Maidstone's version, an eight-line stanza is usually devoted to each verse of the Psalms. Sometimes the author departs from the Vulgate "to express his own penitence or to point out a moral for the reader," and frequently, "he extends his paraphrase to include material tangential, yet relevant, to the Biblical verse." 28

24Deanesly, op. cit., p. 147.
25Ibid.
27Kreuzer, op. cit., p. 363.
28Ibid., p. 366.
In addition to these longer verse translations, paraphrases of individual Psalms also frequently appeared. John Lydgate, for example, paraphrased Psalm 54 (Vulgate, 53) in a series of nine eight-line stanzas, and Psalm 103 (Vulgate, 102) in twenty-two eight-line stanzas. And there are several anonymous versions of Psalm 51 (Vulgate, 50) still extant, one in six-line stanzas; another in groups of four four-stress verses in couplets; and a third in couplets. All of them, however, are long, free paraphrases, sometimes departing from the Vulgate text as their authors specify the moral teachings of their subject matter, bring in personal experiences, and add additional Biblical material of an hortatory nature.

(ii)

With the coming of the Reformation the practice of metrically paraphrasing the Psalms received a new impetus and direction. As we have seen, certain early erratic attempts were made to paraphrase the entire Psalter, the

\[\text{30Brown and Robbins, 2572. Printed by MacCracken, ibid., pp. 1-7; and O. Mahir, Einige Religiose Gedichte John Lydgate's, I (Oberviechtach: 1910), 20-29. Ashmole 59, Art. 59, suggests that Lydgate paraphrased other Psalms in a similar manner, although Ashmole 48, Art. 58, is mistakenly ascribed to Lydgate by Deanesly, op. cit., p. 320, note 3.}\]
\[\text{31Brown and Robbins, 990.}\]
\[\text{32Wells, 403.}\]
Seven Penitential Psalms and, more frequently, individual Psalms, especially the 51st (Hebrew). Although we do not know the motives behind these translations, it seems reasonable that some were perhaps expressions of piety and devotion. Also, it has been suggested that the complete Psalters were prepared for members of the clergy or nobility whose Latin was limited, and that other long and heavily moral paraphrases were little more than "religious jeux d'esprit, hardly intended as translations at all."55

Now, however, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the stream of metrical Psalmody rapidly swells, dividing at the same time into two broad channels, each distinct from the other, yet later intermingling in the seventeenth century. On the one hand, a series of metrical paraphrases of the Psalms were written in direct connection with the principles of worship established by the Reformed Churches; on the other hand, various metrical versions were produced by men who were aware of the intrinsic poetic nature of the Psalms and who sought to capture this nature in English verse. It is true that the motives behind individual versions are not always as clear-cut and distinct as this classification would suggest, but the two broad channels

55Deanesly, op. cit., p. 147.
of metrical Psalmody which flow through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are, on the whole, either religious or artistic in conception, and it is in terms of these two traditions of metrical paraphrasing that we shall discuss the Psalms of George Sandys.

Latin hymnody had, of course, been used for centuries in the rites of the Catholic Church, but it was definitely liturgical in nature and was used only within the framework of the various offices of worship. Congregational singing was dis­countenanced, and the hymns were sung "only by the clergy, choirs, or members of a monastic body." To the Reformers, however, no principles were more basic than those which required that the Divine Service be comprehensible to the people and that they participate actively in it themselves. Consequently, they immediately stressed the congregational use of Psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs in the vernacular, seeing in such usage an effective means of spreading the


doctrines of the Reformation and, at the same time, a method of promoting a sense of solidarity among their followers.

There was, however, even from the early days of the Reformation, a distinct difference in the kind of music permitted in the various churches of the Reformers. In Lutheran Germany, a greater latitude in doctrine permitted not only metrical paraphrases of the Psalms but also original hymns to be used in public worship.\footnote{See Robert M. Stevenson, \textit{Patterns of Protestant Church Music} (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1953), pp. 3-12; Walter E. Buszin, "Luther on Music," \textit{Musical Quarterly}, XXXII (January, 1946), 80-97; Paul Nettl, \textit{Luther and Music} (Philadelphia: 1948); and Karl Anton, \textit{Luther und die Musik} (Zwickau: 1928); and the references to Luther's own works cited in these books and articles.}


Thus, from the early moments of its inception, the Reformed groups were divided and the practice of singing metrical paraphrases of the Psalms became as characteristic of Calvinist Churches as the practice of singing hymns became...
characteristic of those closely connected with Luther.

In Germany, of course, the common people had long sung religious songs in the vernacular although never in connection with the rites and services of the church. It was only natural, then, that Luther, himself a musician and poet, should seek to utilize the traditional folksongs and vernacular hymnody of his people as a means of propagating his particular religious beliefs. This use of simple hymns, set to popular religious or secular tunes, as an effective means of spreading doctrine was not, of course, original with Luther. It was a method frequently used in the early days of the Arian and iconoclastic controversies. And the practice had earlier been widely used in Germany during the fifteenth century by the Bohemian Brethren, the followers of John Hus. With these precedents, then, Luther did not hesitate to encourage his followers to produce original hymns and even, on occasion, permit them to adapt Catholic material to the purposes of Lutheranism.

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40 Dickinson, op. cit., pp. 223-267; Frere, op. cit., pp. lxvi-lxxvi. German hymns and metrical Psalms are listed and reprinted in Philipp Wackernagel's Bibliographie zur Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes im XVI. Jahrhundert (Frankfort: 1855) and his Das deutsche Kirchenlied (5 vols., Leipzig: 1864-1877).
42 Ibid., pp. 106, 118; Dickinson, op. cit., p. 233.
43 Early Lutheran manuals of song include the Etliche Christliche Lyeder (Wittenberg: 1524); Encheiridion (Erfurt: 1524); and Geystliche Gesangb Buchleyn (Wittenberg: 1524). See Frere, op. cit., p. lxx.
In addition, Luther made occasional use of metrical paraphrases of the Psalms, but this practice, as we shall see, developed most rapidly in the Calvinistic or Zwinglian Churches of Switzerland, where nothing was tolerated in public worship that was not literally authorized by Holy Scripture.

The real fountainhead of Reformation metrical Psalmody, however, is, surprisingly enough, the secular French Court of Marguerite of Valois. Known both as a literary patroness and a Reformed sympathizer, she numbered among the members of her suite the poet Clément Marot, later valet de chambre to her brother, Francis I. Marot, who had won fame as a writer of love lyrics and as a translator of many Latin and Greek poems, gradually conceived the idea of translating the Psalms into French verse. Subsequently, his first metrical paraphrase appeared in 1533 at the end of the first part of Le Miroir de tres chretienne Princesse Marguerite

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de France, Royne de Navarre under the heading: Le vième Psaume de David, traduit en françois selon l'hebreu
par Clément Marot, valet de chambre du Roy. 45 In 1534, however, persecution of Protestants broke out in France, and Marot was forced to take temporary refuge at the Court of Renee, Duchess of Ferrara, "whose sympathies, like those of Marguerite, were with the Reforming party." 46 He returned to Paris in 1537 and resumed his post at the Court of Francis I, where he continued to translate and versify other Psalms. Received with favor by the Dauphin, Marot's Psalms soon became fashionable among the members of his Court and were sung as ballads to the popular tunes of the day. As Rowland E. Prothero writes:

When Marot's Psalms first appeared, they were sung to popular airs alike by Roman Catholics and Calvinists. No one delighted in the sanctes chansonnnettes more passionately than the Dauphin, afterwards Henry II. He sang them himself, set them to music, and surrounded himself with musicians who accompanied his voice on the viol or the lute. To win his favour, the gentlemen of the Court begged him to choose for each a psalm. Courtiers adopted their special psalms, just as they adopted their particular arms, mottoes, or liveries. Henry, as yet without an heir, sang to his own music Ps. cxxviii...Catherine de Medicis,

46 Ibid., p. 12.
then a childless wife, repeated Ps. vi...Diane de Poitiers sang the De Profundis (Ps. cxxx.) to the tune of a dance.147

In 1542, thirty of his Psalms were published in Trente Psaumles de Daud, mis en francoys par Clement Marot, valet de chambre du Roy (Paris), and in August, 1543, a new edition called Cinguante Psaumles, which contained the original thirty carefully revised and twenty new ones, appeared without music.49 Between the publication of these two works, however, Marot found himself in trouble. The 1542 volume brought down the wrath of the Sorbonne, and Marot was forced to flee to Geneva when he again came in contact with Calvin and published his 1543 work.

Calvin had earlier come across some of Marot's paraphrases in manuscript form and had been impressed with their quality. At that time he was in temporary exile from Geneva. He had gone to Strassburg in 1538 and there for four years served as pastor for a small French congregation that was surrounded on all sides by Lutheran Protestants. Possibly influenced by the chorale-singing in the nearby Lutheran Churches, he compiled and published in 1539 a book "from which the whole subsequent literature of vernacular psalmody may be said to derive." Entitled Aulcuns

49 Ibid., p. 16.
pseaulmes et cantiques mys en chant,⁵¹ it contained seventeen Psalms in metre, five of them believed to have been written by Calvin himself. The remaining twelve metrical Psalms were by Clement Marot. The tunes were "mostly of German origin—adaptations, like many of the German chorales, of medieval German melodies, religious and secular."⁵² Unfortunately, Calvin had evidently gotten hold of a corrupt manuscript of Marot's paraphrases because the versions in the 1538 Psalter differ greatly from those in the later 1542 and 1543 editions.⁵³

Marot apparently did not like the city that Knox thought of as heaven on earth, a "perfyt schoole of Chryst."

Shortly after a year passed in Geneva, he left that city for Savoy, where at Turin in August, 1544, he died suddenly—possibly, as some have thought, a victim of poison. Following his death, Calvin was faced with the problem of

⁵¹ Reprinted in facsimile by Mons Deletra (Geneva: 1919) and by Terry, op. cit. A unique copy of this work is located in the Royal Library of Munich.


finding another poet fitted to complete the work Marot had begun, a problem he did not solve until Theodore Beza arrived at Geneva in October, 1548.

Accepting Calvin's request to complete the French Psalter, Beza began his task, finishing thirty-four Psalms in 1551 and apparently seven more by 1554. As Waldo Selden Pratt states,

All these were immediately published (though the editions varied somewhat in completeness), being regularly combined with the whole series by Marot, so that the total number varied between eighty-three and ninety. During the next few years Beza filled in the sixty versions required to cover the whole one hundred and fifty poems in the Psalter, so that in 1562 the entire collection was ready for issue.54

his collection, approximately one-third of which was translated by Marot and two-thirds by Beza, appeared in Paris under the title: Pseaumes De David mis en rime francaise par Clement Marot & Theodore de Beze.55

The collection is unique in the great individuality achieved in the tunes and in the metric and stanzaic forms. A careful analysis of Pratt reveals that there are no fewer than 110 metres and 125 tunes. "Two-thirds of the stanza-forms," he states,

have either six or eight lines, while one-third vary between four lines and twelve. The shortest line consists of four syllables, the longest of twelve or even thirteen, and every number between is represented (except eleven). The proportion of feminine endings (with

54 Ibid., pp. 13-14.
55 Ibid., p. 79.
the accent on the next to the last syllable, instead of on the last) is notably high—about three-eighths of all the lines. Masculine and feminine endings are usually mingled together in the same stanza, often with fine effect. The groupings by rhyme are varied, forming couplets, triolets, quatrains, and even longer metrical units.56

The French Psalter thus stands unique in structural ingenuity when compared with the monotony of the later church Psalters in England, Scotland, and America. Marot, of course, in the early days of his metrical paraphrasing, did not foresee that his work would later be used in congregational singing. And whether he would have worked differently if he had known, we do not know. "He was moved," as Pratt says,

by a poet's impulse to wrap his thought in varied encasements, shifting with the emotional content of the Psalms themselves.57

And it is this poetic impulse that we find behind the metrical paraphrases of such men as Wyatt, Surrey, Sidney, and Sandys.

(iii)

Before discussing the development of the English Psalter, the Sternhold—Hopkins' "Old Version," brief mention should be made of two works containing metrical paraphrases of the Psalms which were produced between 1530 and 1549 under the influence of German versions. The first was the work of Myles 56 Ibid., p. 26. 57 Ibid., p. 25.
Coverdale, whose prose versions of the Psalms appeared in the Coverdale Bible of 1535 and in the Great Bible of 1539. Entitled Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes drawen out of the holy Scripture, for the conforte and consolacyon of soch as love to rejoysse in God and his worde, his metrical version survives in a unique copy in the library of Queen's College, Oxford. The volume is undated, and the colophon reads: "Imprynted by me Gohan Gough. Cum priuilegio Regali." The book contains thirteen Psalms, two of them in different translations, and several other spiritual songs, all paraphrased in various verse forms imitated from the German.

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59Frost, op. cit., p. 293, suggests that the words and music indicate a date "not earlier than 1543." Hallett Smith, however, believes the absence of any influence of Sebastian Münster on the work infers its composition "around 1535" (op. cit., p. 261).

60Frost, loc. cit.

61Smith, loc. cit.
Coverdale's motives in compiling this collection are clearly stated in his preface:

Yea, would God that our minstrels had none other thing to play upon, neither our carters and ploughmen other thing to whistle upon, save psalms, hymns, and such godly songs as David is occupied withal! And if women, sitting at their rocks, or spinning at the wheels, had none other songs to pass their time withal, than such as Moses' sister, Gileana's wife, Debora, and Mary the mother of Christ, have sung before them, they should be better occupied than with hey nony nony, hey troly loly and such like phantasies.... Seeing then that, as the prophet David saith, it is so good and pleasant a thing to praise the Lord, and so expedient for us to be thankful; therefore, to give our youth of England some occasion to change their foul and corrupt ballads into sweet songs and spiritual hymns of God's honour, and for their own consolation in him, I have here, good reader, set out certain comfortable songs grounded on God's word, and taken some out of the holy scripture, especially out of the Psalms of David, all whom would God that our musicians would learn to make their songs; and if they which are disposed to be merry, would in their mirth follow the counsel of St. Paul and St. James, and not to pass their time in naughty songs of fleshly love and wantonness, but with singing of Psalms, and such songs as edify, and corrupt not men's conversation.62

And he again reiterates this theme in his little introductory poem, "To the boke":

Go lytle boke, get the acquaintaunce
Amonge the louers of Gods worde
Geue them occa3yon the same to auaunce
And to make theyr songes of the Lorde
That they may thrust vnder the borde
All other balettes of fylthyne

Teach them to synge & commaundementes ten
And other balettes of Gods glorye
Be not ashamed I warande the

Though thou be rude in songe and ryme
Thou shalt to youth some occasion be
In godly sportes to passe theyr tyme. 63

Another version produced in this early period under the
influence of German Lutheranism was the work of the Scottish
brothers, John, James, and Robert Wedderburn. 64 John had
fled to the Continent in 1539 and had become "verie fervent
and zealous" under the teachings of Luther and Melanchthon. 65
Upon his return, a collection was published of "spiritual
parodies of profane songs and translations of German versions
of the psalms." 66 Other editions followed, the complete col­
collection appearing in Edinburgh in 1621 under the title: Ane
Compendious Booke, Of Godly And Sp3rituall Songs. Collectit
out of Sundrie partes of the Scripture, with sundrie of other
Ballates changed out of prophaine sanges, for avoyding of
sinne and harlotrie, with augmentation of sundrie gude and
godly Ballates, not contained in the first Edition. 67 Twenty-
two Psalm versions 68 are included, appearing for the most
part in varying stanzaic patterns. The paraphrases are

63Frost, loc. cit.
64See Alexander F. Mitchell, The Wedderburns and Their
Work or the Sacred Poetry of the Scottish Reformation In Its
Historical Relation to That of Germany (Edinburgh and London:
1867).
65Patrick, op. cit., p. 5.
66Smith, op. cit., p. 262.
67The 1567 edition is used as the text for A. F. Mitchell's
edition of A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs
(Edinburgh and London: S.T.S., XXXIX, 1897). Selections are
given in The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, ed. Iain Ross (Edinburgh:
Oliver and Boyd Ltd., 1939). Other editions are listed by
Mitchell, p. xl.
68Psalms 2, 12, 13, 15, 23, 31, 33, 37, 51, 64, 67, 77,
long and sometimes quite free as can be seen in the version of the twenty-third Psalm. Here each verse is expanded into a stanza of seven lines, normally rhyming ababcccb, although the rhyme scheme occasionally varies. Following is stanza one of Psalm 23:

THE LORD GOD is my Pastor gude,  
Aboundantlie me for to feid:  
Than how can I be destitute  
Of ony gude thing in my neid?  
He feidis me in feildis fair,  
To Reueris sweit, pure, and preclair,  
He dryuis me but ony dreid.  

(iv)

Let us now go back to the first stage in the production of the English metrical Psalter, which is a little later in date than Marot's corresponding efforts in French. It is associated with the name of Thomas Sternhold (d. 1549), who was groom of the robes to Henry VIII, even as Marot was valet de chambres to Francis I. Apart from this and their common Protestantism, however, there is little similarity between the two. Marot was a skilful French poet; Sternhold was a simple, pious Englishman, who wrote for his own "godly solace" and who often sang his paraphrases of the Psalms to his own accompaniment on the organ. Soon after his accession to the throne, the young king Edward VI happened to
overhear these musically set paraphrases and so liked them that nineteen of them were published under the title:

*Certayne Psalms, chose out of the Psalter of David and drawe into English metre by Thomas Sternhold, grome of ye kynge's Miaesties' roobes.*

Anthony a Wood later depicts Sternhold as attempting to turn the courtiers of Edward VI into zealous Puritans who renounced their bawdy ballads for Sternhold's pious Psalms. Sternhold, he says,

> was in some esteem in the royal court for his vein in poetry, and other trivial learning. But being a most zealous reformer, and a very strict liver, he became so scandaliz'd at the amorous and obscene songs used in the court, that he forsooth turn'd into English metre 51 of David's Psalms, and caused musical notes to be set to them, thinking thereby that the courtiers would sing them instead of their sonnets, but they did not, only some few excepted.

Actually, however, if we look at the first published version of Sternhold's Psalms, we find only the suggestion that he was trying to provide his royal pupil with matter he thought Edward would like. The dedication to Edward reads:

> Seyng furdre that youre tender and godlye zeale doeth more delght in the holy songes of veritie than in any fayned rymes of vanitie, I am encour-aged to travayle furder in thesayed boke of psalmes, trustyng that as your grace taketh pleasure to heare them song sumtimes of me, so ye wil also delight not onely to se & read them your selfe,

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71STC 2419.
73The D.N.B. suggests that Sternhold was Edward's musical tutor.
but also to command them to be song to you of others, that as ye have the Psalme it selfe in youre mynde, so ye maye judge myne endeavoure by your eare.74

Sternhold's expressed hope of "travayling further" and "performing the residue" of the Psalter, however, was not to be fulfilled; he died a few months later, having completed only eighteen new translations. In 1549 these appeared posthumously together with his earlier nineteen in a second edition of his work. In 1551, an edition containing Sternhold's thirty-seven Psalms with an additional seven by John Hopkins appeared. A clergyman and schoolmaster in Suffolk, Hopkins carefully stated in the preface to the third edition that he did not consider his versions equal in merit to those of his predecessor. He has not published his translations, he says,

to the intent that they should bee fathered on the dead man, and so through his estimacion to bee the more hyghly esteemed: neyther for that they are in myne opinion, as touching the metre, in any part to be compared with his most exquisite doinges. But especially for that they are fruiteful, although they bee not fine, and comfortable unto a Christyan mind, although not so pleasaut in the mouthes or eare.75

In 1553, however, with the accession of Mary to the English throne, work on the English Psalter was brought momentarily to a halt. The Reformers fled the country,

74Sig. A3r.
75Quoted by Patrick, op. cit., pp. 29-30.
taking with them the paraphrases of Sternhold and Hopkins;
and the next stages in the evolution of the English Psalter
have their scene on the Continent. There, in Geneva, a
company of refugees from England formed a congregation on
November 1, 1555, and, the following year, published for
use in their services a Book of Order entitled: The forme
of prayers and ministration of the Sacraments, &c. used in
the English Congregation at Geneva: and approv'd, by the
famous and godly learned man, John Caluyn. The title-
page of the eleventh section of this book read as follows:
One and fiftie Psalmes of Dauid in English metre, whereof.
37. were made by Thomas Sterneholde: ad the reste by
others. Coferred with the hebrewe, and in certeyn places
corrected as the text and sens of the Prophete required.
The seven new Psalmes were contributed by William Whittingham,
who had earlier been involved in the disputes at Frankfort.
All these Psalmes were at once accepted as the first portion

\[76\] See the detailed account of this book by William D.
Maxwell, John Knox's Genevan Service Book 1556: The Liturgi-
cal Portions of the Genevan Service Book Used by John Knox
While a Minister of the English Congregation of Marian
Exiles at Geneva, 1556-1559 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 
1931).

\[77\] Ibid., p. 63.

\[78\] See A Briefe Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort
in the year 1554, about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremon-
of a Psalter for English use, corresponding to the French one of Marot and Beza, then moving slowly toward completion. Additional Psalms were written and added to other editions published at Geneva in 1558, 1560, and 1561.

In 1558, upon the death of Mary, the Reformers in exile on the Continent during her reign returned to England, carrying with them the Anglo-Genevan Psalter, as the version produced by the exiles at Geneva was called. It was not, as yet, completed, although new versions of the Psalms by such men as William Kethe, John Pullain, Robert Wisdom and Thomas Norton had gradually been incorporated.

With the introduction of this Psalter in England came the question of the legality of singing metrical paraphrases of the Psalms in the English churches. A precedent had been established in 1549, when the Act authorizing the First Prayer Book of Edward VI had stated that it was lawful

in churches—chapels or oratories or other places to use openly any Psalm or prayer taken out of the Bible—not letting or omitting thereby the service or any part thereof mentioned in said book.79

And this position was soon reaffirmed by Elizabeth in the forty-ninth of the Royal Injunctions of 1559 which provided that:

For the comforting of such as delight in music, it may be permitted that in the beginning, or in the end of the common prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn, or such-like song, to

79Quoted by Foote, op. cit., p. 19.
the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having regard that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived.

Consequently, although individuals such as Herbert Thorndike later complained of "these Psalms in Rhime being crowded into the Church by mere sufferance and so used without order of law," for all practical purposes the issue was settled and Psalm singing was allowed a recognized, if unofficial, place in public worship.

Since Cranmer's revisions of the Book of Common Prayer in 1549 and 1552 had omitted the old hymns of the Latin rites, the people turned to the only resource available for singing, the metrical Psalms, and the practice spread rapidly and widely, Strype tells us that in 1559 the custom was introduced at St. Antholin's Church in London as was used among the Protestants of Geneva, all men, women, and young folks, singing together;
which custom was about this time brought also into St. Paul's.\(^8^4\)

And the singing of metrical Psalms grew rapidly in popularity, as is evident from a letter written by John Jewel on March 5, 1560:

Religion is now somewhat more established than it was. The people are everywhere exceedingly inclined to the better part. Ecclesiastical and popular music has very greatly helped it on. For, as soon as they had once commenced singing in public, in only one little church in London, immediately not only the neighboring churches, but even far distant cities, began to view with each other in the same practice. You may sometimes see at Paul's Cross, after the sermon, six thousand persons, old men, boys, girls, singing and praising God together. This sadly annoys the mass-priests and the devil. For they perceive that by these means the sacred discourses sink more deeply into the minds of men, and that their kingdom is weakened and shaken at almost every note.\(^8^5\)

Finally, in 1562, with the issue of the book bearing the title, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, collected into Englysh metre by T. Sternhold I. Hopkins & Others: conferred with the Ebrue, with apt Notes to synge the withal, Faithfully perused and alowed according to thordre appointed in the Quenes maiesties Injunctions. Very mete to be vsed of all sortes of people priuately for their solace & comfort: laying apart all vngodly Songs and Ballades, which tende

\(^8^4\)Grindal, p. 59.
only to the nourishing of vyce, and corrupting of youth,
the long business of producing a complete English Psalter
was at last brought to an end, and the "Old Version," as it
was later to be called, reached its final and standard form.
In this final version, there were forty Psalms translated by
Sternhold, sixty by his successor, John Hopkins, and fifty
others provided by various hands. The great majority of these
men wrote in the 4.3.4.3 "ballad stanza" or Common Meter, al­
though Hopkins rhymed both four-beat lines and three-beat
lines, while Sternhold rhymed only the second and fourth
lines. As Hallett Smith points out, the net result was,
unfortunately, a large body of verse that was plain and
barren in style, predominantly iambic in pattern, and mono­
tonously regular in stress. Few of the Psalms written at
Geneva in imitation of French metres were admitted to this
final version, and the versions of Sternhold and Hopkins
(amended by Whittingham at Geneva) were restored to their
original 1549 form. Consequently, the brief influence of
the Anglo-Genevan Psalter upon the English one was almost
completely erased at this time.

The poetical virtues of the English Psalter were,
unfortunately, limited although it is perhaps unfair to
\[86\text{STC 2430.}\]
criticize Sternhold and Hopkins for something which was not to their purpose. In their attempts to provide the people with pious songs that were singable and easily memorized, they deliberately chose the common verse form of the popular ballad for its simplicity and regularity, and were little concerned whether the end result was poetical or not. A few examples will easily illustrate the shortcomings and merits of their poetical versions. Following is Hopkins' version of Psalm 72, verse 1:

Lord give them judgments to the king,
therein instruct him well:
And with his son that Princely thing
Lord let thy justice dwell.\(^7\)

\(^7\) The Bible, Translated according to the Hebrew and Greeks, and conferred with the best translations in divers Languages. ... Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queen's most excellent Maiestie. Cum gratia et privilegio Regiae Maiestatis 1594, sig. D2r. This copy of the Geneva Bible, perhaps STC 2163 which is listed as a quarto with the spelling variant "saide" in Genesis 1:3, is in the Rare Book Room of the Ohio State University Library (BS 170 1594). Bound with the volume are a prayer book containing the prose Psalms of the Book of Common Prayer and the complete Sternhold-Hopkins' metrical Psalter. Although the title-page of the prayerbook is missing, it is possibly STC 2401, "The psalter. With the morn. a. even. prayer. Deputies of C. Barker, 1594," in view of the publisher of the Bible. The metrical Psalter, perhaps STC 2481, contains the following title-page: The Whole Booke of Psalmes. Collected into English metre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall. Set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches, of all the people together before and after Morning and Evening prayer; as also before and after sermons and moreover in private houses, for their godlie solace and comfort, laieng apart all vngodlie songs, and ballades, which tend onelie to the nourishing of vice and corrupting of youth....London/ Printed by John Windet for the Assignes of Richard Daye. 1592. The Sternhold-Hopkins' Psalter was frequently bound up with the Book of Common Prayer and added to the end of the Bible. (cont)
And his rendering of Psalm 74, verse 12:

Why doest withdrawe thy hand abacke,  
and hid it in thy lap?  
O plucke it out and be not slacke,  
to giue thy foes a rap.  

Sternhold paraphrases the twenty-third Psalm as follows:

The Lord is onely my support,  
and he that doth me feede:  
How can I then lacke any thing,  
whereof I stand in neede?  
He doth me folde in coates most safe,  
the tender grasse fast by:  
And after drives me to the streames,  
which runne most pleasantly.  

And when I feele my selfe neare lost,  
than doth he me home take:  
Conducting me in the right pathes,  
euen for his owne names sake.  
And though I were euen at deaths dore  
yet would I feare none ill:  
For with thy rod and shepheardes crooke  
I am comforted still.  

Thou hast my table richly deckt,  
in despight of my foe:  
Thou hast my head with balme refresht,  
my cup doth overflow.  
And finally while breath doth last,  
thy grace shall me defend:  
And in the house of God will I,  
my life for euer spend.  

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88 Ibid., sig. D3r.  
89 Ibid., sig. B3r.
As can easily be seen, the three-beat lines of both men are noticeably weaker than their four-beat lines. Both Sternhold and Hopkins were inclined to compress the sense of their originals in their four-beat lines, with the result that their three-beat lines are, more often than not, mere padding. Also, both men were interested primarily in keeping the content plain, often avoiding the figurative language of their source if this seemed necessary to accomplish their purpose. This, perhaps, explains the consistent lack of metaphors and conceits in their version, although they abound in the original Psalms.

Thomas Fuller's caustic comment on the "Old Version" has frequently been quoted:

[These paraphrasers] were men whose piety was better than their poetry; and they had drank more of Jordan than of Helicon. These psalms were therefore translated to make them more portable in people's memories (verse being twice as light as the selfsame bulk in prose)....later men have vented their just exceptions against the baldness of the translation; so that sometimes they make the Maker of the tongue to speak little better than barbarism, and have in many verses such poor rhyme that two hammers on a smith's anvil would make better music; whilst others, rather to excuse it than defend it, do plead that English poetry was then in the nonage, not to say infancy thereof; and that, match these verses for their age, they shall go abreast with the best poems of those times. Some, in favour of the translators, allege that to be curious therein and over-descanting with wit had not become the plain song and simplicity of an holy style. But these must know there is great difference between painting a face and not washing it.

And John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, was even less complimentary:

Sternhold and Hopkins had great Qualms,
When they Translated David's Psalms,
To make the Heart full glad;
But had it been poor David's Fate
To hear thee sing, and them Translate,
By G____ 'twould have made him Mad.91

Nevertheless, from the viewpoint of their plainness and lack of ornateness, the Sternhold-Hopkins' version demands a place in the development of Elizabethan poetry. As Hallett Smith states in his discussion of the paraphrases of these men:

Their Psalms, commanding an audience roughly equivalent to the whole of the English-speaking race, constituted a body of verse that was plain, bare, regular in beat, iambic, strictly measured. It came at a time when English prosody was in confusion, and it offered some kind of order. Furthermore, since it continued in vogue through the whole latter half of the sixteenth century, it cannot be overlooked by the historian of Elizabethan poetry as a force working for that direct, plain, "mere English" quality against the lavish, ornamental, stylized manners which more than once threatened to dominate literary expression.92

That the metrical paraphrases of the "Old Version" did not appeal to all is clearly seen in the many additional

translations produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by men who sought to replace its barren metrics by more artistic versions of their own. Matthew Parker,93 George Wither,94 and Henry King,95 to name only a few, all paraphrased the Psalms with the hope that their individual versions would be used in the churches in place of the Sternhold-Hopkins Psalter. King, for example, hearing a Psalm sung in church one Sunday, "whose wretched expression quite marred the Penman's Matter," returned home and decided to

try, whether, from the Version of our Bible,
I could not easily, and with plainness, suit­
ing the lowest Understandings, deliver it from

93The Whole Psalter translated into English Metre, which containeth an hundred and fifty Psalms (London: 1567?). STC 2729.
that garb, which indeed made it ridiculous.96 Both Parker and Wither would have agreed with King that the "unhandsome expressions" of the "Old Version" "both disfigured the meaning of the Holy Ghost, and reproached our English Tongue."97 Seeking, then, more accurate translations and at the same time employing various elaborate metrical schemes, these men stand in style and motive between the early Reformers and the courtly paraphrasers we shall discuss below.

While Psalters and metrical versions of the Psalms were being produced as a direct result of the Reformation, other versions, following a completely different tradition, had begun to appear in England, versions apparently intended solely for private reading, not for congregational singing, and written with an awareness of the essential poetic nature of the Psalms.98 These English versions, usually courtly in origin, were primarily works of art and were circulated in manuscript, some of them, as in the case of the work of Sir Philip Sidney and his sister Mary, Countess of Pembroke,

97 Ibid., p. 133.
remaining unpublished until the late eighteenth century. 99

Sometime during the reign "of K.H. the 8" Sir John Croke
metrically paraphrased thirteen Psalms and the first chapter
of Ecclesiastes at the request of his wife. 100 The autograph
manuscript is headed:

A Boke of Certen Chosen Psalms,
Translated into Ynglyshe Meter,
By John Croke, Esquyer, My Father,
When He Was One of the Six
Clarkes of the Chauncery.

 Hos mea me coniunx psalmo £rudentia fecit
 Vertere: nec tedet suasum Virtutis amore. 101

The translation unfortunately has little poetic merit. Croke
paraphrases quite freely and his tetrameter measure is often

99 Henry Harington first published four of the paraphrases
of the Countess of Pembroke (Psalms 51, 104, 137, 69) in Nugae
Antiquae, 1775 ed., pp. 57-69. The complete Psalter of Sidney
and his sister was first printed in Early English Poets, VIII
(Chiswick Press: 1823). For descriptions of the numerous
extant manuscript copies, see The Complete Works of Sir Philip
Sidney, ed. Albert Feuillerat, III (Cambridge: 1923), 408-
410; and Ruth Hughey, "The Harington Manuscript at Arundel
Castle and Related Documents," The Library, XVI (1935), 402.
Sidney's Psalms have also been printed by Feuillerat, op. cit.,
III, 187-246; and by John Ruskin, "Rock Honeycomb," The Works
of John Ruskin, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, XXXI
(London: 1907), 137-318.

100 Psalms 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143, 19, 13, 43, 139,
91, 31:1-6 (Vulgate numbering); reprinted by Sir Alexander
Croke, Thirteen Psalms and the First Chapter of Ecclesiastes,
Translated Into English Verse (London: Percy Society, XL,
1844).

101 Ibid., p. 3.
stilted and forced. In the sixth Psalm, for example, he paraphrases each verse of the Vulgate in four-line stanzas rhyming abab. Following are the first three stanzas:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Dnē ne in furore.} \\
\text{LORDE holde thy hande yn thy great rage:} \\
\text{Stryke me not after my desert,} \\
\text{Nor yn thy wrath ley to my charge} \\
\text{The faultes founde yn my synfule hert.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Miserere mei.} \\
\text{Haue mercy Lorde vppon the weake,} \\
\text{My body feble and lowe brought,} \\
\text{I tryme as my bones wold breake,} \\
\text{When thy stroke cumeth yn my thought.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Et anima mea.} \\
\text{And yet my sowle is trobled more} \\
\text{With vanyties, with thought, and cure,} \\
\text{And with temptacions to sore:} \\
\text{O Lorde, how longe shall this endure?102}
\end{align*}
\]

Later, Sir Thomas Wyatt freely paraphrased the Seven Penitential Psalms,103 using as his primary source Pietro

\[102\text{Ibid., p. 5.}\]

\[103\text{Wyatt's paraphrases of the Seven Penitential Psalms appear in the Egerton MS. 2711, ff. 86r-98v, in his own handwriting; in the Harington MS. at Arundel Castle, ff. 108r-118r; in the BM Add. MS. 28635, ff. 58r-68r, a page by page transcript of the Harington MS. ordered by George F. Nott in the nineteenth century; and in Royal MS. 17 A XXII, ff. 3r-36r, a late sixteenth-century manuscript containing 37 folios. They first appeared in print in Certayne psalmes chosen out of the psalter of David/ commonlye called thee. vii. penytential psalms, drawn into englyshe meter by Sir Thomas Wyatt knyght, wherunto is added a prolage of vauthore before every psalme, very pleasaut & profitable to the godly reader (London: 1549). A unique copy of this octavo volume is in the Cambridge University Library. A paraphrase of Psalm 37 (Vulgate 36), grouped with Wyatt's other poems (Harington MS., ff. 118r-119v; Egerton MS. 2711, f. 65v; BM Add. MS. 28635, ff. 68r-v) is also ascribed to Wyatt (see George F. Nott, The Works of Henry Howard Earl of Surey and of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder, II (London: 1816), 580). Nott prints Wyatt's paraphrases, II, 103-140, 198-202; as does A. K. Foxwell, The Poems of Sir Thomas Wiat, I (London: (cont)
Aretino's prose version, though frequently following the wording of the 1540 prose Psalter, the Great Bible and the Vulgate. Using terza rima, and psychologically tying together the seven complaints with elaborate prologues, Wyatt approached the theme of David's repentance from the viewpoint of the courtly lover. The result, as Hallett Smith points out, is that "David is made the author of a kind of de remedia amoris."105

Surrey also translated freely four Psalms from the Vulgate three of them in poulter's measure and one in unrhymed hexameters.106 In Psalm 8, for example, Surrey has expanded...
the ten verses in the Vulgate into forty-six lines; and in
his other three Psalms, he has frequently used the Biblical
translation as a means of expressing his personal feelings.
Like the paraphrases of such men as Sir Thomas Smith¹⁰⁷ and
John and Robert Dudley,¹⁰⁸ Surrey's were evidently written
while he was imprisoned in the Tower of London and often
echo disillusionment with worldly friends and temporal things.

Queen Elizabeth, too, tried her hand at metrical para-
phrasing as literary exercise. When eleven, she had trans-
lated Margaret d'Angouleme's Le miroir de l'ame recheresse,
which was later printed under the title A Godly Medytacyon
of the Christen Sowle (Wesel: 1543).¹⁰⁹ Included in the

¹⁰⁷ His paraphrases (Psalms 102, 118, 119, 85, 30, 40, 70, 54, 144, and 145 in the Vulgate) appear in Royal MS.
17 A XVII, entitled "Certayne Psalmes or Songues, of David
translated into Englishe meter by Sir Thomas Smith, Knight,
then prisoner in the Tower of London, with other prayers and
songues by him made to pas the tyyme then, 1549." See
John Strype, "The Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith (rev.

¹⁰⁸ See Ruth Hughey, op. cit., p. 422. Their Psalms
appear in the Harington MS. at Arundel Castle, ff. 209r-
210r; and in BM Add. MS. 28635, ff. 316r-317r. See D.N.B.
for sketches of their lives.

¹⁰⁹ See Ruth Hughey, "A Note on Queen Elizabeth's 'Godly
Meditation,'" The Library, Fourth Series, XV (1934), 237-
240.
dedication was her paraphrase of a verse from Psalm 13 (Vulgate 14) in Latin, French and Italian. At the end of the translation appeared a metrical paraphrase of the complete Psalm, "probably by John Bale." Sidney, of course, in his Apologie for Poetrie had specifically classified the Psalms as one of the "three severall kindes" of poetry, saying that the "chiefe both in antiquitie and excellencie, were they that did imitate the inconceivable excellencies of GOD." Furthermore, he continued,

this Poesie must be used, by whosoever will follow S. Iames his counsell, in singing Psalmes when they are merry: and I knowe is used with the fruite of comfort by some, when, in sorrowfull pangs of their death-bringing sinnes, they find the consolation of the never-leaving goodnesse.

And earlier, in his discussion of the Latin word Vates, he had stated:

And may not I presume a little further, to shew the reasonablenes of this worde Vates? And say that the holy Davids Psalmes are a divine Poem? If I doo, I shall not do it without the testimonie of great learned men, both auncient and moderne. But even the name Psalmes will speake for mee, which, being interpreted, is nothing but songes: then that it is fully written in meeter, as all learned Hebricians agree, although the rules be not yet fully found: lastly and principally, his handeling his prophecy, which is meerely poetical. For what els is the awaking his musical

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110 Reprinted by Erich Henkel, "Gedichte Ker Königin Elisabeth," Anglia, XIV (1892), 352.
111 Hughey, op. cit., p. 238.
instruments; the often and free changing of persons; his notable Prosopopeias, when he maketh you as it were, see God comming in his Maiestie; his telling of the Beastes joyfulnes, and hills leaping, but a heavenlle poesie, wherein almost hee sheweth himselfe a passionate lover of that unspeakable and everlasting beautie to be seen by the eyes of the minde, onely cleered by fayth?\textsuperscript{113}

It is this awareness, then, of the intrinsic nature of the Psalms which we find reflected in his metrical paraphrases of the first forty-three Psalms of the Psalter. Influenced by the Marot-Beza Psalter, he compiled through the use of intricate metrical patterns and rhyme schemes what Hallett Smith suggests "might be regarded as a School of English Versification."\textsuperscript{114} That his paraphrases are successful on the whole is remarkable, especially when one considers the dangers of such metrical virtuosity. Following is Sidney's version of the first three stanzas of Psalm 38:

\texttt{Domine ne in furore.}

Lord, while that thy rage doth bide,
Do not chide:
Nor in anger chastise me,
For thy shafts have peirc'd me sore;
And yet more
Still thy hands upon me be.

No sound part caus'd by thy wrath
My flesh hath:
Nor my synns lett my boanes rest.
For on my faults are highly spredd
On my hedd,
Whose foule weights have me opprest.

\textsuperscript{113}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 6-7.
My wounds putrify, and stink,
In the sink
Of my filthy folly laid:
Earthly do bow and crook,
With a look
Still in mourning cheer a new.

Nevertheless, Sidney's paraphrases were highly praised as were those written by Mary Herbert, who completed the Psalter started by her brother. Sir John Harington, for example, who later produced a version of his own, wrote to his relative Lucy, Countess of Bedford, in December, 1600, enclosing copies of three paraphrases done by Mary, and remarking

...have sent you here the divine, and truly divine translation of three of Davids psalms, done by that Excellent Countess, and in Poesie the mirrors of our Age...117

115Feuillerat, op. cit., III, 237.
117Letter 19 in The Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington, ed. Norman Egbert McClure (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), p. 87. McClure, p. 390, states that he has "printed from a transcript in the Library of the Inner Temple, Petyt MS. 538, vol. 43, f. 303b." He continues: The psalms are numbers 51, 104, and 137. (Petyt MS. 538, 43, f. 284.) Among various memoranda Harington, in a list of "things sent to London the 29th of Jan: 1609" [1609-1610], includes the Countess of Pem: psalms: 2 copies." (British Museum Addit. MSS. 27632, f. 30.) See also Epigram 398, "In praise of two worthy Translations, made by two great Ladies," McClure, p. 310, for another expression of Sir John's admiration for Lady Mary's paraphrases (Psalms 44-137) which, together with those of her brother, were first printed in toto in 1823.
It is possible that this admiration for the paraphrases of Sidney's sister, together with Wyatt's example, may have been responsible for Sir John's early paraphrases of the Seven Penitential Psalms and his later metrical version of the complete Psalter.

Originally, in "A Briefe View of the State of the Church of England," Sir John had questioned the advisability of paraphrasing the Psalms into verse:

...though I graunt that psalms and hims may and perhaps ought to be in verse, (as good linguists

Sir John's version of the Seven Penitential Psalms appear in Egerton MS. 2711, fols. 104r-107r, in his own handwriting, and were perhaps prompted by Wyatt's version in the same manuscript, fols. 86r-90v.

Two copies of Sir John's complete Psalter are now extant. The earlier of the two, the Douce MS. 361, is now in the Bodleian and is written in what appears to be the early seventeenth-century hand of a professional copyist. According to Falconer Madan's Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, IV (Oxford: 1897), 605, the manuscript contains 174 folios and bears the title, "The Psalmes putt into verse by Sr John Harrington." The Psalms appear on folios 1r-96r, and frequent designations ("1.day," "2.day," "3.day," etc.), appearing at the top of the folios, suggest that the manuscript was to serve as a manual for private devotions, with approximately three to five Psalms to be read in order each day for thirty days. The second extant manuscript copy is in the English Department Library of the Ohio State University. Beautifully written in an Elizabethan secretary hand, the manuscript contains 122 folios, consisting of 233 written pages, with 4 blank pages at the beginning and 7 at the end. It is a small 4vo, 19\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 15\(\frac{1}{2}\) centimeters, and is bound with the original limp vellum. There are only two indications of provenance: the signature of James Harrington is written on the upper right hand corner of folio 2r; and the signature of Bickford-Dunland, in a nineteenth-century hand, in the same position on folio 3r. Immediately above the heading of Psalm 1 on folio 3r appears the title: "King Davids Psalmes." With the exception of the signatures noted above, fols. 1r-2v are blank. Fols. 3r-23v contain, in correct order, the texts of Psalms 1 through 29, (cont.)
affirme Moses and Davids psalms to be originally,}
yet I am almost of opinion, that one ought to ab-
jure all Poetrie when he comes to Divinitie. 120

Nevertheless, he completed his own metrical version and repeatedly sought royal patronage for the publication of his work. 121

119 (cont) with the title of "Psalm 30:" and its Latin heading, "Exaltabo te" appearing on the bottom of fol. 23v. Then follow, incorrectly bound in on fols. 24r-28v, the texts of Psalms 33 through the first 9 stanzas of Psalm 37. Fols. 29r-30v contain the texts of Psalms 30, 31, and 32. Then, on folio 31r appear the last three stanzas of Psalm 37, and the manuscript continues correctly with Psalm 39 and remains consistently in order until folio 67v. The bottom of this folio contains only the first stanza and the two lines of a second stanza of Psalm 85. The following folio, 68r, contains the last 3 stanzas of Psalm 88 and the beginning of Psalm 89. Since the manuscript is normally bound in groups of 8 leaves and folios 67 and 68 consist of a single sheet folded once, it appears that four leaves of the original manuscript are missing; and it is probable that these leaves contained the end of Psalm 85, the complete texts of Psalms 86 and 87, and the beginning of Psalm 88. Psalms 89 through 150 are contained complete and in correct order on fols. 68r-119r, and the manuscript ends with 7 blank leaves on fols. 119v-122r. With the exception of folio 2, which has two-thirds of its bottom portion torn away, all remaining folios are intact.

As in the Douce MS., certain Psalms are designated as morning and evening prayers. It seems likely, from the beautifully even handwriting, that the manuscript was also the work of a professional copyist, and it is possible, on the basis of internal evidence, to conjecture that his copy-text was the Douce MS. 361 or a now unknown manuscript derived from the Douce. To determine this, a spot-collation was made of selected Psalms which contained corrected readings in the Douce with parallel passages in the second manuscript. In each case where the Douce copyist has entered a corrected reading above a crossed-out word, the copyist of the second manuscript has consistently taken the corrected reading and incorporated it into his text. 120

119 See Letters 61 and 62 in McClure, op. cit., pp. 142-144. The first was written by Sir John to an unknown correspondent, whom he addresses as "your Grace;" the second was written directly to James.
Whatever the reasons, however, Sir John's metrical version of the Psalms remained unpublished. Perhaps James was unimpressed, preferring his own version over that of his courtier's; perhaps Sir John's death in November of 1612 occurred before final arrangements for publication could be made. It is only possible to conjecture. Evidently, however, he completed the work shortly before his death, happy in the thought that he had "offended the cheife enemy of mankynd" and that others would use his metrical Psalms as "darts to drive away devills."  

