



RICHARD S. M. HIRSCH

The Works of Chidiock Tichborne

(text)

Introduction

Although the much-admired “Lament” of the Elizabethan Catholic poet and martyr Chidiock Tichborne (1558?–1586) prefigures the poems of Robert Southwell, survives in dozens of contemporary manuscripts, and has often been printed in modern anthologies, it has until now never been critically edited. In this the year of the four hundredth anniversary of Tichborne’s execution, it seems particularly appropriate to provide a critical edition not only of this famous and beautiful poem, but also of his two other poems, his last letter to his wife, and his speech at his execution.

Little is known of Chidiock Tichborne before his involvement in the Babington Plot, which was to put him on the scaffold convicted of high treason when still in his twenties. He seems to have been born in or near Southampton about 1558 (DNB), and if that was his birth-year, it was a fateful one, for in that year Elizabeth I came to the throne and returned England to the Protestant faith after a five-year resumption of its ancient Roman Catholicism under Mary and her unpopular consort, Philip II of Spain. For the Tichbornes were fanatically Roman Catholic, and Chidiock grew up at odds with the religious and political climate of his times.

An ancient and wealthy Hampshire family, the Tichbornes all spurned the new faith. Chidiock’s mother, Mistress Elizabeth Tichborne, and his uncles, Roger and Nicholas Tichborne, were described as “obstinate Papists” in a document listing the recusants in the Diocese of Winchester in 1572.¹ Nicholas, describing himself as the younger brother of a younger brother, further excuses himself to the Privy Council for not furnishing light horse for the shire’s defence by remarking that he is in gaol for recusancy.² His brothers Gilbert and Peter Tichborne of Porchester were both committed to prison for recusancy some years after the Babington Plot, in 1592.³

1. *Calendar of Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury, K. G., preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, Part II, pp. 36–37 (hereafter *Cal. Sal. MS.*). The baptismal, marriage and burial records in the parishes of Longwood and Porchester, the two places with which Chidiock and his immediate family are associated in contemporary documents, only began in 1600 and 1607 respectively, so exact dates for his birth and marriage are not possible to give.

2. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Vol. II (1581–1590), p. 278. (Hereafter *CSPD.*)

3. *Cal. Sal. MSS*, Part IV, p. 271.

For his part, young Chidioc seems to have become friends with Anthony Babington, another wealthy young Catholic gentleman, of Derbyshire, about 1580, as Tichborne indicates in his poem (clearly to Babington) written in the Tower after their arrest in August of 1586. Although Chidioc was married, he seems to have spent most of his time in London, leaving his wife Jane in Hampshire.⁴ In London, at least latterly, he had a house "at the further end of Aldersgate Street in the gardens," where William Leighe, servant to Robert Barnewell, another conspirator, heard his master sometimes say that he would go to dinner with Mr. Babington.⁵

Babington was in fact younger than Tichborne, having been born in Dethick, Derbyshire in October of 1561, the eldest son of Sir Henry Babington and his second wife, Mary Darcy, granddaughter of the Baron Darcy of Templehurst who had been executed for his part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, the Catholic rising of 1536 rebelling against Henry VIII's breaking with the See of Rome. As a youth, Anthony was a page in the household of the 6th Earl of Shrewsbury while Mary Queen of Scots was in Shrewsbury's custody. He married in 1579, but next year went on a six-month tour of the Continent, where he met young Tichborne and other English Catholics, among them Thomas Morgan, an agent of the Queen of Scots, and her Ambassador, James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow.⁶

In 1583 Tichborne was interrogated at the instance of Sir Francis Walsingham, Queen Elizabeth's chief intelligence officer, about certain "popish relics" which he had brought back with him,⁷ and by June 1586 he had agreed to join Babington, Ballard, and others in the plot to assassinate Elizabeth and put Mary on the throne of England.⁸ Mary's letter to Babington, in which she approved of his plans, was deciphered by Babington with Tichborne's help on 30 July.⁹

But Walsingham had been aware of the plot from the first, and having implicated Mary in it, sprung the trap. Ballard was arrested on 4 August and Babington and others hid in St. John's Wood, but Tichborne, with a leg injury, was unable to join them, and was arrested on 14 August.¹⁰ Tichborne, in his confession, first said only that he had gone into Hampshire to pay the £25 for furnishing the light horse, and returned to London, where he was arrested. He pled for commiseration and pity.