122 Only three of Sir John's metrical paraphrases of the Psalms have ever been printed: Edward Farr prints Psalms 112 and 137 in his Select Poetry Chiefly Devotional of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, XXXVI, Pt. I (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1845), 115-116; and Thomas Park prints Psalms 24, 112, and 137 in his edition of the Nugae Antiquae, II, 403-406. Park prints from the Douce MS. 361 and Farr has evidently reprinted from Park. Both men omit the concluding stanza of Psalm 137, probably out of kindness to Sir John. It is an unfortunate example of Sir John at his poetic worst.  

123 See STC 14389 and 2732, The Psalmes Translated by King James (Oxford: 1631), now generally thought to be in part the work of William Alexander, Earl of Stirling. Cf. Reg. MS. 18 B. XVI, which contains in James' autograph his metrical version of 26 Psalms, Ecclesiastes, cap. xii, the Lord's Prayer, and the Song of Moses (from Deut. xxxii); and Reg. MS. 18 B. XIV, which contains James' paraphrase on the Book of Revelation (Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections, II (London: 1921), 292-293.  

124 McClure, op. cit., p. 143.
Although, as we have seen, the poetic quality of the work of these early courtly paraphrasers varied greatly, it is to the same artistic tradition that the later Biblical paraphrases of George Sandys belong. We do not know exactly when he began his paraphrases of the Psalms, but it may be that he started their composition in 1632, or shortly thereafter. In that year his translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses appeared in final revised form, and he would have been free at that time to contemplate the beginning of a new literary work. In addition, his activities with the Virginia Company had diminished upon his return to England in late 1625 or early 1626, and he would have had the leisure time necessary for the composition of a complete metrical Psalter. Consequently, the work was probably completed sometime between 1632 and the date of their first publication in 1636.

In his dedication "To the King" in the 1636 Paraphrase Upon the Psalms of David, Sandys gives the conventional reasons for turning from secular to sacred poetry:

Our graver Muse from her long Dreams awakes,
Feneian Groves, and Cirrha's Caves forsakes:
Inspir'd with zeale, she climes th' Ethereal Hills
Of Solyma, where bleeding Balm distills;
Where Trees of Life unfading Youth assure,
And Living Waters all Diseases cure:
"where the Sweet Singer, in coelestiall Laies,
Sung to his solemn Harp Jehovah's Praise.
From that falne Temple, on her wings, she beares
Those Heavenly Raptures to your sacred ears:
Not that her bare and humble feet aspire
To mount the Threshold of th' harmonious Quire;
But that at once she might Oblations bring
To God; and Tribute to a god-like King.
And since no narrow Verse such Mysteries,
Deep Sense; and high Expressions could comprise;
Her laboring Wings a larger compasse flie,
And Poesie resolves with Poesie:
Lest she, who in the Orient clearly rose,
Should in your Western World obscurely close. 125

There are, however, many factors in George Sandys' personal
background which could have been responsible for his later
interest in paraphrasing the Psalms in metrical verse.

Sandys, of course, would early have come in contact
with the Psalms, not only through his father, who was actively
connected with the Church, and his home life, but through
the religious and Latin exercises he would have encountered in
grammar school as well. As a sixteenth-century schoolboy,
it is probable that Sandys worked directly with the Psalms
in connection with his Latin exercises in the four lower forms.

Although we do not know where he attended school, his grammar
school curriculum probably followed the typical routine of its
day and consisted, at least in part, in turning parts of the
Bible into Latin prose and verse. This practice, of course,
of turning poetry into prose and prose into poetry had origi-
nally been established by Erasmus in his De ratione studii

125 Sig. A3r.

126 See J. Howard Brown, Elizabethan School days: An
Account of the English Grammar Schools in the second half of
the Sixteenth Century (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1933);
passim; and Thomas W. Baldwin, William Shakspere's Small Latine
& Lesse Greekes, I (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944),
119-20, 114, 181, 683-686.
and, as Roger Ascham later admitted, had classical sanction. The custom of turning sections of the Bible into Latin prose and poetry was already established in the St. Paul's Ipswich system in 1528 and was still followed in the curriculum at St. Paul's in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Thus, during his school years, Sandys probably would have had specific training in paraphrasing the prose Psalms into Latin verse; and, perhaps, following the next logical step, turning them back into English verse.

In addition to this practice, Sandys would have specifically come into contact with metrical versions of the Psalms in the religious exercises which opened and closed each grammar school day. His father, who established the Hawkshead Free Grammar School in 1585, also decreed that they be used in that school:

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129 Baldwin, *op. cit.* I, 144.
132 See Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-64. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18, states that after the children learn their "Abcier, and Primer," they may read over other English bookes. Amongst which, the Psalmes in metre would be one, because children with most readinesse and delight through (cont)
Also I ordain and constitute, that certain
godly prayers hereafter set down, and immediately
following in these constitutions, be made in the
said school by the schoolmaster for the time being,
the usher, and scholars of the same school, every
morning before the said schoolmaster and usher be­
gin to teach the said scholars, and every evening
immediately before the breaking up of the said
school, and every day before they go to dinner tto
sing a psalm in metre in the said school.133

The practice was also followed in the diocese of York, which
was supervised by Sandys' father from 1576 until his death in
1588.134

Most significant of all, however, is the metrical ver­
sion of fifty Psalms produced by his brother, Sir Edwin
Sandys, in 1615. Printed by Thomas Snodham135 in London,
its title-page read as follows: Sacred Hymns. Consisting
of Fifti Select Psalms of David and Others, Paraphrastically
turned into English Verse. And by Robert Tailour, set to be
sung in Five Parts, as also to the Viole, and Lute or Orph­
arion. Published for the use of such as delight in the

132 (cont)

the running of the metre, as it is found by exper­
ience. Then the Testament, in which the discreet
Master may keepe his scholler lesse or more,
untill he think him meet to enter into the
Accedence.

133These regulations are printed in "The Sermons of Edwin
Sandys, D. D., Successively Bishop of Worcester and London,
and Archbishop of York, ed. John Ayre, XLI (Cambridge:
Parker Society, 1842), 443.

134Tudor Parish Documents of The Diocese of York, ed.

135London printer, 1603-1625, at the St. Botolph without
Aldersgate. See R. B. McKerrow, A Dictionary of Printers
and Booksellers...1557-1640 (London: 1910), pp. 250-51.
exercise of Mysic in hir original honour.\textsuperscript{136} Although there is little similarity poetically between this version and George's later paraphrase, it is probable that Sir Edwin's example was in no small way responsible for his brother's later endeavors in this line.

In paraphrasing his Psalms, Sandys probably worked from various Latin and French translations of the Bible and the Psalter, both metrical and prose. An important indication of this occurs in his marginal abbreviations, which are scattered throughout his 1636 text but are omitted in later editions. Their appearance opposite certain stanzas in Sandys' text would seem to indicate that he was either basing his paraphrase at these specific points upon other Latin or French translations of the Psalms or was referring to other Biblical commentators and their works for his reader's guidance.

Thus, "Trem." appears to be an abbreviation for John Immanuel Tremellius (1510-1580), an Hebrew scholar who published several translations of the Bible from Hebrew and Syriac into Latin during his lifetime;\footnote{\textsuperscript{136}STC 21723. I have used a microfilm of the copy in The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.} and "Jun." seems

\footnote{\textsuperscript{137}Hugh Pope, \textit{English Versions of the Bible} (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1952), pp. 117-118; Thomas Fuller, \textit{Abel Redevivus: or The Dead Yet Speaking. The Lives And Deaths Of the Modern Divines}, II (London: 1867), 45-46.}
to refer to Francis Junius (1545-1602), who also translated portions of the Bible into Latin.\textsuperscript{138} Since "Trem." and "Jun." are always grouped together when they appear in Sandys' text, the two abbreviations probably refer to the \textit{Psalms Davidis ex Hebræo in Latinum conversi ab I. Tremellio et F. Junio} (London: 1580)\textsuperscript{139} or to one of the complete editions of the Bible the two men produced jointly. I have used the 1580 edition printed in London with the title-page: \textit{Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra sive Libri Canonici, Priscæ Judæorum Ecclesiæ A Deo Traditi, Latini Recens Ex Hebræo facti, brevibusque Scholiis illustrati ab Immanuele Tremellio & Francisco Junio: Accesserunt Libri Quæ Vulgo Dicuntur Apocryphi, Latine redditi & notis quibusdam aucti a Francisco Junio...}\textsuperscript{140} Hooper found a similarity between Sandys' translation of Job and the 1593 version of Tremellius and Junius, but suggested, on the basis of a marginal note to one of Falkland's commendatory verses in the 1638 \textit{Paraphrase Vpon The Divine Poems}, that Sandys based his paraphrases of the Psalms primarily upon Castalio's translation of the Bible.\textsuperscript{141}

\textsuperscript{138} Pope, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 126-128; Fuller, \textit{op. cit.}, II, 179-191.

\textsuperscript{139} \textsuperscript{STC} 2359.

\textsuperscript{140} \textsuperscript{STC} 2056. I have used a microfilm of the Huntington Library copy (HN 221895).


It is true that Sandys' paraphrases of the Psalms sometimes closely follow Castalio's version in sense, but only a long, careful study would prove conclusively that Sandys' used this version as his primary source. It is more likely, as the following abbreviations seem to indicate, that he had several versions at hand and frequently referred to them all.

Other abbreviations which appear opposite Psalm in the 1636 text are: "Bez.", "Buch.", "Lor.", "Pics.", "Musc.", "Id.", "Answ.", "Jul, in Buch.", "Mol." and "In Babylm, &c."


I have used a microfilm of the Huntington Library copy (HN 34634). Other editions are listed by Buisson, *op. cit.*, II, 357-359.
The last two I have been unable to identify. "Bez.", however, is evidently Theodore Beza (1519-1605), a French theologian who paraphrased a good many of the Psalms appearing in the French Psalter of 1562, and later translated several versions of the New Testament into Latin. Sandys, however, was probably referring to Beza's French paraphrases, for the Psalms which have "Bez." in their margins in all instances were Psalms paraphrased by Beza. "Buch." seems to be George Buchanan (1506-1582), a friend of Sir Philip Sidney, who prepared a Latin verse translation of the Psalms while imprisoned in Portugal for his attacks on the Franciscans. "Lor." may refer to Joannes Lorinus, who published a Commentariorum in librum Psalmorum...Editio accurata...cum indicibus locorum Sacrae Scripturae...(3 vols.,

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144See above Introduction I, ii.
145The Rare Book Room of the Ohio State University Library contains a copy of La Sainte Bible...Avec les Pseaumes de David, mis en rimeFrancoise par Clement Marot, & Theodore de Beze (London: 1658). BS 230 1688.
147For various editions of Buchanan's paraphrases of the Psalms, see STC 3983-3989 and David Murray, "Catalogue of Printed Books, Manuscripts, Charters, and Other Documents," George Buchanan (Glasgow: 1907), pp. 407-424. The Rare Book Room of the Ohio State University Library contains a copy of Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis Poetica Georgii Buchanani Scoti Argumentis ac melodiis explicata atque illustrata Operâ & studio Nathanis Chytraei (Herbernae Nassoviorum: 1622). BS 1442 B 8 1622. For sketches of his life, see P. Hume Brown, George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer. A Biography (Edinburgh: 1890); D. Macmillan, (cont)
"Pics." may refer to Johann Piscator of Herborn, who published In Librum Psalmorum Commentarius Iohannis Piscatoris... Addita est in fine versio Psalmorum nova...(Herbornae Nassoviorum: 1611; second edition, 1618); "Musc." may refer to Wolfgang Musculus, who published In Davidis Psalterium sacrosanctum Commentarii: in quibus et reliqua Catholicæ religionis nostrae capita passim, non praetermissis orthodoxorum etiam Patrum sententiis... (1618); "Id." and "Answ." may refer to Beza's Responsio ad defensiones et reprehensiones Sebastiani Castellionis, quibus suam Novi Testamenti interpretationem defendere adversus Bezan, et ejus versionem reprehendere conatus est (Geneva: 1563); and "Jul. in Buch." may refer to Alexander Julius's Ecphrasis paraphraseos Georgij Buchanan in Psalmos Davidis: ab Alexandro Julio... elaborata (London: 1620).

147 (cont) George Buchanan (Edinburgh: 1906); and James M. Aitken, The Trial of George Buchanan Before the Lisbon Inquisition (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1939).
148 British Museum Shelf list 3090.f.1.
149 British Museum Shelf list 3090.bb.21; 3090.bb.22.
See Fuller, op. cit., II, 313.
150 British Museum Shelf list 3105.b.3. See Fuller, op. cit., I, 291-310.
151 Buisson, op. cit., II, 255.
152 British Museum Shelf list 3089.c.1.
It is interesting to note that all the above men identified were directly connected with the Reformation: Tremellius' and Junius' versions of the Bible, for example, were definitely Calvinistic in doctrine; Beza worked directly under Calvin in Geneva; and Buchanan wrote pamphlets justifying the deposition of Mary (i.e., Baptistes, 1577, 1578; De jure regni apud Scotos, 1579). Since Sandys' father was an active Reformer, it seems only natural then to find his son basing his own paraphrases of the Psalms upon versions produced by Calvinists and Reformers.

However, it would also seem that Sandys composed his paraphrases with a copy of the King James Version of the Bible before him. At least, he not infrequently echoes the wording and phrasing of that version. The text of his Psalms also follows the numbering arrangement given in the King James Version, which is especially noticeable when that arrangement differs from the Latin Vulgate. For example, Psalm IX of the Vulgate is divided into Psalms IX and X in the King James; Psalm CXVI (vv. 1-9 and vv. 10-19) of the King James equals Psalms CXIV and CXV of the Vulgate; and Psalm CXLVII (vv. 1-11 and vv. 12-20) of the King James equals Psalms CXLVI and CXLVII of the Vulgate. In all of these cases, Sandys follows the arrangement of the King James, which has the Hebrew numbering.
George Sandys, the seventh and youngest son of Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, was born at the palace of Bishopthorpe, near York, in 1578. His mother, the Archbishop's second wife, was Cicely Sandys, the daughter of Thomas Wilford of Cranbrook, Kent. Married to the Archbishop on February 19, 1558/9, she had, previous to the birth of George, borne her husband six sons and two daughters, and, during the remainder of her "most Christian and holy life, carefully educated her children, wisely governed her familie, charitably relieved the poore, and was a true mirror of a Christian matron." As her epitaph continues:

1George Sandys' father, Edwin Sandys, had had a son, James, by his first wife, Mary Sandys, of Woodham Ferrers, Essex, but they had both died at Augsburg, either of the plague or of consumption. See Sandys, History, I, 87; and Fox, VIII, Pt. 2, 598. Sandys' History, vol. II of which contains the most accurate and complete pedigrees of the Sandys' family, is the most authoritative history of the family available and supercedes the earlier works by Comley Vivian, Some Notes for a History of the Sandys Family, ed. Col. Thomas Nyles Sandys (London: 1907); and J. Hall Pleasants, "Sandys of Furnace Fells, Lancashire," VMHB, XXIX (April, 1921), 227-243. Additional pedigrees of the family, sometimes fragmentary, may be found in the various volumes printed by the Harleian Society and listed in the bibliography of this dissertation. The following volumes also contain useful and often valuable bits of information: T. R. Nash, Collections for the History of Worcestershire (2 vols. and suppl., London: 1781-1799); William Berry, Pedigrees of the Families in the County of Kent (London: 1830); and Joseph Foster, Pedigrees of the Families in the County of Lancashire (London: 1875). Biographical sketches of Edwin Sandys are found in the D.N.B.; Sandys, History.
She lived a pure maid 24 yeares, a chaste and loving wife 29 yeares, a true widow 22 yeares to her last.... She dep'ted this life constant in Christian faith, ye 5th Febry., 1610. At the rising of the sun hir blessed soule ascended to the consort of the blessed, and hir bodie lyeth heer interred, expecting the joyful resurrection.5

The exact hour and day of George's birth were carefully recorded by the Archbishop on the first blank leaf of his own copy of the Bishops' Bible.4 Here, following the notations regarding his younger brothers and sisters, it is recorded that George Sandys "was borne the 2 day of marche at 4 of the clocke in the morninge in the yeare of our Lorde god 1577."

To the right of the transcription are written the names of "George earle of Comberland"5 and "William Lord Ewry"6 as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exact hour and day of George's birth were carefully recorded by the Archbishop on the first blank leaf of his own copy of the Bishops' Bible.</th>
<th>1(cont)</th>
<th>pp. 33-91; the introduction to The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, ed. John Ayre, XLI (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1842), 1-xxxii; and Thomas Fuller, Abel Readevivus, II, 191-195.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From the epitaph on the burial monument of Cicely Sandys, which is located on the north wall of the chancel of the church at Woodham Ferrers, Essex. Sandys' History reproduces a photograph of the tomb between pp. 182 and 183. Erected by her eldest son, Samuel Sandys, the black and white marble monument contains the names of all her children, including &quot;George Sandys, Esq: 7 sonne.&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibid.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sandys' History reproduces a photograph of this leaf between pp. 88 and 89.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland (August 8, 1558-October 29, 1605), served as Councillor of the North in 1582, and in February, 1587, was on the Commission for the execution of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. Knighted in 1588, he was appointed Admiral of a Fleet in 1598. He married Margaret, daughter of Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford. Details of his life are given in the L.N.B.; G. C. Williamson, George, Third Earl of Cumberland...His Life and Voyages. A</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
godfathers and "Katherine Countesse of Huntingdon" as godmother. Since the Archbishop had promoted the claim of Lady
Jane Grey to the throne in 1553, Richard Hooper suggests

William Lord Eure (May 10, 1529-February 12, 1593/4). The son of Sir Ralph Eure, by Margery, daughter of Sir Ralph Bowes of Streatlam, Durham, Lord Eure served as Warden of the Middle Marches temp. Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, and as Captain of Berwick Castle. He was first summoned to Parliament on January 5, 1552/3, and later was one of the Commissioners to negotiate with Scotland in 1587. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Dymoke, of Scrivelsby, Lincoln, by Anne, daughter of Sir George Talboys, of Kyne in that county. See Cokayne, op. cit., V (1926), 181; and the family pedigree in Visitation of Yorkshire in 1584/5, ed. Joseph Foster (London: 1875), pp. 607-617.

that

this may have been one of the reasons for the Countess of Huntingdon standing as godmother to his son George. Lady Huntingdon was daughter to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and sister to Lady Jane Grey's husband.9

At the time of George Sandys' birth, the Archbishop was one of Elizabeth's most eminent divines. Born near Hawkshead, in Furnace Fells, Lancashire,10 he had been educated at St. John's College, Cambridge,11 where he early came into contact with those principles of the Reformation that he so actively supported during the remainder of his life. After receiving his B.A. in 1539 and his M.A. in 1541, he served the office of proctor of his college in 1542-3. In 1547, the same year he received his B.D., he was elected Master of Catherine Hall, and from 1546 to 1548 he was Vicar of Haversham in Westmoreland. In 1549 he was appointed prebendary of Peterborough, and by 1553 he was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.12


8 For Sandys' reasons, see Strype, Memorials, III, i, 17. It seems that he had "the singular honour of having first suggested the great crime [of the murder of Mary Queen of Scots] as an expedient for 'the safety of our Queene and Realme.'" See Sandys' letter to Burghley, September 5, 1572, quoted in a review of "Henry Ellis' Original Letters Illustrative of English History," Edinburgh Review, XLVI (June, 1827), 196-197. Sandys preached such a sermon in support of Lady Jane Grey on the eve of Mary's accession to the throne "as pulled many tears out of the eyes of the biggest of them." See Fox, VIII, Pt. 2, 590.

9 Sandys' Poetical Works, I, xix.

10 The D.N.B. suggests 1516; Ayre, op. cit., p. 1, (cont)
Upon the death of Edward VI, his religious principles forced him to support Lady Jane Grey with the result that, upon the later collapse of Northumberland's party, he was stripped of his honors and imprisoned in the Tower of London. On February 26, 1554, he was transferred to the Marshalsea, and sometime between then and May he was imprisoned. See also Strype, Parker, I, 15.

Ayre, loc. cit., suggests he matriculated in 1532 or 1533.


Sandys' troubles in England following Edward's death and his escape to the Continent are described vividly by Fox, VII, Pt. 2, 590-98. See also Strype, Memorials, III, i, 24; and The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, From A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563, ed. John Gough Nichols, XLIII (London: Camden Society, First Series, 1848), 37. Machyn writes:

The XXV day of July, the wyche was Saynt James, [there] cam in- to London, and so to the Tower, serten traiturs; the first was doctur Sandes, a prest; and next hym ser Thomas Palmer, ser Hare Gettes, ser John Gettes, ser Andrew Dudley, lord H [are Dudley], lord Ambrose Dudley, lord Hastynges, the erle of Huntingdon, the erle of Warwyke, the duke of Northumberland [attended] by iiiij M[en] be-syd the garde with gettenes and trompeters, and with spere and gunnes to the Towre.

released. On the 6th of May, he sailed for the Continent, arriving not long after at Antwerp,\(^{15}\) from there he proceeded to Augsburg, where he "tarried fourteen days" before continuing on to Strasbourg.\(^{16}\) Later, he visited Zurich, staying at the house of Peter Martyr until Mary's death.\(^{17}\) He returned to England by way of Strasbourg, where he paused to preach a sermon, arriving in London on the day of Queen Elizabeth's coronation, January 13, 1558.\(^{18}\)

Following an ecclesiastical visitation of the North, which he headed by command of the Queen on August 22,

\(^{15}\)Fox, VIII, Pt. 2, 597.

\(^{16}\)Fox, VIII, Pt. 2, 598; Strype, Cranmer, I, 513.

Sandys' presence in Strasbourg was first recorded on November 23, 1555. See Troubles begonne at Frankfort, ed. John Ketheram (London: 1846), p. 23. On Saturday, September 7, 1555, Sandys requested permission "to remain permanently in Strasbourg and become a burgher," begging, as a Doctor of Theology, "exemption from watch duty, service at fires, and the muster roll." See A Calendar of the Protocols of the Council and 21 of Strasbourg, XXXIII (1555), f. 363r-v; quoted in Christina Hallowell Garrett's The Marian Exiles (Cambridge: The University Press, 1938), p. 366. Sandys' petition was evidently denied, for his name does not appear in the list of the city's burghers, although he was granted the right of residency (ibid., p. 283). This throws an interesting light on Sandys' state of mind at the time, for burghers were forced to take oaths of allegiance which would prevent their return to England (ibid., p. 13 and note 8).

\(^{17}\)They heard the news that the Queen was dead "as they sat at dinner," which made "master Martyr, and master Jarret then there, very joyful; but Dr. Sands could not rejoice, it smote into his heart, that he should be called to misery" (Fox, VIII, Pt. 2, 598).

\(^{18}\)Ibid. See also Strype, Annals, I, 1, 151.
1559, he was offered the Bishopric of Worcester, which he accepted against his inclination, and was consecrated at Lambeth by Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, on December 21, 1559.

He immediately ran into difficulties during his first visitation to his diocese. Every wary of any vestments or ornaments that seemed tinged with Romanism, he did not

19 See Sandys' letter to Peter Martyr, dated April 1, 1560, in The Zurich Letters, ed. Hastings Robinson, Parker Society, 1842, 72-3.

20 His fears concerning the see of Worcester proved to be well founded, for he soon discovered his "new burden (for it may be more truly called so than an honour)" distracted him "most wonderfully with cares and engagements" (ibid., p. 73).

21 See Strype's Annals, I, i, 230, 232; Parker, I, 125; III, 282; and Grindal, p. 49.

22 Concerning the controversy regarding images, Sandys wrote:

The Queen's majesty considered it not contrary to the word of God, nay, rather for the advantage of the church, that the image of Christ crucified, together with [those of the virgin] Mary and [Saint] John, should be placed, as heretofore, in some conspicuous part of the church, where they might more readily be seen by all the people. Some of us [bishops] thought far otherwise, and more especially as all images of every kind were at our last visitation not only taken down, but also burnt, and that too by public authority; and because the ignorant and superstitious multitude are in the habit of paying adoration to this idol above all others. As to myself, because I was rather vehement in this matter, and could by no means consent that an occasion of stumbling should be afforded to the church of Christ, I was very near being deposed from my office, and incurring the displeasure of the Queen. But God, in whose hand are the hearts of kings, gave us tranquility instead of a tempest, and delivered the church of England from stumblingblocks of this kind: only the popish vestments remain in our church, I mean the yes; which, however, we hope will not last very long.

(cont)
look with favor upon an altar-stone still standing in one of his parishes and ordered it removed and defaced. Sir James Bourne, a Romanist who lived in the parish, rejected the order and brought the altar-stone to his home. When, on a second visit to his diocese as an ordinary, Sandys deprived two persons, the quarrel reached the ears of the Archbishop of Canterbury who, at first, censured Sandys for his too great zeal. The bitter quarrel between Bourne and Sandys continued. John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, also opposed Elizabeth in this matter as did others. See his letter to Martyr, February 4, 1560, in his Works, IV, 1228-1230. It is interesting to wonder what the Archbishop would have thought of his tomb, which contained his effigy "vested in rochet, cimere, tippet and chasuble." Sandys, History, p. 86, states that "it is believed that this is the only instance in which the chasuble is displayed on any effigy of a Post-Reformation prelate."

For details of this dispute, see Strype, Annals, I, ii, 15-42; Sandys, History, pp. 57-8; and Ayre, Sermons of Edwin Sandys, pp. xviii-xix.

Sandys vindicated himself in a letter to Parker, October 21, 1560, printed in the Correspondence of Matthew Parker, ed. John Bruce and Thomas T. Ferowne, XXIII (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1855), 124-27; and Strype, Parker, III, 41-4.
and Sandys, however, which soon became personal, was not resolved until it was brought before the Privy Council. The matter was finally settled in favor of Sandys, but similar troubles were to plague the divine the remainder of his life.

Meanwhile, the Archbishop of Canterbury had determined upon a new version of the Bible which the Church could officially use and approve. Contending that the Geneva Bible contained too much of Non-Conformist doctrine to suit the Church of England, and especially disliking certain of the Geneva's Calvinistic marginal notes, Parker divided the whole Bible into parts, assigning one part to each of a large number of selected bishops, among them Bishop Sandys.

The bishops, given certain specifications by Parker, were to follow the great Bible of 1539 closely, except where it varied greatly from the Hebrew and the Greek. They were also to regard the Latin versions of Sebastian Münster and Sanctes Pagninus, both brilliant Hebraists, to omit controversial notes, and to express language that gave offense to good taste in more conventional terms and phrases. With these

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25Bourne, it appears, took every opportunity to deride and ridicule Cicely, Sandys' wife (Ayre, Sermons of Edwin Sandys, p. xvii).

26For discussions of the development of the Bishops' Bible, see Charles Butterworth, The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible 1340-1611 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941), pp. 173-84; and Strype, Parker, I, 409-17.

specifications in mind, Sandys went to work on the books allotted him, 1 and 2 Kings and 1 and 2 Chronicles, completing his work on February 6, 1565/6.\(^{28}\) The entire version was completed and published in England in 1568,\(^{29}\) and, although there is no evidence that the new translation ever secured the recognition of the Queen, the Convocation in 1571 decreed that all archbishops and bishops should have copies of the Bishops' Bible in their homes, and that copies should be placed in all cathedrals and churches.\(^{30}\) That Sandys faithfully followed this decree, at least in part, is evidenced by his own copy of the Bishops' Bible, printed by Richard Jugge in 1574,\(^{31}\) which is still preserved at the Grammar School founded by him at Hawkshead in 1585.\(^{32}\)

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\(^{28}\)See Sandys' letter to Parker, printed in the Correspondence of Matthew Parker, pp. 256-7; and Strype, Parker, I, 415-6.

\(^{29}\)The holie bible (STC 2099). For descriptions of this Bible, see Strype, ibid., I, 540-1; and Annals, II, ii, 74-81.

\(^{30}\)Butterworth, op. cit., p. 185.

\(^{31}\)The holy byble (STC 2109).

\(^{32}\)Sandys, History, p. 87. The Royal Letters Patent for the Hawkshead Free Grammar School, which are dated April 10, 1585, are still preserved at the School, as also are the Statutes drawn up by the Archbishop for the management of the School, dated 1st April, 1588. Complete copies of both of these...are given in Mr. H. S. Cowper's "Hawkshead, its History, Archaeology, etc." and a copy of the Statutes was also printed in full in Abingdon's "Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Worcester," 1717 (ibid., p. 141).
In 1570, Grindal, who had served as Bishop of London, was promoted to the archbishopric of York, and Sandys was selected to fill the see of London. Later, in 1575, when Archbishop Parker died and Grindal was selected to succeed him at Canterbury, Sandys was again appointed Grindal's successor. Accordingly, he was translated to the see of York on March 8, 1576. It was while supervising the ecclesiastical activities of this see and living at the Archbishop's palace of Bishopthorpe that his youngest son, George, was born in 1578.

The following years flowed evenly for the Archbishop and his family and George was three years of age before violent troubles again threatened his father. On May, 1581, the Archbishop suddenly found himself in such circumstances that, as he later wrote in despair to Burghley,

33 Strype, Parker, I, 549; II, 7, 25.

34 Strype, Annals, II, 11, 42; and Grindal, p. 339. Sandys rose no higher in the hierarchy of the Church. Upon Grindal's death in 1583, Sandys was next in line as Archbishop of Canterbury, but he was passed over in favor of bachelor John Whitgift. One of the reasons was probably his marital status. According to Sandys, Elizabeth "winked at" marriage among the clergy, but would not "establish it by law, which is nothing else but to bastard our children." See Sandys' letter to Parker, Correspondance of Matthew Parker, p. 66; and M. M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), p. 265.
Yet cane I see no other way, how I may escape perpetual infamy, neither the church of Christ incurable wound of offence, and better a milestone about my necke, and I hurled into the sea.39

The instigator of the trouble was Sir Robert Stapleton, who, "having conceived some secret displeasure & malice against the most Rev.d Father in God Edwyne Archbp: of York, and outwardly bearing a dissembling shew & countenance of Friendship towards him,"36 plotted to stain Sandys' moral character and thereby, through blackmail, to appropriate some of the property of the see of York. Associated in this unsavory enterprise were several others: Bernard Mawd, who had served Sandys and "upon sundry great misbehaviours & abuses by him committed, was put out of his service;" Will Sisson, "an Innkeeper a man poore & of base condition, falln from some wealth wch was left him by his parents, into great need & poverty, through his own

35Lansdowne MS. 37 (Item No. 27), f. 57v (McElwain Transcription). Brief accounts of the Sandys-Stapleton affair are found in Strype, Annals, III, i, 142-58; Thomas Birch, Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, I (London: 1754), 34; and Eric St. John Brooks Sir Christopher Hatton: Queen Elizabeth’s Favourite, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1947), pp. 261-3.

wastfull & disorderly life;" Ann Sisson, his wife, "a woman of very dishonest & infamous life & conversation, trained in service before her marriage in the House of the sd: Sf. Rob: Stapleton;" and Alexander Farbie, "a poore lewde Runmagate Scot, servant to the sd: Sisson & chamberlain in his House." Together, these individuals, under the leadership of Stapleton, plotted to place the Archbishop in a compromising position in the Inn of the Sissons' in Doncaster. On a visitation of his diocese, the Archbishop planned to lodge there on the tenth of May on his way home towards York. There, it was planned:

That the sd: Ann Sisson should at midnight, when the sd: Archbishop was in his Bed on sleep, finde means to come into his Chamber, for performance whereof, she had before layd sundry ways, & there stept into his Bed & at what time they also agreed, they would be all ready to enter the Chamber, & take them together, not doubting but that being many to one, they might if they were so inforced, easily bear the world in hand, that the lewd woman had been longer with him, before their coming & was taken with him in Adultery.38

Thus was the plot prepared and executed. At the Inn the Archbishop innocently retired and was soundly asleep in his bed at midnight when he was rudely awaked with the sudden terror of Will: Sysson, who falsly pretending, that he had taken his wife in

37 Ibid., f. 148r,v.
38 Ibid., f. 148v.
Bed, offered his Dagger drawn, towards the sd: Arch-BP’s breast, & made show, that he purposed, in revenge of his surmised injury, to have offer’d him great violence: And that immediately with this occasion, Sr. Rob: Stapleton dissembling, that he came thither, as not formerly any way acquainted with ye matter, pretending that he came thither upon sending for, by the sd: Sysson, as called from his Chamber by the sd: Alexander, by the same Sysson’s appointment, putting upon him ye countenance of a singular Friend unto the ArchBp’s Chamber, as by many solemn protestations of his earnest love of the ArchBp: & singular care of his credit & of his ministry, induced the sd: ArchBp:, contrary to his earnest desire, wh then he declared to have, that this vile & slanderous Injury, offered to him by Sysson & his wife, might presently be revenged & discovered, to stay all dealing in y1 cause, untill ye morning, laying before him many perils & dangers to his name & the, credit of Religion, that might ensue, if being one against so many, he would attempt to make any stir in y1 cause, perswading him, that notwithstanding his Innocency, wth the ArchBp: earnestly protested, & he then acknowledged, It were better to stop ye mouthes of needy persons, then to bring his person name into a doubtful question, whereunto he promised his most faithfull travell & secrecy.39

Unfortunately, Sandys, but half awake and terrified at the threat, not only to his person, but to his name as well, gave in to Stapleton’s suggestions, and, in so doing, found himself in a position that was steadily to grow worse throughout the coming months. The next day he made the bitter mistake of giving money to Sisson to quiet his tongue, and further gave Stapleton a lease on certain lands.40 Once

39 Ibid., ff. 148v-149r.
40 Ibid., f. 149r.
having started such payments, however, he soon found that he could not stop. Stapleton's demands increased, and Sandys, humiliated and desperate, finally decided he must ask the assistance of his old friend Burghley. Writing from Bishopthorpe on the 19th of January, 1582/3, he complained of Stapleton's ill usage of him and asked Burghley's aid in securing punishment for the conspirators, "for monstrous hath been their treachery in Gosonage against me." "I know," he continued,

yor L. in respecte of godds Cause, in respecte of innocencie & somewhat in respecte of me, yor olde poore welwiller will not suffer theese wicked men to escape Condigne.44

Later, on February 27, after Stapleton had confessed his guilt, he wrote again to Burghley, deeply concerned that the Church should not suffer unjustly from the affair even though his innocence was proven. "I knowe," he wrote,

in what saffe state I stande, my Coscience will not accuse me, et veritas liberabit me yf they had not invented, that the strumpett should sale I solicited hir, they should haue had nothing wherewith to Colour their treachery But god dothe knowe, and my Conscience will ever recorde with me myne innocencie. Yet Canne never stande Clere in the sight of a great [sorte?] neither Canne god haue his glory, excepte as the Church hath ben publiquely offended so it may be publiquely satisfied, I knowe yor L. as well for the zeale you haue to god, as also for the love you beare to Justice

44Lansdowne MS. 37 (Item No. 15), f. 32r (McElwain Transcription).
will see this vile treachery openly punished and stowtly finishe that with you have stowtly begun. The Cause is godds, the praise will be your, and I most bounde ever to praise for you.42

Burghley succeeded, for the conspirators were examined before the Star-Chamber and confessed openly their guilt. Later, Stapleton was confined to the Tower for his part in the crime, thus writing finis to what the Archbishop was ever afterwards to refer to as the great trouble of his life.43

That the Archbishop was no mean father to his sons is evident from the difficulties that arose from his generosity in providing for them in 1586. Since he had no land to leave his children, he had granted them various leases in reversion, only to have the Dean of York, Matthew Hutton, accuse him of abusing the preferments of the Church. The two men had recently quarreled bitterly over the legality

42Lansdowne MS. 37 (Item No. 24), f. 52r (McElwain Transcription).

43For additional material on the plot against Sandys, see the following manuscript items: Letter from Sandys to Elizabeth, dated February 28, 1582/3, Lansdowne MS. 37 (Item No. 25), f. 54r-v; Letter from Sandys to Burghley, dated March 23, 1582/3, Lansdowne MS. 37 (Item No. 27), ff. 57r-v, 58v; Letter from Sandys to Burghley, dated August 2, 1583, Lansdowne MS. 38 (Item No. 77 (1)), f. 190r; Letter from Sandys to Burghley, dated August 17, 1583, Lansdowne MS. 38 (Item No. 78), ff. 194r, 195v; "Interrogatoryes for Sr Robt Stapleton," dated February 10, 1582/3, Lansdowne MS. 37 (Item No. 19), ff. 41r-v, 42v; "The Archebishoppe of Yorkes awnsware to Sr Roberte Stapletons submission at the assises of Yorke," dated 1583, Lansdowne MS. 38 (Item No. 76), ff. 188r-189v; and (cont)
of usury, with Hutton defending it as lawful, and the Archbishop felt, and justly so, that Hutton's accusation had a personal bias. In a long letter to Burghley, written from Huntingdon on May 22, 1586, the Archbishop sought to answer the attacks made against him by Hutton and enclosed a list of the leases in reversion he had made to his sons. "The Dean, he wrote, "spitteth out his venom still" and "there is no end to his malice." Further, he wrote, Hutton had informed her Majesty that I have given divers leases to my children in reversion, and no fine reserved thereof unto the use of the Church. This is impudent, for I hold no land of the Church, neither had the Church any for the use of the Bishopric of York. In truth, they have the Church lands, and should keep a stock in their common chest for the defence thereof. But the overplus of the revenue they put,

43 (cont) "The vnorderly behauiour of Sr Robert Stapleton, and some of his confederates, before, at, and after their submission, at the Assises, at York," dated August 2, 1583, Lansdowne MS. 38 (Item No. 77 (2)), ff. 191r-192v, 193v.

44 Sandys, History, pp. 78-80.

45 The entire letter is printed in Sandys, ibid., pp. 81-4, with spelling and punctuation modernized. "It is to be found," says Sandys, "in Baker's MSS. in the public library at Cambridge, Vol. 34."

46 Lansdowne MS. 50 (Item No. 34), ff. 74r-75v (McElwain Transcription), contains, together with Burghley's marginal notes, a list of the leases granted by the Archbishop to six of his sons: Samuel, six; Myles, five; Edwin, four; Henry, two; Thomas, two; and George, two. William, the Archbishop's fourth son by Cicely (b. 1565), had died young and is not included. Two Items concern George:

20. Item a lease of divers closes in North grange neare Rippon to George Sandes his sonne twice confirmed 14-6.4./

21. Item a lease of divers parcel of ground and closes in the manor of Muncton to George Sandes his sonne twice confirmed of an annual rent £1 13-1.4./

These respective Items were estimated to be worth £50 and £20 annually. The complete list was endorsed May, 1586. Edward Arber, ed., The Story of The Pilgrim Fathers, 1606-1623, A.D. (cont)
not in their treasury chest for the Church, but like good fellows, divided among themselves. And this is the cause of the protestation, that I may not see into the reckoning in my visitations

I grant that I gave my six sons (as I lawfully might) every one two leases in reversion. For the confirmation whereof, the Dean and Chapter had of me four pounds, in the whole forty eight pounds. I am bound in conscience to take care of my family. I have no land to leave them, as the Dean hath a great deal, and as fit for me to bestow on my children, who I trust shall not be found unworthy of such help, as upon my servants, or strangers.

The Bishopric loseth nothing by it, either is it a whit in worse case. This complaint smelleth of mere malice towards me and mine. The Dean will not remember how that my predecessor, within two months that he was translated to Canterbury, gave his kinsman and servants, and for round rums of money to himself, six score leases and estates, and even then, when they were thought not to be good in law, the Dean and Chapter confirmed four score of them, and that without stop or dislike, and I suppose gratis; he might do anything, and you see my case. I may do nothing but it shall be complained, even unto her Majesty.

Although the Archbishop seems to have had legal precedence for his actions in thus granting leases to his children, he unfortunately placed himself in a position that ethically was, at best, a moot one. Too many of his fellow bishops, Aylmer at London and Cox at Ely to name but two, seemed notoriously eager to enrich themselves and their families at the expense of their flocks, and Sandys' leasing of lands annually worth

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46 (cont) as told by Themselves, their Friends, and their Enemies (London: 1897), p. 65, prints the items concerning Samuel Sandys and Scrooby Manor.

47 Sandys, History, pp. 81-2.

48 See, for example, David Harrison, Tudor England, II, (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1953), 127; 182, Note 7;
1,750 to his sons was bound to be looked upon with dis­taste and suspicion.

In the end, however, Hutton was forced "to make a submission," and Sandys turned once again to the fulfill­ing of his ecclesiastical duties. In 1587, the Archbishop successfully resisted attempts "to alienate Southwell, and also Scrooby manor house from the see of York;" then, tired and depressed, he spent the last few troublous years of his life at his palace at Southwell. There he died on July 10, 1588, when George was ten years old, and was buried in an alabaster tomb in the north transept of Southwell Minster, Nottinghamshire. At its head is the following epitaph:

Edwinus Sandes sacrae theologiae doctor, post­quam Wigorniensem episcopatum xi. annos totidem­que tribus demptis Londinensem gessisset; 
Sboracensis sui archiepiscopatus anno xii; vitae autem lxix obiit Julii x°, anno Dom 1588....

The Archbishop's will, which was proved in 1590,

49Sandys, History, p. 84.
50 Ibid., p. 85; Strype, Annals, III, 1, 677-8.
51 See Sandys, History, pp. 85-6; a photograph of the tomb is reproduced. Ibid., between pp. 86-7. Strype, Whitgift, I, 545-8; III, 215-6, also prints the epitaph and describes the tomb.
52 Index of Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of (cont)
appointed his wife, Cicely,
to have the custody and bringing up of those three children [Thomas, Henry, and George] so long as she continued widow, and all that time to have in her hands as well their annuities granted out of the manor of Ombersley, as also all other portions, patents, leases, legacies, profits, and commodities, which they shall have, until they shall come to their full age, and be fit to receive the same themselves; and it shall fortune that she marry before that time, then the several profits and bequests to be committed to the hands of his sons, Samuel and Edwin, upon sufficient bonds by them to be given for security of the same to their three brethren.53

As a further declaration of his "fatherly good will" towards his children, that they might "continue in their hearts and minds a thankful memory of the same," he made to each of them small individual bequests. "I give," he writes,

and bequeath to George, my youngest son, besides the plate given him at his christening, one next of silver pined bowls double gilt, with a cover; a small square salt of silver, double gilt, with a cover; a gelding, and a nag; one armour; and two feather beds with furniture, at the appointment of my executrix.54

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53 Extracted from the Registry of Wills in the Consistory Court of York, dated August 1, 1587, as quoted by Henry John Todd, ed., Selections from the Metrical Paraphrases...by George Sandys (London: 1839), p. 3. Extracts of the will are also given in Collins's Peerage of England, augmented by Egerton Brydges, IX (London: 1812), 210-216; Strype, Annals, III, ii, 579-82; and Pleasants, op. cit., pp. 233-4.

54 Todd, op. cit., p. 40.
That the Archbishop was also concerned with the future of his youngest son is evident from another passage in his will, which indicates a prospective marriage settlement between George and the Archbishop's ward, Elizabeth Norton.\(^{55}\)

\(^{55}\)With the exception of The New and General Biographical Dictionary (London: 1762), X, 250-1, which states that George Sandys "was married, and had two daughters," all of Sandys' earlier biographers have ignored the question of his marriage or stated that the arrangement between George and Elizabeth Norton was never fulfilled. Joseph Hunter, however, in his Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum (BM Add. MS. 24489), III, f. 216r, states that: "Torre in his MS. says of him [Sandys] - that his father granted to him 12 January 28 Eliz. the grounds called North Grange in the Liberty of Ripon at a rent of 14.16.4 - and also that he married Mary d. of John Norton of Ripon." Hunter refers to James Torre, who wrote voluminously of the genealogy and heraldry of the Yorkshire gentry and whose work is contained in unpublished manuscript volumes, some of which are in the British Museum and others in the library of York Minster, York. Hunter's reference is to Volume V of a series of pedigrees of the English Nobility and Gentry located at York. On page 641, col. 1, is the following statement: "George Sandys Sands [sic] 6 son/ to whom his father bequeathed 1 nest of silver pinked bowles double gilt w/ a Cover a small square salt double gilt/ and on 12 Jan. 28 Eliz/ dismissed unto him for 21 years the grounds called North Grange/ in the Liberty of Rypon/Rendring Kent 14.16.4 d. p aun. Also his manner of Monkston...He marryed Mary daughter of John Norton late of Rypon Esq" (McElwain Photostat). Except that Torre errs in substituting "Mary" for "Elizabeth," his facts agree with the evidence in favor of the marriage. Recently, Fredson Powars and Richard Beale Davis, George Sandys: A Bibliographical Catalogue of Printed Editions in England to 1700 (New York: The New York Public Library, 1950), p. 3, have stated that George was married about 1596 and that the marriage was broken before 1610, but give no documentation for their statement.
"If it shall please God," he states,

that Elizabeth Norton, daughter of John Norton late of Rippon in the county of York, esquire deceased, and George Sandys, my youngest son, shall hereafter fortune to marry together, that then Thomas Spencer and Thomas Porter shall assure all such messuages, lands and tenements as John Salmon and Anne his wife did hereafter assure and convey unto the said George Sandys and Elizabeth Norton and heirs of their bodies lawfully begotten. I will that the said Elizabeth Norton be discharged of her wardship and value of her marriage which belongs to me and further I will that if said George Sandys and Elizabeth Norton do marry together then they shall have paid unto them £300. If said Elizabeth Norton refuse to marry George Sandys at the age of 15 years, the said Elizabeth Norton shall pay to my executors for her wardship and marriage all the charges which I have been put to by reason of said Elizabeth in respect to her wardship. If George Sandys refuses to marry said Elizabeth before his age of 17 years then said Elizabeth shall have assured unto her all the messuages, lands and tenements by said Thomas Spencer and Thomas Porter. 56

The arrangement was also agreeable to Elizabeth's father, John Norton. His will, which was dated December 12, 1584 and was proved by his widow, Margaret, on June 10, 1585,57 a few months after his death, states:

Whereas by articles made and indented betwixt me, the said John Norton, of the one part and the most Reverend Father in God, Edwin, by permission and providence Lord Archbishop of York of the other

56(McElwain transcription).
57(McElwain transcription).
part, a marriage is agreed by the Grace of God betwixt George Sandes, one of the youngest sons of the said Lord Archbishop, and Elizabeth Norton, youngest daughter of me the said John Norton, and meaning the said marriage shall take effect do in consideration thereof give to the said George and Elizabeth, (if the said marriage take effect) and to the heirs of their two bodies lawfully begotten, and for default of such issue to the said Elizabeth and her heirs, all my lands and tenements, hereditaments, rents, reversions and services in Givendale and Sawley in the County of York, and if the said marriage break in default or by reason of disliking of the said Elizabeth then I will this legacy to her for the said lands and tenements shall be void.

In consideration of the said marriage to be held and solemnized I give the said George and Elizabeth £1,000 and if the said marriage break or by default or disliking of the said Elizabeth then I give the said George £300.

To John Salmon and Ann, now his wife, all my lands in Thorpe in his occupation, and also £200. The rest of my goods I give unto Margaret, my wife, whom I make Executrix.

In the meantime, while these agreements were being made concerning his future, George continued the process of his education. He probably began his education at St. 58

58Abstract of will of John Norton, District Probate Registry, York (McElwain transcription). A caveat was entered against it on January 10, 1584/5. See the Craven Act Books, 1579-88, Exchequer Court of York (McElwain transcription). The agreement between John Norton and Archbishop Sandys is further attested to in an Inquisitions Post Mortem, dated "27 Sept. 27 Elizabeth [1585]", P.R.O., Court of Wards, Inquisitions, Vol. 21, No. 39; another copy, Chancery, Series 2, Vol. 208, No. 236; C. 142/208/236 (McElwain transcriptions). John Norton had first married Jane, daughter of Charles Morton of Bawtry, by whom he had had Anne. Later, he married again, this time to Margaret, daughter of Christopher Redshaw of Owston, by whom he had Elizabeth, the intended wife of (cont)
Peter's School in York, although there is no evidence to confirm this conjecture. At any rate, it is known that he was matriculated at St. Mary Hall, now Oriel College, Oxford, on December 5, 1589, although he apparently received no degree. Anthony à Wood suggests that George, together with his brother Henry, may have transferred to Corpus Christi College, where a third brother, Edwin, studied under Richard Hooker, but of this we have no proof. By George Sandys. See Joseph Foster, "pedigree of Norton, Baron Grantley, of Grantley Park," Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire (London: 1874), I, n.p.

York, at this time, had two schools, St. Peter's and The Archbishop Holgate Grammar School, but the records of both institutions for the end of the sixteenth century are not extant. See Angelo Raine, History of St. Peter's School: York (London: 1926), for an account of the school.


Athenae Oxonienses, III (London: 1817), cols. 97-8. Both Henry and George, writes Wood, "as I conceive, received their tuition at Corp. Ch. coll. How long George tarried, or whether he took a degree, it appears not."

Edwin matriculated at Corpus Christi in September, 1577, graduating as B.A. on October 16, 1579, M.A. on July 5, 1583, and B.C.L. on April 23, 1589 (Alumni Oxonienses, loc. cit.) According to Izaak Walton, he was expressly sent to Oxford to study under Hooker. Shortly before September, 1571, upon a meeting between his father and Bishop Jewell, Jewell had an occasion to begin a story of his Richard Hooker, and in it gave such a Character of his Learning and Manners, that though Bishop Sandys was educated in Cambridge, where he had obliged and had many Friends; yet his resolution was, that his Son Edwin should be sent to Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and by all means be Pupil to Mr. Hooker, though his Son Edwin was
October 25, 1596, however, when George was admitted to the Middle Temple, it is likely that he was either betrothed or already married to Elizabeth Norton, perhaps secretly in view of the fact that marriage for all university personnel was forbidden. At that time, he was eighteen years old, and, according to the terms of his father's will, had been forced to make a decision concerning his marriage the year before at the latest. That this marriage actually took place seems fairly certain on the basis of evidence contained in several legal documents now located in the Public Records Office in London.

In his will John Norton had left to George and Elizabeth certain lands "in Givendale and Sawley in the County of York" if their marriage was actually contracted. On June 24, 1605, an indenture was made "between Thos. Spencer of the city of York gent. and Thos. Porter of Mountneasing co.


Essex gent. on the one part and Sir Myles Sandys of the city of London knt. and George Sandys of Ripon co. York esq. on the other part. In performance of a trust imposed by Archbishop Sandys, Porter and Spencer transferred to Myles and George and the heirs of George all those three messuages, cottages, landes, tenementes and hereditamentes with their appurtenaunces in Rippon Gyvendale and Sawley in the said county of Yorke and every or any of them which late were thinheritance of John Norton sometyme of Rippon aforseid esquire deceased or whereof he dyed seized.

It seems extremely odd that Myles should have received part of this property which had been willed to George and Elizabeth by John Norton; perhaps, however, as Beatrice K. Ingalls surmises, "the amount received by Sir Myles comprised property equal in value to the expenses incurred by Elizabeth Norton's wardship."^66

Two years later, on November 26, 1607, we find the property in question again changing hands, this time from "George Sandys of London esq. and Elizabeth his wife to Cuthbert Best of Hornebye, co. York, gent. and Cuthbert Pudsey of Stapleton, co. York, gent."^67 For "a certain sum of money," transfer was made

Indenture in P.R.O., Close Roll 54/1801, 3 James I, Pt. III, m. 2d (McElwain Transcription).

Ibid.


Conveyance in P.R.O., Close Roll 54/1886, 5 James I, Pt. 9 (McElwain Transcription).
of all that capital messuage or tenement commonly called 'Greenedale' or 'Gevendale', co. York, now or late in the joint or several tenures or occupations of the said George Sandys, Elizabeth his wife, Sir Wm. Gascoigne kn.t., Wm. Norton and Wm. Calverley gentlemen, and also all those messuages or tenements with appurtenances in 'Rippon', co. York, now or late in the tenure or occupation of [Kaphe] Hutchinson or his assigns at the yearly rent of four pounds or thereabouts, and also all buildings, lands etc. appertaining to them in 'Gevendale' otherwise 'Geenedale', 'Thorpe' and 'Rippon', co. York, which premisses are now the inheritance of George and Elizabeth or one of them.

Finally, in 1608, the property transaction between George and Elizabeth and Best and Pudsey was legally completed in a feet of fine "made in the court of the Lord King at Westminster in three weeks of Holy Trinity [6 Jas. I]". For 100 sterling, George and Elizabeth gave up all legal claim, not only for themselves but for the heirs of Elizabeth as well, to the property which included:

...two messuages, one water mill, one dovecote, two gardens, two orchards, sixty acres of land, forty acres of meadow and a hundred acres of pasture with appurtenances in Geendaile alias Gevendaile and Rippon....

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68Ibid.
70Ibid.
It would seem that this final disposal of their joint property marked the beginning of a mutual separation for George and Elizabeth Sandys. From this point on, the records are strangely silent concerning Elizabeth and her whereabouts after leaving her husband. George never mentions her either in his letters or in his future literary works, nor do his contemporaries and friends. At any rate, his activities from 1610 on would have played havoc with a marriage of any sort, for in that year he left England on an extended tour, visiting France, Italy, Turkey, Egypt, and Palestine before he returned around 1612. And his later ties with the Virginia Company, both in England and in Jamestown, would have left him with little time for the fulfillment of marital obligations. Yet it would have saddened his father, for the Archbishop, in spite of his troubles and the heavy ecclesiastical duties imposed upon him, had loved his family and had constantly endeavored to make sure that, upon his death, they would be well provided for, financially and otherwise.

In 1608 Cicely Sandys, George's mother, was living at Woodham Ferrers, Essex, in a beautiful Elizabethan home called Edwin's Hall.\textsuperscript{71} Set in a broad park and surrounded

\textsuperscript{71}The house belonged to Sir Samuel Sandys, the Archbishop's eldest son, who lived at Ombersley, and permitted his widowed mother to live there with a younger brother, Henry. See Sandys, History, p. 180, note 31, and the picture of Edwin's Hall, pp. 180-81.
by two moats, it was located only a short mile from the church where Cicely was later to be buried. Cicely had moved here shortly after her husband's death, and perhaps George may have joined her and his brother Henry there after breaking up his home with Elizabeth in York.

Prior to Cicely's death on February 5, 1610/11, however, George had left home on his long trip abroad, for his mother's undated will, which contained a codicil dated January 17, 1610/11 and was proved in February of the same year, left him "£200 if he return into England." With her husband dead and her children scattered, Cicely was perhaps unduly conscious of the dangers of a lengthy trip abroad, and recorded her fears in her legacy to George. Perhaps she somehow senses that even if his journey proved a safe one, her own death might occur before she could see her son again. If so, her premonition proved well-founded, for there is no record that, once George started his "Grand Tour" in 1610, he returned before he completed it.

Seventeen years earlier, Edwin Sandys, together with George Cranmer, the Archbishop's son, had set out for

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73pleasants, op. cit., p. 234.

three years of travel through France, Italy, and Germany, and George Sandys, at thirty-two, was eager to duplicate his elder brother's adventure. There seems always to have been a close relationship between the two, and time and again George was to imitate Sir Edwin's undertakings. They later were to work actively together in the Somers Island Company and the Virginia.

Sir Edwin, Sir Samuel and George Sandys, together with their brother-in-law, Sir Anthony Aucher of Bishopsborne, who had married their sister, Margaret (Pleasants, op. cit., p. 233), were all members of the Somers Island Company; and George was registered in 1618 as owning two shares in the Pembroke Tribe, one of the large sub-divisions of land in the Bermudas. See John Henry Lefroy, Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands 1515-1685, I (London: 1877), 99, 141; Sandys' History, p. 8; Travels and Works of Captain John Smith President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England 1580-1631, ed. Edward Arber, with Biographical and Critical Introduction by A. G. Bradley, II (New ed., Edinburgh: 1910), 563; and Henry Wilkinson, The Adventures of Bermuda (London: 1933), p. 100.

George had hoped for the nomination for the Bermuda Governorship but was sacrificed in a political deal, and shortly afterwards sold out his shares in Bermuda. See The Historye of the Bermudaes or Summer Islands, ed. John Henry Lefroy (London: }
Company, and long before George completed his metrical Psalter, Sir Edwin's collection of fifty Psalms had been published.77

George began his long journey in May, 1610, arriving in Paris "hard uppon the time when that execrable murther was committed uppon the person of Henry the fourth, by an obscure varlet."78 It was a time when triumphs were interrupted by funerals: and mens minds did labour with fearfull expectations. The Princes of the Bloud discontended, the Noblesse factious: those of the Religion daily threatened, and nightly fearing a massacre. Means while a number of souldiers are drawne by small numbers into the City to confront all out-rages.79

But, in spite of such exciting events, George spent little time in France. His first major goals were Egypt and the Holy Lands, and he hurried through France and Italy toward Venice, the primary embarkation port for those countries. Departing from Venice "on the 20. August, 1610.

75 (cont) Haklyut Society, [No. 65], 1882), pp. 120, 122; Wesley Frank Craven, Dissolution of the Virginia Company: The Failure of a Colonial Experiment (New York: Oxford University Press, 1932), pp. 64-8; and Wilkinson, op. cit., p. 143.
76 See below, passim.
77 See above Introduction, I, vi.
79 Ibid.
in the Little Defence of London, he sailed through the Adriatic and arrived at Zacynthus (Zant) on September 2. From this point on, his journey took him to most of the major cities of the Middle East before circling back via Naples and Rome to its starting point at Venice.

George Sandys returned home, says Anthony a Wood, in 1612 "or after," one of the most learned and generally accomplished men of his age. Once more in England, he published in 1615 the first edition of his Relation of a Journey Begun Anno Dom. 1610, a travel book so popular that it went through nine editions in the sixty years following its first appearance. He modestly dedicated these "weak endeavours

80 Ibid.
81 Athenae Oxonienses, III, col. 99.
82 STC 21726. Entered in the Stationers' Register, "3 Julij 1615." Master Barrett. Entered for his Copy under the handes of my lord Bishoppe of LONDON and both the wardens A relation of a Journey begun anno Domini 1610 4 booke containing a description of Constantinople &c by Master SANDES....

Arber, Transcript, III, 569); 1621 (STC 21727); 1627 (STC 21728); 1632 (STC 21729); 1637 (STC 21730); 1652 (S677); 1658 (S678); 1670 (S679); and 1673 (S680). Extracts of Sandys' Relation were also reprinted in Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes, VI (Glasgow: 1905), 172-233; and John Harris, Nativantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca: Or, a Compleat Collection of Voyages and Travels, Consisting of Above Four Hundred of the Most Authentick Writers, I (London: 1705). Title-pages of the two editions in the library of Ohio State University are as follows:

dated title A/ RELATION/ of a Journey begun/ An: Dom: 1610./ FOVRE BOOKES./ Containing a description of/ the Turkish Empire, of Egypt, of the Holy Land, of/ the Remote parts of Italy, and Islands ad-/ ioyning./

(cont)
of a strong desire" to Prince Charles, saying that he had attempted to relate not only what he had seen of the present condition of the countries through which he had traveled, but also, "so farre as conueniencie might permit," had

Sandys Travels, CONTAINING AN HISTORY OF THE Original and present State of the Turkish EMPIRE: Their Laws, Government, Policy, Military Force, Courts of Justice, and Commerce: The MAHOMETAN RELIGION and CEREMONIES: A DESCRIPTION OF CONSTANTINOPLE, The Grand Signior's Seraglio, and his manner of living: ALSO, OF GREECE, With the RELIGION and CUSTOMS of the GRECIANS: OF ÄGYPT; the Antiquity, Hieroglyphicks, Rites, Customs, Discipline, and Religion of the Ägyptians: A VOYAGE On the River, NYLVS: Of Armenia, Grand Cairo, Ârhodes, the Pyramids, Colossus; the Former flourishing and present State of ALEXANDRIA: A Description of the HOLY-LAND; of the Jews, and several Sects of Christians living there; of Jerusalem, Sepulchre of Christ, Temple of Solomon; and what else either of Antiquity, or worth observation. LASTLY, ITALY described, and the Islands adjoining; as Cyprus, Crete, Malta, Sicilia, the Äolian Islands; Of Rome, Venice, Naples, Syracuse, Mesena, Ätna, Scylla, and Charybdis; and other places of Note. Illustrated with Fifty Graven Maps and Figures.


presented a brief view of their former estates, and first antiquities of those peoples and countries; thence to draw a right image of the frailties of man, the mutability of whatsoever is worldly; and assurance that as there is nothing unchangeable saving God, so nothing stable but by his grace and protection.

Provided with beautifully engraved copperplate illustrations, the book "was at once conventional and unique." In addition to its outstanding illustrations, the book contained numerous classical quotations, especially from the Latin poets, which George had skillfully translated almost without exception into decasyllabic couplets, and inserted in appropriate spots in his text. It is interesting to note that the sections of Ovid which he prints here are translated with little variation in his later entire version of that poet's *Metamorphoses.*

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84 Ingalls, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
85 For example, quotations are given from: Appian, Borgius, Cicero, Donatus, Francisculus, Eustatius, Flaminius, Homer, Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Martial, Ovid, Petronius, Seneca, and Vergil. Sandys' sources for his Relation are almost unending. In addition to the above, he quotes from: Alciatus, Altius, Avicenna, Cassiodorus, Dionysius, Dictys, Euripides, Josephus, Leo Africanus, Lucretius, Mantuanus, Menander, Plutarch, Pope John XXII, St. Jerome, Julius Caesar Scaliger, and Vives. See Esmond S. De Beer, "George Sandys' Account of Campania," *Library, 4th ser.*, XVII (March, 1937), 458-65, for a discussion of Sandys' sources and how he used them.
Thomas Fuller especially liked those sections of the book dealing with the Holy Lands and wrote:

He proved a most accomplished gentleman, and an observant traveller, who went so far as the Sepulchre at Jerusalem; and hath spared other men's pains in going thither by bringing the Holy Land home to them, so lively is his description thereof, with his passage thither and return thence. ⁸⁷

And Milton, too, was later to be struck with reading Sandys' description of the Holy Sepulchre, and to have caught sympathetically Sandys' sudden impulse to break forth into a devout song at the awful and inspiring spectacle. ⁸⁸

This hymn of Sandys', written on the occasion, was one of the few original poems that he composed during his lifetime.

Standing before the Holy Sepulchre, he wrote:

It is a frozen zeale that will not be warmed with the sight thereof. And, 0 that I could retaine the effects that it wrought, with an unfaunting perseverance! who then did dictate this hymne to my Redeemer:

Saviour of mankind, Man, Emanuel:
Who sinlesse died for sinne, who vanquisht hell:
The first fruite of the graue, Whose life did glue
Light to our darknesse: in whose death we liue. 0 strengthen thou my faith, correct my will,
That mine may thine obey: protect me still.

⁸⁷ Thomas Warton, as quoted in Sandys' Poetical Works, I, xxiv.

So that the latter death may not devour
My soul seal'd with thy seal. So in the hour
When thou, whose body sanctified this tomb,
Unjustly judg'd, a glorious judge shalt come
to judge the world with justice; by that sign
I may be known, and entertained for thine. 89

On the whole, the prose of the book was polished and balanced, and equalled the high level of the poetical translations it contained. There is no question that Sandys, in an age in which such works were often commonplace and mundane, produced one of the most intelligent and cultivated travel books of his time.

Meanwhile, George Sandys, together with his brother Sir Edwin, had begun to take an active interest in English colonization, an interest that was to continue throughout the greater part of both their lives. As early as March 19, 1607, Sir Edwin had been appointed a member of the Council of the Virginia Company, 90 and he had worked closely with...

Mine eye hath found that sad sepulchral rock
That was the Casket of Heav'ns richest store,
And here though grief my feeble hands up lock,
Yet on the softened Quarry would I score
My plaining vers as lively as before;
For sure so well instructed are my tears,
That they would fitly fall in order'd Characters.

90 On that date, James "issued an Ordinance and Constitution enlarging the number of the King's Council of Virginia, 'and augmenting their authority, for the better directing and ordering of such things as shall concern the two several Colonies,'" and Sir Edwin's name appears on the list of additional councilors. See Alexander Brown, The First Republic in America (Boston and New York: 1898), p. 114.
the Company in that capacity and later as an assistant to Sir Thomas Smith, the Treasurer, until his own appointment to the Treasureship on April 28, 1619. Under Sir Edwin, Sir George Yeardley was sent to replace Samuel Argall as Governor of the Colony and an assembly of burgesses was summoned on July 30, 1619, to meet in the Church at Jamestown. Often called the first representative assembly to be called in America, it consisted of various representatives from such boroughs as James City, Elizabeth City, and Henricus, and its overall structure was modeled on the English House of Commons.

Unfortunately, such activities did not find favor in the hostile eyes of the king. Constantly aiming at absolute monarchy throughout the years of his reign, James I understandably saw in the representative assembly in Virginia a threat to his authority. Threatened, therefore, on one hand by a hostile Parliament that seemed constantly to grow more odious, and on the other by sessions in the Virginia Company that seemed to foreshadow sedition, James grew alarmed and personally opposed the reelection of Sir Edwin as Treasurer of the

91 Ibid., pp. 242-332.
Company in London in 1620. "Choose the devil if you like," he cried, "but not Sir Edwin Sandys!" Pretending that he was unwilling to infringe upon the rights of the Company, he suggested that the Company vote on four names proposed by himself, thus giving the affair at least the appearance of an open election. Unfortunately, the names he proposed were all members of the Court party and unsatisfactory to the gathered members of the Company. At this point, Sir Edwin withdrew his name and the motion was made that the King nominate two persons and the Company a third. The motion was carried, the Company nominated Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, and, with a roar, elected him, bringing the matter to a close. As was natural, James was furious, especially since Southampton and Sir Edwin were close friends, and the affair did little to alleviate the enmity between the ex-Treasurer and his king.\(^{94}\)

In the meantime, in spite of his other activities,

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\(^{93}\)Brown, *First Republic*, p. 367.

George Sandys' interest in colonial enterprise began to parallel his brother's. As early as May 23, 1609, his name had appeared in "The Second Charter to The Treasurer and Company, for Virginia," and three years later it was listed among the stockholders in the "Third Charter" of the Company, which was probably drawn up by Sir Edwin. In 1619, however, George began attending the meetings of the courts in London, and his name appears consistently among those present until late in 1621.

At a meeting of the Company court on April 12, 1621, a proposal was made that was later to change the entire course of George Sandys' life. There had been, the proposal observed, a

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95 Brown, Genesis, I, 219.
96 Ibid., II, 546.
97 For his appearances at court, see Kingsbury, I, 255 (November 3, 1619); 261 (November 15, 1619); 265 (November 17, 1619); 274 (November 22, 1619); 276 (December 1, 1619); 338 (May 11, 1620); 345 (May 17, 1620); 359 (May 23, 1620); 364 (May 31, 1620); 373 (June 26, 1620); 415 (November 13, 1620); 421 (November 15, 1620); 437 (January 29, 1620/1); 438 (January 31, 1620/1); 453 (April 30, 1621); 463 (May 2, 1621); 475 (May 12, 1621); 477 (June 11, 1621); 490 (June 13, 1621); 499 (June 25, 1621); 500 (July 2, 1621); 503 (July 10, 1621); 510 (July 12, 1621); 512 (July 16, 1621); and 521 (July 24, 1621).
great neglect and remissenes in the Government of Virginia, from time to time (to the infinite prejudice of that Plantation) in that they have not duly performed those direccons, which have from hence been commended, to their care and execution, whereby little or nothing hath been effected, answerable to the great care and charge the Company have been at for planting good and staple Commodities in that Country, to the great scandal of the government there, and no less discouragement of the Adventurers here.

Accordingly, in order to rectify these conditions, it was moved that for reformation hereof such an officer may be chosen, to be sent thither, who might in the qualitie of a Treasurer not only to take into his particular charge the rents and duties of what kind soever, belonging to the Company here (there being at this instant above 1000l. due unto them) but also take into his special regard and care (as principally recommended to his peculiar Charge onely and for which a good Account wilbe expected) to see those direccons and commandements with which he shall receive from hence, duly and faithfully executed from time to time or otherwise to render a sufficient reason to the Contrary whereby the Company hereafter may be better informed and satisfied in the proceed of their busines and affairs in Virginia.

This motion being greatly applauded as being of "the greatest consequence,"

It pleased my Lo: of Southampton to propose a gentleman, well knowne unto them all, as a man very fitt to take that charge upon him namely Mr George Sandys who indeed was generally so well reputed of, for his approved fidelity sufficiency and integrity: as they conceaved a fitt man could not be chosen for that place and thereupon agreed to his eleccon; referring him to the former
Committees to be further treated and concluded with concerning the same.

Accordingly, the matter was taken into consideration, and a few weeks later, on May 2, 1621, George Sandys, being nominated for the place of Treasurer and accordingly balloted was with like consent (save of 3 balls only) chosen and confirmed to be Treasurer.

On July 25, a letter was sent from the Treasurer and Council in England to the Council in Virginia, confirming his election and giving him authority
to see and cause all orders concerning staple commodities to be put in execution.

His authority as Treasurer was also set out in greater detail in the list of instructions later carried to the Colony by Sir Francis Wyatt. Addressed to the Governor and Council in Virginia, these instructions specifically requested that upon all such occasions wherein the said master shall have occasion to be employed, you give him all such countenance, help and power in the execution thereof, as you would do to the Governor himself if he were personally present. And that provision be made for convenient transporting him from place upon all those occasions...

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99 Kingsbury, I, 450.
100 Ibid., I, 468.
101 Ibid., III, 485.
102 Sir Francis, who had married Margaret, daughter of George's eldest brother, Sir Samuel Sandys, in 1618, was elected resident governor of Virginia on January 31, 1620/1 (ibid., I, 440). He was to replace Sir George Yeardley, whose three-year term expired in November, 1621. See Abstract of the Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London, 1619-1624, ed. Conway Robinson and R. A. Brock (Richmond: 1888), 127.
103 Kingsbury, III, 472.
Financially and land-wise, the endowments of the office of resident Treasurer in Virginia were generous. Earlier in the year, at the preparative court of April 30, the allowance "for ye maintenance of ye place of Treasurer" had been set up as follows:

And for the maintenance of the said Treasurer, the said Comitties have likewise allotted 1500: acres of land perpetually to his office, and 50: men to be placed therevpon, in the quality of Teñante, whereof 25 to be sent this yeare, to accompany the person of the said Treasurer, and the other 25: the next yeare following: who is also to have the passage of his owne family (not exceeding the number of 10: psons) to be transported at the Comp's charges: And toward furnishinge of himsellfe for the voiage, according to former Presidente in the like nature, they thought fitt to allowe 15011.104

Thus, by patent105 and order of the Court, George Sandys received 1,500 acres of land, 300 acres of which were located in the territory of Tappahama, "being on the other side of the river opposite agt. James Cityt."106 This land, together "wth all rights and priviledges of hunting fishing and fowling," was assigned to

\[\text{Georg Sandys his said heires or assignes for ever in as large and ample manner to all intents and purposes as is expressed in the said great}\]

104\textit{Ibid.}, I, 454.
105See the following patents certified "By the Governor and Capt. Generll. of Virginia," which are now located at the State Land Office, Richmond, Virginia: Patent Book No. 1, pp. 12-13, 16; Patent Book No. 2, p. 207; Old Patent Book No. 4, p. 316; and Patent Book No. 8, pp. 125-27 (McElwain Transcriptions).
As the fall of 1621 approached, George Sandys was in London busily engaged in making plans to sail on the George for Jamestown. This 150-ton vessel, under the direction of William Ewens, master, was to carry some of the Company's most prominent new officials. Sir Francis Wyatt's brother, Hawte Wyatt, had been appointed the new minister for Jamestown and was sailing on the George, together with Christopher Davison, the son of Elizabeth's secretary, who was to succeed John Pory as Secretary to the Colony. Also assigned the George were John Scott, who was to serve as "physician Generall" to the Company in Virginia, and William Claiborne, who was being sent to make a map of the country and to survey the Colony's lands.

Together with eight of the numerous servants assigned to him, George Sandys finally boarded his ship, and

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107 Ibid., p. 16.
109 See The Original Lists of Persons of Quality; Emigrants; Religious Exiles; Political Rebels; Serving
the George, probably in consort with the Charles, departed from England sometime in the early autumn of 1621. Coming by the shorter and more direct northern route, the George reached Jamestown about October, bringing one hundred twenty persons to the New World. There was only one casualty on the way and one birth, but the supplies that the ship carried arrived in far worse condition than its human

110 (cont.)

Men Sold for a Term of Years; Apprentices; Children Stolen; Maidens Pressed; and Others Who Went from Great Britain to the American Plantations 1600-1700. With Their Ages, the Localities Where They Formerly Lived in the Mother Country, the Names of the Ships in Which They Embarked, and Other Interesting Particulars. From MSS. Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office, England, ed. John Camden Hotten (New York: G. A. Baker & Co., Inc., 1931), pp. 234-5; and Edward D. Neill, Virginia Carolorum; The Colony Under the Rule of Charles the First and Second A.D. 1635-1685, Based Upon Manuscripts and Documents of the Period (Albany, N.Y.: 1886), pp. 17-8, for lists of servants assigned to George Sandys. Under the "Muster of m'Georg Sand's, Esquire," the following names appear as having come in the George, 1621: Martin Turner, George Bailife, John Sparks, John Dancy, John Edwards, Nicholas Thompson, Rosamus Carter, and John Stone, a boy.

111 Brown, First Republic, p. 427.
112 Kingsbury, III, 639, states that the ship sailed in July, but Brown, First Republic, p. 427, suggests August 7 or 8.
113 Kingsbury, I, 506; III, 465.
115 "Newes from Virginia in Letters sent thence 1621. partly published by the Company," in Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells By Englishmen and others by Samuel Purchas, E.D. XIX, (Glasgow: 1906), 149.
passengers. The supplies of corn were so "badly conditioned" that even the Colony hogs would not touch them.\footnote{116}{The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, & the Summer Isles,\textit{ loc. cit.}}

Before he set sail for America in the autumn of 1621, however, George Sandys had begun and completed a translation of the first five books of Ovid's \textit{Metamorphoses}. Composed in English decasyllabic couplets, the work was published that same year, appearing, evidently, in three separate issues.\footnote{117}{See Bowers and Davis, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 26-7. The title page of the second issue, which is not listed in the STC, is as follows: THE First Five Bookes of Ovids Metamorphosis/ edit 2d:/ Imprinted for W; B;/1621. There is no known copy of the first issue. A copy presumed to be a third issue was recently discovered in England in Winchester, England, with the plate dated 1622. On April 27, 1621, "OVIDS Metamorphosis translated into English verse by MASTER GEORGE SANDES" was entered in the Stationers' Register to Matthew Lownes and William Barrett. See A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640 A.D., ed. Edward Arber \textit{IV} (London: 1877), 53. For a discussion of the bibliographical problems involved in this first edition of Sandys' translation of Ovid, see J. G. McManaway, "The First Five Bookes of Ovids Metamorphosis (1621) Englished by Master George Sandys," \textit{Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Virginia}, I (1948-1949), 69-82; and Richard Beale Davis, "Early Editions of George Sandys's 'Ovid': The Circumstances of Production," \textit{Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America}, XXXV (1941), 255-76.} Michael Drayton greatly admired the poet's translation and, in a poetical epistle addressed to Sandys soon after the latter's departure for the New World, urged him to continue his work:
And (worthy GEORGE) by industry and use,
Let's see what lines Virginia will produce;
Goe on with OVID, as you have begunne,
With the first five Bookes; let your numbers run
Glib as the former, so shall it live long,
And doe much honour to the English tongue:
Intice the Muses thither to repair,
Intreat them gently, trayne them to that ayre....

If you vouchsafe rescription, stuffe your quill
With naturall boutyes, and your skill,
In the description of the place, that I,
May become learned in the soyle thereby;
Of noble Wyats health, and let me heare,
The Governour; and how our people there,
Increase and labour, what supplyes are sent,
Which I confessse shall give me much content;
But you may save your labour if you please,
To write to me ought of your Savages
As savage slaves be in great Britaine here,
As any one that you can show me there.
And though for this, Ile say I doe not thirst,
Yet I shall like it well to be the first,
Whose numbers hence into Virginia flew.
So (noble Sandis) for this time adue

That Sandys continued his translation of Ovid aboard the
George is evident from a letter written later to his friend
Sir Samuel Wrote in London:

Yet amongst the roereing of the seas, the rulseing
of the Shrowde, and Clamour of Saylers, I
translated two bookes, and will perhaps when the

118"TO MASTER GEORGE SANDYS Treasurer for the English
Colony in VIRGINIA," The Works of Michael Drayton, ed. J.
William Rebele, III (Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1932),
206-8. For the extent to which Sandys followed Drayton's
suggestions, see Richard Beale Davis, "America in George
Sandys' 'Ovid,'" WMCQHM, 3rd ser., IV (July, 1947), 297-
304.
sweltring heat of the day confines me to my Chamber give a further assays. for wch if I be taxt I haue noe other excuse but that it was the recreacon of my idle howers..."119

Once in America, however, these "idle howers" were to be severely limited, and his translation had to be sandwiched in between the supervision of his duties as resident Treasurer and the problems of his own plantation. For, being Treasurer, his duties consisted not only in accounting to the Company in England for all quitrents and other revenues, but also, as we have seen above, in executing all the Company's "orders Charters and instructions tending to the setting vpp, Encrease and maytaininge of the said Staple Comodities."120

In addition to these affairs, Sandys had purchased two hundred acres of land for himself so that the indentured servants who accompanied him might start their work at once.121 Thus, he had his own personal problems in addition to supervising the Colony's urgent need for agricultural implements, hardward for houses, arms, and clothing.

Arriving at Jamestown, Sandys found the settlements and plantations of the Virginia Colony stretching along the James River from the Falls to Point Comfort. Like

119GS-SW (March 28, 1623), Kingsbury, IV, 66.
120Ibid., III, 472.
121"Minutes of the Council and General Court--1624-1629," VMHB, XXVII (1919), 270-71.
"foolish Arcadians," the people were "dispersered in small familyes, farre distant one from another" and were "exposed to the pray of whosoeu9 would assaile them."\(^{122}\)

Nor would they establish their homes otherwise. As George later wrote to his brother, Sir Samuel, at Ombersley, Worcestershire,

...yet Could wee not reforme this mischeife, they hauing Pattente granted from the Court in England to plant wheresoeu9 they pleased contrarie to all order, discipline, and Example...\(^{123}\)

For several years there had been but minor skirmishes with the nearby Indians, and an unnatural quiet hung over the Colony. Though he was fresh from England and unexperienced in such affairs, George nevertheless felt the situation existing among the scattered plantations an extremely dangerous one, and saw only in the present peace a falseness that "presaged ruyne."\(^{124}\)

For nearly six months the Indians intermingled with the planters, bringing them much needed food and selling other provisions, quietly traveling up and down the James River and visiting the various plantations. Then swiftly and without warning disaster struck the Colony in March of 1621/2.\(^{125}\)

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\(^{122}\) GS-SS (March 30, 1623), Kingsbury, IV, 73.

\(^{123}\) Ibid.

\(^{124}\) Ibid.

\(^{125}\) For accounts of the massacre, see Edward Waterhouse's A Declaration of the State of the Colony and...a Relation of... (cont)
On the morning of Good Friday, March 22, the Indians swept through the outlying plantations and massacred in a single day over 347 men, women, and children. Only the larger settlement at Jamestown, warned in time by a friendly Indian, was spared, and all that day terrified survivors sought shelter in that one place of safety.

Immediately George Sandys and the few survivors went into action. Though their forces were weak, they rapidly "Chased the Indians from their abode, burnt their houses," and, confiscating their corn, slew "not a few." Later, in an anonymous black letter ballad printed in London in 1623, the story of the massacre and George Sandys' part in it was retold, more or less accurately, in a series of doggerel verses:

No English heart, but heard with grieve,  
The massacre here done:  
And how by savage trecheries,  
Full many a mother's sonne:  
But God that gave them power and leave,  
Their cruelties to use,  
Hath given them up into our hands,  
Who English did abuse.

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125 (cont.) the Barbarous Massacre... (London: 1622), reprinted in Kingsbury, III, 541-79; and Brown, First Republic, pp. 465-75.
126 See Brown, ibid., p. 467; and Kingsbury, II, 571, 612.
127 Kingsbury, III, 555, 673. There are conflicting accounts of the manner in which Jamestown was warned.
128 GS-SS, Kingsbury, IV, 74. Cf. GS-MS (March 30, 1623), ibid., IV, 71, where George complains that the Indians were "as swift as Roebucks and not to bee destroyed but by surprize or famine."
For many reasons long, we lay, 
and no revenge did take, 
Till noble Wiat Gouernour, 
caus'd all the Counsell make 
A firme decree, that worthy men 
should venture to oppose, 
In lust revenge to try their force, 
against these heathen foes.

Bold worthy Sir George Yardly 
commander cheife was made: 
Cause fourteen yeares, and more he hath, 
within this Country staid. 
Against the King Opukingunow, 
against this savage foes: 
Did he with many an English heart, 
for lust revenge thus goe.

Stout Master George Sands upon a night 
did brauely venture forth; 
And mong'st the savage murtherers, 
did forme a deed of worth. 
For finding many by a fire, 
to death their lives they pay: 
Set fire of a Towne of theirs, 
and brauely came away.

From James his Towne, wel shipt and stord 
with men and victualle store: 
Up Nan-Somond river did they saile, 
long ere they came to shore. 
Who landing slew those enemies, 
that massacred our men: 
Took prisoners, corne, & burnt their townes 
and came aboard agen.129

Finally, the Indian chief, Opechancano, sued for peace and 
offered "a restitution of his Prisoners: for whose sakes," 
wrote George, "wee seeme to bee inclinable thereunto, and

129 Good Newes from Virginia, Sent from James his Towne this present Moneth of March, 1623 by a Gentleman in that Country. To the Tune of, All those that be good fellows," reprinted in WMCQHM, 3rd ser., VI (July, 1943), 351-5.
will trie if wee can make them as secure as wee were that
wee may following their Example in destroying them."130

Personally, George suffered little from the massacre
although the almost constant sickness in the Colony had
taken more than a few of his servants. "Although in parti-
culer I haue not suffred much by the Indians," he wrote,

yet haue I lost by sicknew 23 men of my small
Nomber to the greate diminucon of my meanes, and
impaiire of my last yeares profit, and had I
not hired in good time the sixth part of a ship
(wch Cost me above 140 for my share) I and the
rest of my men bad ha- rldr hardlie escaped the
perishing by famyne.131

Meanwhile in England, the Virginia Company, with an
ocean safely between them and the Indians, directed that a
new fort be built in Virginia, not inland, where it would
have protected the planters from further Indian attacks,
but at the mouth of the James River where, they felt, there
was greater danger from Spanish shipping. Accordingly,
without any advice from the Colony, the Company made contract

130 GS-SS, Kingsbury, IV, 75.
131 GS-MS (March 30, 1623), ibid., IV, 71. In another
letter, GS-JP (1)(March 1622/3), Ibid., IV, 25, he writes
of "haueinge lost 19 by sickenes & 4 by y6 Indians."
with Captain Each, the master of the Abigail, to build such a fort at the expense of the planters.\textsuperscript{132} "least wee should growe too rich," as George, who saw no virtue in the scheme at all, bitterly remarked.\textsuperscript{133} Even the designated location was an unfortunate one. As George wrote to his brother, they were charged by the Company

to build a fort in the Sea (I might have said a Castle in the aire) on a shole of oyster shells everie tide overflowne, and at lowe water with eu9ie wynd washt over by the surges; where when you have pierced the vpper Crust, ther is for manie speares lengths no bottome to bee found.\textsuperscript{134}

Fortunately, "The Captaine dyed, to save his Credit, soone after,"\textsuperscript{135} and George wrote:

\begin{quote}
We are now of our selves about to erect a ffort in as advantagious place as the other, but vpon a solid founda\textc{c}on.\textsuperscript{136}
\end{quote}

In the months immediately following the massacre, the Council in Virginia tentatively thought of finding a more suitable site than Jamestown for a new chief settlement, and sent several of their number across the Chesapeake Bay to Accomac on the Eastern Shore to determine its suitability.\textsuperscript{132, 133, 134, 135, 136}
Appraised of their favorable findings, George wrote to the Company in London suggesting the possibility of such a move, only to find to his amazement and indignation that the Company considered his actions "treason against God and man for wch wee deserve to bee hanged." Indeed I writt home," he confessed later to his brother Samuel, of such a proposicon and named the Proposer with his Argumente ' which were hotlie mantayned by others, (and no question but that place had beene better, at the first, to have seated on, in regard of fertilitie, Convenience, all sorts of provision and strength both against the Native and fforeiner) yet theis were refuted by vs in pointe of Reputation, being beside, as wee alledged, an intollerable presumption for us to attempt such a Change without your Consent... At any rate, he had learned his lesson. "I wilbe more warie," he says, "hereafter what I write." 

Unfortunately for all concerned, too great a distance lay between the officials of the Company in London and the Council members in Virginia, and the difficulty remained that neither side was ever sufficiently informed of the

137 Ibid., IV, 74.
138 Ibid., IV, 73-4.
139 GS-SW, Ibid., IV, 67. Samuel Wrote was, for many years, an active member of the Virginia Company in London. Although he worked in opposition to the Sandys' faction in the Company, he evidently remained a personal friend of George Sandys. See Brown, Genesis of the United States, II, 1063; Brown, First Republic, passim; Craven, op. cit., pp. 237-8; and Kingsbury, I-IV, passim.
problems confronting the other. "I would to God," wrote George to Wrote,

that some one of Judgment and integritie whom you trusted might be sent our to give you a true Information of our proceeding, and the State of this Country. If then it be found that Wee are faultie let the Censure and punishment light upon the ill deserver: for my owne part I will desire no favour. But if our want of means haue frustrated your hopes, or the hand of God, by extreme sickness, and unheard of mortalitie hath prevented our Indevours, or if we haue beene inforced by some of you Instructions to goe Contrarie to of Judgment,

What the Company was not aware of was that the situation in the Colony was more than desperate. Provisions were almost non-existent; the massacre had wiped out the lives of hundreds; and a "general sickness" was raging from one end of the Colony to the other. "Wee haue lost I beleive few lesse then 500," wrote George, "and not manie of the rest that haue not knockt at the doores of death." Even George, himself, had been critically ill and close to death. "I am almost ashamed," he apologized in his letter to Wrote,

that I haue left ire unanswered thus longe: but a bodie languishinge, well nigh unto death, and a mynd distracted and broken with ill successes here, and hard Censures at home haue disabled me from all dutyes but those wich necessitie inforceth. But now I thanke God, I haue recovered my health, and a little cured my thoughts with the balme of my

140 Ibid, IV, 65.
141 GS-SS, Ibid. IV, 74.
Innocencie resolving to strive against thes Torrente of difficultyes till I passe them over, or bee Constant swallowed vp by them: rather in that I wilbe Constant to my Course, then out of anie hope to gains reputacon or satisfie your Concepcions.

At least, he continued, the Colony had derived some benefit from the previous massacre, small though it might be, for the Planters had learned to draw themselves

into a narrower Circuite, whereby the people might hae beene better gou9ned, and lived with more Comfort and securitie, publique Charges more easilie defraied, forces raised with lesse difficultie, and hazard to the Remaynder...

Subsequently, framed houses gradually replaced the earlier log-cabins,

Orchards [were] planted, and grounde impaile for the keeping of Cattle, staple Comodities the better advanced, strength, beautie pleasure, riches and reputacon added forthwith to the Collonie...

Perhaps, he wrote, if God should spare his life,

I will write a particuler discourse of this Countrie, the hindrances to the Plantaçon and waies to advance it, with an answeare vnto calumnny...

In the meantime, however, he hoped, when time allowed, to continue his translation of Ovid. Answering an inquiry of Wrote's concerning his work, he wrote:

If I could be proud yo² Censure had so made me for that slothful worke wch I was ashamed to

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142 GS-SW, ibid., IV, 64.
143 GS-SW, ibid., IV, 64.
144 ibid.
145 ibid.
ffather. notwithstanding it begat a desire to
proceed: but heare my owne Author.

----- nec plura sinit tempus; pudorq;
Dicere maius opus magni certaminis urget. 146

But for the present, no time was to be allowed.

December, 1622, saw a new "pestilence," as was "never
known before in Virginia," brought into the Colony by the
long-awaited Abigail. 147 Instead of desperately needed
supplies, the ship brought little except sickness, death,

146 Ibid. Sandys quotes from Ovid, Metamorphoses. See
the Loeb Classical Library edition, translated by Frank J.
Sandys translates the lines in his own Ovid (London: 1932),
sigs. ΗΗΗΗ-ΗΗΗ, as follows:
But time, and modesty his courtship stay
By a more pressing action call'd away.

147 GS-JF (1) (March, 1622/23), Kingsbury, IV, 25.
John Ferrar and his brother, Nicholas, were both directly
connected with the Virginia Company, John serving as Deputy
Treasurer from April 28, 1619, to May 22, 1622, and Nicholas
succeeding him in that position from May 22, 1622, to July,
1624. For details concerning their relationship to the
Company and additional biographical information, see:
Brown, Genesis, II, 890-1; Brown, First Republic, passim;
Kingsbury, I-IV, passim; Henry Collett, Little Gidding and
its Founder: An Account of the Religious Community Established
by Nicholas Ferrar in the XVIIth Century (London: 1925);
Alan Lawson Maycock, Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding
(London: S.P.C.K., 1938); Nicholas Ferrar. Two Lives By
His Brother John and By Doctor Jebb, ed. J. E. B. Mayor
(Cambridge: 1855); and the D.N.B. The Ferrar Papers at
Magdalene College, Cambridge, also contain hundreds of
items relating to the Ferrar family and the Virginia
Company.
and a hole full of foul "stinkinge bere," which had been supplied by a member of the Company called Duppa. Aboard was Lady Margaret Wyatt, George's niece, who wrote concerning her wretched trip from England:

...there neuer came Shipp so full to Virginia as ours. I had not so much as my Cabin free to my selfe. The stench was sickening and the Abigail "so pestered with people & goodes...full of infection that, after a while we saw little but throwing folkes over board." Brought ashore, the contagion spread throughout the Colony with such swiftness that George bitterly cried out for revenge. "Hang that villaine Dupper," he begged to Samuel Wrote in London, for his spoiled beer "in my conscience hath beene th[e] death of 200." To make matters worse, most of the few precious provisions sent over on the Abigail were lost through the stupidity of the Company purser, "a man without wit, or out of wittes," who threw the supplies in his charge.

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148 GS-JF (1), loc. cit., Cf. GS-SW, ibid., IV, 65; GS-JF (2) (April 8, 1623), ibid., IV, 109; and letter to the Virginia Company in London from the Council in Virginia, April 4, 1623, ibid., IV, 100.
149 Lady Margaret's letter to her sister, April 4, 1623, ibid., IV, 232.
150 Ibid.
151 GS-SW, ibid., IV, 65.
152 GS-JF (2), ibid., IV, 109.
Upon the shore scarce above the high water mark, without the informing of any, or setting any to guard them.¹⁵³

Even in the midst of such troubles, however, George Sandys' mind was such that it carried him beyond the difficulties of the moment. Burdened as he was by his duties in the Colony, he still found time to listen to reports from the Indians and dream of leading an expedition in search of a Northwest Passage. "Great are the likelyhoods," he wrote,

of the vicinity of the South Sea by a general report of the Indians: the mountaines being, as they say, not past 4 days journey above the falls, they two days over, & rivers on the other side there into of no great length.¹⁵⁴

If furnished with the proper means, he continued,

I would willingly venture my life in that discovery. but we want a general purse, provisions, & numbers of men for such an attempt: which requires a general purse, & patient expectancy of profit. And indeed these slow supplies, which hardly rebuild every yeare the decayes of the former, retaine vs onely in a languishing state, & curb vs from the carrying of enterprise of moment.¹⁵⁵

But the "general purse" never materialized and George turned his attention instead to such pressing realities as the cultivation of silkworms and vineyards, the manufacture of

¹⁵³Ibid.
¹⁵⁴Ibid.
¹⁵⁵Ibid., IV, 109-10.
iron, and the development of the Colony's glass works and water mill.

When the Court and Council were in session, as Treasurer George was naturally in Jamestown; but it is evident from his letters that his plantation was at Newport News, and that he occasionally stayed at the home of William Pierce, in 1623 the Governor of Jamestown, and a man, according to George, not "inferior to any." The two men were close friends and George, not a man given to indiscriminate commendation, had nothing but praise for him. He was, he wrote John Ferrar in London, an expert in the Countrie, who refuses no labour, nor stick at anie expences, that may advantage the publique, and of a Capacitie that is not to bee expected in a man of his breedinge nor wilbe euer borne....