Jane, his wife, seems to have known little of her husband's life in London, except that he rented his house from one Mr. Porter. She thought her husband attached to the household of Sir Christopher Hatton, the Lord Chancellor.¹¹ When further examined after the confession of Babington, Tichborne denied knowledge of all but the planned Catholic invasion¹² (which materialized two years later as the Spanish Armada), but

4. *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, Vol. VIII, p. 609. (Hereafter *Cal. Scot. P.*.)

5. *Cal. Scot. P.*, Vol. VIII, p. 603.

6. For the information in the above paragraph I am indebted to Ann Hoffman, *Lives of the Tudor Age* (London, 1977), p. 17.

7. *CSPD*, Vol. II, p. 145.

8. Hoffman, p. 436.

9. Hoffman, p. 436.

10. Hoffman, pp. 435–36.

11. *Cal. Scot. P.*, Vol. VIII, p. 609.

12. *Cal. Scot. P.*, Vol. VIII, p. 615.

finally acknowledged that he had been gradually drawn deeper into the plot.¹³

Tried on 12 and 13 September, Babington, Tichborne, Ballard and nine others were found guilty of high treason and were condemned to death. The first seven, including Ballard first, Babington second, and Tichborne fifth, were executed on 20 September 1586 by hanging, drawing and quartering. In Tichborne's case, a contemporary manuscript account of the execution comments that though "he hanged longe, he was yet alive when they ripped him."¹⁴ In fact he made a memorable speech, and so impressed the crowd with his eloquence, piety, youth and good looks that they were much roused to pity; the Queen, perhaps worried at this development, mercifully ordered that those to be executed the following day should be hanged until dead before being drawn and quartered.¹⁵

All of Tichborne's poems now extant date from the last few weeks of his life, and it may be that he wrote none before that. Although the polish of his "Lament" argues for previous poetic practice, as Boswell tells us, Dr. Johnson remarked upon a similar case two centuries later: "The fear of hanging concentrates the mind wonderfully."

In any case, Tichborne's first known poem, here called "To his friend," is clearly addressed to Babington after their arrest, but presumably before their trial and condemnation. It is written in "fourteeners," a 14-syllable-per-line verse-form, usually rhymed in couplets, which was very popular in the 1560s and 1570s but which soon lost popularity to the sonnet form. The poet employs the figure of a sea-voyage to recount their friendship, adventures and present trouble to his friend, and ends by trying to cheer him (and perhaps himself) with the hope that they may yet be freed.

His second poem, here called "The Housedove," is a much more polished and sophisticated effort. The pet has lost hope, the friend is no longer addressed, but has presumably become merely one of the "crows" by flocking with whom the innocent housedove has been doomed. The poem is in a simple but effective iambic tetrameter form rhyming ababcdedfgf, with an unusual but effective "slant" rhyme in the third line, altogether a much more accomplished poem than its predecessor. From its tone of hopelessness and resignation, it must have been written after Tichborne had been tried and condemned on 13 September.

Tichborne's final, and certainly best poem, the one on which his poetic reputation rests, is an eighteen-line poem of three stanzas of six iambic pentameter lines each, rhyming ababcc/dedecc/fgfgcc, with the last line of each stanza concluding with the refrain: "And now I live, and now my life is done." In its antitheses it is reminiscent of the epigrams of the Jesuits, and it reminds one also of some of the poems of Robert Southwell, though these were written later, 1592-95. Its mood is that of "The Housedove," unrelieved hopelessness, but the style and quality of the "Lament" is so much greater that the inherent self-pity and exculpation of the former poem is transcended in a pure and universally moving threnody on a life wasted almost before it began.

It is possible to date the poem fairly exactly. Sir Stephen Powle, one of Sir Francis Walsingham and Lord Treasurer Burghley's agents, and later one of the Six Clerks of Chancery, wrote on his copy of the poem: "Written by him sealfē .3. dayes before his

13. *Cal. Scot. P.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 684-85.

14. British Library MS. Harl. 290, fol. 170ff.

15. Hoffman, p. 436.

exequution: I haue the originall written with his owne hande.”¹⁶ This places the composition of the “Lament” between Saturday the 17th September and Tuesday the 20th September 1586, when he was executed.