Pierce's house was located on the James River, between Newport News and Jamestown, and Sandys considered it the fairest spot in Virginia for the purpose of raising silk-worms. Here, in the "chamber where in I ly at Lieutenant Perses," he prepared a place to raise the worms and designated four of his servants "to do nothing else" but attend them.

156GS-JF(3) (April 11, 1623), ibid., IV, 111.
157GS-JF(2), ibid., IV, 108.
158Ibid.
James I, who much preferred silk to tobacco, which was the Colony's chief export, had earlier sent worms from the royal silk farm he had set up at Oatland to the planters in Virginia, hoping thereby to gain some profit from that "rich and solid Commodity." But, in the beginning, the project had failed dismally, in spite of the fact that the Colony had great numbers of wild mulberry trees and more had been planted by the settlers. The planters, however, as George admitted with regret, showed little interest in silk culture and spent more of their time building homes and "prepareing theyr grounds" for tobacco. After the massacre, George attempted to continue the project, personally supervising part of it in his own room and requesting that two Frenchmen, "skilfull in silkewormes and planting of Vines," be sent him from the Royal Silk Establishment in England. But the silkworms continued to die and the vineyards "came to nothings," despite the combined efforts of Sandys and the French vignerons sent from England.

Nor were his other projects any more successful. Shipwrights had early been sent from England for the purpose


160GS-JF(1), Kingsbury, IV, 24.
161GS-JF(2), ibid., IV, 108.
162GS-SW, ibid., IV, 68.
163GS-JF(1), ibid., IV, 24; GS-JF(2), ibid., IV, 108.
of supplying the inhabitants of the Colony with vessels of various kinds, and had been placed under the special care of George, who had "in parte" first instigated the project. Since the massacre, however, shipbuilding, at one time "y\textsuperscript{e} best proiecte for y\textsuperscript{e} Country & most profitable for y\textsuperscript{e} Adventurers," had "fayled w\textsuperscript{th} y\textsuperscript{e} rest in this generall decay," and George in 1623 could find no one who deserved "the name of a shipwrite" to repair a wrecked pinnace that had been driven ashore at Elizabeth City.

As for the "glasse workes" at Falling Creek, which had been set up under the direction of Captain William Norton to produce "round Glasse, drinckinge Glasse, and Beads," its "ill successe" was almost equal to that experienced by the shipwrights. Even before its construction was completed, it "was blowne downe, by a tempest." Then, no sooner had it been repaired, wrote George to Ferrar, but ye Indians came vppon vs, w\textsuperscript{ch} for a while deferd ye proceedings. Then they built vp ye furnace, w\textsuperscript{ch} after one forthnight ye fire was put in, flew in peeces...

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\begin{enumerate}
\item Letter from Council in London to Governor and Council in Virginia, June 10, 1622, \textit{ibid.}, III, 650.
\item \textit{ibid.}, IV, 23.
\item \textit{ibid.}, IV, 108.
\item \textit{ibid.}, IV, 23.
\item \textit{ibid.}
\end{enumerate}
Unfortunately, the Company had unwisely sent four glass-makers from Venice to assist in the project and their choice of men was not a happy one. Rebellious and unhappy in Virginia, they did everything in their power to slow progress on the glass works, so that they would be sent back home. "A more damned crew hell never vomited," cried George in disgust after learning from the wife of one of the Italians that her husband, Vincentio, had deliberately cracked the furnace "with a crow of iron." Yet the Council's hands were tied, George complained, for they did not dare "punish theise desperat bellowes, least ye whole dessigne through their stubbornesse should pish."

Meanwhile in England the affairs of the Virginia Company of London were in no better shape than those in the Colony. Ever since James' denunciation of George's brother, Sir Edwin, in 1620, the "liberal" party which managed the affairs of the Company had been under constant attack, not only by the King but by others as well. Warwick, especially, who had a personal grievance, constantly criticized the Sandys-Southampton group of the Company for their conduct of Virginian affairs. Even Spain, watching the growth of

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169 Ibid.
170 Ibid.
the Virginia Colony with wary eye, was interested in placing in disrepute the men behind its development. Unfortunately, James, alarmed by what he considered the liberal tendencies of his far off Colony, and interested in arranging an alliance between his son and the Infanta, was only too eager to listen to the advice of Spain's wily ambassador, the Count of Gondomar. Accordingly, an investigation was ordered of the London Company in 1623; men were sent to Virginia to secure evidence and all correspondence from the Colony was watched and reported to the King.\footnote{Brown, First Republic, pp. 520-1; Craven, op. cit., pp. 214-20, passim.}

In his letters home, George had, of course, been brutally honest in his descriptions of the hardships and failures the Colony faced on every hand. Often, in despair, he had complained bitterly, although, it seems, with reason, of the manner in which the affairs of the Company were administered. By so doing, he unwittingly played straight into the hands of his brother's enemies, especially when his letters fell into the wrong hands as they often did.\footnote{Sir Nathaniel Rich, a kinsman of the Earl of Warwick, especially made use of George's letters to support the charges of mismanagement in the Company made by the Smith-Warwick faction. Abstracts of George's letters, together with those of others, were made by Rich (Kingsbury, IV, 159, 160, 161, 184-6, 216, 239) and read before a court meeting of the Company on July 1, 1623 (ibid., II, 458-9).} "Those letters of mine uncle George Sandys," Sir Francis Wyatt
complained,

I will not excuse nor qualify, al though the censures past upon him and us all, which so farre transported his penne, were bitter and provoking; their lighting into other hands then was intended, I cannot but exceedingly lament: But his reall service hath been faithfull and diligent and pity it wanted a subject, the publique being exhausted, and left greatly in debt, when it fell into his hands. The drawing of those generalities, as leveled onely at Sr Edwin Sandys differs little from wresling. By that justice would they lay upon him the burden of all supposed errors in the Government there, and in your officers here. But I doubt not the issue of their malice wil be, the rendring of his integrit and vertue the more conspicuous, which I most heartily wish, not onely for my particular obligation, but the generall cause of goodnes.173

In addition to providing ammunition against his brother and his friends, George's letters also confirmed in part a bitter attack against Colony policies written by Captain Nathaniel Butler, who had been governor of Bermuda. Also one of Warwick's men, he had visited Virginia briefly in the winter of 1622 and had published, on his return to England, a violent tirade entitled, The Unmasked Face of our Colony in Virginia, as it was in the Winter of the Yeare 1622. Subsequently, when the King's Commission returned to England with its unfavorable report in June, 1624, the

173This letter, dated approximately between October 24, 1623 and June 26, 1624, is at present among the Wyatt Manuscripts of the Earl of Romney on deposit in the British Museum. It is printed in the WMCQHM, 2nd ser., VI (April, 1926), 114-121.
charter of the London Company was revoked and the government of the Colony was assumed by the Crown.\textsuperscript{174} In spite, however, of the personal discomfiture that George must have felt at such a development, he nevertheless remained in Virginia. On August 26, 1624, upon the expiration of his tenure of office as Treasurer, he was appointed to the Council\textsuperscript{175} as he was again to be in 1626 and 1628;\textsuperscript{176} apparently, however, he worked for the Council from London after 1625.

Although it is not known definitely when George Sandys returned to England, it is likely that he left Virginia late in 1625 or early 1626. This can be conjectured on the basis of several bits of evidence. First, we have a fairly accurate gauge of his activities from around January 29, 1620 through June 25, 1625 in the various records of the Virginia Company.\textsuperscript{178} His various appearances at the meetings of the Company, his appointments to different committees, and his signature on frequent documents of the business transactions of the Company, all attest to

\textsuperscript{174}Craven, op. cit., pp. 292-336.
\textsuperscript{176}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{177}Ibid., p. 88.
\textsuperscript{178}See the references cited in Kingsbury, passim, in this section.
his connection with the Company before he departed for Virginia in 1621 and at the Council meets at Jamestown. We know he still remained in Virginia the early part of 1625 for on May 10th of that year we find his name in the Roll Call for the General Assembly. Also, in the reports on the general condition of the Colony in 1625, we find George Sandys reporting 100 barrels of corn, the largest quantity of corn reported by any one plantation for that year. Finally, we have a letter dated March 4, 1628, from "Governor West and Council to the Privy Council," an abstract of which states:

Having received their Lordship\textsuperscript{3} letters concerning George Sandys petition against themselves in reference to Certain tenants and goods belonging to the late company since November 1623, but which Sandys enjoyed during his stay in the colony, tho' his three years commission (which he refused to show), expired in Oct., 1624. Explain the grounds of their order about same. Sandys two years absence from the colony and his not purposing to return, and he himself at his going away refusing to do with it. He might have remedy if he would from Capt. Whitaker, who presently departed the country unquestioned to the great damage of those whom the moiety belonged....

\textsuperscript{179}"Documents of Sir Francis Wyatt," WMCQHM, 2nd ser., VII (April, 1927), 131.
\textsuperscript{180}Brown, First Republic, p. 626.
\textsuperscript{181}W. N. Sainsbury, "Virginia In 1628," VMHB, VII (January, 1900), 259-60. See also CSP, Colonial Series, p. 88.
Although somewhat confusing, the evidence when fitted together seems to suggest the following: that George actively participated in the affairs of the Colony in Virginia through June 25, 1625; that for some reason he refused to show his certificate upon the expiration of his three year tenure as Treasurer in October, 1624, in spite of the fact that he had been appointed to the Council two months earlier; that he refused to execute his office of Treasurer the last few months of its tenure, angry perhaps over the revocation of the Company's charter; and, on the basis of the letter of Governor West, written in 1628, which speaks of Sandys' "two years absence from the colony and his not purposing to return," that George left the Colony late in 1625 or early in 1626.

About that time, then, George Sandys returned to England, carrying with him the manuscript of his translation of the full fifteen books of Ovid's Metamorphoses. This translation, which was published in 1626, was dedicated
to Charles I, whom George admired in spite of a rather low opinion of his father. In 1628 a pirated edition of his work appeared,\(^{183}\) a condition he later remedied in 1632\(^{184}\) with the publication of a second enlarged edition, carefully revised, of his 1626 Ovid. In this edition appeared for the first time Sandys' translation in decasyllabic couplets of the first book of Vergil's *Aeneid*. As he states in his address "To the Reader," he never completed the translation:

\(^{182}\) (cont)\)

\(^{183}\)STC 18965. "10 Aprilis 1627. Thomas Lownes. Entred vnto him for his Copies by Consent of a full Court holden this day all the estate right title and Interest which Mathew Lownes his father deceased had in the Copies hereafter mentioned, saveing to every man his and everye of their rightes to anye of them. vixt...His parte of Ovids Metamorphosis" (Arber, Transcript, IV, 176). I have not seen a copy of this edition.

\(^{184}\)STC 18966. The title page: OVID'S/ METAMORPHOSIS/ ENGLISHED, MYTHOLOGIZ'D/ And/ Represented in Figures. An Essay to the Translation of VIRGIL'S AENEIS. By G.S./ IMPRINTED AT OXFORD./ By Iohn Litchfield. An. Dom. MDCXXXII./ Cum Privilgio ad imprimendum hanc Ouldij/ TRANSLATIONEM. There is a copy of this edition in the Rare Book Room of the Ohio State University Library (PA 6522* M2 S2 1632).
Divers yeares are now past since I began the translation of Virgils Enels: but finding it to heavy a burthen (my minde being also diverted from these studies) I gaue it over, even in the first entrance. Yet I have published this essay, in tender of my obedience to Soveraigne command; although with my owne inability: having faire hopes that so Great an Authority attended by my free acknowledgement, will excuse my presumption, and mitigate the severity of Censure.

Even in England, however, George Sandys' troubles with the Colonial Council continued. The year 1627 found him complaining to the Privy Council in London that four of his tenants had been taken from him, but his petition was rejected by Governor Francis West and the Colonial Council, and the Privy Council was informed that George had taken advantage of the rights of other settlers. Three years later, Charles appointed a special Commission to govern the plantations of Virginia, and George, desirous of further association with the Colony, petitioned the King for the post of Secretary to the Commission. He had spent, he said, "the ripest of his years in the public employment in Virginia," but his petition failed, and he turned, instead, to the work that was to occupy him the remaining

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years of his life—the production and supervision of his books.

Sometime, however, during these later years of his life, he probably was appointed a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and, about the same time, became acquainted with Lucius Cary, second Viscount Falkland. Sandys often stayed at the home of his niece Anne and her husband, Sir Francis Wenman, in Caswell, a short distance from Great Tew, Falkland's country home in Oxfordshire; and it is evident that Sandys and Falkland met frequently and fast became friends. Sir Francis had long enjoyed Falkland's friendship and company, and Sandys and his nephew must often have joined the great circle of friends who flocked to Great Tew to enjoy Sir Lucius Cary's hospitality. His home was located "about 12 miles from Oxford," and the company often included many of the

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188 Wood, op. cit., III, 97-103, states that Sandys in March 1645/4 was "then or lately one of the gent. of the privy chamber to K. Ch. I."


191 Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, in his Life... Written by Himself, I (Oxford: 1857), 42, wrote of Sir Francis: "He was a neighbour to the Lord Falkland, and in so entire friendship and confidence with him, that he had great authority in the society of all his friends and acquaintance." See also Weber, op. cit., pp. 75-6; and Murdock, loc. cit.
university's most prominent members. "There were," writes Clarendon,

Dr [Gilbert] Sheldon, Dr [George] Morly, Dr [Henry] Hammon, Dr [John] Earles, Mr [William] Chillingworth, and indeed all men of eminent partes and facultyes in Oxford, besides those who resorted thither from London, who all founde their lodgings ther as ready as in ther Colleges....

192 'Brief Lives,' chiefly of Contemporaries, set down by John Aubrey, between the Years 1669 & 1696, ed. Andrew Clark, I (Oxford: 1898), 151. In his life of Cary, Aubrey wrote:

My lord much lived at Tue, which is a pleasant seat...his lordship was acquainted with the best witts of that University, and his house was like a Colledge, full of learned men. Mr. William Chillingworth, of Trinity College in Oxford (afterwards D.D.), was his most intimate and beloved favourite, and was most commonly with my lord; next I may reckon (if not equal) Mr. John Earles, of Merton College (who wrote the Characters); Dr. <George> Angionby, of Ch.Ch., was also much in esteem with his lordship. His chaplain, Charles Gataker, ( filius Thomas > Gataker of Redriff, a writer), was an ingeniose young gentleman, but no writer. For learned gentlemen of the country, his acquaintance was Sir H. Rainesford, of...near Stratford-upon-Avon, now...(quaere Tom Mariet);
Sir Francis Wenman, of Caswell, in Witney parish; Mr....Sandys, the traveller and translator (who was uncle to my lady Wenman); Ben. Johnson (vide Johnsonus Virbius, where he haz verses, and 'twas his lordship, Charles Gattaker told me, that gave the name to it); Edmund Waller, esq.; Mr. Thomas Hobbes, and all the excellent of that peaceable time.

Nor did Cary know of their coming or going, nor who were in the house, till he came to dinner or supper, where all still met, otherwise there was no troublesome ceremony or constraint to forbid men to come to the house, or to make them weary of staying there; so that many came thither to study in a better air, finding all the books they could desire in his library, and all the persons together, whose company they could wish, and not find in any other society.

And an illustrious company it was. Small wonder that Sandys looked forward to visiting Great Tew where his dinner partners might be such men as Thomas Carew, Abraham Cowley, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sidney Godolphin, John Hales, Thomas Hobbes, Edward Hyde, Sir Henry Rainsford, Dr. Walter Raleigh, John Selden, Thomas Triplet, or Edmund Waller. Falkland, it would seem, was especially interested in theology and poetry, and Sandys' metrical paraphrases upon the scriptures, which he was writing at this time, greatly appealed to him as combining the two dominant interests of his life. To produce moral regeneration poetically was an excellent thing in Falkland's eyes, and though he perhaps misinterpreted Sandys' motives in paraphrasing scripture, he appreciated the end result and eagerly told Sandys so. In one of the three commendatory verses he composed for Sandys' paraphrases, he wrote:

194 Ibid.
195 Weber, op. cit., p. 82.
Who would inform his Soul, or Feast his Sense,  
And seekes or Piety, or Eloquence:  
What might with Knowledge, Vertue joy'nd inspire  
And imitate the Heat and Light of Fire:  
He, Those in These by Thee, may find embrac't,  
Or as a Poet, or a Paraphrast.196

Fortunately, said Falkland, even "the simplest" could comprehend the scriptures through the lucidity of Sandys' translation:

Such raies of the Divinitie are shed  
Throughout these Workes, and every Line o're-spread;  
That by the Streams the Spring is clearly showne,  
And the Translation makes the Author knowne.  
Nor He being knowne, remains his Sense conceal'd;  
But so by thy Illustrious Pen reveal'd,  
We see not plainer, That which gives us Sight,  
Then we see that, assisted by Thy Light.  
All seems transparent now, which seem'd perplexed,  
The inmost meaning of the darkest Text:  
So that the Simplest may their Souls assure  
What Places meane, whose Comments are obscure.197

Then, he continued:

Thy Pen next, having clear'd thy Makers will,  
Supplies our Hearts to Love, and to fulfill:  
And moves such Pietie, that her Power lays  
That Envie, which thy Eloquence doth raise.  
Even I (no yeelding matter) who till then  
Am chief of Sinners, and the worst of Men,  
(Though it be hard a Soul's Health to procure  
Unlesse the Patient doe assist the Cure:)  
Suffer a Rape by Vertue, whilst thy Lines  
Destroy my Old, and build me new Designes.198

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196 A Paraphrase Upon The Divine Poems (London: 1638), sig. 43v.
197 Ibid.
198 Ibid.
In a second commendatory verse prefixed to the same volume, Falkland wrote disparagingly that his own verses were not fit to keep Sandys' company:

Such is the Verse thou Writ'st, that who reads Thine
Can never be content to suffer Mine;
Such is the Verse I Write, that reading Thine:
I hardly can believe I have read Thine:
And wonder, that their Excellence once known,
I nor correct, nor yet conceal mine own.

Therefore, he said, when this verse was finished, his "Dying Muse" would write no more; he hoped, however, since there were those who had been taught that Death inspired Prophecy,

...when these foretell, what happy Gains
Posterity shall reap from these thy Pains:
Nor yet from these alone, but how thy Pen,
Earth-like, shall yearly give new Gifts to Men:
And Thou fresh Praise, and we fresh Good receive
(For he who Thus can write can never Leave)
How Time in them shall never force a Preach;
But they shall always Live and always Teach;
That the sole likelihood which these present,
Will from the more rais'd Soules command Assent;
And the so taught, will not Belief refuse,
To the last Accents of a Dying Muse.

Falkland's Muse was slow in dying, however; two years later, as we shall see, it was still active enough to commend Sandys for his translation of Grotius.

It is evident that it was at Falkland's home that Sandys gradually became acquainted with many of the poets

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199 Ibid., sig. *5r.
200 Ibid., sig. *5r-v.
who were later to help along his own literary endeavors by permitting him to preface them with their commendatory verses.\textsuperscript{201} And it was here, also, that Sandys came in direct contact with that group of divines who, emphasizing rationalism and tolerance in religion, were attempting at that time to establish in England a \textit{via media} of Anglicanism.\textsuperscript{202}

The subject of toleration in religion would not have been a new one to Sandys, who probably had often discussed the question with his brother Sir Edwin. Sir Edwin had been deeply distressed on his travels through the Continent at the religious bigotry he had found, not only in the centers

\textsuperscript{201}See below, section ii.

\textsuperscript{202}The best accounts of the controversy on toleration are found in William 
of the Reformers but in the Roman Catholic countries as well; and, in Paris in 1599, he had completed a manuscript containing his observations and dedicated it to Whitgift. Published first without his consent under the title, *A relation of the state of religion, and with what hopes and policies it hath beene framed and is maintained in the severall states of these westeme parts of the world* (London: 1605), it contained a quiet, rational plea for religious tolerance and understanding of all Christian creeds, and must have especially pleased his old tutor and friend at Corpus.  

This book, the STC states, p. 502, was printed without Sandys's leave, ent. to Waterson on 21 jn., and burnt on 7 nov. [1605] by order of the High Commission at Sandys's request. Says Sandys, *History*, p. 93: "A copy of the condemned edition exists in the British Museum with corrections and additions in the author's handwriting, and from this copy was published an edition at the Hague in 1629." The Hague edition (STC 21718), entitled, *Europae speculum or a view or survey of the state of religion in the westeme parts of the world. Neuer before till now published according to the Authours orignall copie, contains an end note which reads: "From Paris, ix, Aprill. 1599. Copied out by the Authors orignall, and finished 2 Octob. An m.dcxviii." See STC, ibid.
Hales and Chillingworth, above all others, were close friends of Falkland's, and, in their recognition that "non-essential doctrines should be relaxed in the interests of Christian fellowship," all three men showed an affinity with the Dutch Arminians, as represented by Hugo Grotius, and with the Socinians in Poland. Grotius' apologia, De veritate religionis Christianae (Oxford: 1639), especially De veritate religionis Christianae, is particularly noted.


Dr. Hugh Cressy told Aubrey that he had been the first to bring the works of Socinus to England; and that Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, reading them, had become the first English Socinian.

impressed Chillingworth, who included a large selection from it in his own *The religion of protestants a safe way to salvation, or an answer to a booke entitled Mercy and Truth* (London: 1638), and Falkland greatly admired Grotius, not only as a statesman and a patriot, but also as "A lofty poet and a deep Divine." 

It seems likely that George Sandys' own interest in translating Grotius' tragedy of *Christus patiens* developed from his association with Great Tew, and from the theological discussions held there between Falkland and his friends. As Falkland later wrote in his commendatory verses to Grotius, which prefixed Sandys' translation:

...a pen divine,
And differing only in the tongue from thine,
Both thy choice labours with success rehearse,
And to another world transplants thy verse,
At the same height to which before they rose,
When they forc'd wonder from unwilling foes.
Now Thames with Ganges may thy labours praise,
Which there breed faith, and here devotion raise.

No one, continued Falkland, deserved Grotius' acquaintance more than Sandys, and proceeded to enumerate Sandys'

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210 Sandys' *Poetical Works*, II, 414.
achieved.

For he [Sandys] hath seen as much as you [Grotius]
have read.
The nearer countries pass'd, his steps have press'd
The new-found world, and trod the sacred East,
Where, his brows' due, the lofty palms do rise,
Where the proud Pyramids invade the skies;
And, as all think who his rare friendship own,
Deserves no less a journey to be known.
Ulysses, if we trust the Grecian song,
Travel'd not far, but was a prisoner long,
To that by tempest forc'd; nor did his voice
Relate his fate: his travels were his choice,
And all those numerous realms, return'd again,
Anew he travel'd over with his pen,
And, Homer to himself, doth entertain
With truths more useful than his muse could fain.
Next Ovid's Transformations he translates
With so rare art, that those which he relates
Yield to this transmutation, and the change
Of men to birds and trees appears not strange.
Next the Poetic parts of Scripture on
His loom he weaves, and Job and Solomon
His pen restores with all that heavenly quire,
And shakes the dust from David's solemn lyre:
For which from all with just consent he wan
The title of the English Buchanan. 211

Commentary verses in the seventeenth century were often
artificial and conventional in their expressions of friend­
ship and praise, but there is no reason to think that
Falkland's were insincere. The younger man's admiration
for Sandys was genuine, and the continued friendship
he offered so openly seems to have been accepted gratefully
by Sandys, who had learned early that steadfastness in
man was not often to be found this side of Heaven.
211 Ibid., II, 414-5.
In 1639 George Sandys was to have one last unfortunate contact with the affairs of the Colony for which he had labored so hard and so long. In spite of the fact that the planters in Virginia on the whole seemed content to continue under royal control, a movement to restore the rights of the old Virginia Company had recently been revived in England. To combat this, the Assembly in 1639 appointed Sandys as its London agent, charging him to discourage any such attempts and to keep Jamestown informed of any activities along that line. Sandys, however, it seems, had plans of his own, and the following year proceeded to play havoc with the Assembly's best-laid schemes. Contrary to his instructions, he presented to the House of Commons a petition, purporting to have come from the planters, asking for a restoration of the Company's original rights. The Virginia Assembly, understandably bewildered, immediately sent in a sharp protest, the petition was rejected, and Sandys was angrily discharged for exceeding the authority granted him. Later, the Colony in its "Declaration against the Company" in 1641/2 assured the King that Sandys, in presenting his petition, "had mistook his instructions." 

214 Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1619-1959/9, pp. 66-9; Andrews, op. cit., I, 201, note 8; W. H. (cont)
Thoroughly chastened, Sandys retired to the home of his niece and nephew, Lady Margaret and Sir Francis Wyatt, at Boxley Abbey near Maidstone, Kent, and turned once more to the comfort of his books. Perhaps the last reference we have of him in connection with Parliament occurs in November of 1641 when he appears there as witness in behalf of Sir Francis, relative to land patents connected with the Colony in Virginia. 215 Except for the publication of Christ's Passion in 1640 216 and his final scriptural paraphrase, A Paraphrase upon The Song of Solomon, in 1641 217 and 1642, 218 his last years were uneventful. Fuller speaks of seeing him in the Savoy in 1641, "a youthful soul in a decayed body," where he had gone to listen to a popular preacher. 219 But when at home in Boxley, he spent his hours in the summer house in the garden, writing and working till the


216 STC 12397 (first issue); STC 12398 (second issue).

217 B2629a.

218 B2629b.

219 Fuller, op. cit., p. 662.
end. Shortly before his death, "he had something in divinity ready for the press," but unfortunately Lady Margaret lost it "in the warres" and later could not even remember its title. \(^{221}\) He died at Boxley on March 4, 1643/4 and was buried in the chancel of the Parish Church. There he lies, wrote Aubrey, "without any remembrance or stone—which is pitty so sweet a swan should lye so inglorious-ly."\(^{222}\)

\(^{220}\) Visiting Boxley after the poet's death, Richard Baxter saw "on the old Stone Wall in the Garden a Summer-house with this inscription in great golden Letters, that in this place Mr. G. Sandys after his Travels over the World, retired himself for his Poetry and Contemplations. And none are fitter to retire to God then such as are tired with seeing the vanities on Earth." See his Poetical Fragments (London: 1681), sig. A8r.

\(^{221}\) Aubrey, op. cit., II, 213.

Georgius Sandys, poetarum Anglorum sui saeculi facile princeps, sepultus fuit Martii 7 stylo Anglic Anno. dom. 1643

Extravagant as it may seem to us today, the above entry, which appears in the parish register of Boxley in Kent, would have been accepted with little dissent by the literary men of the seventeenth century. His contemporaries frequently grouped him with the major poets of his day and even, on occasion, ranked him above the rest. As one anonymous critic so liberally stated in the *Vindex Anglicus* (1644):

There is no sort of verse either ancient, or modern, which we are not able to equal by imitation; we have our English Virgil, Ovid, Seneca, Lucan, Juvenal, Martial, and Catullus: in the Earl of Surry, Daniel, Johnson, Spencer, Don, Shakespeare, and the glory of the rest, Sandys

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Pope, in his notes to the *Iliad*, suggested that English poetry owed much of its present beauty to Sandys and called him one of the "chief refiners of our language;"\(^4\) and Dryden in his preface to *The Fables* referred to him as "the ingenious and learned Sandys, the best versifier of the former age."\(^5\)

It was Sandys' translation of Ovid, however, that brought forth some of his greatest critical acclaim. Michael Drayton, for example, who had earlier encouraged Sandys to continue his translation, later praised him again in his verse epistle "TO MY MOST DEARELY-LOVED FRIEND HENERY REYNOLDS ESQUIRE, of Poets and Poesie":

> Then dainty Sands that hath to English done Smooth sliding Ovid, and hath made him run With so much sweetnesse and unusuall grace, As though the neatnesse of the English pace, Should tell the Jetting Lattine that it came, But slowly after, as though stiffe and lame.\(^6\)

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\(^3\)Quoted in *The Shakespeare Allusion-Book: A Collection of Allusions to Shakspere from 1591 to 1700*, Originally compiled by C. M. Ingleby, Miss L. Toulmin Smith, and Dr. F. J. Furnivall with the assistance of The New Shakspere Society: now re-ed., rev., and re-arranged with Intro. by John Munro, I (London: 1909), 494.


\(^5\)The *Works of John Dryden*, ed. Sir Walter Scott, XI (London: 1821), 206. Dryden had earlier condemned Sandys' translation for its literalness and lack of poetry. His judgment, as he readily stated, however, was based on the memory of a childhood reading (*ibid.*, XII, 56).

Pope, too, liked Sandys' Ovid "extremely," having first read it when he was "about eight years old."7 Years later he again praised it obliquely in his satirical poem, "Sandys' Ghost," which ridiculed Sir Samuel Garth's attempts to improve Sandys' translation.8 Although he never acknowledged he was indebted to Sandys, others were more emphatic in their praises. George Daniel placed him among the Sons of Ben;9 Robert Gresswell praised the smoothness of his verse;10 and an anonymous poet said that

Sands metamorphos'd so into another
We know not Sands and Ovid from each other.... 11

Another well-turned compliment appeared in a notice of Wit's Recreations. Selected from the finest Fancies of the Modern Muses (1640):

SWEET-TONGUED Ovid, though strange tales he told,
Which gods and men did act in days of old;
What various shapes for love sometimes they took,
To purchase what they aim'd at; could he look
But back upon himself, he would admire

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11Choice Drollery: Songs and Sonnets, Being a Collection Divers Excellent Pieces of Poetry, of Several Eminent Authors (1655), reprinted by Bradley and Adams, op. cit., p. 310.
The sumptuous bravery of that rich attire
Which Sandys hath clad him with; and then place this
His change amongst their Metamorphosis.12

And an anonymous poem, "TO MR. GEORGE SANDYS ON HIS PARA-
PHRASE ON THE SACRED HYMNS," praised the major corpus of
his works:

Thy travels SANDS have brought the melody
Of Israel to England; Sion's songs
Flow'd never with more music from the tongue
Of any; none was great enough for this
But thou, who so the Metamorphosis
Hath turn'd, that, should chronology decay,
Arts nephews, being well-read in them, will say,
When Naso afterwards arrives their hands.
Ovid hath well translated English SANDS.13

It is Thomas Fuller, however, who attempts to define
Sandys' peculiar talents as a translator and gives us some in-
sight into the reasons behind the extravagant praise of
his contemporaries. In his history of The Worthies of England,
he writes:

He most elegantly translated Ovid's Metamorphoses
into English verse; so that, as the soul of
Aristotle was said to have transmigrated into
Thomas Aquinas (because rendering his sense so
naturally)Ovid's genius may seem to have passed
into Master Sandys. He was a servant, but no
slave, to his subject; well knowing that a
translator is a person in free custody; custody,
being bound to give the true sense of the author
he translated; free, left at liberty to clothe
it in his own expression.

12Reprinted in Sandys' Poetical Works, I, lxxv.
13Printed from Ashmole MS. 47, No. 80, ibid., I,
lxxiii-lxxiv.
Nor can that in any degree be applied to Master Sandys, which one rather bitterly than falsely chargeth on an author, whose name I leave to the reader's conjecture:

We know thou dost well
As a translator,
But where things require
A genius and a fire,
Not kindled before by others' pains,
As often thou hast winced brains.
Indeed some men are better nurses than mothers of a poem, good only to feed and foster the fancies of others; whereas Master Sandys was altogether as dexterous at inventing as translating, and his own poems as spriteful, vigorous and masculine.14

The year following his death, George Sandys' name also appeared in a poetical parody usually attributed to George Wither.15 Entitled The Great Assises Holden in Parnassus By Apollo And His Assessours ...(London: 1645),16 it deals with a session of the greatest poets of the past, summoned as assessors by Apollo, to judge those "Malefactours" who have committed crimes against the literature of the period. Among the "Jourours" appears the name of Sandys, together with such men as Michael Drayton, Francis Beaumont, John Fletcher, Thomas Haywood, Philip Massinger, William Davenant, William Shakespeare, and Joshua Sylvester.17

15 Lyle H. Kendall, Jr., confirms this authorship in "Wither's Authorship of The Great Assises," N&Q, CXCVIII (1953), 102.
17 Ibid., sig. A2r. Sylvester was the translator of du Bartas (1590; 1592); and author of Divine Weeks and Works (London: 1620), STC 25575.
the progress of the trial, Mercurius Britannicus, one of the "Malefactours," attacks

Deserving Sands and gentle Sylvester;
To these opprobrious language hee affords,
And them Translators call'd, and men of words,
No Poets, but meer Rhymers, for (said hee)
Invention is the soule of poesie.
And who can say, that such a soule as this,
Is to bee found in their abilities?
For these are bondmen to another's stile,
And when they have bestow'd much time, and toile,
They doe but what, before, was better done
For Poemes lose by their translation,
And are deprived of that lustre brave,
Which their originals are wont to have:
Yea all the works of these Translators vaine,
Are rather labour of the hand, then braine:
Their asinine endeavours have effected,
That nobler tongues and arts are now neglected...

This seems more an attack on the art of translation, however, than a personal evaluation of the poetry of Sandys and Sylvester; and this section of the poem ends with a vindication of both men by Apollo:

Britanicus (said hee) we have too long
The language heard of thy traducing tongue,
But Sylvesters, and Sands his worth is such,
That thy reproach cannot their honour touch:
Since Kings for Majesty, and arts renown'd
Have with receptions kind, their labours crown'd.

Abraham Cowley, too, mentions Sandys in his remarks on the art of translation in his preface to his Pindarique Odes, Written in Imitation of the Stile & Manner Of The

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18 Ibid., sigs. C1v-C2r.
19 Ibid., sig. C2r.
The Ode of Pindar (London: 1668). Denouncing "exact Imitation" as "a vile and unworthy kind of Servitude," he criticizes those translators who, he says, have added nothing to their originals. "The Psalms of David," he writes,

are a great example of what I have said; all the Translators of which (even Mr. Sands himself; for in despight of popular errour, I will be bold not to except him) for this very reason, that they have not sought to supply the lost Excellencies of another Language with new ones in their own; are so far from doing honour, or at least justice to that Divine Poet, that, methinks, they revile him worse than Shimei. And Buchanan himself (though much the best of them all, and indeed a great Person) comes in my opinion no less short of David, than his Country does of Judea.20

On the other hand, William Slatyer, who believed in translating "even to the letter without much paraphrase," saw in Sandys' paraphrase an opposite extreme. In his preface to The Psalms of David (London: 1643), he excuses another metrical paraphrase as follows:

Yet considering that Master Sandis and others, and above all a royal hand [James I] had run the course before me so well and perfectly (though perhaps in some nice palats relish, more affecting fluent copiosiy, then the texts congruity, it may seem barer or lesse pleasant) that I might seem, Iliada post Homenur scribere, in that vaine I was content....21

On the whole, however, there was little critical dissention concerning Sandys' paraphrases on the Psalms

21Sigs. A2v-A3r.
and other parts of Scripture. Few of Sandys' contemporaries, especially those who knew him as a member of the literary circle which gathered about Lucius Cary at Great Tew in the 1640's, would have quarreled with Richard Baxter's lavish commendation:

But I must confess after all that next the Scripture poems, there are none so savoury to me as Mr. George Herbert's and Mr. George Sandys's... Du Bartas is seriously divine, and George Sandys 'Omne tulit punctum dum miscuit utile dulci.' His Scripture poems are an elegant and excellent Paraphrase: but especially his Job, whom he hath restored to his original glory.22

But this opinion was echoed time and again in the commendatory verses which Sandys' friends wrote for his editions of the Psalms.

Falkland's praises we have already discussed. In addition, there appeared commendatory verses by Henry King, Sidney Godolphin, Thomas Carew, Dudley Digges, Francis Wyatt, Henry Rainsford, Edmund Waller, and Wintoure Grant, all poets and courtiers, and, as we have seen, members of Falkland's literary circle. It is interesting to note that three of these men, King, Godolphin, and Carew, also attempted paraphrases of the Psalms themselves.23

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22Poetical Fragments (London: 1681), sig. A8r.
23King's paraphrases are discussed above, I, v. Godolphin's paraphrases of Psalms 114 and 137 appear in two manuscripts, in the Bodleian Library MS. Malone 13, pp. 1-2, 18-19; and in a manuscript owned by Mr. John Drinkwater, pp. 30, 33. Both manuscripts are described by (cont)
In his verse "To my much honoured Friend Mr. George Sandys," Henry King typically began by saying that Sandys' "Labours" needed "no loud Herald" to proclaim their excellence. Nor, he continued, was he writing only out of personal love for Sandys. Let it not be imagined, he writes,

that I looke

Only with Customs Eye upon your Booke;
Or in this service that 'twas my intent
T'exclude your Person from your Argument.
I shall professe, much of the Love I owe
Doth from the Root of our Extraction grow.
To which though I can little contribute;
Yet with a Naturall joy, I must impute
To our Tribes honour, what by You is done,
Worthy the Title of a Prelates Sonne.

After praising George's brother, Sir Edwin, for his Europae Speculum, and Sandys for his Relation, he continues by complimenting Sandys on the skill with which he had paraphrased the Psalms:

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Last, David (as he could his Art transferre)
Speaks like Himselfe by an Interpreter.
Your Muse, rekindled hath the Prophets Fire,
And Tun'd the Strings of his neglected Lyre;
Making the Note and Ditty so agree,
They now become a perfect Harmony.

"I must confess," he concludes,

I have long wisht to see
The Psalms reduc'd to this Conformitie:
Grieving the Songs of Sion should be sung
In Phrase not differing from a Barbarous Tongue.
As if, by Custome warranted, we may
Sing that to God, we would be loth to Say.
Farre be it from my purpose to upbraid
Their honest meaning, who first offer made
That Booke in Meter to compile, which you
Have mended in the Forme, and Built anew.25

Sidney Godolphin's verse, which followed King's, was
addressed "To my very much honoured Friend Mr. George
Sandys, upon his Paraphrase on the Poetical Parts of the
Bible."26 After praising Sandys' paraphrases of other
portions of the Bible, he concludes:

Others translate, but you the Beames collect
Of your inspired Authors, and reflect
Those heavenly Rays with new and strong effect.

25King is obviously referring to the Sternhold-Hopkins' version. In his manuscript version of this poem, the following lines, omitted in Sandys' 1638 Paraphrase, are inserted:

Nor shall the singing Sisters be content
To chant at home the Act of Parliament
Turn'd out of Reason into Rhyme by one
Free of his Trade, though not of Helicon;
Who did in his poetick zeal contend
Sternholdes edition by a worse to mend.

Hannah, Poems And Psalms By Henry King, pp. 212-13. Hannah also states, p. 213, that in the manuscript the following note is appended to these lines: "The Act of Parliament for publick Thanksgiving on the 5th of November, set by a Tune by H. Dod, a Tradesman of London, at the end of his Psalms, stole from the Presse, Anno Dom. 1620."

26Paraphrase (1638), sigs. --lr--2v.
Yet humane Language only can restore
What humane Language had impair'd before
And when that once is done, can give no more.

Sir, I forbear to add to what is said,
Least to your burnish'd Gold I bring my Lead,
And with what is Immortal, mixe the Dead.

Thomas Carew wrote "To my worthy friend Mr. George Sandys," confessing that he did not dare to press "to the Quire" or greet

The holy Place with my unhallow'd feet:
My unwash'd Muse pollutes not things Divine,
Nor mingles her prophane notes with thine;
Here, humbly at the Porch, she listening stayes,
And with glad eares sucks in they Sacred Layes.
So, devout Penitents of old were wont,
Some without doore, and some beneath the Font,
To stand and heare the Churches Liturgies,
Yet not assist the solemn Exercise.
Sufficeth her, that she a Lay-place gaine,
To trim thy Vestments, or but beare thy traine.

Dudley Digges thanks Sandys for the "new Pleasure" his paraphrases bring and points out their warmth and wit. "'Tis Guilt, not Poetry," he says,

To be like those
Whose wit in Verse, is downe-right Sin in Prose:
Whose Studies are Prophaneness, as if then
They were good Poets only, when bad Men.
But these are purer Flames, nor shall thy Heat
Because 'tis good, be therefore thought not Great.
How vainly doe they erre, who thinkes it fit
A sacred Subject should be void of Wit?
I boldly dare affirm, He never meant
We should be Dull, who bids, be Innocent.

27 Ibid., sigs. **2v-**3r.

28 "To my worthy Kinsman Mr. George Sandys, on his excellent Paraphrase upon Iob," Ibid., sig. **3r-v.
Francis Wyatt points out that Sandys' paraphrases of the Psalms polished the "wondrous beauty of th' Originall" which, hithertofore,

Had lien like Stones uncut, and Care untri'd,
Their Reall Worth the same, though scarce espi'd,
But by the skilfull Linguist; To the Most
In the darke Sense, and hard Expressions lost.
Thy Art hath Polish't them to what they were,
Unvalued Jewels for the Breast, and Eare. 29

Henry Rainsford praises Sandys' Psalms because they might bring Salvation "to those/ Who never would have sought for it in Prose;" 30 and Edmund Waller 31 and Wintoure Grant 32 conventionally bring the commendatory verses to a close.

Praise of Sandys was not, however, confined only to those members of his literary circle. Samuel Woodford, for example, also refers to Sandys in his second volume of Biblical paraphrases, A Paraphrase Upon The Canticles, And Some Select Hymns Of The New and Old Testament, With other occasional Compositions in English Verse (London: 1679). In his dedicatory epistle "TO THE Most Reverend FATHER in GOD WILLIAM, Lord ARCH-BISHOP of CANTERBURY, Primate of all ENGLAND, and Metropolitan, And one of his MAJESTIES most Honourable PRIVY COUNCIL," he writes:

29"To my honoured Kinsman Mr. George Sandys, on his admirable Paraphrases," ibid., sigs. ***3v-***4v.

30"To his worthy Friend Mr. George Sandys upon his excellent Paraphrases," ibid., sig. ***1r.

31"To his Worthy Friend Mr. George Sandys on his Sacred Poems," ibid., sig. ***1r-v. Edmund is erroneously printed as Edward.

32"To my worthy Friend Mr. George Sandys," ibid., sig. ***1v.
Were I indeed a greater Master of Verse, than the best of those, whether of our own Country-Men, or Foreigners, whose several manners I have in the following Compositions, endeavoured, to imitate, I durst not yet presume to make an humble Present of them to your Grace, unless Invited by Sacrednesse of the most noble Argument. An Argument so Sacred (as to the greatest part of the Subjects, if not spoil'd by my unskilful handling) that it must be ever acknowledged worthy your Grace; and, beside that the best and most refined Spirits of the Christian Church have happily labour'd in them, whose Design his late MAJESTY of ever Blessed Memory, was particularly pleased to Encourage and Promote. To attest this, were it either necessary, or pertinent, I might reckon up several Names, not unknown to your Grace, but shall, instead of all, content my self with the generally approved Mr. George Sandy's, who first under so Excellent a Prince, opened the way to Divine Poesy in this Nation, and gave it a more than ordinary Credit."

It seems strange, then, that, first of all, though Sandys' paraphrases of the Psalms favorably impressed individual poets and churchmen, they were not generally adopted in divine service, and secondly, that his work as a whole remains comparatively unknown today.

The most famous of all metrical Psalters during the seventeenth century, of course, was that of Sternhold and Hopkins. From its earliest beginnings in 1548 or 1549, it grew constantly in popularity as additional paraphrases were added and tunes were composed for its metrical verses. That it still retained its popularity in Sandys' day can be seen from Whitby's remarks in a sermon at Oxford in 1644. Commenting on the Psalms that were sung in the churches,
he regretted "that, while in reverence to antiquity, the Singing Psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins were used, those of Sandys should lie by." Thus, it would seem that at least one of the reasons for Sandys' paraphrases not being adopted for public worship may have been the prejudice in favor of long usage which is often so difficult to remove. Even today our close association with the King James Version of the Bible from earliest childhood makes us reluctant to replace that version with other Biblical translations more accurate and scholarly.

But there also appear two other likely reasons for the advantage held by the Sternhold-Hopkins Psalter in the churches. Richard Baxter gives us a clue to one in his comments on Sandys' paraphrases:

0 that he had turned the Psalms into metre fitted to the usual tunes!

Sandys' intricate metrical patterns had been set to music by Henry Lawes in 1638, and it is probable that this lament over Sandys' Psalms being not "fitted to the usual tunes" may have been one of the causes of their not being generally adopted in divine service. Henry King's comments also support those of Baxter's and add a possible third reason.  

34 Quoted by Todd, Selections from the Metrical Paraphrases on the Psalms...by George Sandys (London: 1839), p.v.  
35 Loc. cit.
In a letter to James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, he wrote that he was discouraged in his own translation of the Psalms into verse, knowing that Mr. George Sandys, and lately one of our pretended Reformers, had failed in Two different Extreems; The First too elegant for the vulgar use, changing both the Meter and Tunes wherewith they had been long acquainted; The Other as flat and poor, as lamely worded and unhandsomly rhimed as the Old; which, with much confidence, he undertook to amend. 

Thus, the reasons for Sandys' paraphrases of the Psalms remaining unused in public worship seem to be threefold: the tradition of the Sternhold-Hopkins' version was too strong to overcome; Sandys' metres were too irregular to be set to the usual church tunes; and finally, Lawes' tunes were too elaborate and difficult for ordinary congregational singing.

Sandys' literary reputation today rests primarily upon his translation of Ovid and his use of the heroic couplet, i.e., the decasyllabic couplet closed in the neo-classical manner. Several individual studies dealing with these facets of Sandys' work have appeared, each arriving at slightly different conclusions regarding his gradually changing poetica. It seems to me, however, that his characteristics suggest that the "pretended Reformer" mentioned by King may have been either William Barton or Francis Rous, both of whom published metrical paraphrases of the Psalms.

of metre and rhetoric remained fairly constant, with the exception of his Biblical paraphrases where there is more variety. From his earliest verse translations of the Latin poets, which were interspersed with the prose text of his Relation (1615) through his later editions of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* (1621; 1626; 1632), he showed a continuing attachment to the decasyllabic couplet and a definite tendency towards literal translation. Although he stated in his preface to this revised edition of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* (1632) that he had given to this translation "what perfection my Pen could bestow; by polishing, altering, or restoring, the harsh, improper, or mistaken, with a nicer exactnesse then perhaps is required in so long a labour," a spot check of the 1626 and 1632 editions of Ovid shows few major changes. On the whole, the minor emendations he makes through successive editions either bring his text closer to its Latin original or permit his lines to read more smoothly.

Henry Wood's study of the beginnings of the heroic couplet in England has suggested that Sandys' Paris visit in 1610 brought him under the influence of Malherbe and the French classical school, and that there is a connection between their firm disapproval of *enjambement* and Sandys'
frequent use of the stopt couplet in his translation of the first five books of Ovid. This, he suggests, indicates that Sandys did not remain under the influence of the French classicalists as he continued his translations. Since Wood's results are based on only one edition of Sandys, however, a much more detailed analysis of lines in all his editions of Ovid from 1621 on would have to be made before any final conclusions could be made.

There is, however, no doubt that Sandys handled the closed or nearly closed decasyllabic couplet skillfully. Ignoring the metaphysical fashion, and seeking always clarity and smoothness, he sought as concisely and literally as possible to translate Ovid into the form which he felt best suited the English language. Building upon Ovid's own Latin distich, he formulated a series of couplets, closed in the later neoclassical manner, which achieved a variety of effects through the skillful shifting of caesura. Although rhyme and the sense of his text occasionally lead him into periphrasis, in general he succeeds in a form which more frequently than not defied his contemporaries.

As Miss Wallerstein's study of the verse of Sandys and his circle has shown, the part Sandys played in the development of the English couplet is not to be underestimated.

Wood, loc. cit.

A doctoral dissertation at Harvard now in progress will deal with the versification of Sandys' Ovid.

Loc. cit.
Wood's statistical analysis indicated that Sandys was the first Englishman to write heroic couplets consistently. Thus, it may well be, as Bowers and Davis suggest, that more and more Sandys will be "given the chief position among the forerunners of Dryden as the shaper of the decasyllabic couplet." 

That Sandys by no means outgrew his attachment for the heroic couplet is evident in his later Biblical paraphrases. His translations of Ecclesiastes, Job, and Jeremiah, which appeared for the first time in 1638, are also in decasyllabic couplets as are those of twenty-one Psalms. Felix Schelling, who compared Sandys' use of unstopt lines with those of Chapman, Drayton, Marlowe and Spenser, found more run-on lines and couplets in Sandys' Biblical paraphrases than in the earlier Ovid. A spot check of the entire one hundred and fifty Psalms with the one thousand six hundred and thirty-two Ovid confirms this, although the findings of such a test do not present conclusive evidence.

Apart from those Psalms written in decasyllabic couplets, Sandys attempted a variety of metres, experimenting with various combinations of line lengths and stanzaic forms. Thirty-six Psalms are in octosyllabic stanzas with varying

\[ \text{Loc. cit.} \]
\[ \text{cit.}, \text{p. 7.} \]
\[ \text{cit.}, \text{pp. 237-38.} \]
rhymes; thirty-seven Psalms are in stanzas composed of octosyllabic lines intermingled with dimeter and trimeter lines or both; twenty-eight Psalms are in octosyllabic couplets; sixteen Psalms are in heptasyllabic couplets; seven Psalms are composed of stanzas made up of one six-syllable quatrain followed by a four-syllable quatrain; and five Psalms are in hexameter couplets.

Sandys' frequent use of long and short lines in various elaborate combinations is especially interesting and the results he achieves are often fresh and original. By intricately weaving lines of varying lengths, he achieves a variety of poetic moods, sometimes approaching the quiet dignity of the elegy and the ode, sometimes capturing the lighter, musical qualities of the lyric. He was, of course, experimenting with metrical patterns that stretched back to Spenser, that attracted many of his contemporaries, and that looked forward, for example, to Wordsworth's "Ode on the Intimations of Immortality." He may have learned from the "Lament for Dido" in the November Eclogue of The Shepheardes Calender or the "Epithalamion," although he was undoubtedly familiar with the works of such contemporary poets as Jonson, Herrick, and Herbert, all of whom frequently experimented in a similar fashion. And one is frequently reminded of the "hymn" in Milton's ode "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity." Certainly he owed a great deal to the intricate
metrical patterns and rhyme-schemes which Sidney compiled under the influence of the Marot-Beza Psalter. The important thing, of course, is that within the framework of this metrical experimentation he worked so skilfully and so well.

With a keen sense of metrical decorum, Sandys worked with a variety of line combinations: dimeter, trimeter, and tetrameter (Psalms IV, X, XXXVIII, LXIV, CXXX); dimeter and tetrameter (XX, XXXIX, CXLIII); trimeter and tetrameter (XXXVI, XLII, XC); and dimeter and trimeter (XLVII, CXXXIV). Here, his major themes are man's thirst for God, his confidence in God's ultimate victory, his cries for God's vengeance against his mortal enemies, and his praise for God's wisdom and understanding. In quieter, and more personal, prayers to God, Sandys employs series of trimeter couplets which capture an air of intimacy and suggest the close rapport between man and his God, (CXXXI). However, in those Psalms dealing with stern admonition or the majesty and dignity of God, he changes key, relying predominantly upon the stately measures of the iambic pentameter to convey the seriousness of his subject matter (I, XLIX). On the other hand, he frequently shifts to the tetrameter couplet in his adaptations of the more exuberant Hallelujah or Praise Psalms, and captures a marching quality of joy and exultation (CXII, CL). Only rarely does his sense of decorum
slip, as, for example, when he employs the ballad measure to express agonized pleas to God.

In general, as in his Ovid, Sandys still attempts to condense the texts of his Psalms whenever possible, and, in spite of the intricacy of his metrical experiments, captures the simplicity and dignity of the Psalter. His use of conceits and other rhetorical devices is frequent, though he rarely lapses into the redundancy so evident in other metrical versions. His diction, unlike Sir John Harington's in his Psalter, is dignified and moving, exhibiting at all times a fine sense of decorum.

If there is a flaw, it is that one misses here and there a touch of personal piety which would have added a compelling quality to Sandys' paraphrases of the Psalms. Perhaps he was not fundamentally religious and thus could not convey the meaningful, worshipful note of the Psalms. Whatever the reason, Sandys' Psalms more closely resemble in this respect the intellectual and psychological paraphrases of Wyatt than the personal and more feeling Psalms of Surrey (LXXXVIII, LXXIII, LV).

In the final analysis, however, it is his artistic skill, his sense of decorum and felicity of phrasing, his clarity and smoothness, and his polish in the neo-classical style that one remembers. Far removed from the barrenness and banality of the metrical versifications of the Reformers, as
exemplified by Sternhold and Hopkins, his version stands high in that tradition of paraphrasing the Psalms as a form of art rather than as a means of religious proselytism.
George Sandys' paraphrases of the Psalms first appeared in his *Paraphrase Vpon The Psalms of David and Vpon The Hymnes Dispersed throughout The Old and New Testaments*, which was published "Cum Privilegio Regai Majestatis" in December 1635. Charles granted Sandys a royal patent giving him exclusive rights to his "Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David, and other Hymns dispersed, through the Old and New Testament" for a "term of fourteen years." These rights permitted Sandys, "his Executors, Administrators, and Assigns" to "imprint and publish" and "to utter and sell all and every the said Books by him or them to be imprinted as aforesaid, in gross or by retain, or otherwise to do away at his and their Will and Pleasure for his and their best Commodity and Profit." The patent further prohibited all and every person and persons whatsoever, born within any of our Realms or Dominions, as also all and every other person or persons, either Denizens or Strangers, born in any foreign Realm or Country whatsoever, of what Estate, Degree or Condition he or they shall be...to imprint or publish...the said Paraphrases upon the Psalms of David....

Also, Sandys and his executors were granted permission to enter into any Ship, Bottom, Vessel, Boat, Shop, House, Warehouse or other place or places whatsoever, within any of our said Realms or Dominions, where he, they or any of them shall have any just cause to suspect any such book to be imprinted, or to remain or be altered or put to sale, contrary to the true intent and meaning of these Presents, and finding any such, to seize the same and every of them to the use of us, our Heirs and Successors....

The patent is printed in its entirety in Thomas Rymer's *Foedera, XIX* (London: 1732), 708-710. See also the Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series 1635, ed. John Bruce (London: 1865), p. 523, where the following entry appears,

Dec 2, 1635 Grant of Privilege for 14 years to George Sandys, for selling a Paraphrase by him written on the...
a single octavo volume in 1636. Although the printer is
not listed, it is possible that it was printed by
Andrew Hebb, who was one of the two booksellers distribut­
ing for Sandys at this time. Sandys' relationship with
William Stansby, his other bookseller, had been broken off
the year before when, justly or otherwise, he had accused
Stansby of overcharging him for printing and entered suit
against him in His Majesty's Court of Exchequer. Or, if
not Hebb, Sandys' 1636 edition may have been printed by
John Legatt, who was later to print other editions of
Psalms and other Hymns dispersed thro' the
Old and New Testament, provided the same be first
licensed.

The 1636 edition was licensed by the Archbishop of Canter­
bury on November 28, 1635 (see the Imprimatur, sig. A8v).
It probably took a few days to print the royal patent, which
accounts for the time difference between the licensing and
the granting of the "Privilegio."

Complete bibliographical descriptions of the editions
mentioned in this section may be found in the Bibliographi­
cal Catalogue in Appendix I.

Hebb later published Sandys' Ovid (1638 and 1640 edit­
tions) although he did not print them. He was at the Bell in
St. Paul's Churchyard from 1625 to 1648. See Henry R. Plomer,
Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work
in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1611 to 1667 (London:
1907), p. 95.

Stansby was a printer and bookseller in London from
1597 to 1639. See H. R. Plomer, A Short History of English
Printing 1476-1898 (London: 1900), pp. 165-167; and
Mckerrow, op. cit., p. 256.

For a complete discussion of this suit, see Richard Beale
of Ovid's Metamorphosis," The Library, III (1948-1949),
193-212.

Legatt (or Legate), the son of John Legatt, Sr., was a
prominent printer in Cambridge and London; Little Wood
Street, 1620-1658, See Mckerrow, op. cit., p. 116.
Sandys' works. At any rate, the 1636 edition was sold by Hebb, for his shop's location at the Bell in St. Paul's Churchyard is given on the title-page.


1 Septembris 1637. Andrew Hebb Entred for his Copie under the hands of Master Bray and Master Aspley warden a booke called *A Paraphrase vpon Job. The Psalms. Ecclesiastes. and the Lamentations of Jeremiah* by GEORGE SANDES Esquire. This suggests that Sandys sold his patent to Hebb who, after entering the book as his own on September 1, published the 1638 edition. In addition to paraphrases upon the Psalms and the various songs collected out of the Old and New Testaments, previously printed in 1636, this edition contained paraphrases upon Job, Ecclesiastes, and Jeremiah.

In this edition also appear for the first time Henry Lawes' musical settings for Sandys' paraphrases of the Psalms. As the section-title states, the paraphrases

Legatt also printed Sandys' *Paraphrase Upon the Divine Poems* (London: 1638); the first issue of Christ's Passion (London: 1640); and *A Paraphrase Upon the Song of Solomon* (London: 1641).

The colophon, however, (sig. 3D4v) reads: "LONDON, Printed by John Legatt. 1637."

Henry Lawes (1596-1662), a distinguished composed and musician under Charles I and during the Commonwealth, (cont)
were "Set to new Tunes for private Devotion:/ And a thorow 
Base, for Voice,/ or Instrument./ BY/ HENRY LAWES Gentleman 
of His/ Majesties Chappell Royall." Miss Evans has noted 
that Lawes attempted to keep the vocal parts relatively 
simple, corresponding each half note to a single word or 
syllable and assigning rhyming words to whole notes. These 
settings also appear in the 1648 and the 1676 editions, in 
the latter "carefully Revised and Corrected from the many 
Errors which passed in former Impressions, By John Play-
ford." 

The metrical variety of Sandys' paraphrases of the Psalms 
seems to have made them particularly appealing to some of the 
major composers of the seventeenth century for they frequent-
ly appeared in collections of musical settings to the Psalms. 

9(cont) became a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1626. 
His work was varied, ranging from secular vocal music to in-
strumental pieces, anthems and Psalms. The most detailed 
account of his life is by Willa McClung Evans, Henry Lawes 
Musician and Friend of Poets (New York: The Modern Language 
Association of America, 1941). Sketches of his life also 
appear in Grove and the D.N.B. and in the numerous histories 
of music in England.

10Sig. glr. 
11Evans, op. cit., p. 142

12Sig. 2Alr. John Playford (1623-1686) was a promi-
nent bookseller and music publisher in the Inner Temple. 
His publications were numerous, including "several volumes of 
Ayres and Dialogues by Henry Lawes and others...collections 
of Rounds and canons, and of instrumental pieces, with some 
theoretical treatises." See Ernest Walker, A History of 
155. His connection with Henry Lawes is discussed by Evans, 
in Grove and the D.N.B.
Henry Lawes' connection with Sandys' 1638 Paraphrase Upon the Divine Poems has already been discussed. Ten years later, however, in 1648, Henry and his brother, William Lawes, issued thirty more musical settings for Sandys' paraphrases in four small quartos, each containing a separate part (Cantus Primus, Cantus Secundus, Bassus, and Thorough Bass) and each with the following title-page: Choice Psalms Put Into Musick, For Three Voices. The most of which may properly enough be sung by any three, with a Thorough Base. Compos'd by Henry and William Lawes, Brothers; and Servants to His Majestie. With divers Elegies, set in Musick by severall Friends, upon the death of William Lawes. And at the end of the Thorough Base are added nine Canons of Three and Four Voices, made by William Lawes.13 In his dedicatory remarks to Charles I in these volumes, Henry Lawes wrote:

I could not answer mine owne Conscience (Most Gracious Soveraigne) should I dedicate these Compositions to any but Your Majestie; they were born and nourish'd in Your Majesties service, and long since design'd (such as they are) an Offering to Your Royall hand. Many of them were compos'd by my Brother (William Lawes,) whose life and endeavours were devoted to Your service; whereof, I (who knew his heart) am a surviving witnesse....Your Majestie knowes when the Regall Prophet first penn'd these Psalms, he gave them to the Musitians to be set to tunes; and they humbly brought them to David the King.

13Evans, op. cit., p. 175.
Besides, Mr. Sandys inscribes his Translation to Your Sacred Majestie; so that this I offer is Your Majesties in all capacities, and doth not so properly come, as rebound back to Your Majestie.  

Following the prefatory material and commendatory verses, including the well known sonnet by John Milton, "To my Friend Mr. Henry Lawes," appear the musical settings. Eight of them, which had originally appeared as airs in the 1638 Paraphrase Vpon the Divine Poems, were rearranged as part-songs; sixteen settings which had appeared in that volume were omitted; and twenty-two completely new settings were included. Additional musical settings, it seems, were planned by Henry Lawes for a later volume, but the project was never completed, and Lawes' collection of Psalms which appeared in 1655 contained no music. Entitled Select Psalms Of A New Translation, To be Sung in Verse and Chorus of five Parts, with Symphonies of Violins, Organ, and other Instruments, November 22, 1655. Composed by Henry Lawes, Servant to His Late Majesty, it contained four of Sandys' paraphrases of the Psalms. Sandys' paraphrases are also said to have been used by John Wilson in his Psalterium Carolinum: The Devotions  

The score for two of the songs, "Sitting by the streams that glyde" (Carew's translation) and "My Soul the Great God's prayses sings" (Sandys' translation) is in Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 31434; the music for the other three Psalmes (Sandys' translation XX, CXI, and LXVI) of this collection has not been identified (Ibid., p. 211, note 10).  

John Wilson (1595-1674), composer and lutenist,
of his Sacred Majestie in his Solitudes and Sufferings...

(London: 1657)\(^{18}\) and by Walter Porter\(^{19}\) in his Mottets

of two voices for treble or tenor and bass, to be performed
to an Organ, Harpsyeon, Lute, or Bass-viol (1657)\(^{20}\) and

The Psalms of George Sandys set to Music for Two Voices,
&c (circa, 1670).\(^{21}\) If have not seen copies, however, of

\(^{17}(\text{cont})\) succeeded Alphonso Bales as court musician to
Charles I in 1635; served as Professor of Music at Oxford
from 1656-1661; and afterwards succeeded Henry Lawes as
Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. For details of his life and
works, see sketches in Grove and D.N.B.; Walter L. Woodfill,
Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I
(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), pp. 39,
note 7, 42, 44, 45, note 13, 185; Ernest Walker, op. cit.,
pp. 150-151, 162; The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, ed.
Andrew Clark (5 vols., Oxford: Oxford Historical Society,
1891-1900), passim.

\(^{18}\) Wing S5243A. Although the title states that the metri-
cal adaptations of the Psalms were composed by Thomas Stan-
ley, Manfred F. Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque Era (New
the Psalterium Carolinum was "based on words by Sandys."
Percy A. Scholes, op. cit., pp. 140-142, describes the book
in some detail but does not mention this fact. Neither does
the D.N.B. or Evans, op. cit., pp. 218-220.

\(^{19}\) Walter Porter (1595?-1659), composer and pupil of
Monteverdi, was also a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. In
1639 he was appointed master of the choristers of Westminster
Abbey. For details of his life and works, see the sketches in
Grove and the D.N.B.; Woodfill, op. cit., p. 196; and G. E.
P. Arkwright, "An English Pupil of Monteverdi," The Musical
Antiquary, July 1913, pp. 236-257.

\(^{20}\) Both the D.N.B. and Bukofzer, op. cit., p. 198, state
that Porter based some of his motets on words taken from
Sandys' paraphrases of the Psalms. The statements are likely
in error, however, since the D.N.B. bases its material on an
obvious misreading of Charles Burney's General History of
Music, III (London: 1789), 404, and Bukofzer has generally
followed the D.N.B.

\(^{21}\) No copy of this book is known to exist although (cont)
any of these works.

A new octavo edition of Sandys' Biblical paraphrases, reset from the 1638 folio, appeared in 1648 in two issues. No printer is indicated, although the clean text presented in this edition suggests that it was the work of Legatt. The remark, "Printed for O.D.", appears on the title-page of the second issue, but there is no stationer with these initials listed by Plomer or McKerrow.

In 1676 appeared in octavo the first complete edition which contained all of Sandys' paraphrases, including his paraphrase upon the Song of Solomon, which had been published in 1641 in an edition by itself. This 1676 edition was printed by a J.M. for distribution by Abel ______

21(cont) S. Austin Allibone lists it under the works of Porter in A Critical Dictionary of English Literature, II (Philadelphia: 1874), 1648. The D.N.B. mentions a "Divine Hymns by W. Porter," advertised by Playford in 1664, and states that it is perhaps the same as the "Psalms of Sir George Sands," a translation for two voices by Walter Porter, three books, folio, advertised in 1671. Grove makes the same identification, stating that Porter's "Divine Hymns," advertised by Playford in 1664, was perhaps identical with 'The Psalms of George Sandys set to Music for two Voyces with a Thorough-bass for the Organ,' published about 1671." It is likely, however, that the book was contemplated but never published.

22Perhaps John Macocke, printer in London at Addle or Addling Hill from 1645-1692. See Plomer, op. cit., p. 121.
Over a hundred years passed before selections of Sandys' paraphrases of the Psalms again appeared in print. Towards the end of the eighteenth century an edition was issued entitled: *Psalmody For a Single Voice, Being Twenty-Four Melodies for Private Devotion, With a Base for Voice or Instrument; First published with Mr. George Sandys's "Paraphrase of the Psalms of David" in the year 1638*. By Henry Lawes, Gentleman of his Majesty's Chapel Royal. With a Variation of each Psalm Tune on the same Page, by Matthew Camidge, Lately one of the Children of the same Chapel Royal. To which is prefixed, Some Introductory Reasons for this Publication, by W. Mason, M.A. Precentor of York (York: 1789; second edition, 1790). Mason, however, frequently altered the words of Sandys to fit Camidge's tune variations, variations which Maurice Frost implies were much inferior to those of Lawes'.

Roper was a bookseller in London, first at the Black Spread Eagle, over against St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet Street, 1614; and later, at the Sun in Fleet Street, 1650 (?) - 1676. Ibid., p. 157.

Sawbridge was a printer and bookseller in London, first at the Bible on Ludgate Hill; and later, at his house on Clerkenwell Green. Ibid., p. 160.

In 1839, Henry John Todd published his *Selections from the Paraphrases on the Psalms*... by George Sandys, but apart from a short biographical sketch, this edition contains no critical or bibliographical material. Furthermore, Todd silently emends printer's errors and frequently changes Sandys' wording when he feels the sense of Sandys' sentences requires it. The only complete edition of Sandys' poetical paraphrases of the Bible appeared in 1872, when Richard Hooper brought out *The Poetical Works of George Sandys* (London) in two volumes. Like Todd, Hooper presents a modernized text with few critical comments and little bibliographical apparatus. He ignores the substantive text of the paraphrases on the Psalms, preparing his edition from a collation of the 1638 folio with that of the 1676 octavo. His edition, like Todd's, also contains a short sketch of Sandys' life. Outside of these two works, Sandys' paraphrases of the Psalms have appeared in print in—

25 (cont) Privy Chamber to King Charles I. With a Memoir of His Life and Writings (London: 1839), pp. vii-viii. Todd states that in this work, the verses of Sandys were "often much altered by the poet Mason...who prefixed to it a very ingenious introduction; in which, however, he acknowledges that perhaps his sedulity to soften the diction of Sandys might sometimes weaken the sense."

frequently since the seventeenth century, usually in abridged form in anthologies with no critical or bibliographical notes.\textsuperscript{27}

Unlike Sandys' paraphrase of the Song of Solomon, which apparently circulated widely in manuscript,\textsuperscript{28} his paraphrases of the Psalms were known primarily through the printed editions discussed above. A careful search has revealed only two manuscripts, both probably later in date than the 1676 octavo: (a) Egerton MS. 2960, ff. 85v-83v (reversed); and (b) Bodleian MS. Mus. c.16 S.C. 16693, f. 98r. Both manuscripts occasionally vary Sandys' words to fit the ornate musical settings, however, and have no authority.

The Egerton MS.,\textsuperscript{29} a collection of anthems and songs by various seventeenth-century musicians, consists of iv\textsuperscript{4}99 folios, of which ff. 85v-83v (reversed) contain Sandys' paraphrase on Psalm CXXXVII, minus lines 13-16, arranged in a musical setting and beautifully copied in a late seventeenth-century hand. Folio 85v is headed: "A Paraphrase on ye 137\textsuperscript{th} Psalm," and in the upper right hand corner of the same folio is the notation: "Mr Sandys." On folio 83v the musical setting is ascribed to "Dr Blow," which

\textsuperscript{27}See appended Bibliography for a selected list of works which print brief selections from Sandys' paraphrases of the Psalms.

\textsuperscript{28}See Bibliographical Catalogue, Appendix I.

\textsuperscript{29}For a more complete description of this manuscript, see Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts 1916-1920 (London: 1933), p. 305.
refers to John Blow (1648-1708), the well-known musician, who, in addition to serving as organist of Westminster Abbey in 1669 and of the Chapel Royal in 1676, was later appointed composer in ordinary to James II and served from 1687 to 1693 at St. Paul's Cathedral as almoner and master of the choristers. His output of anthems and sacred songs was prolific, and he frequently composed settings to various paraphrases on the Psalms.

The Bodleian MS. Mus.c.16, which contains musical compositions by a W. Davis in the author's handwriting, consists of 134 leaves, written early in the eighteenth-century. Folio 98r, which contains a three-part musical setting for the first stanza of Sandys' paraphrase on Psalm XVII, is headed "A devine song/ out of Sandses translation sett for three ladys/" and in the upper right hand corner of the same folio is the notation: "psalm y^ 17th."

In tentatively selecting the 1636 text for reprinting the following paraphrases upon the Psalms, it was necessary, sketches of John Blow's life are found in Grove and the D.N.B. See also Walker, op. cit., pp. 173, 178-182, 201-202, 206-209.

A selected list of Blow's works, both printed and in manuscript, is given in Grove.

The manuscript is described fully by Falconer Madan, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, IV (Oxford: 1897), 7-8.

Perhaps William Davis, who was "sworne, Gent of his Ma'ties Chappel Royall extraordinary May the 23d 1685." See Edward F. Rimbauld, ed., The Old Cheque-Book, or Book of Remembrance, of The Chapel Royal, from 1561 to 1744 (Westminster: Camden Society, n.s., III, 1872), 18.
first of all, to determine whether Sandys had made any alterations or corrections to his text in his later editions. Since he died in the spring of 1643/44, the only appearance of his Psalms in print which he could have directly supervised and corrected, aside from his original edition, was in 1638, when they were included in his Paraphrase Upon the Divine Poems. Therefore, if he did make changes, one would normally expect to find them in that edition. However, there was also the possibility that the 1676 edition of his works was printed from a corrected manuscript prepared by Sandys before his death. Only a careful collation of all his editions, together with any existing manuscripts, then, would confirm or invalidate the above possibilities.

As stated above, only two manuscripts were found containing Sandys' paraphrases of the Psalms. Both manuscripts represent individual efforts to fit Sandys' words into rather ornate musical settings and obviously are not based upon unknown manuscripts corrected by Sandys. Written after Sandys' death, neither manuscript has any bearing upon the establishment of a substantive and authoritative text of Sandys' paraphrases.

Strangely enough, considering the time lapse of forty years, the changes which a collation of all four major texts points out are few. Outside of minor differences in
spelling and punctuation and printers' errors, the 1676 edition follows the earlier 1636 text almost exactly. Furthermore, there are few word substitutions and no changes in phrasing in the Psalms which I have collated. The two outstanding differences are, first, that the 1638 edition marks the initial appearance of the Psalms of Sandys' with the musical settings of Henry Lawes, and thus the first few lines of each Psalm in this edition, as in 1648 and 1676, are set directly beneath the musical notes; and secondly, that all later editions omit the marginal abbreviations which appear in the 1636 text as indications of other Latin translations of the Psalms which Sandys evidently consulted in preparing his paraphrases.

Thus, if Sandys had altered or corrected his 1636 edition, those alterations and corrections would have undoubtedly appeared in the 1638, the 1648 and the 1676 editions, and would have also shown up in Hooper's edition of Sandys' poetical works. But even Hooper's 1872 edition presents a remarkably unaltered text of Sandys' paraphrases. Here, as would be expected, the spelling is modernized to a greater extent than in the seventeenth-century editions, and the punctuation is occasionally changed, but again there are few word substitutions or changes in phrasing. However, in the rare instances where they appear necessary, Hooper adds
accent marks (in such words as learned, blessed, etc.) so that Sandys' lines will have a definite iambic pentameter measure. And he occasionally varies the stanza forms of Sandys' paraphrases.

Thus, with the differences mentioned above, it appears that Sandys did not alter or correct the original 1636 text of his paraphrases of the Psalms once they appeared in print. Rather, it seems logical to summarize the printing of his succeeding editions as follows: In the 1638 edition, the section of the Psalms was reset from the printed text of the 1636 edition, with added paraphrases probably being set up from manuscript; the 1648 edition was reset from the text of the 1638 edition; and finally, the 1676 edition, with the added paraphrase of the Song of Solomon probably being set up from the 1641 edition, was reset from the 1648 text.

The following paraphrases, therefore, are reprinted from the text of the 1636 edition, which, in addition to being substantive, seems to be the text closest to what the author wrote. With the following exceptions, I have reprinted the paraphrases as exactly as possible: (1) long 's are printed as s's; (2) swash letters are not reproduced; (3) Psalm headings are made uniform; and (4) large capital letters occurring at the beginning of the text of each Psalm are normalized. In addition, line numbers have been supplied.
Because of the limitations of time and space, I have selected only fifty of Sandys' Psalms for reprinting. In so doing, I have attempted to illustrate the great variety of Sandys' metrical patterns and the skill with which he handled the decasyllabic couplet. In addition, I have chosen Psalms which were interesting for various reasons: Psalms, for example, which were illustrative of such various groupings as the Seven Penitentials, the "Ascents," the "Hallels", and the "Hallelujah" Psalms; Psalms, for which Manuscript copies were extant; or Psalms which presented special textual problems. A few I have selected for no other reason than that they appealed to me personally.
GEORGE SANDYS' PARAPHRASES UPON THE
PSALMS OF DAVID
PSALM I

That man is truly blest, who never straies
By false advice, nor walkes in sinners wayes;
Nor sits infected with their scornefull pride,
Who God contemne, and Piety deride:
But wholly fixeth his sincere delight
On heavenly Lawes; those studies day and night.
He shall be like a Tree that spreads his root
By living streames, producing timely fruit;
His leafe shall never fall: the Lord shall blesse
All his indeavours with desir'd successe.

Men lost in Sinne unlike rewards shall find,
Disperst like chaffe before the furious wind:
Their guilt shall not that horrid Day indure,
Nor they approach th'Assemblies of the Pure:
For God approves those waies the Righteous tread;
But sinfull Paths to sure destruction leade.

PSALM II

How are the Gentiles all on fire!

Why rage they with vaine menacings?

Earths haughty Potentates and Kings
'Gainst God, against his Christ conspire:
Breake we (say they) their servile bands,
And cast their cords from our free hands.
But God from his coelestiall Throne
Shall laugh, and their attempts deride;
Then high incenst, thus checke their pride;
(His Wrath in their confusion showne)
Loe, I my King have crown'd, and will
Inthrone on Sions sacred Hill.

That great Decree I shall declare:
For thus I heard Iehovah say;
Thou art my Son begot this day:
Request, and I will grant thy praie,
Subject all Nations to thy Throne,
And make the Sea-bound Earth thine owne.

Thou shalt an Iron Scepter sway,
Like earthen vessels breake their bones.
Be wise, O you who sit on Thrones;
And Judges grave advice obey;
With joyfull feare O serve the Lord;
With trembling Ioy embrace his Word.

In due of Homage kisse the Sonne,
Lest he his wrathfull lookes display;
And so you perish in the way,
His anger newly but begunne:

Then blessed onely are the Lust,

Who on th'Anointed fixe their trust.

PSALM III

My God, how are my foes increast!

What multitudes against me rise!

Who say, Give we his Soule no rest,

Whom God forsakes, and Men despise.

But thou art my Support, my Tower,

My Safety, my choice Ornament.

Before thy Throne my Prayers I powre,

Heard from thy Sions high ascent.

No feares affright my soft repose;

Thou my Night-watch, my Guard by day:

Not Myriads of armed Foes,

Nor Treasons secret hands dismay.

Arise; O vindicate my Cause!

My Foes, whom wicked Hate provoke,

Thou, Lord, hast smit; their cancred jawes,

And all their teeth asunder broke.

Thou, Lord, the onely Hope of those,

Who thee with holy Zeale adore;

Whose all-protecting Armes inclose

Their Safety, who thy Aide implore.
PSALM IV

Thou Guardian of my truth and me,
That from these straits hast set me free,

O heare my praire!

Be I thy care;

For mercie lives in thee.

You sonnes of men, how long will you
Eclipse my glory, and pursue
Lov'd vanities,

Delight in lies,

To Man, to God untrue?

Know, God my innocence hath blest,
And will with sovereignty invest: Pisc.

His gentle eare Lor.

Prepar'd to heare Mol.

My never vaine request.

Sinne not, but feare; surcease, and try
Your hearts, as on your beds you lie:

Pure gifts present

With pure intent,

And place your hopes on high.
But Earthly minds false wealth admire, Mol.
And toil with uncontrol'd desire. Buch.
With clear aspect Jun.
Thy beams reflect, Trem.
And heavenly thoughts inspire.

O let my joy, exempt from fears,
Their joys transcend, when Autumn bears
His pleasant wines
On clustred vines,
And grain-replenished ears.

Now shall the peaceful hand of Sleep
In heavenly dew my senses steep;
Whom thy large wings,
O King of kings,
In shades of Safety keep.

PSALM V

To heare me, Lord, be thou inclin'd;
My thoughts O ponder in thy mind:
And let my cries acceptance find.

Thou hear'st my morning Sacrifice:
To thee, before the Day-star rise,
My prayers ascend, with stedfast eyes.
Thou lov'st no vice; none dwells with thee;
Nor glorious fools thy Beauty see;
All sin-defil'd detested bee.

Liars shall sinke beneath thy hate;
Who thirst for blood and weave deceit,
Thy rage shall swiftly ruinate.

I to thy Temple will repaire,
Since infinite thy Mercies are;
And thee adore with Feare and Praire.

My God, conduct me by thy Grace;
For many have my Soule in chase.
Set thy strait paths before my face.

False are their tongues, their hearts are hollow,
Like gaping Sepulcres they swallow,
F'awne, and betray even those they follow.

With vengeance girt these Rebels round;
In their owne counsils them confound;
Since their transgressions thus abound.

Joy they with an exalted voice,
That trust in thee, who guard'st thy Choice.
Let those who love thy Name rejoice.
Thy blessings shall in showres descend;
Thy favour as a shield defend
All those, who Righteousnesse intend.

PSALM VI

Lord, thy deserved Wrath asswage;
Nor punish in thy burning Ire;
Let Mercie mitigate thy Rage,
Before my fainting life expire.
O heale! my bones with anguish ake;
My pensive heart with sorrow worne.
How long wilt thou my Soule forsake!
O pity, and at length returne!
O let thy Mercies comfort me,
And thy afflicted Servant save!
Who will in death remember thee,
Or praise thee in the silent Grave?
Vext by insulting enemies,
My groanes disturbe the peacefull Night;
My bed washt with my streaming eyes:
Through griefe grown old, and dim of sight.
All you of wicked life depart;
The Lord my God hath heard my crie;
He will recure my wounded heart,
And turne my teares to tides of joy.
Who hate me, let dishonour wound,
Let feare their guilty soules affright;
With shame their haughty lookes confound,
And let them vanish from my sight.

PSALM VIII

Lord, how illustrious is thy Name!
Whose pow'r both Heav'n & Earth proclame!
Thy Glorie thou hast set on hie,
Above the marble-arched Skie.
The wonders of thy power thou hast
In mouths of bases and sucklings plac't;
That so thou might'st thy foes confound,
And who in malice most abound.
When I pure Heaven, thy fabricke see,
The Moone and Starres dispos'd by thee;
O what is mad, or his fraile Race,
That thou shouldst such a Shadow grace!
Next to thy Angels most renown'd;
With Majesty and Glory crown'd;
The King of all thy Creatures made;
That all beneath his feet hast layd:
All that on Dales or Mountaines feed,
That shady Woods or Deserts breed;
What in the airy Region glide,
Or through the rowling Ocean slide.
Lord, how illustrious is thy Name,
Whose power both Heaven and Earth proclame!

PSALM X

Withdraw not, O my God, my guide:
In time of trouble dost thou hide
   Thy cheerefull face?
Who want thy Grace
The poore pursue with cruell pride:
   0 be they by their owne
   Inventions overthrowne!

The wicked boast of their successe:
The covetous profanely blesse,  
   By thee, O Lord,
   So much abhorr'd.
Their pride will not thy power confesse;
   Nor have thy favour sought,
   Or had of thee a thought.

They in oppression take delight;
Thy Judgements farre above their sight:
   Their enemies
   Scoffe and despise:
Who say in heart, no opposite
   Gan us remove, nor shall
   Our greatnesse ever fall.
Their mouths detested curses fill;
Fraud, mischiefe; ever prone to ill:
   In secret they
   Lurke to betray;
The Innocent in corners kill:
   His eyes with fierce intent
   Upon the poore are bent.

He like a Lion in his den
Awaits to catch oppressed men,
   Who unaware
   Light in his snare.
His couched limbs contracts, that then
   With all his strength he may
   Rush on his wretched prey.

His heart hath said, God hath forgot;
He hides his face, he minds it not.
   Arise, O Lord,
   Draw thy just sword;
Nor out of thy remembrance blot
   The poore and desolate:
   O shield them from his hate!

Why should the wicked God despise,
And say he lookes with carelesse eyes?
   Their well-seene spite
Thou shalt requite.
The poore, O Lord, on thee relies;
Thou help'st the fatherlesse,
Whom cruell men oppresse.

Asunder breake the armes of those,
Who ill affect, and good oppose:
Their crimes explore,
Vntill no more
Lurke in their bosoms to disclose.
Eternall King, thy Hand
Hath chac'd them from thy Land.

Lord, thou hast heard thy Servants praire;
Thou wilt their humble hearts prepare:
Thy gratious Eare
Inclin'd to heare.
The Fatherlesse, and wore with care.
Judge thou; that Mortalls may
No more with outrage sway.

PSALM XI

My God, on Thee my hopes relie:
Why say they to my troubled Soule,
Arise, up to your Mountaine flie;
Flie quickly, like a chaced Foule?
For loe, the Wicked bend their bowes,
Their arrowes Fitt with secret Art;
That closely they may shoot at those,
Who are upright, and pure in heart.
If their foundation be destroy'd
What can the Righteous build upon?
God in his Temple doth abide;
Heaven is the great Jehovah's Throne.
His Eyes behold, his Ey-lids trie
The Sonnes of men; allowes the best;
But such as joy in cruelty
The Lord doth from his Soule detest.
Snares, horrid Tempest, Brimstone, Fire
(Their portion) on their heads shall light:
Th'entirely lust affects th'entire;
For ever precious in His sight.

PSALM XIII

How long! Lord, let me not
For ever be forgot!
How long, my God, wilt thou
Contract thy clouded brow!
How long in mind perplext
Shall I be daily vext!
How long shall he controll,
Who persecutes my soule!
Consider, heare my cries;
Illuminate mine eyes;
Lest with exhausted breath
I ever sleepe in Death;
Lest my insulting foe
Boast in my overthrow;
And those who would destroy,
In my subversion joy.
But I, Thou ever Lust,
Will in thy mercie trust;
And in thy saving Grace
My constant comfort place:
My Songs shall sing thy praise,
That hast prolong'd my dayes.

PSALM XV

Who shall in thy Tent abide?
On thy holy Hill reside?
He that's Iust and Innocent;
Tells the truth of his intent;
Slanders none with venom'd Tongue;
Feares to doe his Neighbour wrong;
Fosters not base Infamies;
Vice beholds with scornfull eyes;
Honours those who feare the Lord;
Keepes, though to his losse, his Word;
Takes no bribes for wicked ends,
Nor to Vae his money lends:
Who by these directions guide
Their pure steps, shall never slide.

PSALM XVII

Lord, grant my just Request; 0 hear my crie,
And prairs that lips, untoucht wth guile, unfold:
My Cause before thy High Tribunall trie,
And let thine Eyes my righteousnesse behold.

Thou prov'st my Heart even in the nights recess,
Like metall try'st me, yet no drosse hast found:
I am resolv'd, my Tongue shall not transgresse;
But on thy Word will all my Actions ground.

So shall I from the Paths of Tyrants flie:
0, lest I slip, direct my steps by Thine!
I thee invoke; for thou wilt heare my Crie:
Thine Eare to my afflicted Voice incline.

O shew thy wondrous Love! Thou from their Foes
Preservest all that on thy Aid depend.
Lord, as the Apple of the eye inclose,
And over me thy shady Wings extend.

For Impious men, and such as deadly hate
My guiltlesse Soule, have compast me about;
Who swell with pride, inclos'd with their own fat,
And words of contumely thunder out.

Our traced steps intrap as in a Toile;
Low-couched on the Earth with flaming Eyes;
Like famisht Lions eager of their Spoile,
Or Lions whelps; close lurking to surprise.

Arise! prevent him, from his Glory hurl'd;
My pensive Soule from the Devourer save:
Pro men which are thy scourge, men of the world,
Who in this life along their portion have.

Fill'd with thy secret Treasure, to their Race
They their accumulated Riches leave:
But I with Righteousnesse shall see thy Face;
And rising, in thy Image, joy receive.

PSALM XX

The Lord in thy adversity
Regard thy crie;
Great Jacobs God with safety arme,
And shield from harme:
Help from his Sanctuarie send,
And out of Sion thee defend.

Thy Odors, which pure flames consume,
    Be his perfume.
May he accept thy Sacrifice,
    Fr'ird from the Skies.
For ever thy indeavours blesse,
And crowne thy Counsils with success.

We will of thy deliverance sing,
  Triumphant King;
Our Ensignes in that praid-for Day
    With joy display;
Even in the name of God. O still
May he thy just desires fulfill!

Now know I his Anointed he
    Will heare, and free;
With saving hand and mighty power,
    From his high Tower.
They trust in horse; in Chariots those;
Our trust we in our God repose.

Their wounded limbs with anguish bend,
    To Death descend:
But we in fervour of the fight

Have stood upright.

O save us, Lord; thy Suppliants heare;
And in our aid, great King, appeare.

PSALM XXIII

The Lord my Shepheard, me his Sheep
Will from consuming Famine keep.
He fosters me in fragrant Meads,
By softly-sliding waters leads;
My Soule refresht with pleasant juice;
And lest they should his Name traduce,
Then when I wander in the Maze
Of tempting Sinne, informes my waies.
No terour can my courage qualle,
Though shaded in Deaths gloomy vale:
By thy Protection fortifi'd:
Thy Staffe my Stay, thy Rod my Guide.
My Table thou hast furnished:
Powr'd pretious Odors on my head:
My Mazer flowes with pleasant Wine,
While all my Foes with Envie pine.
Thy Mercie and Beneficence
Shall ever joine in my Defence;
Who in thy House will sacrifice,
Till aged Time close up mine eyes.
PSALM XXVIII

My God, my Rock, regard my Grie;
Lest I unheard, like those that die,
In shades of darke oblivion lie.

For my ascending griefe give eare,
When I my hands devoutly reare
Before thy Mercie-seat with feare.

With wicked men mix not my fate;
Nor drag me with the Reprobate,
Who speake of Peace, but foster Hate.

Such as their works, their dire intend,
And practices to circumvent;
Shall be their dreadfull punishment.

Since they will not thy Choice renown;
But hate whom thou intend'st to crown;
O build not up, but pull them down:

He heares! his Name be magnifi'd!
My strength secur'd on every side,
Since all my hope on him rely'd.

These Seas of Ioy my teares devour.
My Songs shall celebrate thy Powre,
O thou that art to thine a Towre.

O thou my strong Deliverance,
Thy People, thine Inheritance,
Blesse, feed, preserve, and still advance.

PSALM XXXI

Who trusts in thee, O let not Shame deject!
Thou ever Lust, my chased Soule secure:
Lord, lend a willing eare, with speed protect;
Be thou my Rock; with thy strong arm immure.

My Rock, my Fortresse, for thy Honour aid,
And my ingaged feet from Danger guide:
Pull from their subtile Snares in secret layd,
O thou my onely Strength so often try'd.

To my safe Hands my Spirit I commend,
O my Redeemer, O thou God of Truth.

Who Lies invent, or unto Idols bend,
I have abhorr'd, but lov'd Thee from my Youth

I will rejoice, and in thy Mercie boast,
That in his trouble wouldst thy Servant know:
Deliver, when in expectation lost;
Nor yield him to the Triumph of his Foe.
Now help the Comfortlesse: my Sight deceas,
   My Spirits faint, my Flesh consumes with care:
   My life is spent with Griefe, in Sighs my Daies;
   My strength through sin dissolves, my bones impair. 20

To all my Foes I am become a scorne;
   Nor least to those, who seem'd in Love most neare;
By all my late familiar friends forlorn;
   Who when they meet me, turn aside for fear.

Forgot like those, who in the Grave abide,
   And as a broken Vassell past repair:
Traduc'd by many, (feare on every side)
   Who counsel take, and would my life insnare.

But, Lord, my Hopes are on thee fixt: I said,
   Thou art my God; my Days are in thy Hand:
Against my furious Foes oppose thy Aid;
   And those, who persecute my Soule, withstand.

O let thy Face upon thy Servant shine;
   Save for thy Mercies sake; from Shame defend.
Shame cover those who keep no Lawes of thine;
   And undeplored to the Grave descend.

The lying lips in endless silence close,
   That with despite and pride traduce the Iust.
What Ioy hast thou reserv'd! what wrought for those,
    (In sight of all) who feare, and in thee trust! 

Those shalt thou in thy secret presence hide
    From their Oppressors, Violence, and Wrongs;
They in thy close Pavilion shall abide,
    Secured from the strife of envious Tongues.

Blest he I who in a walled City hath
    To me his wonderful Affection shown.
I rashly sayd, I am the food of Wrath;
    Cut off; for ever from his Presence thrown.

Yet thou, 0 ever blessed, heardst my prayer,
    When to thy Mercie I addrest my Crie.
O love the living Lord, all you that are
    His chosen Saints, and on his Aid relie:

For he the Faithfull ever will preserve;
    And render to the Proud their full deserts.
Couragious be all they, who hope, and serve
    The Lord of life, who will confirme your hearts.

PSALM XXXII

Blest, 0 thrice blest is he,
    Whose Sinnes remitted be;
And whose Impieties
God covers from his Eyes:
To whom his Sinnes are not
Imputed, as forgot:
His Soule with guile unstain'd.
While silent I remain'd,
My bones consum'd away;
I roared all the day:
For on me day and night
Thy hand did heavie light.
My moisture dry'd throughout,
Like to a Summers drought.
I then my Sinnes confest,
How farre I had transgREST:
When all I had reveal'd,
Thy Hand my Pardon seal'd.
For this, who Godly are
Shall seeke to thee by Praire;
Seeke, when thou mayst be found;
In Deluges undrown'd.
Thou art my safe Retreit,
My Shield, when dangers threat;
Shalt my deliverance
With Songs of Ioy advance.
I will instruct, and show
The way which thou shouldst go;
The way to Pietie;
And guide thee with mine eye.
Be not like Mule and Horse,
Whose reason is their force;
Whose mouth the Bit and Reigne,
Lest they rebell, restrain.

Innumerable Woes
The Wicked shall inclose:
But those who God affect,
His Mercie shall protect.
O you, who are upright,
In God your God delight:
You Iust, his blessed Choice,
In Him with Songs rejoice.

PSALM XXXVI

When I the bold transgressor see,
My thoughts thus whisper unto me,

He never feard the Lord:
He smooths himselfe in his owne eies,
Till his secure impieties
Become of all abhorr'd.
Their words are vaine and full of guile:
They wisdome from their hearts exile;
   Forsaken Vertue hate:
Who mischiefe on their beds contrive;
Through by-waies to bad ends arrive,
   And vices propagate.

Thy mercy, Lord, is thron'd on high;
And thy approv'd Fidelity
   The lofty Skie transcends:
Thy justice like a Mountaine steepe;
Thy Judgments an unfathom'd Deepe;
   Who man and beast defends.

O Lord, how precious is thy grace!
The sonnes of men their comfort places.
   Beneath thy shady wings:
They with thy hous-hold dainties shall
Be fully satisfi'd, and all
   Drink of thy pleasant Springs.