His last letter to his wife was written on the night of the 19th/20th of September, as he writes “I hope in Jesus Christ this morning to see the face of my Redeemer.” In it he seems to have resigned himself to death, and his regrets all seem to be for the needy and perilous state in which he will leave his wife and six sisters.

His address at his execution, widely and variously reported and much admired, must also have been composed in that long and probably sleepless night. When the morning came he was taken with Ballard, Babington and four others in hurdles through the streets of London to Tyburn (now Marble Arch) and followed his friend Babington in death as in life.¹⁷ Thus passed Chidioc Tichborne before he was thirty years old—vilified, attainted, executed with all the brutality the law allowed—but having written one poem that assures his immortality.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and especially to Mr. David Vaisey, Bodley’s Librarian, for permission to reproduce the text of Tichborne’s “Lament” from Bodleian MS Tanner 169, fol. 79, and of his speech at his execution from Bodleian MS. Rawlinson B. 224, fol. 9b. I am likewise grateful to Edinburgh University Library for permission to reproduce the text of “To his Friend” and “The Housedove” from Edinburgh Library MS Laing, II, 69/24; and to the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C. for permission to reproduce the text of Tichborne’s last letter to his wife from Folger MS V.a. 321, fol. 16. I also wish to thank Will Goodwin, the late Peter Croft, Walter J. Shea, Paul Quarrie (and Eton College Library), Cambridge University Library, and Professors Sears Jayne, Andrew J. Sabol, Franklin B. Williams Jr., and Arthur F. Kinney, who have all helped me in some way to complete this edition.

CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND

16. Bodleian Library MS. Tanner 169, fol. 79.

17. British Library MS. Harl. 290, fol. 170ff.

To his Friend

- Good sorrow cease, false hope be gone, misfortune once farewell;
 Come, solemn muse, the sad discourse of our adventures tell.
 A friend I had whose special part made mine affections his;
 We ruled tides and streams ourselves, no want was in our bliss.
- 5 Six years we sailed, sea-room enough, by many happy lands,
 Till at the length, a stream us took and cast us on the sands.
 There lodged we were in a gulf of woe, despairing what to do,
 Till at the length, from shore unknown, a Pilot to us drew,
 Whose help did sound our grounded ship from out Caribda's mouth,
- 10 But unadvised, on Scylla drives; the wind which from the South
 Did blustering blow the fatal blast of our unhappy fall,
 Where driving, leaves my friend and I to fortune ever thrall:
 Where we be worse beset with sands and rocks on every side,
 Where we be quite bereft of aid, of men, of wind, of tide.
- 15 Where vain it is to hail for help so far from any shore,
 So far from Pilot's course; despair shall we, therefore?
 No! God from out his heap of helps on us will some bestow,
 And send such mighty surge of seas, or else such blasts to blow
 As shall remove our grounded ship far from this dangerous place,
- 20 And we shall joy each others' chance through God's almighty grace,
 And keep ourselves on land secure, our sail on safer seas.
 Sweet friend, till then content thy self, and pray for our release.

14. *bereft*] Robbie; berest.

19. *dangerous*] Robbie; gangerous.

1. 3. *A friend*] The friend is Anthony Babington throughout.

1. 5 *Six years we sailed*] Tichborne is likening the six years of his friendship with Babington (they had met in 1580) to a sea voyage.

1. 8 *Pilot*] Probably Ballard, the priest for whose murder plot Babington and (though he denied it) Tichborne had abandoned their own kidnap plot in early 1586.

English Literary Renaissance

The Housedove

- A silly housedove happed to fall
 amongst a flock of crows,
 Which fed and filled her harmless craw
 amongst her fatal foes.
- 5 The crafty fowler drew his net—
 all his that he could catch—
 The crows lament their hellish chance,
 the dove repents her match.
 But too, too late! it was her chance
- 10 the fowler did her spy,
 And so did take her for a crow—
 which thing caused her to die.

No variants or emendations.

ll. 1–2 The innocent housedove is (in his own conceit) Tichborne; the guilty crows are his fellow conspirators. The contrast between crows and doves is familiar in the period, e.g., *Romeo and Juliet* (1.5.48–49); ‘So shows a snowy Dove trooping with Crows / As yonder lady o’er her fellows shows.’