For 0; from thee the Fountaine flowes,
Which endlesse life on thine bestowes;
   Inlightned with thy Light.
On such as know thee showre thy Grace;
O let thy Justice those embrace,
Who are in heart upright.

Let not the feet of pride defeat;
Nor such as are in mischiefe great
My guiltlesse soule surprise.

The workers of iniquity
Are falne like Meteors from the skiei
Cast downe, no more to rise.

PSALM XXXVII

Vex not thy selfe at the impiety
Of wicked men, nor their fraile height envie.
For they shall soone be mow'd, like Summers Hay;
And as the verdure of the Herbe decay.

Trust thou in God; doe good, and long in peace
Possesse the Land; refresht by her increase.

Be he thy sole delight; he shall inspire
Thy raised thoughts, and grant thy hearts desire
Relie, and to his care thy waies commend,
Who will produce them to a happy end.

He shall thy justice like the light display,
And make thy judgments as the height of Day.

Rest on the Lord, and patiently attend
His Heavenly Will: nor let it thee offend,
Because the wicked in their course thrive,
And prosperously at their desires arrive:
Abstaine from anger, heady wrath eschew,
Nor fret thou, lest ill deeds ill thoughts pursue.
God will cut off the bad, the faithfull blesse;
Who shall the ever fruitfull Land possesse. 20
After a while th'unjust shall cease to be;
Thou shalt his place consider, but not see.
The meke in heart shall reape the Lands increase,
And solace in the multitude of peace.
Against the godly wicked men conspire,
\[25\] Snash their malicious teeth, and fome with ire;
But God shall laugh at their impiety;
Because he knowes their day of Doome is nigh.
They draw their bloudy Swords, their Bowes are bent,
To kill the needy, poore, and innocent. 30
But their proud hearts shall perish by the stroke
Of their owne Steele, their Bowes asunder broke.
That little which the righteous hath, excels
Th'abundant wealth, wherein the wicked swels.
For God the armes of violent men will breake: 35
But shield the Righteous, and support the weake.

Moll. His eies behold the sufferings of the Poore:
Pisc. Their firme possessions ever shall indure;
They in the time of danger shall not dread;
But shall in Famin's rage be fill'd with Bread. 40
When vitious men shall speedily decay,
And those who slight Jehovah, melt away
As fat of Lambs, which sacred Fires consume;
And forthwith vanish like the rising fume.
The Wicked borrow, never to restore;
The Just are gracious and relieve the poore.
Whom God shall bless, they shall the Land enjoy:
Who God shall curse, them vengeance shall destroy.
The steps of Righteous men the Lord directs;
For he, even he their ordred paths affects:
Although they fall; yet fall, to rise againe:
For his, his care and powerfull hand sustaine.
I have beene young, am old; yet never saw
The Just abandoned; nor those, who draw
From him their birth, with beggary opprest.
He lends in mercy, and his Seed are blest.
Doe good, shun evill; and remaine unmov'd:
For righteous Soules are of the Lord belov'd:
His undeserted Saints protectinge still;
Their Plants up-rooting, who transgresse his Will.
Iust men inherit shall the promis'd Land,
And dwell therein, while Mountaines stedfast stand.
The Righteous Soule of sacred Judgment speaks,
And from his lips a spring of wisdome breakes:
Gods Law is in his Heart; his Light, his Guide;
Nor shall his Feet in slippery places slide.
Men seeks his bloud; but God defends; nor shall
He by the sentence of the Wicked fall.
Wait on the Lord, nor his straight paths transgresse;
And evermore this pregnant Soil possess.
    70
But those who in inquity delight,
Shall be cut off, and perish in thy sight.
The Wicked I have seen in wealth to flow,
Exceed in power, and like a Laurell grow;
Yet vanish hence, as he had never beene:
    75
I sought him, but he was not to be seen.
Observe the perfect, and the pure of heart;
They die in peace, and happily depart.
But the Ungodly are at once cut downe,
And perish without pitty or renowne.
    80
The Lord is the salvation of the Lust,
Their strength in trouble, since in him they trust:
Will those assist, who on his aide depend;
Deliver, and from impious foes defend.

    PSALM XXXVIII

Not in thy wrath against me rise:
Nor in thy fury, Lord, chastise:
    Thy Arrowes wound,
    Naile to the Ground;
    Thy hand upon me lies.
No Limb from paine and anguish free;
Because I have incensed thee:
   Nor rest can take,
   My bones so ake;
   Such sinne abounds in me.

Like Billowes they my head transcend;
Beneath their heavie load I bend:
   My Vlcers swell,
   Corrupt, and smell;
Of Folly the sad end.

Perplext in mind I pine away,
And mourning wast the tedious day;
   My Flesh no more
   Then all one Sore;
All parts at once decay.

Much broken; all my strength o'rethrown;
Through anguish of my Soul I groane.
   Lord, thou dost see
   My thoughts and mee;
   My Sighs to thee are known.

My sad Heart pants, my nerves relent,
My Sight growes dim; and to augment
   My miseries,
All my Allies
And Friends themselves absent.

Who seek my life, their Snares extend;
Their wicked thoughts on Mischief bend:
Calumniate;
And lie in wait
To bring me to my end.

But I as deaf to them appeare,
As mute, as if I tonguelesse were:
My passions rul'd,
Like one that could
At all nor speake nor heare.

Because my hopes on thee relie:
My God, I said, O heare my crie;
Lest they should boast,
Who hate me most,
And in my ruine joy.

For O! I droop, with struggling spent;
My thoughts are on my sorrows bent;
My sinnes excesse
I will confesse;
In showres of teares repent.
My foes are full of strength and pride;
Who causelesse hate are multipli'd:
    Who good with ill
    Repay; would kill,
Because I just abide.

Depart not, Lord; O pitty take!
Nor me in my extremes forsake:
    Salvation
    Is thine alone;
Hast to my succour make.

PSALM XXXIX

I said, I will my waies observe,
    Lest I should swerve:
With Bit and reignes my Tongue keep in,
    Too prone to Sin.
Nor to their calumnie replie,
Who glorie in Impietie.

I, like a Statue, silent stood,
    Dumbe even to good:
My Sorrowes boyling in my brest
    Exil'd my rest:
But when my heart incenst with wrong
Grew hot, I gave my triefe a Tongue.
Of those few daies I have to spend,
    And my last end,
Informe me, Lord; that I may so
    My Frailty know.
My time is made short as a Span;
As nothing is the Age of man.

Man nothing is but Vanitie,
    Though thron'd on high;
Walks like a shadow, and in vain
    Turmoils with pain:
He heaps up wealth with wretched care,
Yet knowes not who shall prove his Heire.

Lord! what expect I? thou the Scope
    Of all my Hope:
Him from his loath'd Transgressions free,
    Who trusts in thee:
Nor O subject me to the Rule,
And proud derision of a Roole!

With silence, since thy Will was such,
    I suffered much.
O now forbear! lest instant Death
    Force my faint breath.
When thou dost with thy Rod chastise
Offending man, his courage dies.

His Beauty wasted, like a cloth
    Gnawn by the Moth:
Himselfe a short-lif'd vanitie,
    And borne to die.
Lord, to my Prairs incline thine Bare;
And thy afflicted Servant heare.

Nor these salt rivers of mine Eyes,
    My God, despise:
A Stranger, as my Fathers were,
    I sojourne here.
O let me gather strength, before
I passe away, and be no more.

PSALM XLII

Lord! as the Hart imbost with heat
Braies after the coole rivulet:
    So Sighs my Soule for thee.
My Soule thirsts for the living God:
    When shall I enter his Abode,
And there his Beautie see!
Teares are my Food both night and day;  
While, Where's thy God? they daily say.  
My Soule in plaints I shed;  
When I remember, how in throngs  
We fill'd thy House with Praise and Songs;  
How I their Dances led.

My Soul, why art thou so deprest?  
Why O! thus troubled in my brest,  
With Grief so overthrown?  
With constant Hope on God await:  
I yet his Name shall celebrate,  
For Mercie timely shown?

My fainting Heart within me pants:  
My God, consider my Complaints;  
My Songs shall praise thee still.  
Even from the Vale where Iordan flowes;  
Where Hermon his high Fore-head showes,  
From Mitsars humble Hill

Deeps unto Deeps inraged call,  
When thy darke Spouts of waters fall,  
And dreadfull Tempest raves:  
For all thy Flouds upon me burst,  
And billowes after billowes thrust  
"o swallow in their Graves."
But yet by Day the Lord will charge
His ready Mercie to inlarge

My Soule, surpris'd with cares:
He gives my Songs their Argument.

God of my life, I will present
By night to thee my prayers:

And say; my God, my Rock, O why
Am I forgot, and mourning die,

By Foes reduc'd to Dust!
Their words like weapons pierce my bones;
While still they Echo to my Grones,
Where is the Lord thy Trust?

My Soule, why art thou so deprest!
O why so troubled in my brest!

Sunk underneath thy Load!
With constant Hope on God await:
For I his Name shall celebrate,
My Saviour, and my God.

PSALM XLIII

My God, thy Servant vindicate:
O plead my Cause against their hate,
Who seeke my utter spoile!
Deliver from the Mercilesse,
Who with bold Injuries oppresse,
   And prosper in their guile.

For of my Strength thou art the Lord.
Why like to one by thee abhor'd
   Dost thou my Soule expose!
Why wander I in black afraid!
My body worn, my mind dismay'd;
   Pursu'd by cruel Foes!

Thy Favour and thy Truth extend;
Let them into my Soule descend,
   Conducted by their light;
Conducted to thy holy Hill,
And House blest with thy Presence still;
   There to enjoy thy sight.

Then will I to thy Altar bring
An acceptable Offering,
   That doth such Joies afford:
There on a tuneful Instrument,
With Songs that join in sweet concert,
   Thy sacred praise record.

My Soul, why art thou so deprest!
Why O thus troubled in my brest;
Sunk underneath thy load!
With constant hope on God await;
For I his Name shall celebrate,
My Saviour and my God.

PSALM XLV

With heat divine inspir'd, I sing
A Panegyrick to the King;
High Raptures in a numerous stile
I with a ready Pen compile.

Much fairer then our Human Race;
Whose lips like Fountaines flow with Grace.
For this the Lord thy Soule shall blesse
With everlasting hapinessse.

Gird, O most Mightie, on thy Thigh
Thy Sword of Awe and Majestie:
In triumph, arm'd with Truth ride on;
By Clemencie and Justice drawne.

No mortall vigour shall withstand
The fury of thy dreadfull Hand.

Thy piercing Arrowes in the Kings
Opposers hearts shall dye their wings.
Thy Throne no waste of Time decayes;
Thy Scepter sacred Justice swaies.
Thou Virtue lov'st; but hast abhorr'd
Deformed Vice: for this, the Lord
Hath thee alone preferr'd, and shed
The Oile of Ioy upon thy head.
Thy Garments, which in Grace excell,
Of Aloes, Myrrhe, and Cassie smell,
Brought from the Ivorie Palaces;
Which more then other Odors please.
Kings Daughters to augment thy State,
Among the noble Damsels wait.
The Queen inthron'd on thy Right hand,
Adorn'd with Ophyr's golden Sand.
Musc.
Hark Daughter, and by me be taught;
Thy Countrey banish from thy thought,
Thy House and Family forget,
His Ioy upon thy Beauty set.
He is thy Lord; 0 bow before,
And him eternally adore!
The Daughters of Sea-circled Tyre
Shall bring their Purple, and desire
(Even they whom wealth and Honour grace)
To see the sweetnesse of thy Face.
Her mind all Beauties doth infold;
Her faire limbs clad in purfled Gold.
She shall unto the King be brought,
In Robes with Phrygian Needle wrought:
While Virgins on her train attend,
Whose Faith and Friendship know no end:
Whom they with joy shall lead along;
Eterniz'd in a Nuptiall Song;
And with renew'd Applauses bring
Unto the Palace of the King.
Thou in thy royall Fathers place,
Of Sonnes shalt see a numerous Race;
Who over all the Earth shall sway,
While the cleere Sunne directs the Day.
My Song shall celebrate thy Name,
And to the world divulge thy Fame.

PSALM XLVI

God is our Refuge, our strong Tower;
Securing by his mightie Power,
When Dangers threaten to devour.

Thus arm'd, no feares shall chill our blood;
Though Earth no longer stedfast stood,
And shook her Hills into the Flood:

Although the troubled Ocean rise
In foaming billowes to the Skies;
And Mountains shake with horrid noise.
Cleare streames purle from a Crystall Spring
Which gladnesse to Gods City bring,
The Mansion of th'eternall King.

He in her Centre takes his place:
What Foe can her faire Towers deface,
Protected by his early Grace?

Tumultuary Nations rose,
And armed troups our walls inclose;
But his fear'd Voice unnerv'd our Foes.

The Lord of Hosts is on our side;
The God by Iacob magnifi'd;
Our Strength, on whom we have reli'd.

Come, see the wonders he hath wrought;
Who hath to desolation brought
Those Kingdoms, which our ruin sought.

He makes destructive Warre surcease;
The Earth deflower'd of her Increase
Restores with universall Peace.

He breaks their Bowes, unarmes their Quivers,
The bloody Speare in pieces shivers,
Their Chariots to the Flame delivers.
Forbeare, and know that I the Lord
Will by all Nations be ador'd;
Prais'd with unanimous accord.

The Lord of Hosts is on our side;
The God by Iacob magnifi'd;
Our Strength, on whom we have reli'd.

PSALM XLVII

Let all in sweet accord
   Clap Hands, their Voices raise,
In honour of the Lord;
   And loudly sing his praise:
      Who from above,
         Dire Lightning flings:
            The King of kings;
               Of all that move.

Whole Nations of our Foes
   Beneath our Feet hath throwne:
A faire Possession chose,
   For us that are his Owne:
      The dignity
         Of Israel;
            Belov'd so well
               By the most High.
In Triumph God ascends,
   With Trumpet shrill, and Shalmes:
Praise him, who his defends;
   O praise our King with Psalms!
   For God is King
   Of all the Earth;
   With Sacred mirth
   His Praises sing.

God o’re the Heathen reignes;
   Sits on his holy Throne:
All whom the Earth susteines,
   Shall worship him alone.
   His Shield extends
   In their Defence;
   His Excellence
All height transcends.

PSALM XLVIII

The Lord is most Majesticall;
Most highly to be prais'd by all,
Within the City of our God,
And Mansion blest by his abode.
Faire Sion hath a pleasant site,
Of Earth the Beauty and Delight:
Upon the North-side bordering,
The City of the mighty King.
God dwells within her lofty Towers;
Secur'd from all assailing Powers.
Conspiring Kings her ruine sought;
Who armed Troupes before her brought.
At once they saw, admir'd, and fled;
Their hearts surpris'd with sodaine Dread.
Such feare, such pangs possest our foes;
As women suffer in their Throwes.
At thy command black Eurus roars,
And spreads his wracks on Tharsian shores.
We, what we heard our Fathers tell,
Have seene who in this Cities dwell;
The Citie of our God, which hee
Shall ever from destruction free.
Thy Favours, Lord, with Thankfulnesse
We in thy Temple still professe.
As is thy Name, thou God of might,
So are thy Praises infinite,
And stretch to Earths remotest bound:
Thy Hand for Justice farre renown'd:
O Sion, Judah's Diadem,
You Daughters of Jerusalem,
Unite your Ioyes, and glorie in
His Iudgement, which your eyes have seene.
Goe walk the Round of Sion; tell
Her Towers; observe her Bulwarks well:
On her faire Buildings cast thine eye;
Declare it to Posteritie.
For God will still our God remaine,
And us unto our Last sustaine.

PSALM XLIX

All you who dwell upon the foodfull Earth;
Both Rich and Poore; of base and noble birth,
Attend: my Tongue deep widdome shall impart;
And knowledge from the fountaine of my heart.
I unto light dark Parables will bring,
And to my solemne Harp Enigmaes sing.
In Misery and Age why should I feare,
When Sin pursues my steps, and Death draws neare?
O you who Riches as your God adore,
And glory in your scarce possessed store:
Who can redeeme his Brother for one Day,
Or to the Lord his high-pris'd ransome pay?
For O, not all the Gold, which Streames conceale,
Or Hills inclose, can banisht life repeale,
That he might live unto Eternity,
Nor in the Earths corrupting Entralles lie.
They see the Wise and Fools to Death descend,
While others their congested treasures spend:
Yet hoping to perpetuate their fame,
Proud structures raise, and call them by their name.
But Man in honour is a Vanitie,
That fleets away, and as a Beast must die.
In this vaine course, they circularly move,
And their Posterity their words approve.
Death shall as Sheep devour them in the Dust;
Till that great Day subject them to the Lust.
Their Strength and Beauty shall to nothing wast;
All naked, from their sumptuous houses cast.
but God shall from the greedy Sepulchre
My Soule redeeme, and to his Ioyes preferre.
Despaire not, when a man growes opulent,
And that the Glories of his Soule augment:
For with his thread of Life his Riches end;
Nor shall his Honours with his Soule descend,
Though here he live in luxurie and ease;
And those are prais'd, who their own Genius please;
Yet as his Fathers, he shall set in Night;
Nor ever rise to see the cheerfull Light.
Man high in honour, whose ignoble brest
No knowledge holds, shall perish like a beast.

PSALM LI

Lord, to a sinner Mercy show:
Which since in thee so infinite;
Let all thy streams of Mercy flow,
And purifie me in thy sight.
O wash thou my polluted Soul;
O cleanse me from my bloody Deed!
That to my selfe appear so foule;
And now in true Contrition bleed.
My sinnes, unmask't, before thee lie;
Who have deserv'd thy wrath alone:
Which I confess, to testify
Thy Truth, and make thy Justice knowne.
In sinne conceiv'd, brought forth in sin;
Sin suckt I from my mothers brest:
Thou lovest a heart sincere within,
Where Wisdom is a constant guest.
With Hysope purge from blemish cleare;
O wash, then falling Snow more white!
Lord, let me thy remission heare!
The Bones, which thou hast broke, unite.
Blot out my crimes; O separate
My trembling guilt far from thy view!
A cleane heart in my brest create;
A mind, to thee Confirm'd, renew.
Nor cast me from thy presence, Lord;
Nor O thy holy Spirit withdraw!
But thy life-quicken ing Grace afford;
Inlarge my will t'imbrace thy Law.
Then sinners I with heavenly Food
Will feed, directed in thy waies:
O my Redeemer, cleanse from blood
The Soule, that will thy mercie praise.
Give thou my Verse an argument;
And they thy goodnesse shall resound.
No Sacrifice will thee content;
Nor Altars with Oblations crown'd.
Else, I would Hecatombs impart:
True sorrow is thy Sacrifice;
A broken and a contrite heart,
My God, thou never wilt despise.
Thy Sion with accustom'd Grace
(Lest my foule crimes her shame procure)
In thy protecting armes imbrace;
And faire Jerusalem immure.
Then we with due solemnity
To thee our gratefull vowes will pay;
And Buls, which never Yoke did try,
Vpon thy flaming Altar lay.

PSALM LII

O thou in Mischeife great,
Why boasts thou in deceit?
Gods greater Mercy will
Protect his Servants still.
Thy tongue with Fraunde abounds,
And like a Rasor wounds;
All evill dost affect;
All that is good neglect.
Lies are thy low delight;
To Vertue opposite:
Thy words with treachery
The innocent destroy.
God shall repay thy hate,
Thy Structures ruinate;
And make thee curse thy birth:
Then teare thee from the Earth.
The Lust thy fall shall see,
Feare Him, and laugh at thee.
Lo he, who God forsooke,
Nor for his refuge tooke;
Self-strengthening with excess
Of Wealth, and Wickednes.
But I shall planted be,
Like a green Olive-tree
In Gods owne House; and will
Trust in his Mercies still.
For this, I evermore
Shall thy great Name adore;
Thy Promises expect;
The joy of thy Elect.

PSALM LIII

Fools flattering their owne vices, say
Within their hearts; God is a Name
Devis'd to make the Strong obey;
To fetter Nature; quench her flame;
When all this Unversall frame
The hands of potent Fortune sway.

Secure and prosperous in ill,
The feare and thought of God exile,
To follow their rebellious will;
Thinke nothing that delights them vile:
Their Soules with wicked thoughts defile;
And all their foule desires fulfill.
God from the Tower of Heaven his eies
On men and their endeavours threw:
Not one beheld beneath the Skies,
That sought him, or his Statutes knew:
All vice with winged Feet pursue;
But none forsaken Vertue prise.

O deafe to good! in knowledge blind!
By sinne through clouds of error led!
Dull sensuall Formes, without a mind!
Nor slow, though certaine, Vengeance dread!
The Righteous they devour like bread;
All piety at once declin'd.

These, idle terrors shall affright;
Their sleepes disturb'd by guilty feare.
God shall their Bones asunder smite,
Who impious Armes against him beare;
Nor they their infamy outweare;
Since despicable in his sight.

O that unto thy Israel
The Day-starre might from Sion spring!
And all the shades of Night expell!
When thou shalt us from Bondage bring,
How would we Lord thy Praises sing!
No joy should Jacobs joy excell.
PSALM LXII

Lord, thou art the only Scope
Of my never-fainting Hope;
My Salvation, my Defence,
Refuge of my Innocence:
Thou the Rock I build upon,
Not by man to be o'rethown.
How long will you machinate!
Persecute with causlesse hate!
You shall like a tottering wall,
Like a batter'd Bulwark, fall.
All conspire to cast me downe;
From my brows to teare my Crown:
Full of fraud, they blesse in show,
When their Thoughts with curses flow.
Yet my Soule on God attends;
All my Hope on him depends:
He the Rock I built upon,
Not by man to be o'rethown.
He my Glory, he my Tower,
Guards me by his saving Power.
You, who are sincere and just,
In the Lord for ever trust:
Pourre your Hearts before his Throne;
His, who can protect alone.
All that are of high Descent,
To the Poore and Indigent,
Nothing are but Vanitie;
Nothing but deceive and lie:
Balanc'd, altogether they
Lighter then a Vapour weigh.
In Oppression trust thou not;
Nor in Wealth by rapine got:
If thy Riches multiply,
See thou prize them not too high.
God said once; twice have I heard;
Power is his, by him conferr'd:
His is Mercie; he rewards,
And, as we deserve, regards.

PSALM LXIV

Thou great Protector, heare my Crie;
Save from my dreadfull Enemie.
O vindicate
From their close hate,
Who for my Soule in ambush lie.
From their blind Rage protect,
Who Truth and thee reject.
Who wet their Tongues, more sharp then swords,
Their Arrowes draw, even bitter words;
   To wound th'Vprite,
   With fierce delight,
When Time to their desire accords;
Then on a suddain shoot,
Nor feare divine pursuit.

Confirm'd in skilfull Malice; they
Conspire, their Nets in secret lay;
   And say; What eye
   Can this descrie?
First counsil take, and then betray;
On Mischief set their hearts,
Pursu'd by wicked arts.

But God shall let his Arrowes flie;
Wound in the twinckling of an eye;
   Each deadly stung
   By his own Tongue,
Shall with that fatall poyson die.
   Who this behold, or heare,
   Shall tremble with cold feare.

Men shall their eyes with wonder raise,
Rehearse his Deeds, and sing his Praise.
Eternitie

Shall crown their Ioy,

Who walk in his prescribed waies.

He to the Pure of heart

His Glory shall impart.

PSALM LXXV

Thy Praises, O eternall King,
Our Souls in sacred Verse will sing.
The wonders of thy Works declare;
Thy Presence in thy Power and Care.

When I shall weare the Hebrew Crown,
High Justice shall my Reign renown.
The Land with weakning Discord rent,
The People without Government,
Faint and dissolve. Her Pillars I
Support, her breaches fortifie.

Proud man, I said, renounce thy Pride;
Thou fool, thy Holie cast aside.
Doe not so high your Hornes erect;
Nor bellow, as with yoke uncheckt.
Preferment from the Orient,
Nor from the Evening-Suns Descent,
Nor Desert comes: God guides our Fates;
He raiseth, and he ruinates. A cup of red and mingled Wine
He poureth out to me and mine: But every Rebell in the Land
Shall drink the Dregs, squir'd by his Hand.

His noble Acts I will relate;
His God of Iacob celebrate;
Suppresse the Wicked, and their wales;
The just to Wealth and Honour raise.

PSALM LXXXVII

The Lord hath with his Temple crown'd Moriah, by his choice renown'd.
Not all the Tents of Israel, Or Mountains which in height excell,
He so affects, or celebrates, As lofty Sions stately Gates.
Jerusalem, thou Throne of Kings,
Of thee they utter glorious things.
Not by Judea's narrow bounds
Prescrirb'd; the Land which Nile surrounds; Great Babylon, proud Palaestine,
Rich Tyre, which circling Seas confine;
And black-brow'd Ethiopians,
Shall yield thee Citizens and Sonnes.
All sorts of People, forraign-bred, 
As Nations there indenized;  
In Sion built by immortall Hands: 
Firm as the Mountain where it stands.
The Lord in his eternall Scroll, 
Shall these, as Citizens, inroll. Mol. 
Their Musick shall th'Affections raise, 
And Songs sung in Iehovah's praise; 
Whose Blessings on this City shall, 
Like Streams from Heavenly Fountains, fall. Bez.

PSALM XC

O Thou the Father of us all, 
Our refuge from th-Originall; 
That wert our God, before 
The aery Mountaines had their birth, 
Or fabricke of the peopled Earth; 
And art for evermore.

But fraile man, daily dying, must 
At thy Command returne to Dust: 
Or should he Ages last, 
Ten thousand yeeres are in thy sight 
But like a quadrant of the Night, 
Or as a Day that's past.
He by the Torrent swept from hence;
An empty Dream, which mocks the Sense,
    And from the Phansie flies:
Such as the beauty of the Rose,
Which in the dewy Morning blows,
    Then hangs the head and dies.

Through daily anguish we expire:
Thy anger a consuming Fire,
    To our offences due.
Our sinnes (although by Night conceal'd,
By shame, and fear) are all reveal'd,
    And naked to thy view.

Thus in thy wrath our years we spend;
And like a sad discourse they end,
    Nor but to seventy last:
Or if to eighty they arrive,
We then with Age, and Sickness strive;
    Cut off with winged haste.

Who knowes the terror of thy wrath, Pisc.
Or to thy dreadful anger hath
    Proportion'd his due fear?
Teach us to number our frail days,
That we our hearts to thee may raise,
    And wisely sin and forbear.
Lord, O how long! at length relent!
And of our miseries repent;
Thy Early Mercy shew:
That we may unknowne comfort taste:
For those long daies in sorrow past,
As long of joy bestow.

The workes of thy accustom'd Grace
Shew to thy Servants: on their Race
Thy chearefull beames reflect.
O let on us thy Beauty shine!
Blesse our attempts with aide divine,
And by thy Hand direct.

PSALM CII

Accept my Prayers, nor to the Crie
Of my Affliction stop thine Eare:
Lord, in the time of Miserie
And sad restraint serene appear:
The Sighings of my Spirit heare;
And when I call, with speed replie.

As Smoke, so fleets my Soul away;
My marrow dry'd, as Harths with heat:
My heart struck down, like withered Hay;
Through Sorrow I forsake my meat,
While meagre cares my Liver eat:
The clinging Skin my Bones display.

Like Desert-haunting Felicans;  
In Cities not lesse desolate:
Like Screech-Owles, who with ominous straines &c.
Disturb the Night, and day-light hate:
A Sparrow which hath lost his Mate,
And on a Pinacle complaines.

Reviling Foes my Honour blast,
and frantick men my ruin sweare.

For Bread, I roll'd on ashes taste;
Each drop I drink mixt with a teare.
For, Lord, 0 who thy Wrath can beare?
Thou raisest, and dost headlong cast.

My Daies short, as the Evening shade;
As Morning Dew consumes away:
As Grasse cut downe with Sithes, I fade,
Or like a flower cropt yesterday.
But, Lord, thou suffer'st no decay:
Thy Promises shall never vade.

For thou shalt from thy Rest arise,
(Since now th'appointed time drawes neare)
and look on Sions miseries;
Her Walls and batter'd Buildings rear
Whose ruins to thy Saints are deare;
For they her Dust as sacred prise.
Thy Name then shall the Gentiles praise;
All Kings thy Honour celebrate;
For when the Lord shall Sion raise,
His Glorie shall ascend in State:
So prone to heare the Desolate,
And succour them in all assaies.

Vnto eternall memorie
Our Histories shall this record;
And all that are created by
His pow'rfull Hand, shall feare the Lord,
Who doth such Grace to his afford,
And on the Earth looks from on high;
To heare the pensive Captives grone;
The Sonnes of Death by him unbound:
His Name againe in Sion known,
That Salme may his Praise resound:
When in his Service all the Round
Of Earth shall there be join'd in one.
Yet, Lord, amidst these Hopes thou hast
Consum'd my strength, abridg'd my yeares:
Before my Noon of Life he past
Let me not die thus drown'd in teares.
Time wast not thee, which all out-weares;
Thy happy Daies for ever last laste.

Thou mad'at the Earth, thou didst display
The Heavens in various motion roll'd:
These and their Glories shall decay;
But thou shalt thy existence hold:
They like a Garment shall grow old,
And in their changes passe away.

But thou art still the same: before
The World, and after shalt remaine.

You blessed Soules, who God adore,
With Patient Hope your harmes sustaine:
For you shall prosper in his Reign;
And yours subsist for evermore.

PSALM CIV

My ravisht Soule, great God, thy praises sings;
Whom Glory circles with her radiant Wings,
And Majesty invests: then Day more bright;
Cloth'd with the beames of new created Light.  Pisc.
He, like an all unfolding Canopy,
Fram'd the vast concave of the spangled Skie:
And in the Aer-embraced Waters set
The Basis of his hanging Cabinet.
Who on the Clouds, as on a Chariot, rides;
And with a reigne the flying Tempest guides.
Bright Angels his attendant Spirits made;
By flame-dispersing Seraphims obey'd.
The ever-fixed Earth cloth'd with the Floud;
In whose calme bosome unseeene Mountaines stood.
At his rebuke it shrunke with sudden dread,
And from his voices Thunder swiftly fled.
Then Hills their late concealed Heads extend,
And sinking Valleies to their Feet descend.
The trembling Waters through their bottomes winde,
Till they the Sea, their Nurse and Mother, finde.
He to the swelling Waves prescribe a bound;
Lest Earth againe should by their rage be drown'd.
Springs through the pleasant Medows powre their drils,
Which Snak-like glide between the bording Hills;
Till they to Rivers grow; where beasts of prey
Their thirst asswage, and such as man obey.
In neighboring Groves the Aers Musicians sing,
And with their Musick entertaine the Spring.
He from coelestiall Casements showres distills,
And with renew'd increase his Creature fills.

He makes the foodfull Earth her fruit produce;
For Cattell grasse, and Herbs for humane use.
The spreading Vine long purple clusters bears,
Whose juice the hearts of pensive Mortals chears:
Fat Olives smooth our browes with suppling Oile;
And strengthening Corn rewards the Reapers toile.
His Fruit affording trees with sap abound.
The Lord hath Lebanon with Cedars crown'd:
They to the warbling Birds a shelter yield,
And wandring storks in lofty Fir-trees build.
Wild Goats to craggy Cliffs for refuge flie;
And Conies in the Rockes darke entrailes lie.
He guides the changing Moones alternat face:
The Suns diurnall and his annuall Race.
'Twas he that made the al-informing Light;
And with darke shadowes cloths the aged Night.
Then Beasts of prey breake from their Mountaine Caves;
The roring Lyon pinch't with hunger craves
Food from his hand. But when Heavens greatest Fire
Obscures the Stars, they to their dens retire.
Men with the Morning rise, to labour prest;
Toile all the Day, at Night returns to rest.
Great God! how manifold; how infinite
Are all thy workes! with what a cleere foresight
Didst thou create and multiply their birth? Thy riches fill the far extended Earth.
The ample Sea; in whose unfathom'd Deep Innumerable sorts of Creatures creep:
Bright-scaled Fishes in her Entraile's glide, And high-built Ships upon her bosom's ride:
About whose sides the crooked Dolphin playes, And monstrous Whales high spouts of water raise.
All on the Land, or in the Ocean bred, On thee depend; in their due season fed.
They gather water thy bounteous Hands bestow, And in the Summer of thy Favour grow.
When thou contract'st thy clouded Brows, they mourn; And dying, to their former dust return.
Again created by thy quickning breath, To resupply the Massacres of Death.
No tract of Time his Glory shall destroy: He in the 'Obedience of his Works shall joy: But when their wild revolts his Wrath provoke, Earth trembles, and the aerie Mountains smoke.
I all my life will my Creator praise; And to his Service dedicate my Daies.
May he accept the Musick of my Voice, While I with sacred Harmonie rejoice.
Hence you profane, who in your Sinnes delight; God shall extirp, and cast you from his Sight.
My Soul, blesse thou this all-commanding King:
You Saints and Angels, Hallelu-jah sing.

PSALM CXII

Halelu-jah.

That man is blest who feares the Lord,
And cheerfully obeies his Word.
His Seed shall flourish on the Earth;
Their Off-spring happy from their birth;
His House with riches shall abound:
His truth with endlesse honour crown'd.
To him in darknes light ascends:
Mild, gracious, just in all his ends.
His bounty for the poore provides:
Discretion all his actions guides.
No violence shall cast him downe;
No time deface his just renowne;
Nor rumours shake his confidence:
The Lord his Hope, and strong Defence:
Confirm'd in fearelesse fortituede,
Till he have all his Foes subdu'd.
He the necessitated feeds.
The honour of his vertuous Deeds
Shall live in sacred memory;
His Glories shall ascend on high.
Th'unjust inrag'd their teeth shall grin'd,
And languish with the griefe of mind:
Pall envy shall their flesh consume,
And all their hopes convert to fume.

PSALM CXIV

When Israel left th' Egyptian Land,
Freed from a tyrannous command;
God his owne People sanctifi'd,
And he himselfe became their Guide.
Th'amazed Seas, this seeing, fled;
And Iordan shrunke into his Head:
The cloudy Mountaines skipt like Rams;
The little Hils like frisking Lambs.
Recoyling Seas, what caus'd your dредd?
Why Iordan, shrunk'st thou in thy Head?
Why, Mountaines, did you skip like Rams?
And why you little Hils, like Lambs?
Earth, tremble thou before his Face;
Before the God of Iacobs Race;
"ho turn'd hard Rockes into a Lake;
When Springs from flinty intrailes brake.

PSALM CXX

Distrest, and in my mind dismayd,
When destitute of humane aid,
To thee successffully I prai'd.

Lord, shield me fraudulent;
From those that are on malice bent;
Who envious Calumnies invent.

O thou false tongue, steept in the gall
Of Serpents! what reward, for all
Thy mischiefe, shall to thee befall!

Like Arrows shot from Parthian strings,
Fir'd Juniper, and Scorpions stings;
Such art thou, O thou worst of things.

Wo's me, that I from Israel
Exiled, must in Mesech dwell;
And in the Tents of Ismael!

O how long shall I live with those,
Whose savage minds sweet Peace oppose;
Where Fury by dissauasion growes!

PSALM CXXI

To the Hils thine eies erect,
Helpe from those alone expect.
He who Heaven and Earth hath made,
Shall from Sion send thee aid.
God thy ever-watchfull Guide,
Will not suffer thee to slide.
He, even he, who Israel keeps,
Never slumbers, never sleeps.
He, thy Guard, with Wings displaid,
Shall refresh thee in their shade:
Suns shall not with heat infect,
But their temperate beames reflect:
Nor unwholsome Serene shall
From the Moons moyst influence fall.
When thou travallest on the way,
When at home thou spend'st the Day,
When sweet Peace thy life delights,
When imbroild in bloody Fights,
God shall all thy steps attend,
Now, and evermore defend.

PSALM CXXX

Out of the horror of the Deepe,
Where feare and sorrow never sleep,
To thee my cries
In sighes arise:
Lord from despaire thy servant keepe:
O lend a gracious eare,
And my petitions heare.
For if thou should'st our sinnes observe,
And punish us, as we deserve:
Not one of all
But then must fall;
Since all from their obedience swerve:
Yet art not thou severe,
That we thy Name might feare.

Thy mercies our mis-deeds transcend:
My hopes upon thy Truth depend:
Disconsolate
On thee I waite;
As weary Sentinels attend
The cheerfull Morns uprise
With long-expecting eies.

O you that are of Iacobs Race,
In him your Hopes, and Comforts place;
His praises sing;
The living Spring
Of Mercy and redundant Grace:
For he will Israel
Redeeme from Sin and Hell.

PSALM CXXXI

Thou Lord my witnes art;
I am not proud of heart;
Nor looke with lofty eies;
None envy nor despise;
Nor to vaine pomp apply
My thoughts, nor sore too high:
But in behaviour mild;
And as a tender child,
Wean'd from his Mothers brest,
On thee alone I rest.
O Israel, adore
The Lord for evermore:
Be he the onely scope
Of thy unfainting hope.

PSALM CXXXIV

You, who the Lord adore,
    And at his Altar wait;
Who keepe your watch before
    The threshold of his Gate;
His praises sing
    By silent Night,
Till cheerefull light
I'th'Orient spring.
Your hands devoutly raise
To his divine Recesse;
The Worlds Creator praise,
And thus the People blesse;
The God of Love,
From Sions Towers,
To you and yours
Propitious prove.

PSALM CXXXVII

As on Euphrates shadie banks we lay,
And there, O Sion, to thy Ashes pay
Our funerall teares: our silent Harps, unstrung,
And unregarded, on the Willowes hung.
Lo, they who had thy desolation wrought,
And captiv'd Iudah unto Babel brought,
Deride the teares which from our Sorrowes spring;
And say in scorn, A Song of Sion sing.
Shall we prophane our Harps at their command?
Or holy Hymnes sing in a foraign Land?
O Solyma! thou that art now become
A heap of stones, and to thy selfe a Tomb!
When I forget thee, my deare Mother, let
My fingers their melodious skill forget:
When I a joy disjoin'd from thine, receive;
Then may my tongue unto my palate cleave.
Remember Edom, Lord; their cruel pride,
Who in the Sack of wretched Salem cry'd;
Down with their Buildings; rase them to the ground;
Nor let one Stone be on another found.  

Thou Babylon, whose Towers now touch the Skie,
That shortly shalt as low in ruins lie;
O happy! O thrice happy they, who shall
With equal cruelty revenge our fall!
That dash thy Childrens braines against the stones: 25
And without pitie heare their dying grones.

PSALM CXL

Lord, save me from the Violent;
From him who takes delight in ill:
Whose heart Deceit and Mischiefe fill;
On bloody Warre and Outrage bent.

Their wounding Tongues, like Serpents whet;
Poison of Asps their Lips inclose.
O save from fierce and Wicked Foes;
Who toiles, to overthrow me, set!

The Proud have hid their cords and snares;
Spread all their Nets; their Gins have laid.
To God, Thou art my God, I said;
O gently heare thy Suppliants pray'rs.
My strong Preserver in the fight,
   As with a Helm, my head defends.
   Let not the Wicked gain their ends;
   Lord, lest their pride rise with their might.

Lord. Themselves let their own Slanders wound;
Bez. Destroy Him who their furie leads.
Moll. Let burning coles fall on their heads;
     And quenchlesse flames imbrase them round.
     Cast them into the Depths below;
     From thence, O never let them rise!
     Let Death the Slanderer surprise;
     And Mischief salvage Wrath o'rethrow.

God to th'Afflicted aid will give;
   The Poore defend from Death and Shame.
   The Lust shall celebrate thy Name;
   And ever in thy Presence live.

PSALM CXLIII

Lord, to my cries afford an eare,
   Th'afflicted heare;
According to thy Equity,
   And Truth reply;
Nor prove severe: for in thy sight
None living shall be found upright.
The Foe my Soule besiegeth round.
   Strikes to the ground:
In darknesse hath enveloped,
   Like men long dead:
My mind with sorrow overthrown;

MOLL. My heart within me stupid grown.

I call to minde those ancient Dales
   Fill'd with thy praise:
Thy Works alone possesse my thought,
   With wonder wrought.
To thee I stretch my zealous Hand;
Desir'd like raine by thirsty land.

Approch with speed; my Spirits failes;
   Thy Face unveile,
Least I forthwith grow like to those,
   Whom graves inclose.
O let me of thy Mercy heare,
Before the morning Sun appeare.

My God, thou art the onely scope
   Of all my hope;
O shew me thy prescribed way,
   Lest I should stray:
For to thy Throne I raise mine eies,
My Soule, and all my faculties.
Save from my Foes: to Thee loe I
   For refuge flie:
Informe me, that I may fulfill
   Thy sacred Will.
My God, let thy good Spirit lead,
That in thy paths my Feet may tread.

O for thy Honour quicken me,
   Who trust in thee:
Out of these Straights, for Justice sake,
   Thy Servant take.
In mercy cut thou off my Foes,
Whose hate hath multipli'd my woes.

PSALM CXLVIII
   Halelu-jah

You, who dwell above the Skies,
Free from humane miseries;
You whom highest Heaven imbowres,
Praise the Lord with all your powres;
Angels, your cleare Voices raise.
Him you Heavenly Armies praise;
Sun, and Moon with borrow'd light,
All you sparkling Eyes of Night:
Waters hanging in the aire;
Heaven of Heavens his Praise declare:  
His deserved Praise record;  
His, who made you by his Word;  
Made you evermore to last,  
Set you bounds not to be past.  
Let the Earth his Praise resound;  
Monstrous Whales, and Seas profound;  
Vapors, Lightning, Haile, and Snow;  
Stormes, which when he bids them, blow;  
Flowrie Hills, and Mountaine high;  
Cedars, neighbours to the Skie;  
Trees that fruit in season yield;  
All the Cattell of the Field;  
Salvage beasts; all creeping things;  
All that cut the Aire with wings.  
You who awfull Sceptres sway;  
You inured to obey;  
Princes, Judges of the Earth;  
All of high and humble birth;  
Youths, and Virgins flourishing  
In the beauty of your spring;  
You who bow with Ages weight;  
You who were but born of late:  
Praise his Name with one consent:  

O how great! how excellent!
Then the Earth profounder farre;
Higher then the highest Starre.
He will his to honour raise.

Yor. You his Saints, resound his Praise;
You who are of Iacobs Race,
And united to his Grace.

Halelu-jah.

PSALM CL

Halelu-jah
Praise the Lord inthrón'd on high;
Praise him in his Sanctitie;
Praise him for his mighty Deeds;
Praise him who in Power exceeds;
Praise with Trumpets, pierce the Skies;
Praise with Harps and Psalteries;
Praise with Timbrels, Organs, Flutes;
Praise with Violins, and Lutes;
Praise, with silver Cymbals sing;
Praise on those which loudly ring.

Angels, all of humane birth,
Praise the Lord of Heaven and Earth.

Halelu-jah.
NOTES

In the following notes, the signature reference applies to the location of the Psalm in Sandys' 1636 edition. Unless otherwise indicated, all underscored definitions are taken from the Oxford English Dictionary (10 vols., Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1933). I have frequently printed examples of Sir John Harington's paraphrases from the unpublished manuscript in the English Department Library of Ohio State University because it is generally unknown and unavailable to interested scholars.

I

Blr. This Psalm, economically paraphrased by Sandys in heroic couplets, shows a good deal of polish in the neo-classical style. Although it is probably based on Castalio's version, it shows considerable word borrowing from the King James Version. The marginal notations opposite lines 14-16 have been discussed above in Introduction I, section vi. Following are versions of the same Psalm as given by (1) Castalio; (2) Tremellius-Junius; (3) Sternhold-Hopkins; and (4) Edwin Sandys, George's brother.
BEATUS homo qui in impiorum consilio non uersatur, nec improborum uiam insistet, nec in sede scurrarum sedet.

Sed loue lege delectatur, de ea dies noctesq; cogitans.

Hic arbori similis est, ad aqua rium satae, fruetum suum suo serenti tempore, folijs non dea-duis, omniaq; facit prosperè.

Impijcôtrâ similes sunt paleâ, quâ veuent agitat.

Itaq; impij in iudicio, scelerati in bonorum coeta non consistent.

Nam & bonorum iuam curat Ioua, & malorum uia peritura est.\(^1\)

---

BEATUS est vir ille, qui non ambulat in cõsilio improbori, & viæ peccatori non insistit; ac in confessu derisori non sedet.

Sitatmen in lege Jehovæ est oblectatio ejus; & de lege illius meditatur ac noctu.

Erit enim ut arbor plantata ad rivos aquarum, quæ fruetum suum edit tempore suo, folium que ejus non decidit: id est, quic quid faciet, prosperabitur.

Non ita improbi futuri sunt: sed sicut gluma quam dispellit ventus.

Idcirco non consistent improbi in illo iudicio: aut peccatores in coetu justorum.

Nam agnoscit Jehova viam justorum: at via improborum perit.\(^2\)

---

The man is blest that hat not bent,

to wicked rede his eare:

Nor led his life as sinners doe,
nor sat in scorners chayre,

But in the law of God the Lord,

---

\(^1\)Biblia, Interprete Sebastiano Castalione (Basile: 1551), sig. BBBv.

\(^2\)Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra (Londini: 1580), sig. Ddd5r.
doth set his whole delight:
And in that law doth exercise
himself both day and night.

He shall be like the tree that groweth,
fast by the waters side:
Which bringeth forth most pleasant fruite
in her due time and tide.
Whose leafe shall never fade nor fall,
but flourish still and stand:
Euen so all things shall prosper well,
that this man takes in hand.

So shall not the ungodly men,
they shall be nothing so:
But as the dust which from the earth
the windes drive to and fro.
Therefore shall not the wicked men,
in judgement stand upright:
Nor yet the sinners with the just,
shall come in place or sight.

For why: the way of godly men,
unto the Lord is knowne:
And eke the way of wicked men,
shall quite be overthrown.

(A)

A description of the Righteous, and their Feliciti:
also of the Ungodli, and their Ruine, in the day of
Judgement.

O BLESSED wight! whose pure desires to stain
Th'ungodli crue in vain their counsellors bend;
In vain doo sinners ways his absence plain;
And scorners chairs in vain their poison spend:
Th'Eternals law hath rapt his whole delight;
Th'eternal law he mizeth day and night.
AS precious plant; whom juiceful veins doo fat,
The fruits enrich, unfading leaves doo grace;
(The Masters ioy, fair honour of the plat:)

(The Bible (London: 1592), sigs. A5v-A6r.)
So righteous man; whom blessings round embrace.
While wicked imps, as rootles fruitles chaf;
Which whirled round, the wynd seems cauze to
laugh.
THEREFORE when soverain Iudge of hevens and land
By final doom shal destin to 'each his place:
The iust shal shine, and glorious senat stand;
When damned rout shal fly his dreadful face.
For righteous path th'algorithmous Lord advows:
But track perverse toward dire destruction
bows.4

II

Blv-B2r. Sandys departs from his favorite decasyllabic
form in this paraphrase, using a six-line stanza in tetrameter,
with the rhyme pattern of abbacc.  The Psalm, itself is pri-
marily remembered as one of the Psalms with Messianic fore-
shadowings. It abounds in hints of the coming of Christ,
and is similar in this respect to Psalms VIII, XVI, XXII, and
XVI among others. Line 29 is an example of a line not
even enough for Hooper, who accents "blessed" in order to keep
a strict iambic tetrameter.

III

B2r. This Psalm, which has no stanza division in
Sandys' text, is divided by Hooper into four-line stanzas,
with an abab rhyme pattern. Hooper again accents a word to maintain an iambic tetrameter line, in this case, "armed" in line 11. The Psalm, which is here considerably longer than the King James Version, deals with David's prayer at the time of Absalom's rebellion (II Samuel 15). His prayer of trust in God is beautifully expressed in the King James Version.

8 Zion: the name of one of the hills of Jerusalem on which the city of David was build...in biblical and derived use, allusively for: the house or household of God; and hence connoting variously, the Israelites and their religious system, the Christian Church, heaven as the final home of believers, a place of worship or meeting house. Cf. Sir Thomas Wyatt's "Psalm 51. Misere mei, Domine," lines 77-78, reprinted by Kenneth Muir, Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955), p. 218.

15 cancred fig. infected with evil; corrupt; depraved. Cf. Spenser's The Faerie Queene, Book II, Canto I, i, 1; and Colin Clouts Come Home Again, line 680.

IV

B2v-B3r. This Psalm is David's evening prayer, as he retired to sleep, so to speak, on the bosom of God.
Sandys presents this prayer in an experimental 4.4.2.2.3 stanza, with a rhyme pattern of aabba. The novelty of the rhythm gives the Psalm a quality of freshness, and Sandys' use of dimeter is especially skilful. Hooper has accented "aspect" in line 23. For a discussion of the marginal abbreviations opposite lines 12-14, 21-24, see above Introduction I, section vi. Following are versions of the same Psalm by (1) Tremellius-Junius and (2) Buchanan:

(1)

MAGESTRO symphoniae sidium, psalmus Davidis.
Invocantem me exaudi, Deus justitiae meae; in angustia delatasti mihi locum: gratiam fac mihi, & audi orationem meam.

Filii virorum, quousque gloria mea ignominiæ futura est, dilecturi estis inanitatem; quaesituri mendacium? Sela.
Cognoscite potius separasse Jehovam sibi eum quem benignitate prosequitur: Jehova exauditurus est, cum inclamavero eum.

Commov emini, & ne peccetis; cogitate cum animo vestro, in cubili vestro, & desistite, Sela.
Sacrificate sacrificia justitiae: & siduciam habete in Jehova.
Multi dicunt, o si quis efficat ut videamus bonum: attolle super nos lucem facieitue Jehova.
Indideris lætitiam animo meo; majorem quam temporis quo frumentum illorum & mustum illorum aucta sunt.
In pace simul cubabo & dormiam; cum tu Jehova solus in tuto collocaveris me.5

5Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra, sig. Ddd6r.
O Pater, o hominum diuümq, æterna potestas,
Sincææ mihi conscie mentis,
Qui mihi consilii inopi incertæ salutis,
Imploranti rebus in arctis,
Tutum pandis iter, latum æquor:
Nunc obsesso fraude maligna
Δa mihi te facilem, & iustis bonus annue votis,
Non duræ placabilus aure.
O hominum cæcææ mentes, quò me vsq relicito
Intenti mendacibus vmbris,
Sollicita in vanas torquetis pectora curas?
Tancredite vera monenti:
Quem Deus electum miro dignatur honore,
Per discrimina cunctatuetur.
Me Dominus clamantem ad se, auxilium rogantem
Mitis & exorabilis audit.
Ergo Dei, miserî, nunc saltem agnoscite numen,
Et vitæ absistite praui.
Vobiscum in tacito per noctem expendite lacto
Longi dicta ac facta diei.
Non pecundum fibris Domini, sed mente litatur
Innocuâ: si admuerias aris
Hanc poteris sperare animi securus ab alto
Dextrâ munera larga benignâ.
Possit opes modò degeneres pars maxima vulgi,
Hæc animos vota vna fatigant.
At tu me placido tantum bonus adspice vultu:
Aurâ tui incunda favoris.
Me super irradiat: sat amico te mihi felix.
Alter frugibus horrea stipet,
Impleat & multas generoso nectare cellas,
Et congesto gaude at auro:
Aste ego, curarum vacuus de nocte recumbam,
Et sine sollicitudine somnos
Accipiam: tu securam mihi robore mentem,
Tu certâ spe pectora firmas.ō

B3r-v. In this Psalm, David, beset by enemies, shouts
with joy in the confidence that God will defend him. Sandys
Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis Poëtica Georgii Buchananii
(Herbornæ: 1624), sigs. Allr-12v.
paraphrases this in three-line iambic tetrameter stanzas, rhyming aaa.


VI

B3v-E4r. This Psalm is ordinarily classified as one of the Penitential Psalms, others being Psalms XXXII, XXXVIII, LI, CII, CXXX, and CXLIII. In Sandys' paraphrase, it remains a personal plea for help against the enemy, stressing, at the same time, the close dependence of the individual on the mercy of Jehovah. Sandys' choice of the ballad measure, however, seems unsuitable for an agonized plea to God. Hooper has broken Sandys' Psalm into six four-line stanzas, the four-beat lines following a rhyme pattern of abab as in Psalm III. "Deserved" in line 1 is accented in that version. Following is Sir John Harington's version of the same Psalm:

Psal: 6:

Domine ne in furore

Eueing 1 0 doe not Lord correct me in thy wrath
     nor chasten me in furie of thie choller
    though manie stripes my fault deserved hath
  That in thy schoole am such a Trewant scholler
2 My naked soule too tender is o god
To sensible of such a smarting Rod

3 My verie bones are in my bodie bruised
Their marrow wth this maladie doth melt
Let mercies cyle bee to my wounds infused

4  O heale my sowle of stripes so lately felt

5 If for after death can none record ye storie
Of all thy grace thy goodness & thy glorie

6 My wofull dayes succeed as wakefull nights
And of my greifes my bed a witnes beares
I weepe when I should sleepe wth their affrights
In sighes distild I bath my Couch wth teares

7 My bewtie wastes in sight of my illwillers
And of my strengthe infeebled are ye pillers

8 But get ye hence from me ye wicked ones
For God hath hard ye voyce of all my weeping
And given a gratious hearing to my grones
And now is pleas'd to take mee to his leeping
Now yow my foes yt made my greif your game
Confounded are, but backe & vext wth shame./

VIII

B5r-v. Hooper accents "arched" (l.14). This Psalm of
glorification of the Lord was also paraphrased by Sandys'
brother, Sir Edwin. It is interesting to note that both
versions are in iambsic tetrameter couplets. Sir Edwin's
version is as follows:

The Prophet DAVID admireth Gods graciousness to­
wards Man: particularly in the future humiliation
of Christ; and in the exaltation of Mans nature, in
him, and by him, ensuing. When together with the
supernatural dominion of Man intimated, the

7"King Davids Psalms," folios 6v-7r.
restauration also of the natural is expressed.
By the way the Childrens acclamation to our
Saviour at his solemn entri into the Temple, and
the powerful effect there of, are pointed at.

ETERNAL Lord; th' illustrious fame
That sounds through world thy glorious name!
Whose greatness far transcends the skys;
Whose goodness earth dooth not despize.
Even tender lips of infants yong
Thy grace inspires with praiseful song:
Whose force thy foes revengeful rage
All danted strangely dooth asswage.
WHEN vp my wondering eys I raize
Towards higher coorts which preach thy praise:
The heavens so huge, the stars so bright,
That Prince of day, this Queen of night;
All which doo thee their maker knowe,
Of peerles hand the matchless showe:
Lord, what is man, poor clot of mold,
That him in mynd thou still shouldst hold;
Or son of man, defiled worm,
Thy gracious thoughts toward him to turn!
A LITTLE thou wilt man abbase,
Beneath thy blissful Angels place:
Then ay shal man remain renownd,
With prime of glori princely crownd.
To him as King thy creatures bow,
And dueti prest that joyful vow:
What e're against his scepter swell,
His powrful foot thou down makest quell.
THE cattle myld his service bear:
Yea beasts most wyld his frouns doo fear:
What flying wing the air divides,
What swimming fin through water glides,
What creeping thing in sea or land,
Hast all subiected to his hand.
O Lord, our Lord; what glorious fame
Resounds through world thy gracious name!

B6v-B7v. Written in seven-line stanzas, rhyming aabbacc,
this Psalm is an excellent example of Sandys' metrical
Sacred Hymns, sig. B2r.
XI

B7v-B8r. Written in iambic tetrameter lines, this Psalm shows word borrowing from the King James Version, especially in lines 5 and 13.

Since I do trust Jehovah still,
Your fearfull wordes why do you spill
That like a bird to some strong hill
I now should fall a flyeng.

Behould the evill have bent their bow,
And sett their arrowes in a row,
To give unwares a mortall blow
To hartes that hate all lyeng.

But that in building they begunn
With ground-plotts fall, shalbe undunn:
For what, alas, have just men donn?
In them no cause is growing.

God in his holy temple is:
The throne of heav'n is only his
Naught his all-seeing sight can misse;
His ey-lidds peise our going.

The Lord doth search the just mans reynes,
Put hates, abhorrs, the wicked braines,
On them stormes, brimstone, coales he raines:
That is their share assigned.

But so of happy other side
His lovely face on them doth bide
In race of life their feete to guide
Who be to God enclined.9

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XIII

Böv. This Psalm presents David's exaltation in God, rising above his momentary deep sorrow. Hooper has again broken up Sandys' original paraphrase, this time into six-line stanzas, consisting of three-beat lines. Written in trimeter couplets, the poem presents an interesting experiment on the part of Sandys.

XV

Cív. Written in regular tetrameter couplets, Sandys' paraphrase of this Psalm suffers in comparison with the King James Version, where the same thoughts are expressed with a beauty of imagery and rhythm unsurpassed.

LORD, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart. He that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doeth evil to his neighbour, nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbour. In whose eyes a vile person is contemned; but he honoureth them that fear the LORD. He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not. He that putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward against the innocent. He that doeth these things shall never be moved.

XVII

C2r-v. A three-part musical setting for the first
ata stanza of Sandys' paraphrase of this Psalm appears in Bodleian MS. Mus.c.16, folio 98r.10 "Sett for three ladys,"

the parts appear as follows:

Lord lord grant my just request 0 heare my Crie 0 heare
my Crie & pray'rs yt
Lord lord grant my just request 0 heare my Crie 0 heare
my Crie
Lord lord grant my just request 0 heare my Crie 0 heare
my Crie & pray'rs yt
lips & pray'rs that lips vntoucht wth guile vnfold My
before thy
Cause
and pray'rs that lips vntoucht wth guile vnfold My
before thy
lips & pray'rs that lips vntoucht wth guile vnfold My
Cause before thy
High Tribunall try thy high Tribunall try & let thine
Eyes & and
High Tribunall try thy high Tribunall try & let thine
Eyes &
let thine Eyes my Righteousness my Righteousness behold
my Righteousness behold
let thine Eyes my Righteousness my Righteousness behold
my Righteousness behold
let thine Eyes my Righteousness my Righteousness behold
my Righteousness behold

Hooper accents "contumely" (1.20), "traced" (1.21), and "couch'd" (1.22).

5 even] ev'n Hooper.

XX

C5v-C6r. This Psalm, another of Sandys' elaborate metrical experiments, is written in five six-line stanzas,

10For discussion of manuscript, see above Introduction II, section iii.
rhyming aabbcc. Note, especially, the interesting combination of dimeter and tetrameter lines. Cf. Psalms VII, XXXIX, XLI, LV, LXXIX, LXXXVIII, CXXVII, CXLI.

XXIII

Cor-v. The Shepheard Psalm is so well known and so well loved that little need be said about its beauties as they appear in the King James Version. Sandys' paraphrase especially suffers when placed beside that version, although he retains the sense fairly well, even though the tetrameter couplets which he uses sometimes makes this difficult. He has followed the Latin usage of "Mazer", but in most cases he has followed the phraseology of the original Hebrew. Hooper accents "furnished" (1.13).

15 Mazer] cup or goblet made of maple. Cf. Spenser's The Shepheardes Calender, August, line 26: "A mazer ywrought of the maple warre."

Following are versions of the same Psalm as given by (1) Sir John Harington; (2) George Buchanan; and (3) John Vicars.

(1)

Domimus regit me.

1 The Lord is Sheaptive I his sheep himselfe both rulde & fed me
2 In pastures green he did me keepe To Christall springs he led me
His name releivd' me wanting breath
and plast in path of comfort
3 'hat though I walke in waies of Death
my sowe hath no discomfort

4 This presence is my perfect guide
this rod & staffe do cheer me
5 My foes do see thou dost provide
my food, yet come not neere me

with pretious oyle mine head thou noynst
of taste & savour daintie
Brimfull my cup thou still appoint
Yt never stayeth emptie

6 'his mercie makes me thus to spend
my daies in sweet simplicitie
And manie more thou maist me lend
to live in like felicitie.

Quid frustra rabidi me petitis canes?
Livor propositum cur premis improbum?
Sicut pastor ovem, me Dominus regit:
Nil deerit penitus mihi.

Per campi viridis mitia pabula,
Quaë veris teneri pingit amoenitas,
Nunc pascor placide nunc faturum latus
Fessus molliter explico.

Purae rivus aquae leniter astrepens
Membris restituit roboro languidis.
Et blando recreat fomite spiritus
Solis sub face torrida.

Saltus quam peteret mens vaga devios,
Errorum teneras illecebras sequens,
Retraxit miserans denuo me bonus
Pastor justitiae in viam.

Nec si per trepidas luctifica manu
Intentet tenebras mors mihi vulnera,
Formidem duce te peregere: me pedo
Securum facies tuo.

"King Davids Psalms," folios 19v-20r.
Tu mensas epulis accumulas, merum
Tu pleonis pateris sufficens: & caput
Unguento exhilaras. Conficit aemulos,
Dum spectant, dolor anxius.

Me nunquam bonitas desituet tua,
Profususque bonis perpetuâ favor:
Et non sollicitâe longa domi tue
Vitae tempora transigam.12

(3)

Isr'ell's great Shepheard is my Shepheard kinde,
In him (therefore) all needfull things I finde;
Corporall comforts, aliment externall,
Spirituall dainties, Manna, food supernal:
In fields hee foulds mee, full of tender Grasse,
Where silver-streames doe smoothlie, sweetly passe.

And when my soule with sorrow seemes deprest,
The Lord re-cheers it, with sweet peace and Rest,
And me with rules of Righteousnesse instructeth,
And me in Goodnesse graciously conducteth:
So that in Death's dire Dale I walke secure,
Thy rod, thy Staffe, supporting mee most sure.

And, maugre all the malice of my foes,
My Cuppe with all choice Blessings overflowes,
My 'able is with Dainties well appointed,
My head with Oyle of Gladnesse is annointed:
And, all my daies, God's Grace shall me defend
And in his holy-house, my life I'le spend.13

XXVIII

Dilr-v. Cf. Psalm V.

12 Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis Poetica (Lutetiae: 1575), p. 42.
13 Divers of DAVID'S PSALMES; according to the French form and metre; by John Vicars (London: 1631), as quoted by Henry Cotton, Editions of the Bible and Parts Thereof in English, From the Year MDV. to MDCCCL. (Oxford: 1852), p. 371.
XXXI

D5r-D6v. "This Psalm of trust in the Lord is paraphrased by Sandys in four-line stanzas of iambic pentameter. Hooper accents "chased" (1.2), "ingaged" (1.6), "undeplored" (1.36), "Secured" (1.44), and "walled" (1.45). Lines 9-10 were quoted by Christ on the Cross (Luke 23:46).

XXXII

D7r-v. "The second of the Penitential Psalms (cf. Psalms VI, XXXVIII, LI, CII, CXXX, and CXLIIL), Psalm XXXII is also thought to have been occasioned by David's sin with Bathsheba (II Samuel 11, 12). Sandys' short trimeter lines add a trivial note to the Psalm. Hooper accents "roared" in line 10. Following is Sir John Harington's version of the same Psalm:

Beatiquorum.

1 Thrice blessed he whose faults such favour win
hee can by grace conceal his known demerit
2 Thrice blest to whom ye Lord imputes no sin
nor findes no frawd or faishood in his spirit
3 My self had onc a sore yt inward festerd
but since I fownd how sore yt sore me pesterd
4 ffor daies & nights thy heavie hand did presse
me & waste my strength like flowrs wth
sommers heat
5 Till half inforst I said I would confesse me
and open lay my fault both fowll and great
6 No sooner I performed what I decrede
but thou forgav' st y° guilt of my misdeed

7 Hence learnes each man well minded to apply him
to seeke by prayr what time thou wilt be
fownd
8 so flowing floods shall fleete & not come nie
him for on this rocke we safe may stand &
sound
9 And sing for Ioye let all yt seeke instruction
come follow me I'le saue you from distraction

10 but be not then like hayrbraind horse or mule
 yt strive & start & strike and prone to fall
whose mouths wth bitt & bridle men do rule
11 such willfull wights have woes & ever shall
but God will Ioye & grace & peace impart
12 To faithfull folke & those are trew of hart

XXXVI

E2v-E3r. Sandys paraphrases this Psalm in six six-line
stanzas, rhyming aabccb. Again, his use of short and longer
lines in combination shows his interest in a form of experi­
mentation commonly used by his contemporaries. Cf. Psalms
XXIX, XXXVI, XLII, XLIII, LXIII, LXXI, XC, XCV, CX, CXXIII.
This Psalm is an excellent example of his dignified diction
and his sense of decorum.

20 places. place, 1638, 1648, 1676.

XXXVII

E3r-E4v. Cf. Psalms I, XVIII, XLIX, L, LXXII, LXXIII,
LXXVIII, LXXXIII, LXXIX, CIV, CV, CVI, CIX, CXXIV, CXXXII,
14"King Davids Psalmes," folio 30v.
and CXXXV for Sandys' handling of the heroic couplet. The marginal notations opposite lines 37 and 38 have been discussed above in Introduction I, section vi. Hooper accents "raised" (1. 8) and "abandoned" (1. 54).

XXXVIII

Eliv-25v. Sandys paraphrases the third Penitential Psalm in five-line stanzas, rhyming aabba. Cf. Psalms IV, XXVI, LIV, LVI, LXXXII, CXVI, and CXLII. Hooper accents "incensed" (1. 7) and "Salvation" (1. 58).

Following is Sir John Harington's version of the same Psalm:

Domine ne in furore./

1 O do not Lord in anger me reprove
   nor chasten me in tyme of deepe displeasure
2 thy shafts so sticke in mee they will not moue
   thy heavy hand hath weight exceeding measure
3 My flesh corrupts no sowndnes is therein
   my bones lacke reste by reason of my sinne
4 My strength doth faille this waight to undergoe
   the burden such yt vnder it I shrink
5 so tainted is my flesh from top to toe
    my festring sores corrupted inward stinke
6 My state & staffe of all my strength is broken
7 and of sad greife sad garments are a token
8 Though weaknes make mee mute smart makes me rore
   my hart is quite opprest wth inward anguish
9 thou seest my sighes o Lord yt sent'st ye sore
10 my eyesight fails, my fainting lymbs do anguish
11 My neighbors all & frends I hold so deare
    looks on aloofe, my kinred come not neare
And yet my foes as if all suffiz'd not
Do seeke est soone to draw my yet tall bloud
what plott what practise is yet they devisad not
yet like a man both deafe & dumbe I stood
as if yet I their fowle reproaches hard not
or yet to cleer & purge my self I car'd not

ffor still I hop't in mids of all this ill
yet of this question god would make decision
nor let my foes bee thus insulting still
nor for my plagues to haue me in derision
I see my sores & know thie Justice sent them
I will confesse my sins & so repent them

And though my foes confime their wicked faction
vngratefullie for kyndenes rendring harme
& though they seeke by sclaunder & detraction
to weaken my good name & mee disarme.
Yet Lord thou art my strength & succour cheif
make haste then I thee pray to my relieif. /15

XXXIX

E5v-E6v. Cf. Psalm XX.

8 even] ev'n Hooper.


XLII

Flr-v. Cf. Psalm XXXVI. Hooper accents "inragéd" (1.

1 imbest] obs. var. of embossed: foaming at mouth from

15Ibid., folios 31r-32r.

18 shown? showne. 1638, 1648, 1676.


XLIII

F2r-v. Cf. Psalm XXXVI.

XLV

F3v-F4v. Hooper accents "Deformed" (l. 20).


30 Ophyr's golden Sand] Ophir: "A seaport or region from which the Hebrews in the time of Solomon obtained gold. ...The gold was proverbial for its fineness...(Ps. xlv. 10;
Job xxviii. 16; Is. xiii. 12; 1 Chr. xxix. 4); and in one passage (Job xxii. 24) the word 'Ophir' by itself is used for gold of Ophir, and for gold generally. See Smith's Dictionary, pp. 477-78. For "Musc.," the marginal abbreviation, see above in Introduction I, section vi.


44 Phrygian] of or pertaining to Phrygia, an ancient country of Asia Minor, or its inhabitants. Cf. Spenser's The Shepheardes Calender, October, E. K. Gloss, s.v. "Sence bereave."

XLVI

F4v-F5v. Cf. Psalm V. Hooper accents "armed" (l. 17). 10 purle] intr., of water, a brook, etc.: To flow with

**XLVII**

F5v-F6r. Sandys here experiments with four eight-line stanzas, rhyming ababcdcd. Note, especially, his skilful use of dimer and trimeter lines. Cf. Psalms LXVII, XCIII, XC VIII, C, CXVII, and CXXXIV.

**XLVIII**

F6r-v. The 1638, 1648, and 1676 editions break the Psalm into two parts at line 13. Hooper accents "armed" (l. 12).

13 admir'd] expressed surprise or astonishment; wondered.

14 sodaine] sudden.

16 Throwes] throes.


XLIX

F6v-F7v. Cf. Psalms I, XXXVII, CIV, and CXXXVII. The 1638, 1648, and 1676 editions break the Psalm into two parts at line 21. Hooper accents "possessed" (l. 10).

34 Soule] House 1638, 1648, 1676.

LI

For-Glr. Sandys' use of ballad measure in this Psalm, the fourth Penitential, is unfortunate and detracts from its dignity. The 1638, 1648, and 1676 editions break the Psalm into two parts at line 25.

17 Hyssop] hyssop: In Biblical translations and derived use: A plant, the twigs of which were used for sprinkling in Jewish rites; hence, a bunch of this plant used in ceremonial purification. Cf. Leviticus 14:1-7; Numbers 19:1-19.


29 heavenly] heav'nly Hooper.

37 Hecatombs] transf. and fig. a sacrifice of many
victims; a great number of persons, animals, or things, presented as an offering, or devoted to destruction.

Following are versions of the same Psalm by (1) Sir John Harington and (2) Thomas Carew:

(1)

Meserere mei Deus

1 Have mercie Lord of thine abundant grace
   forgive my guilt yt greiveth all my sences
   blott out my blame my faults record deface
   with mercies mayn, remitt my maine offences
2 O wash o rence my soule wthout within
   to make me cleane from this my filthie sin./
3 ffor well I waie ye poise of my transgression
   the fowlines of my fault is still before me
4 Against thee alone I find, to thee confession
   alone I make yt canst alone restore me
   that thou ye doome pronouncing I obeying
   may shew thee lust & cleer in evry saying
5 InIn mothers wombe I shaped was in sin
6 In sin conceav'd, yet thou inward part
   requirest truthe & earlie didst begin
   to put a secret wisedome in my hart
7 with hysop Lord then lave my leprous sore
   and so then snow my whitenes shalbe more.
8 Then shalt thou cause me know some newes of gladnes
   my bruised bones shall ioy yt earst did rew
9 Oh turne thie face fro sin yt causd my sadnes
10 Make clean my hart my spryte aright renew
11 And cast mee not from out thy presence quite
   nor take fro mee thy sanctifying spryte
12 To former state of peace reduce my sowle
   confirm'd wth spryte of Princey consolation
13 so shall my works ye wickedes wayes controwle
   my sample so may mend their conversation
   ffroam crying crymes of bloud oh sett me free
   thy Iustice then my jubilee shalbee
15 Lord open thou my lipps yt shame did close 
and then my mouth shall publish forth thy praise 
yf sacrifice thee pleas'd (as some suppose) 
I should give holocausts ev'n all my dayes 
The sacrifice wth thee of greatest meritt 
ys this, a hart contrite, an humble spirit 

These these a Lord thou never dost dispise 
now let with these thy wrath be well appeas'd 
that holie Salems walls by mee may rise 
that Syons hill may finde thy goodnes pleas'd 
with offerings pure presented of our parts, 
the calves of lips on alter of our harts. 

(2)

1. GOOD God, unlock thy magazines 
   Of mercy, and forgive my sins. 

2. Oh, wash and purify the foul 
   Pollution of my sin-stain'd soul. 

3. For I confess my faults, that lie 
   In horrid shapes before mine eye. 

4. Against Thee only and alone, 
   In Thy sight, was this evil done, 
   That all men might Thy justice see 
   When Thou art judg'd for judging me. 

5. Even from my birth I did begin 
   With mother's milk to suck in sin. 

6. But Thou lov'est truth, and shalt impart 
   Thy secret wisdom to my heart. 

7. Thou shalt with hyssop purge me, so 
   Shall I seem white as Alpine snow. 

8. Thou shalt send joyful news, and then 
   My broken bones grow firm again. 

9. Let not Thine eyes my sins survey; 
   But cast those cancell'd debts away. 

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16 Ibid., folios 41v-42r.
10. Oh, make my cleans'd heart a pure cell,  
   Where a renewed spirit may dwell.

11. Cast me not from Thy sight, nor chase  
   Away from me Thy spirit of grace.  

12. Send me Thy saving health again,  
   And with Thy Spirit those joys maintain.

13. Then will I teach Thy ways, and draw  
   Converted sinners to Thy law.

14,15. Oh God, my God of health, unseal  
   My blood-shut lips, and I'll reveal  
   What mercies in Thy justice dwell  
   And with loud voice Thy praises tell.

16,17. Could sacrifice have purg'd my vice,  
   Lord, I had brought Thee sacrifice;  
   But though burnt offerings are refus'd,  
   Thou shalt accept the heart that's bruis'd:  
   The humbled soul, the spirit oppress'd,  
   Lord, such oblations please Thee best.

18. Bless Sion, Lord! repair with pity  
   The ruins of Thy Holy City.

19. Then will we holy vows present Thee,  
   And peace-offerings that content Thee;  
   And then Thine Altars shall be press'd  
   With many a sacrificed beast. 17

GLR-v. This Psalms is traditionally recorded as  
David's answer to his enemy, Doeg, the Edomite. Cf. I  
Samuel 21:7; 22:9. Sandys paraphrases it in trimeter cou-
plets. Note the Calvinistic tenor of the lines, especially  
line 30.  

17Minor Poets of the 17th Century, ed. R. G. Howarth  
LIII

Glrv-G2r. This Psalm, similar in content to Psalm XIV, is paraphrased by Sandys in six-line stanzas of iambic tetrameter. Hooper accents "winged" (l. 17) and "despicable" (l. 30).

22 Not 1676.
31 Thine Hooper.
36 shall 1676.

LXII

G8v-Hlr. Sandys again uses tetrameter, a favorite metre.
7 machinate lay plots; intrigue; scheme.
9 tottering tott'ring Hooper.

LXIV

H2r-v. Paraphrased by Sandys in five seven-line stanzas, rhyming aabbacc. Cf. Psalms X, XXVII, LVII, XGIV, CXXX, and CXXXVI. Again, note Sandys' combination of short and long lines. Hooper accents "prescribed" (l. 33).

9 even e'en Hooper.
LXXV

15v. Marginal notations are discussed above in Introduction I, section vi.

4 Power [pow'r Hooper.

Following is the Tremellius-Junius version of the Psalm:

PSALMUS LXXV

MAGISTRO symphoniae, ne perdas; psalmus Asapho & canticum.
Celebramus te Deus, celebramus: name propin­quum nomen tuum, enarrant mirabilia tua.
Cum exapero conventum, ego rectissime judicabo.
Solutas terrae omnium; habitatorum ejus, ego
aptabo columnas, Sela.
Dicens insanietibus, ne insaniatis: & improbis
ne attollatis cornu.
Ne attollatis contra excelsum cornu vestrum; ne
loquamini collo duro.
Non enim ab exortu aut ab occasu, neq; a deserto
est exaltatio;
Sed Deus judex; hunc deprimit; & illum extollit.
Nam poculum in manu Jehovae, & vinum turbidum est,
plenum mixtione, ex quo fundit; veruntamen faeces
eius quas expresserint, bibent omnes improbi terrae.
Ego itaque annuntiem in seculum, psallam Deo Jah­nakobi:
Et omnia cornua improborum seccidam; exaltentur
cornua justi.

LXXXVII

K7v. "Lor." and "Bez." are discussed above, Introduction I, section vi. Hooper accents "indenized" (1. 16).

II Chronicles 3:1. Moriah is the name ascribed to the mountain on which Solomon built the Temple. See Smith's Dictionary, p. 428.

16 indenized: made denizens or citizens of.


Following is Beza's version of the same Psalm:

Dieu pour sonder son tres-seur habitacle,  
Aux monts sacres a pris affection
Et mieux aimé les portes de Sion,  
Que de Jacob nul autre Tabernacle.

O que de toi grādes choses so t dites,  
Cité de Dieu! car Egypte & Babel,  
Lit le Signr, auront un honneur tel  
Qu'entre mes gens elles serōt écrites.

Du Tyrien, du Philistin, du More,  
Il sera dit, Un tel est né de là:  
Voire on dira, Cetui-ci, cetui-là,  
Est de Sion, où le vrai Dieu s'adore.

Dieu la viendra munir de sa puissance,  
L'Eternel, dis-je, un jour enrollera  
Un chacu peuple, & d'un chacun dira,  
Tel peuple a pris en Sion sa naissance,

Chantres alors a gorge deployée,  
Haut-bois aussi chāteront son honneur.  
Bres, dedans toi sera, dit le Seigneur,  
De tous mes biens l'abondance employée.\19

L3r-L4r. The 1638, 1648, and 1676 editions break the Psalm into two parts at line 31. "Pisc." is discussed above,

\19La Sainte Bible (London: 1688), sig. H3r.
Introduction I, section vi. Hooper accents "winged" (1.30). This Psalm, together with Psalms XCI-C, is assigned by Rabbinic tradition to Moses.

CII

M3r-M4v. The fifth Penitential Psalm, paraphrased here in six-line stanzas. Cf. his differentiation of this six-line stanza with the preceding Psalm. "In Babylon, &c." is discussed above, Introduction I, section vi.

2 Affliction] Afflictions 1676.


CIV

M5v-M6v. Cf. Psalm XXXVII. This Psalm is a good example of Sandys' use of decasyllabic couplets. The 1638, 1648, and 1676 editions break the Psalm into three parts at lines 27 and 53. Marginal abbreviations are discussed above, Introduction I, section vi. Hooper accents "embraced" (1.7), "fixed" (1.13), "concealed" (1.17), and "scaled" (1.59).

3 than] than Hooper.

30 Creature] Creatures 1638, 1648, 1676.

l. 31] cf. Psalm XLIX, line 1.

42 Conies] rabbits.

49 Heavens] heav'ns Hooper.

Following is Buchanan's version of the same Psalm:

PSAL. CIV. Benedic anima mea &c.

Te rerum Deus alme carē Dominus patremq; Magne parens, sanctâ quam maiestate verendus, Aetheris ætérnae regis moliris habenas!
Te decor, auratis ambit te gloria luneis, Et circumfusum vestit pro tegmine lumen.
Tu tibi pro velo nitidi tentoriis câeli
Et liquidas curu suscepit fornice lymphas:
Et leuibus ventorum aliser inania vectus,
Frenas ceu celeres volitantia nubila currus.
Apparent accinctae aurâe flammae ministrâe,
Vt iusas accipiant. Stat nullo mobilis sêo Terra, super solidâe nitens fundamina molis,
Pollenti stabilita manu. terra obruta quondam
Fluctibus, vt fusus super ardua culmina velo:
Sed simul increpuit tua vox, tonitruâ tremendo
Insonuere aurâ, paulatim ascendere montes
Cernere erat, sensimq cauas subsidere valles,
Indique cauas valles turbidas decurrere lymphas.
Neve iterum immissâ tellus stagnaret ab vnda,
Limitibus compressâ suis resonanât plangit
Littora, præe scriptas mentuens transcendere metas.
Tum liquidi fontes imis de collibus augent
Flumina, per virides vndas voluentia campos,
Vnde sitim sedent pecudes, quae pinguia tondent
Pascua, qui quizes onager saxa inuia siluis
Incolit, his leuibus quae tranant aëra pennis,
Per virides passim ramos sua tecta volucres
Concelebrant, multæ vagis loca sola querelis.
Tu pater aërios montes camposq iacentes
Nectare caelesti saturas foecundâ rerum
Semina vitales in luminis elisit oras:
Vnde pecus carpat viridix nova pabula foeni:
Vnde olus humanos geniale assurgat in usus:
Quaeq nouent fessas cerealia munera vires:
Quaeq hilarent mentes incundis poca vini:
Qui quines hilaris succus viridantis olui
Nec minus arboribus succi genitabilis humor
Sufficitur cedro Libanum frondente coronas,
Alitibus nidos abies tibi consita surgit,
Nutrit vbi implumes peregrina ciconia foetus.
Tu timidis montes damis: caua saxa dedisti,
Tutus vt abstrusis habitaret echinus in antris:
Tu lunae incertos vultus per tempora certae
Circumagis: puroq accensum lumine solam
Ducis ad occiduas constantiramite metas:
Inde superfusia cuncta inuoluentibus vmbris,
Per tacitas spargis nocturna silentia terras.
Tu fer aprorepit latebris, silihsg relictis
Prædator vacuis errare leuculus aruis
Audet, & e caelo mugitu pabula raupo
Te patrem exposcit: dein rursus sole renate
Abditur occultis praedatrix turba cauernis:
Inq vicem subeunt hominum bound labores,
Donec serarubens accendat lumina vesper.
Sic pater in cunetos didis te commodus vsus.
Nec tantum tellus, genitor, tua munera sentit,
Tam variis foecunda vonis: sed & aequora ponti
Fluctibus immensas circumplectentia terras,
Tam laxo spatioq sineq tot millia gentis
Squamigerae tremulae per stagna liquentia cauda
Exsultant: tot monstra ingentia & horrida visu
Veliferas circumant puttes: grandia cete
Effingunt mollies vitreo sub marmore lusus.
Asq adeq quaæ terra aruis, quaæ fluctibus aequor
Educat, à te vno pendent, pater optime, teq
Quæg suo proprioq poscunt in tempore victum.
Te magnam pandente manum, saturantur abunde
Omnia: te rursus vultum condente fatiscunt.
Te tollente animans, subito examinata recurrunt
In cinerem: inspirante animam te denuo, surgit
Illico foecunda socolis generosa propago,
Et desolatas gens incolit aurea terras.
Sic eat: Æ nullo regnet cum fine per ævum
Maiestas diuina: summâ in sæcula læetus
Peruet opus Deus, ille Deus, quo territa tellus
Concintente tremit, montes tangente vaporant,
Fumiferâ trepidum nebula testante pauorem.
Hunc ego, dum viuam, dum spiritus hoc reget artus
Vos colam: tantum elle meas facilisq bonusq
Accipiat voces: nempe illo oblector in vno.
At verq impietas plane exstirpetur ab ima
Radice, & scelerum stirps nulla repulluleq:
ac nos
te rerum Deus alme patrem Dominumq canemus.20

20Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis Poëtica Georgii Buchanani,
sigs. N4v-N6r.
CXII


23 Pale 1638, 1648, 1676.

CXIV

Nov. Psalm CXIV is one of the "Hallel," or Praise, Psalms (CXIII-CXVIII), which are commonly sung together at the Passover. On the basis of Mark 14:26, it is believed that these were the hymns sung at the Last Supper. See The Dartmouth Bible, p. 510. Hooper accents "amazed" (1. 5).

CXX


10 Parthian the ancient Parthians, a "Scythic" race, early occupied a region "corresponding to the modern Persian province of Khorasan, a considerable distance s.e. of the

11 Juniper a leguminous plant which grows abundantly in the Sinai Desert; "affords shade and protection, both in heat and storm, to travellers." See Smith's Dictionary, p. 324.

14 Mesech "one of the remotest, and at the same time rudest nations of the world." See Smith's Dictionary, p. 403. Cf. Genesis 10:2; Ezekiel 27:15.

15 Ismael the son of Abraham and Hagar (Genesis 16:15-16).

Following are versions of the same Psalm by (1) Bensa and (2) Buchanan:

(1)

Alors qu'affection me presse,
Ma clameur au Seigneur j'adresse:
Car quand je viens a le semondre,
Jamais ne faut a me répondre.
Contre ces levres tant menteuses,
Contre ces langues tant flatteuses,
Vueilles, Seigneur, par ta bonte,
Nettre ma vie a sauveté.

Vien cà menteur quel avantage
Te viendra de ce faux langage?
En quoi te sera profitable
Cette langue ainsi decevable
Tes mots sont fleches acerees
D'une puissante main tirees;
Et tes propos envenimes,
Charbons de genevre allumés.

Hélas! combien m'est ennuyeuse
Cette demeure malheureuse
Aux dessous des tentes maudites
Des Kedarins & Mesechites!
Parmi ces nations cruelles,
Qui n'aient rien que les querelles,
J'ai trop séjour la moitié,
Moi qui ne cherche qu'amitié.

J'ai beau leur parler de concorde,
Leur cœur jamais ne s'y accorde
Quand je les veux garder de battre,
Alors sont-ils prêts à combattre.21

(2)

PSAL. CXX. Ad Dominum, cum &c.

Hinc me obsidebant bella, & hinc calumniae.
Liur faces admoerat:
Ad te refugi destitutus omnibus,
Rerum creator optime.
Te voce supplex inuocai, tu meas
Non lentus audisti preces.
A fraudulentæ toxico linguae Deus
Ne protege & mendacis.
O lingua fraudis machinatrix impiae,
Quæ spe meum oppugnas caput?
Scythæ ferocis lingua pestilentior
Tinctis veneno spiculis:
Ignis voracis lingua flammas acrior,
Quum silua flagrat arida:
Neu vita tristis, vita dura & anxia,
Per inulios erratica
Mentes, latrones inter atq inhospita
Gentis feræ mapalia.
Mens âegra vitae carpitur fastidio,
Hostes quietis accolens;
Hostes quietis, blanda quos oratio
Ferociores efficit;
Quos innocentis mentio concordiae
Ad bella sæuua exasperat.22

CXXI

21See La Sainte Bible, sigs. Mlv-M2r.
22Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis Poëtica Georgii Buchanani, sig. PEr-v.
Bible at an early date as "Songs of Degrees."

Seeking a reason for this grouping, some have suggested that they were used by the dispersed Jews on their laborious journeys "up to Jerusalem" for Feast days. Others, however, hold that the "degrees" (or "ascents," as they are sometimes called) refer merely to heightened emotions (Dartmouth Bible, p. 510).

13 Serene] a light fall of moisture or fine rain after sunset in hot countries, formerly regarded as a noxious dew or mist.

CXXX

P2r-v. Cf. Psalm LXIV. This well-known Psalm is the sixth Penitential. Hooper accents "Israel" (1. 27).


Following are versions of the same Psalm by (1) Sir Edwin Sandys and (2) Sir John Harrington:

(1)

Out from the deep, to thee O Lord I cry: From place far off; yet thou good Lord be nigh. Lord hear my voice, and with attentive ear Receive the plaints which humbled soul doth rear. IF strictly Lord transgressions thou shalt ey; Lord who shall stand? in sad despair we dy. But Justice thyn stil mercies thoughts displays: That Greatnes, fear; and Goodnes love may raize. WITH patience then on God my Soule attend: (His woord, my trust:) Hee'le give thee joyful end.
As morning rays ree sential desires:
And so, and more, toward thee my soule aspires.
And patient o' await him Israel dear:
His great redemption now will soon appear.
He merci is: His merci from their thrall,
Yea from their sins, shall ransom Israel all. 23

(2)

De profundis

ffrom Horror huge of darck dispair & Deep
my Sowle hath cryde wth seas of sinne surroumded
2 On heare ye voyce ye in thynke eare hath scownded
both heare & heed and seeme not Lord asleep

yf thow of sins a Register doe keep

all flesh & blood for ever wear confounded

But thow o Lord hast grace & mearcy store
which makes vs fear thee much but love thee more

Then thow my sowle abyde in exspectacion
for on his word I sett my rest & stay

6 As they ye watch by Nyght expec ye Day

7 O Israel bee this thy Consolation
His grace is great redeeming from damnation
his Mearcy ritch thy ransome dear can pay

8 Then Israel trust in God for only hee
can clense thee from thy sins & sett thee free. 24

CXXXI

P2v-P3r. Hooper accents "Israel" (1.11). Sandys' use of trimeter couplets here suggests intimacy.

CXXXIV

P4r. Cf. Psalm XLVII.

23 SACRED HYMNS, sig. Q4v.
24 "King Davids Psalmes," fol. 105r-v.
Pér-v. This Psalm beautifully expresses the feelings of the Babylonian captives as they long for Jerusalem and home.

11 Solyma Jerusalem.


18 Salem Jerusalem.

The Egerton MS. 2960, ff. 85v-83v (reversed) contains Sandys' paraphrase on Psalm CXXXVII, minus lines 13-16, arranged in a musical setting by John Blow (see above, Introduction II, section iii). The parts appear as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{As on Euphrates shady banks I lay And there 0} \\
&\text{As on Euphrates shady banks I lay} \\
&\text{Sy-on 0 Sy-on And there 0 Sy-on 0 Sy-on to - -} \\
&\text{And there 0 Sy-on 0 Sy- -on And there 0 Sy-on to - - -} \\
&\text{Thy Ashes pay, Our Fun'ral Tears our si- lent} \\
&\text{harp's vn- -} \\
&\text{Thy Ashes pay Our Fun'ral Tears our si-lent} \\
&\text{harp's vn - -} \\
&\text{strung And vn-re-guard-ed on Wil- -ows hung} \\
&\text{strung And vn-re-guard-ed on Wil- -ows hung}
\end{align*}
\]
Lo, Lo They who had thy De-so-la-con wrought
Lo, Lo They who had Thy De-so-la-con wrought & Captiu'd Ju-dah vn-to

And Captiu'd Judah vn-to Ba-bell vn-to Ba-bell brought
Ba-bell brought vn-- to Ba-bell brought deride §

De-ride § Tears which fro- -m our Sorrows spring and
Tears w'h from our Sor- - - - rows spring & say in

say in scorn a Song of Sy-on sing. Shall we prophane our
scorn in a Song of Sy-on sing.

Harps at Their Command or Ho- -ly Hymms sing in a
Forreigne Land. 0 So-ly-ma Thou y't art now be-come

A heap of Stones & to thy Self a Tomb. Re-member E-dom 0
Re-member E-dom 0

Lord Their Cruell pride who in § sack of wretch-ed Sa-lem Cry'd
Lord Their Cru-eal pride who in $ sack of wretch-ed Sa-lem Cry'd

Down § Their Buildings down § their Buildings
Down § Their Buildings.

Down - - - § to § Ground & let not one
Dow- - - - § to § Ground & let not
Dow- - - § to § Ground & let not

Stone be on A-no-other found.
one Stone be on A-no- - - her found
one Stone be on A-no-ther found.

Thou Ba-bi-lon whose Towr's now touch § sky § short-ly
shalt as
Thou Ba-bi-lon whose Towr now touch § sky § shortly shalt
as

low in - - - - - - Ru-ines ly? 0
low in - - - - - - Ru-ines ly? 0 happy happy
hap-py happy 0 thrice happy happy 0 Thrice happy 0 thrice happy they 0 thrice happy hap-py
hap-py happy 0 thrice happy they 0 thrice hap-py

They who shall Equal Cru-e-ty re-venge our
They who shall Equal Cru-e-ty re-venge our
They who shall Equal Cru-e-ty re-venge our

fall; That dash Childrens brains A-gainst Stones
fall & dash Childrens brains A-gainst Stones & without
fall; dash Childrens brains A-gainst Stones.

Hear Their Dy-ing Groans And without pitty
Hear Their dy-ing groans And
And without pity hear Their Dy-ing groans, Their

Hear their Dy-ing Groans Their Dy-ing Groans Their Dy-ing Groans Their Dy-ing Groans Their Dy-ing Groans and without pity

P8r-v. Marginal abbreviations discussed above, Introduction I, section vi.


24 salvage savage Hooper.

Following is Beza's version of Psalm CXL:
O Dieu, donne moi delivrance,
De cet homme pernicieux,
Preserve-moi de la nuissance
De cet homme malicieux.

Lui & les siens qui lui ressemblent
Brassent en leurs coeurs mille maux,
Et me preparent & assemblent
Tous les jours còbats tous nouveaux.

Leurs fausses langues outrageuses
Ils assilent comme un serpent,
Et sous leurs levres venimeuses
Venin de vipere s'épand.

Garde moi de la main cruelle
Du mèrchant, preserve mes pas
De l'outrageux qui par cautelle
Me veux precititer enbbas.

Des orgueilleux m'ont par finesse
Leurs pieges & rets étendus,
Et par la voye où je m'adresse
Leurs trebuchets ils ont tendux.

Lors, j'ai dit en ferme fiance,
Tu es mon Dieu, ô Eternel,
Vueilles ottroyer audiance
A ma clameur, Dieu supernel.

Dieu mon maître, & mes fortes armes,
Pour me garder en tout méchef,
C'est toi qui au jour des alarmes
As couvert & muni mon chef.

N'ottroyeu méchans qui me grevent
Seigneur, l'effet de leurs désirs:
Et ne souffre point qu'ils s'ëlevent,
Amenans à fin leurs plaisirs.

Le chef de cette compagnie
Qui m'enclost, puisse recevoir
Sur foi l'ennui & facherie
Que sa langue m'a fait avoir.

Charbons leur tombent sur la tête,
Dieu les abîme tellement
Par sa foudroyante tempête,
Qu'els n'en relevent nullement.
L'homme pervers en son langage
Sur terre établi ne sera:
L'homme adonné à faire outrage,
Le mal qu'il fait le chassera.

Je sai que Dieu sera justice
A celui qui est affligé:
Et qui fait aux pauvres injustice,
Un jour par lui sera juge:

Pour vrai ton Nom plein d'excellence,
Seigneur, les justes chanteront,
Et pour jamais en ta présence
Les droituriers habiteront.25

CXLIII

Qlv-Q2v. Cf. Psalm XX. This prayer for guidance is the seventh Penitential Psalm. The 1638, 1648, and 1676 editions break the Psalm into two parts at line 19. Marginal abbreviations are discussed above, Introduction I, section vi. Hooper accents "invelopé" (91,9) and "prescripé" (1. 27).

Following is Sir John Harington's version:

Domine exaudi. /

1 Lord hear my prayr & crye respect my ruth receave my suite wth grave & myld attention  
 I joyntly call thy mearcy & thy truth
2 ffor yf to sitt as Tudge bee thyne intention what flesh can bear so sharp a reprehension
3 Behould how feirce my foe my soule pursuth And holds mee heare inclosed in a Cave  
 In state of those are closed in their grave.

25La Sainte Bible, sig. N3v.
Thus is my hart within my body greeved
my thoughts present mee woes & Desolation
yet I thy words & worcks have still beleaved
myne exercyse are thy my meditation
In them I feele such Ioyes & consolation
lyke parched Lands wth tymely raine releived
Then hast to help for for [sic] if no help thow send
My Daies will draw vnto most dolefull end
0 send my sowle some glad & Ioyfull tydinge
I trust in thee doe thow derect my way
from force of foes wee have noe safer hyding
Instruct mee for as please thee best I may
Let thy good spryte give mee sea stable stay
as in these straytes may keep my feet from slyding
And of thy grace o Lord doe thow destroy
Such foes as vex thy servant & annoy./26.

CXLVIII

Q5v-Q6r. Marginal abbreviations discussed above, Introduction I, section vi. Hooper accents "deserved" (l. 11) and "inured" (l. 26).

3 Heaven] Heav'n Hooper.
6 Heavenly] heav'ny Hooper.
10 Heaven of Heavens] Heav'n of heav'ns Hooper.
14 you] your 1676.
23 Salvage] Savage Hooper.
36 then] than Hooper.

26"King Davids Psalms," folio 113r-v.
Following are versions of the same Psalm by (1) Tremellius-Junius and (2) Beza:

(1)

HALELU JAH. Laudate Jehovam coelites; laudate eum in excelsis.
Laudate eum omnes angelis ejus, laudate eum omnes exercitus ejus.
Laudate eum sol & luna, laudate eum omnes stellae lucidae.
Laudate eum coeli coelorum, & aquae quae supra hoc coelum sunt.
Laudate nomen Jehovae quae ipso praecipiente illic co creata sunt,
Quae stabilivit in sempiternum, in seculum; quibus decretum dedit quod nullam transgrediatur.
Laudate Jehovam terrestria; cete, & omnes abyssi:
Ignis, & grando, nix, & exhalatius, ventus procellosus efficiens verbum ejus:
Ipsi montes, & omnes colles; arbores fructiferae, omnesque cedri: Ipsae bestiae, & omnia jumenta; reptilia & aves alatae.
Reges terrae, omnesque nationes; principes & omnes judices terre:
Juvenes, etiam que virgines; senes cum pucris.
Laudent nomen Jehovae: quia editum est nomen ejus solius, decor ejus supra terram & coelum:
Et effert cornu populi sui, laudem omnium quos benignè accipit; Jisraelitarum, populi propinqui sibi. Halelu-Jah.

(2)

Vous tous les habitans des cieux,
Louez hautement le Seigneur:
Vous les habitans des hauts lieux,
Chantez hautement son honneur.
Anges chantez sa renommée,

Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra, sig. MmiiMr.
Louëz-le toute son armée:
Lune & Soleil, louez son Nom:
Étoiles, chantez son renom.

Louëz-le, vous cieux les plus hauts:
Louëz-le, nuées pleines d'eaux:
Bref, tout l'ouvrage supernel
Louez le Nom de l'Eternal.

Car après sa parole dite,
Cette œuvre fut faite & construite:
Et le tout il a mesuré
D'un cours à toujours assuré.

Il en a fait un mandement
Qui se garde infailliblement:
Balaines aussi avec eux,
Louez-le au profond de vos creux.

Feux, grêles, neige, & glaces froides
Vents de tempêtes forts & roides,
Exécutans sa volonté,
Prêchez le los de sa bonté.

Louez son Nom, monts & côtaux,
Arbres fruitiers, cedres tres-hauts,
Bêtes, sauvages sans raison,
Et tout bétail de la maison.

Bêtes sur la terre rampantes,
Bêtes parmi le ciel volantes,
Rois & peuples de toutes parts,
Princes & gouverneurs épars.

Fillies, enfans, jeunes & vieux
Chantez son los à qui mieux:
Car son seul Nom est haut leve,
Et sur terre & cieux élevé.

Des ses saints la corne a haussée,
Dont leur louange est avancée,
L'Israël, di-je, par exprès,
Peuple qui lui touche de prés.28
section vi.

4 Power pow'r Hooper.

12 Heaven heav'n Hooper.
APPENDIX I: BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CATALOGUE

The following section lists and describes those editions containing Sandys' paraphrases of the Psalms in their entirety. The four seventeenth century editions are described in detail from copies owned by myself. Additional bibliographical information is based on copies of the 1636 and 1648 editions owned by the Ohio State University Library, and on material presented by Fredson Bowers and Richard Beale Davis in George Sandys: A Bibliographical Catalogue of Printed Editions in England to 1700 (New York: The New York Public Library, 1950), pp. 39-47.

In the list below, a capital "A" in parentheses indicates that the edition so listed is the only separate edition of the book, such classification being restricted to complete re-settings of the text. In cases where there is more than one separate edition, the alphabetical listing is made by lower-case letters in alphabetical order. Finally, indication of separate issues within an edition-typesetting is made by lower-case roman numbers.

Except for minor variations, the bibliographical descriptions below are based on those principles proposed by

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Fredson Bowers in his *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949). Quasi-facsimile transcription is used for all titles, including head-titles and section-titles; but swash letters are not reproduced, nor are differentiations made between the various sizes of capitals. Underscoring indicates italic type; a wavy line, black letter. Line-endings are indicated by one vertical stroke /, a rule by two strokes //, and a double rule by three strokes ///.

Wherever possible, additional copies of the editions described are located in the United States and England for the convenience of scholars interested in the editions of Sandys' works. The listing, however, is not intended to be exhaustive.

I. A Paraphrase upon The Psalms of David.

(A) 1636 (STC 21724):

A/ PARAPHRASE/ VPON/ THE PSALLMES/ OF DAVID/ And/ VPON THE
By G. S./ LONDON/ At the Bell in St. Pauls/ Church-yard. M/ENTS./
CI3. IOQ. XXVI./ Cum Privilegio Regiae Majestatis. /d./
CI3. IOQ. XXVI./ Cum Privilegio Regiae Majestatis.

Format: 8°.

Collation: \([A]^8\) (-Al), B-3\(^8\). 143 leaves. Pagination: \([3-16] + 1-271\) (146-7 misnumbered 182-3; 150-1, 186-7; 154-5, 190-1; 158, 194; no pagination 159; 225-56, 227-58) +
Imprimatur (A8v): Summa Approbationis.

Perlegi hoc Poema Paraphra cum in Psalmo Davidis, et alios Hymnos sacros, in quo nihil reperio S. Paginae contrarium, quo minus cum utilitate, ut et summa lecto rum voluptate imprimatur.


Contents: A1r-v, missing; A2r, title; A2v, blank; A3r, verses "To the King"; A3v, blank; A4r, verses "To the Queen"; A4v, blank; A5r-A6r, verses addressed to George Sandys, signed "Faulkland"; A7v, imprimatur; B1r-B8v, text of paraphrases upon first book of Psalms, headed "A PARAPHRASE UPON THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE PSALMES OF DAVID"; B1r-E8v, text of paraphrases upon second book of Psalms, headed "A PARAPHRASE UPON THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE PSALMES OF DAVID"; I3r-I2v, text of paraphrases upon third book of Psalms, headed "A PARAPHRASE UPON THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE PSALMES OF DAVID"; L3r-N1v, text of paraphrases upon fourth book of the Psalms, headed "A PARAPHRASE UPON THE FOURTH BOOKE OF THE PSALMES OF DAVID"; N2r-Q7r, text of paraphrases upon fifth book of Psalms headed "PARAPHRASE UPON THE FIFTH BOOKE OF THE PSALMES OF DAVID"; Q7v-N1v, original poem by Sandys entitled, "DEO OPT. MAX."; R2r-S8r, text of paraphrases upon songs, headed "A/

1Bowers and Davis, op. cit., p. 40, state that copies of the 1636 edition containing blank leaf A1 may be found at Bodleian, Huntington, New York Public (copy 1), and Virginia Libraries.
PARAPHRASE UPON THE/ SONGS COLLECTED OUT OF THE OLD AND NEW/ TESTAMENTS"; S8v, blank.

Note: Signed in fours (-A2, A3, A4). No catchwords on A3r; A4r; A5r, v; Q7r. Each psalm and song begins with a 2-line cap. Bowers and Davis, loc. cit., state: "The heading of book 2 was kept in type and with substitution of proper book number was utilized for the headings of books 3-5, probably for the first line of the heading to the Songs."

Copies: Personal copy bound in old or contemporary sheep; spine badly defective; covers held on cords. Copy in the Rare Book Room of the Ohio State University Library (BS 1440 63) bound in brown leather that appears to be the original. Other copies are located at: Boston Public, William A. Clark Memorial, Folger, Harvard, Huntington, New York Public (2 copies), Princeton, Virginia, Yale, British Museum, Bodleian (2 copies), and Cambridge (2 copies).

II. A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems.

(a) 1638 (STC 21725):

_ A PARAPHRASE UPON THE DIVINE POEMS._ BY GEORGE SANDYS._/ [device, McKerrow 166] _/ LONDON_ At the Bell in St. Paul's Church-yard./ CIJO. I0C. XXXVIII.

Format: 2°.

Colophon (3Dlv): LONDON, Printed by Iohn Legatt. 1637.


Section-title (glr): A/ PARAPHRASE/ UPON THE/ PSALMES OF DAVID/ By G. S./ Set to new Tunes for private Devotion:/ And a thorow Barre, for Voice, or Instrument./ BY/ HENRY LAWES Gentleman of His/ Maje ties Chappell Royall.

Section-title (3Alr [cancelled in my copy]): A/ PARAPHRASE/ UPON THE/ LAMENTATIONS/ OF IEREMIAH/ By G. S.

The reasons for the cancellation of this half-title on 3Alr are obscure. Bowers and Davis ibid., pp. 42-3, discuss the problem in some detail but cannot arrive at any plausible reason for the cancellation. Copies of this edition preserving 3Al may be found at Folger, Pierpont Morgan, and
Contents: *lr, title; *lv, dedication "TO THE BEST OF MEN, AND MOST EXCELLENT OF PRINCES, CHARLES, BY THE GRACE OF GOD KING OF GREAT-BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND: LORD OF THE FOVRE SEAS; OF VIRGINIA, THE VAST TERRITORIES ADJOINING, AND DISPERSED ISLANDS OF THE WESTERN OCEAN; THE ZEALOUS DEFENDER OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH: GEORGE SANDYS; THE HUMBlest OF HIS SERVANTS, PRESENTS AND CONSECRATES THESE HIS PARAPHRASES UPON THE DIVINE POEMS, TO RECEIVE THEIR LIFE AND ESTIMATION FROM HIS FAVOUR"; *2r, dedicatory verses to the King without heading; *2v, "To the Queene"; *3r, "To the Prince"; *3v-*4v, verses addressed to Sandys by Falkland; *5r-v, verses to Sandys by Falkland; *5v-2*1r, verses to Sandys by Henry King; 2*1r-2*2v, verses to Sandys by Sidney Godolphin; 2*2v-2*3r, verses to Sandys by "Tho: Carew"; 2*3r-v, verses to Sandys by Dudley Digges; 2*3v-2*4v, verses to Sandys by "Francis Wiatt"; 2*4v, imprimatur; 3*1r, verses to Sandys by Henry Rainsford; 3*1r-v, verses to Sandys by "Edward Waller"; 3*2v, verses to Sandys by "Wintouere Grant"; Alr-G4r, text of paraphrase on Job, headed "A PARAPHRASE UPON IOB"; G4v, blank; G1r, section-title to "DAVID" [see above]; G1v, blank; G2r, verses "To the King"; G2v, blank; G3r, "To the Queene"; G3v-G5r, verses to Sandys by
Falkland; g5v-g6v, verses to Sandys by "Dudly Digges"; g6v, "To the Reader./ The Paraphrase upon the Psalms, though here/ rank't according to the Chronology, was first/ writ and published, and therefore these verses do in/ time precede those that are fixed in the Front of the/ Volume"; H1r-02r, text of paraphrases on first book of Psalms, headed "A/ PARAPHRASE/ UPON THE FIRST/ BOOKE OF THE PSALMES/ OF DAVID"; 02v-34v, text of paraphrases on second book of Psalms, headed "A/ PARAPHRASE/ UPON THE/ SECOND BOOKE/ OF THE/ PSALMES OF DAVID"; T1r-X3r, text of paraphrases on third book of Psalms, headed "A/ PARAPHRASE/ UPON THE/ THIRD BOOKE/ OF THE/ PSALMES OF DAVID"; X4r-24lv, text of paraphrases on fourth book of Psalms, headed "A/ PARAPHRASE/ UPON THE/ FOURTH BOOKE/ OF THE/ PSALMES OF DAVID"; 2A2r-2E6r, text of paraphrases on fifth book of Psalms, headed "A/ PARAPHRASE/ UPON THE/ FIFTH BOOKE/ OF THE/ PSALMES OF DAVID"; 2E6v, blank; 2A*1r-2b*4r, text of paraphrase on Ecclesiastes, headed "A/ PARAPHRASE/ UPON/ ECCLESIASTES"; 2b*4v, blank; 3A1r, section-title to Jeremiah [see above], cancelled; 3A1v, blank; 3A2r-3A6v, text of paraphrase on Jeremiah, headed "A/ PARAPHRASE/ UPON THE/ LAMENTATIONS/ OF/ JEREMIAH"; 3B1r-3D2v, text of paraphrases upon songs, headed "A/ PARAPHRASE/ UPON THE/ SONGS COLLECTED/ OUT OF THE OLD/ AND/ NEW TESTAMENTS"; 3D3r-3D4r, original poem by Sandys entitled, "DEO OPT. MAX.", ending on 3D4r with "Iam tetigi
Note: Signed in twos (-g1; *3, g3, M3, 2E3, 3A3). No catch-words on *lv; 2*lv; 3*lv; G4r; g2r; g4v; g5r; I2v; I4r; S4v; X1v; 2E6r; 2E*4r; 3A6v; 3D2v. Each psalm begins with a 2-line cap. Bowers and Davis, ibid., p. 42, state: "The type of the head-title for bk. 2 was preserved and utilized for bks. 3-5, with change of number. The first three lines of the head-title for Jeremiah printed the head-title for the Songs and also Ecclesiastes. Hence Ecclesiastes cannot have been a very late addition."

There exists a unique copy of this edition in the Folger Library which contains two insert dedications to the Queen of Bohemia on * l+1, facing the display dedication, and on g6 l, facing David. For a complete discussion of these dedications, see Richard Beale Davis, "Two New Manuscript Items for a George Sandys Bibliography," Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, XXXVII (1943), 215-222; and R. B. Davis, "George Sandys and Two 'Uncollected' Poems," Huntington Library Quarterly, XII (1948), 105-11.

My private copy of the 1638 edition contains a nine-leaf manuscript copy of Sandys' paraphrase on the Song of Solomon bound in following sig. 2B4*, entitled "A PARAPHRASE/ VPON THE/ SONG OF/ SOLOMON/ BY GEORGE/ SANDYS/ ANNO 1637." Beautifully written, probably in the hand of a professional copyist, the manuscript is but one of several existing
copies of the paraphrase Sandys later printed in 1641 (title page: A/ PARAPHRASE/ VPON/ THE SONG OF/ SOLOMON./ BY G.S./ Cum Privilegio Regiae Majestatis./ LONDON./ Printed by John Legatt. 1641.) and 1642 (title page: [double row of acorns]/ A/ PARAPHRASE/ VPON THE SONG/ OF/ SOLOMON./ Written by G. S./ And Dedicated to the Queenes Majesty./ [orn.: urns at sides, formal design] // LONDON./ Printed for H.S. and W.L. 1642). There also exist at least four other manuscript copies of Sandys' paraphrase on the Song of Solomon, each bound in different copies of the 1638 Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems: ² (1) The Folger (Smedley) copy which contains, bound in at the end of the volume, a six-leaf manuscript headed "A Paraphrase vpon Solomons song./ Dedicated to the Queene./ But not sufferd to be printed."; (2) A copy at the University of Cincinnati Library (PR 2338 A68 1638) which contains an eight-leaf manuscript entitled "A PARAPHRASE/ VPON THE SONG/ OF SOLOMON/ By George Sandys/ Anno/ 1637."; (3) A copy at the William A. Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles (PR 2338.P21) which contains a six-leaf manuscript; and (4) a copy now in the Library Company of Philadelphia (see R. B. Davis, "Two New Manuscript Items for a George Sandys ²There are probably many others. Hooper, for example, speaks of having "met with another MS. copy inserted on the fly leaves of the folio of 1638 in the possession of Mr. F.S. Ellis, the well-known bookseller of King Street, Covent Gardens." (Sandys' Poetical Works, I, xlvii).
Bibliography," loc. cit.). It is interesting to note that two of the above manuscript copies suggest that Sandys' paraphrase on Solomon was completed and in circulation in manuscript four years prior to its first printing.

For other manuscript copies of the paraphrase on Solomon in separate sheets, see the following: Lansdowne MS. 489 (Item No. 9), ff. 131r-137r; Sloane MS. 1009, ff. 376v-385r; Bodleian MS. e mus. 201 [S.C. 3707], iii + 15 leaves. See also Arthur Clifford, Tixall Poetry (Edinburgh: 1813), pp. 335-6, who stated that he had in his possession a manuscript copy "transcribed in the year 1638."

Copies: Personal copy bound in contemporary leather. It contains the book plate of "Aldersey of Aldersey in Cheshire 1755." On the recto of first blank appears the following inscription, written in what appears to be an eighteenth century hand: "E Libris Sam: Aldersey."

Other copies are located

The pedigrees of the Aldersey family of Aldersey and Spurstow, Cheshire, are numerous and complicated. See The Visitation of Cheshire in the Yeare 1580..., ed. John Paul Rylands, XVIII (London: Harleian Society, 1882), 1; Pedigrees Made at the Visitation of Cheshire, 1613..., ed. George J. Armytage, LIX (London: Harleian Society, 1909), 5-6; and Cheshire Visitation Pedigrees 1663, ed. Arthur Adams, XCIII (London: Harleian Society, 1947), 1. It is possible that my copy was originally owed by the Aldersey family of Aldersey and later passed to a member of the family branch residing in Wigan, Lancashire, Samuel Aldersey. This Samuel Aldersey matriculated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in July, 1734, and received his LL.B. in 1738. Earlier, at the age of 17, he had matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, November 29, 1731. He was ordained a deacon at Lincoln on March 6, 1736/7; priest, December 24, 1738; and Vicar of Bunbury, Cheshire, 1760-1782. He died in February, 1802. See Alumni Cantabrigienses, Pt. I, Vol. I (Cambridge: 1922), p. 13; Alumni Oxonienses, 1715-1886, I (London: 1887), p. 13.
at: Boston Public, Cincinnati, William A. Clark Memorial, Folger (3 copies), Harvard (2 copies), Huntington (2 copies), New York Public, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton, Virginia (3 copies), Yale, British Museum (2 copies), Bodleian, Cambridge, and Victoria and Albert.

(b) 1648 (Wing S673; S674):


(ii) reset cancellans title [within single rules] A/ PARA-

PHRASE/ UPON THE/ DIVINE POEMS./ BY/ GEORGE SANDYS./ [block of 4-type orn.] // LONDON,/ Printed for O.D. MDCXLVIII.

Format: 8°.


Imprimatur (B4v): Summa Approbationis./ Perlegi haec Poëmata Sacra in Job,/ Davidis Psalms, Ecclesiæ ten,/ Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetæ, &/ alios Hymnos Sacros, in quibus omni-/ bus nihil reperio S S. Paginae contra-/ rium;
Section-title (F5r): A PARAPHRASE UPON THE PSALMES OF DAVID, by G.S. Set to new Tunes for private devotion: and a thorough parts, for Voice or Instrument. BY Henry Lawes, one of the Gentlemen of His Majesties Chapel-Royal.

Contents: A1r, title; Alv, blank; A2r, dedication and verses to the King, with row of acorns across top of page; A2v, verses to the Queen, beneath a row of fleurs-de-lis; A3r, verses to the Prince, beneath a double row of fleurons; A3v-A5r, two sets of verses, beneath a row of fleurs-de-lis, written by Falkland to Sandys; A5v-A7r, verses written by Henry King to Sandys; A7r-A8v, verses written by Sidney Godolphin to Sandys; A8v-B1r, verses written by Thomas Carew to Sandys; B1r-B1v, verses written by Dudley Digges to Sandys; B2r-B3r, verses, beneath a row of acorns, written by Francis Wiatt to Sandys; B3r-B3v, verses written by Henry Rainsford to Sandys; B3v-B4r, verses written by Edward Waller to Sandys; B4r, verses written by Wintour Grant to Sandys; B4v, imprimitur, with triple row of acorns above and below; B5r-F1r,
beneath a row of fleurons over acorns, text of the paraphrase upon Job, headed "A Paraphrase upon Job"; F4v, blank; F5r, section-title [see above]; F5v, blank; F6r, verses to the King, beneath a double row of acorns; F6v, verses to the Queen, beneath a row of fleurons; F7r-G1r, verses, beneath a double row of acorns, written by Falkland to Sandys; G1r-G2r, ode written by Dudley Digges to Sandys; G2v, notice to the reader, with triple row of fleurons (fleurs-de-lis in center) above and below; G3r-L7v, text of the paraphrase upon the first book of the Psalms, beneath a row of fleurons, headed "A PARAPHRASE UPON THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE Psalms of David"; L8r-O7v, text of the paraphrase upon the second book of the Psalms, beneath a row of fleurons, headed "A PARAPHRASE UPON THE SECOND BOOK OF THE Psalms of David"; O8r-Q4v, text of the paraphrase upon the third book of the Psalms, beneath a row of fleurons, headed "A PARAPHRASE UPON THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE Psalms of David"; Q5r-R8v, text of the paraphrase upon the fourth book of the Psalms, beneath a row of fleurons, headed "A PARAPHRASE UPON THE FOURTH BOOKE OF THE Psalms of David"; S1r-X2v, text of the paraphrase upon the fifth book of the Psalms, beneath a row of fleurons, headed "A PARAPHRASE UPON THE FIFTH BOOKE OF THE Psalms of David"; X3r-Y3r, text of the paraphrase upon Ecclesiastes, beneath a row of fleurons, headed "A PARAPHRASE UPON ECCLESIASTES"; Y3v, blank; Y4r-Z1r, text of the paraphrase upon Jeremiah, beneath a row of fleurons,
headed "A/ PARAPHRASE/ UPON THE/ LAMENTATIONS/ OF/ JEREMIAH";  
Z1v, blank; Z2r-2A5v, text of the paraphrase upon songs, be­
neath a row of fleurons, headed "A/ PARAPHRASE/ UPON THE/
SONGS COLLECTED/ OUT OF THE OLD/ AND/ NEW-TESTAMENTS"; 2A6r-
2A7r, beneath a row of fleurs-delis, original poem by 

Note: Signed in fours (-T3). No catchwords on B4v; F4r;  
2A5v. Bowers and Davis, op. cit., p. 45, state that this edi­
tion was reset from the 1638 edition.

Copies: Personal copy rebound in old leather. Copy in the 
Rare Book Room of the Ohio State University Library (PR 2338  
A6) bound in original leather binding. Other copies are lo­
cated at: Harvard (2 copies), New York Public (2 copies),  
Virginia (2 copies), Yale (2 copies), British Museum, Bodleian  
(2 copies), and Cambridge University.

(c) 1676 (Wing S675; S676):

[within double rules] A/ Paraphrase/ UPON THE/ DIVINE POEMS.//
BY/ GEORGE SANDYS./ [square of 4 type-orn.] // LONDON,/
Printed by J. M. for Abel Roper, at the Sun/ in Fleet-
street,, 1676.

press-variant imprint] LONDON,/ Printed by J. M. for  
George Sawbridge, at/ the Bible on Ludgate-Hill, 1676.  
Format: 8°.


Section-title (2Alr): [within double rules] A/ PARAPHRASE/ UPON THE/ PSALMES OF DAVID./ By GEORGE SANDYS./
Set to New TUNES for/ PRIVATE DEVOTION:/ And a Thorough-Bass, for Voice, or Instrument./ By HENRY LAWES;/ Gentleman of His Maje's ties Chappel Royal./ And in this Edition carefully Revised and/ Corrected from many Errors which passed/ in former Impressions,/ by John Playford./ LONDON:/ Printed by W. Godbid, for Abel Roper, at the Sun/ against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street, 1676.

Section-title (2B3r): A/ Paraphrase/ UPON THE/ SONG/ OF/ SOLOMON./ By G. S./ Cum Privilegio Regiae Majestatis./ LONDON, Printed for Abel Roper, 1676.

Contents: Air, title; Alv, dedication to Charles; A2r, verses to King; A2v, verses to the Queen; A3r, verses to the Prince; A3v-A5v, two sets of verses written by Falkland to Sandys; A5v-A7v, verses written by Henry King to Sandys; A7v-Blr, verses written to Sandys by Sidney Godolphin; Blr-v,
verses written to Sandys by Thomas Carew; Blv-B2r, verses written to Sandys by Dudley Digges; B2r-B3v, verses written to Sandys by Francis Witt; B3v, verses written to Sandys by Henry Rainsford; B4r, verses written by Sandys by Edward Waller; B4r-v, verses written to Sandys by Wintouer Grant; B5r-G4r, text of the paraphrase upon Job, headed "A/Paraphrase/UPON/JOB"; Glv, blank; 2A1r, section-title for David [see above]; A1v, blank; A2r, verses to the King headed with row of fleurons; A2v, blank; A3r, verses to the Queen headed with row of fleurons; A3v, blank; A4r-A6r, verses written to Sandys by Falkland headed with row of fleurons; A6v, blank; A7r-A8v, verses written to Sandys by Dudley Digges, headed with row of fleurons; A8v, notice to the reader, with rule at head and foot; Blv-Q8v, text of the five books of the Psalms of David, each book heading beneath a row of fleurons; 2A1r-2B2v, text of the paraphrase on Ecclesiastes, headed "A/Paraphrase/UPON/ECCLESIASTES"; 2B3r, section-title for Song of Solomon [see above]; 2Bv, imprimatur; signed March 31, 1641 by "Tho. Wykes"; 2B4r, verses to the King; 2B4v, verses to the Queen; 2B5r-2C6r, text of the paraphrase on the Song of Solomon, headed "A/Paraphrase/UPONTHE/SONG/OFSOLOMON"; 2C6v, blank; 2C7r-2D4v, text of paraphrase on Jeremiah, headed "A/Paraphrase/UPONTHE/LAMENTATIONS/OF/JEREMIAH"; 2D5r-2F2r, text of paraphrases
on the songs, headed "A/ Paraphrase/ UPON THE/ SONGS/ collected out of the/ OLD/ AND/ NEW TESTAMENTS"; 2F2v, blank; 2F3r-
2F4r, "Deo Opt. Max."; 2F4v, blank.

Note: Signed in fours (2Al, 2B3, 2F3, 2F4 <2F4 misprinted as E3; 2F1, 2 as F1, 2>). No catchwords on Alv; 2q8v; 2B3v.

In The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709, ed. Edward Arber, I, (London: 1903), 261, there appears an advertisement for this edition, with no price or seller given.


(d) 1872

The Poetical works of George Sandys, ed. Richard Hooper

In this two volume edition, Hooper presents, in addition to Michael Brandreth and his brother, John, of Shenstone, were admitted as pensioners at Emmanuel, Cambridge, on May 31, 1682. Both brothers were also admitted to the Middle Temple that same year. Michael, who was baptised on November 6, 1665, was buried on July 23, 1705. See Alumni Cantabrigienses, Pt. I, Vol. I, p. 206. It seems probable that my personal copy of the 1676 edition once belonged to the above Michael Brandreth, who bought it for one shilling up-on his entrance to Emmanuel, and later gave it to his sister as a gift.
a short account of the life of Sandys, the following works in a modernized text: (1) A Paraphrase upon Job; (2) A Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David; (3) A Paraphrase upon Ecclesiastes; (4) A Paraphrase upon the Song of Solomon; (5) A Paraphrase upon the Lamentations of Jeremiah; (6) A Paraphrase upon Songs collected out of the Old and New Testaments; (7) "Deo. Opt. Max."; and (8) Christ's Passion. Hooper also includes in Vol. I the tunes composed by Henry Lawes for Sandys' Paraphrases upon the Psalms.
APPENDIX II: METRICAL PARAPHRASERS OF THE PSALMS

This Appendix is an alphabetical listing of those men who metrically paraphrased the Psalms in English between the approximate dates of 1500 and 1696, when the Tate and Brady "New Version" of the Psalms appeared. It records, whenever possible, the first appearance of the paraphrases in a printed edition, extant manuscripts, and selected reprintings. Capitalization in titles has been normalized and the following abbreviations have been used:


--- "Psalmes with Musical Notes." BM Add. MS. 22597.

--- "Six Psalms Paraphrased in Verse from the Latin of George Buchanan." BM Reg. MS. 18 A. VIII.
Aylett, Robert. *Davids Troubles Remembred in I.*
Absoloms Sheep-Shearing.  2. Joab Projecting.
5. Ahithophel Hasting.  6. David Returning


Beale, Mary. Psalms 13, 52, 70, and 130, printed, according to Lowell, p. 63, in Samuel Woodford's A Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David and the Canticles... (London: 1667).


Boyd, Zachary. The Psalmes of David in Meeter... (Glasgow: 1645). For bibliographical problems connected with Boyd's editions, see Lowell, p. 60, footnote 3. Holland, II, 26-27 (Psalm 138); Glass, p. 89. See s.v. Francis Rous; Scottish Psalter.

Boyse, Joseph. Sacramental Hymns (1693). (Psalms 2, 110, 103, 104, 95, 71, 63, 65, 51, 42, 39, 27, 25, 46, 23, 9, 37, and 147). These are, says Lowell, p. 66, "not strict translations into meter as there are omissions, additions, and changes in order."


Bryan, Joseph. See s.v. Davison. Holland, I, 238-40 (Psalm 142); Farr (E), II, 333-34 (Psalm 54); 334-35 (Psalm 27); 335-36 (Psalm 142).
Carew, Thomas. See Introduction II, sec. ii, footnote 23; and s.v. Davison.

Chamberlayne, James. A Sacred Poem Wherein the Birth, Miracles, Death, Resurrection and Ascension of the Most Holy Jesus Are Delineated with His Prayer Before His Apprehension (1680). (Psalms 22, 23, 25, 31, 40, 41, 49, 51, 55, 73, 74, 90, 91, 134, 125, 133, 140). See Lowell, p. 64.


Clifford, Henry, fifth Earl of Cumberland. "Poeticall translations of some Psalms, and the Song of Solomon, with other divine poems by that noble and religious soule now sainte in heaven, the right honourable Henry earle of Cumberland...," MS. Rawlinson Poet. 95 (Bodleian Library). (16 Psalms). Farr(J), pp. 112-13 (Psalm 38); Holland, I, 300-301 (Psalm 30).


Coverdale, Miles. See Introduction I, sec. iii.


Davison, Francis and Christopher. Harleian MSS. 3357 and 6930 and MS. Rawlinson Poet. 61 each contain forty-five Psalms; eighteen ascribed to Francis Davison, twenty-two to Joseph Bryan, two to Christopher Davison, two to Richard Gipps, and one to T. Carey. The Psalm attributed to "T. Carey" is actually Thomas Carew's, as Rohr-Sauer points out, pp. 98-99. Psalm 137, attributed to Francis Davison in these manuscripts, originally appeared in John Donne's Poems... (London: 1633). Herbert J. C. Grierson,

Julian, p. 927, states that all the paraphrases of the Davison's were also printed by W. T. Brokke in his edition of Giles Fletcher's Christ's Victory and Triumph (London: 1888). Farr(E), II, 318-31 (Psalms 13, 23, 43, 73, 86, 123, 125, 130, 132, 137, 142—Francis Davison; Psalm 15—Christopher Davison). Cattermole, II, 2. 5-16 (Psalms 13, 23—Francis Davison). Holland, I, 236-37 (Psalms 13—Francis Davison); 238 (Psalm 15—Christopher Davison).


Dod, Henry. Certaine Psalmes Reduced into English Metre. ... (London: 1603). STC 2730. (Psalms 104, 111, 120, 122, 124, 125, 126, 130). All the Psalms with Certeine Songs and Canticles Reduced into Basie Meeter (London: 1620). STC 2731. Holland, I 250 (Psalm 127); Farr(E), II, 149 (Psalm 127); Cotton, pp. 367-68 (Psalm 19); Glass, p. 71.


Elizabeth, Queen. See Introduction I, sec. 5. Farr(E), I, 1 (Psalm 114).

Fairfax, Thomas Lord. Bodleian MS. Fairfax 40, pp. 1-388, contains Fairfax's metrical version of the complete Psalter. See Cotton, p. xviii, footnote i. Psalms 1, 19, 23, and 46 and printed by Edward Bliss Reed, "The Poems of Thomas Third Lord Fairfax From MS. Fairfax 40 In the Bodleian Library, Oxford," Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, XIV (July, 1909), 252-54. Other manuscript versions are mentioned by Reed, p. 244, footnote 1.


Fraunce, Abraham. The Countesse of Pembrokes Emanuell... Together with Certayne Psalmes of Davuid All in


Hall, John. Certayn Chapters Take Out of the Proverbes of Salomo, With Other Chapters of the Holy Scripture, & Certayne Psalmes of Davids, Translated into English Metre... (London: 1550). STC 12631. (Psalms 34,


Howard, Henry, Earl of Surrey. See Introduction I, sec. v, footnote 106.
Huggarde, Miles. A Short Treatise in Meter upon the CXXIX Psalme of Davi, Called De Profundis (1556). Frequently listed as a metrical paraphrase. See Lowell, p. 41; and Warton, op. cit., IV, 144.

Hughes, J. "The Psalms of David In various verse Plainely and upon the text," BM Add. MS. 30270.


James I. See Introduction I, sec. v, footnote 123.


Keach, Benjamin. Spiritual Melody (London: 1691). Lowell, p. 65, states that this edition contains Psalms 1, 2, 4, 7, 11, 15, 23, 102, 36, 37, 4, 135, 95, 84, 100, 135, 90, 103, and 148 in whole or in part.


Kethe, William. See s.v. Sternhold-Hopkins' "Old Version!" Kethe's Psalm 94 was printed at the end of John Knox's Appellation... (Geneva: 1558). STC 15063. See Lowell, p. 41. Farr(E), II, 492 (Psalm 125); Holland, I, 126 (Psalm 125).
King, Henry. See Introduction I, sec. v.

L., J. A Good Help for Weak Memories; Being the Sum of the Bible in Verse (1644). Cited by Cotton, p. 71. Lowell, p. 63, states that this edition "contains a condensed metrical version of the Psalms."


Lok, Anne Vaugh. Lowell, p. 140, gives Anne Lok as the probable author "of A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner written in Manner of a Paraphrase after the 51 Psalm of David which is annexed to a metrical translation of Calvin's Sermons upon the Song that Ezechias Made after He Had Been Sick...(1550)."


Marchant, John. See s.v. Sternhold Hopkins' "Old Version."


Mure, Sir William. "Some Psalmes translated and presented for a proof to publick view, wherby to discern of the whole being conformed to this essay. By a Weilwiller to the work of the Reformation, who makes humble offer of his weak endeavours." A manuscript version of Mure's paraphrases of Psalms 1-51, 100-150. Printed by William Tough in his edition of *The Works of Sir William Mure of Rowallan, II* (Edinburgh and London: S.T.C., XLI, 1898), 53-232. Tough discusses other manuscript versions of Mure's paraphrases, pp. 299-300. Tough prints Sir William Mure's manuscript Psalms for the first time, with the exception of Psalms 15, 23, and 122, which were printed in the appendix to *The Historie and Descent of the House of Rowallane*, ed. William Muir (Glasgow: 1825); and Psalms 1 and 22, which were printed in the appendix to *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A.M. Principal of the University of Glasgow, III* (Edinburgh: 1842).


Oldham, John. Psalm 137 in his Remains (London: 1683). Cited by Julian, p. 928; and Cotton, p. 193. Lowell, p. 64, states that she has seen it "in the 1684 edition of his Works, where it is not shown to be part of the Remains."

Parker, Matthew. See Introduction I, sec. v, footnote 93. Holland, I, 173-74 (Psalm 129); Farr(E), I, 2-3 (Psalm 92); Glass, p. 63.


John Josselyn, in his Account of Two Voyages to New England, London, 1674, pp. 19-20, states that when he reached Boston in July, 1638, he delivered to Rev. John Cotton "from Mr. Francis Quarles the poet, the translation of the 16, 25, 51, 88, 113 and 137 Psalms into English meeter, for his approbation." It does not appear that any of Quarles' work was incorporated in the new book [Bay Psalm Book]. Certainly the versions of these particular psalms are not noticeably superior to the rest of the translations.

The six Psalms are not printed in A. B. Grosart's edition of The Complete Works in Prose and Verse, of Francis Quarles (3 vols., Blackburn: 1880-1881). Quarles' Psalms will be discussed by Raymond Tyner in a dissertation entitled "Francis Quarles: His Literary Ancestry and Contemporary Setting as a Religious Poet," now in progress at London University.


Rous, Francis. The Booke of Psalmes in English Meeter (London: 1641). Other editions appeared in 1643, 1646, and 1647. The Authorized Scottish Psalter of 1650 (see s.v. Scottish Psalter) was "basically Rous' Psalter with revisions and additions from Boyd, Mure, and Barton" (Lowell, p. 56). See Glass, pp. 84-86; and Cotton, pp. 178, 179, 181. Holland, II, 35-36 (Psalm 99); Cotton, p. 373 (Psalm 19, 1641 ed.), p. 374 (Psalm 19, 1646 ed.).


Sandys, George. See Appendix I: Bibliographical Catalogue.


Shepherd, Lucas. Warton, op. cit., IV, 141, states that Shepherd of Colchester produced "a metrical translation of some of David's Psalms about the year 1554."

Skory, Edmond. Psalms 21 and 45 in BM Reg. MS. 17 D. X.


Smith, Sir Thomas. See Introduction I, sec. v, footnote 108.


Stanyhurst, Richard. Psalms 1, 2, 3, and 4 appended to Thee First Foure Bookes of Virgil His Aeneis... (London: 1582). STC 24506. Cotton, p. 153, footnote t, states that the Psalms "are in the Classic metres, Heroic, Elegiac, Asclepiad, Iambic, and Sapphic." Holland, I, 189 (Psalm 2); Cotton, pp. 363-64 (Psalm 2).


Wedderburn, John, James, and Robert. See Introduction I, sec. iiii.


Wither, George. See Introduction I, sec. v, footnote 94.

Woodford, Samuel. A Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David... (London: 1667). Manuscript version is in BM MS. Harleian 1768. Holland, II, 73-75 (Psalm 147); Glass, pp. 95-96.

Wyatt, Sir Thomas. See Introduction I, sec. v, footnote 103.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRINTED SELECTIONS OF SANDYS' PARAPHRASES OF THE PSALMS

Editions containing Sandys' paraphrases of the Psalms in their entirety are described in Appendix I: Bibliographical Catalogue.


\[ \text{The Psalms of George Sandys... Circa} \quad 1670. \] See Introduction II, section iii, footnote 21.

Psalmody for a Single Voice... First published with Mr. George Sandys's "Paraphrase of the Psalms of David" in the year 1638... With a Variation of each Psalm Tune... by Matthew Camidge... To which is prefixed, Some Introductory Reasons for this Publication, by W. Mason, M.A. Precentor of York. York: 1709; second edition, 1790.

Todd, Henry John (ed.). Selections from the Metrical Paraphrases on the Psalms... by George Sandys... London: 1839. Contains the following selections: Psalm 8, pp. 49-50; from Psalm 17, p. 50; from Psalm 26, p. 51; from Psalm 28, p. 52; from Psalm 90, pp. 52-3; from Psalm 91, pp. 53-4; from Psalm 103, p. 55; from Psalm 104, p. 56; from Psalm 121, p. 57; from Psalm 130, p. 58; from Psalm 137, pp. 59-60; from Psalm 139, p. 61; from Psalm 148, p. 62.


II. LIFE AND WORKS OF GEORGE SANDYS

A. MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL

I have used Mr. Alexander McElwain's transcriptions of the following manuscript items:

Baker's Cambridge Collection, Vol. XIV; Harley MS. 7041, f. 148r.

Conveyance: Close Roll 54/1886, 5 James I, Pt. 9, P.R.O.


Indenture: Close Roll 54/1801, 3 James I, Pt. III, m. 2d. P.R.O.


Lansdowne MS. 37 (Items 15, 19, 24, 25, 27).

Lansdowne MS. 38 (Items 76, 77 [1], 78).

Lansdowne MS. 50 (Item 34).


Torre MSS. York Minster Library, York.

Will of Archbishop Edwin Sandys (1 August, 1587). Diocesan Registry, York.

Will of John Norton (12 December, 1584). District Probate Registry, York.

Yorkshire, Feet of Fine, Trin. Term 6 Jas. I [1608]. P.R.O.
Additional manuscript items are as follows:

**Bodleian MS. Mus.c.16 [S.C. 1669], f. 98r.** Sandys' paraphrase of Psalm 17.

**Bodleian MS. e. Mus. 201 [S.C. 3707], 111+15 leaves.** Sandys' paraphrase of Song of Solomon.


**Egerton MS. 2711, ff. 104r-107r.** Sir John Harington's paraphrase of the Seven Penitential Psalms.

**Egerton MS. 2960, ff. 85v-83v (reversed).** Sandys' paraphrase of Psalm CXXXVII.

**Hunter, Joseph. Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum. BM Add. MSS. 21487-21492.** A manuscript collection in six volumes containing notes on the poets and verse writers of the English nation, with index to each. See vol. III, BM Add. MS. 21489, ff. 214r-216, for notes on George Sandys. I have used photostats of the copy in the University of Pennsylvania Library.

**Lansdowne MS. 489 (Item 9), ff. 131r-137r.** Sandys' paraphrase of Song of Solomon.

**Sloane MS. 1009, ff. 376v-385r.** Sandys' paraphrase of Song of Solomon.

The English Department Library of the Ohio State University MS. of "King Davids Psalmes." The manuscript copy of Sir John Harington's metrical Psalter. For complete description, see above Introduction I, footnote 119.
B. PRINTED BOOKS AND ARTICLES

(1). General background material on the Sandys' family.


. George Sandys and Two 'Uncollected' Poems," Huntington Library Quarterly, XII (1948), 105-111.


Hardy, Thomas Duffus. Syllabus (in English) of the Documents Relating to England and Other Kingdoms Contained in the Collection Known as 'Rymer's Foedera.' 3 vols. London: 1869-1885.


Herbert, Sir Thomas. Memoirs of the Two Last Years of the Reign of King Charles I. London: 1702.


Pleasants, J. Hall. "Sandys of Furnace Fells, Lancashire," The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXX (1921), 227-245.


Schelling, Felix E. "Ben Jonson and the Classical School," PMLA, XIII (1898), 221-249.


Wither, George. The Great Assises Holden in Parnassus By Apollo And His Assessours.... Manchester: Spenser Society, XL, 1885.


Yorkshire Fines for the Stuart Period...1603-1614. The Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, Record Series: 1915. LIII.
(2). Material relative to Sandys and his two years of travel in Turkey, Egypt, Palestine, and Italy.


- "Sir Thomas Browne and His Reading," PMLA, XLVIII (1933), 430.


(3) Material relative to George Sandys and his brother, Sir Edwin, and their connection with the English Colony of Virginia in America.


Swem, E. G. Virginia Historical Index. 2 vols. Roanoke, Va.: The Stone Printing and Manufacturing Co., 1934-1936. This work indexes and following volumes: (1) Calendar of Virginia State Papers; (2) W. W. Hening's Statutes at Large; (3) The Lower Norfolk Country Virginia Antiquary; (4) Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine; (5) Virginia Historical Register; (6) Virginia Magazine of History and Biography; and (7) William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, Series 1-2.


III. GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY


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AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I, Karl Eugene Schmutzler, was born in Barberton, Ohio, February 11, 1922, and received my secondary school education in the public schools of that city. My undergraduate training was obtained at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, 1939 to 1942, and Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, 1942 to 1943. In September, 1943, I entered the USNR Midshipmen's School at Northwestern University, Chicago, and was commissioned Ensign USNR in December of that year. From January, 1944, to June, 1946, I served as Coding and Communications Officer with the USN Fleet. After my release from the USNR, I received the degree Bachelor of Arts in Education from Wheaton College in 1946. In 1948, I received the degree Master of Arts in English from The Ohio State University. After serving as Instructor in English at The King's College, Delaware, from 1949 to 1950, I began work on the degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of English at The Ohio State University, acting in the capacity of assistant to Professor Ruth Hughey and teaching Freshman Composition. In 1954 I was appointed Assistant Instructor in English and held this position for two years while completing the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy.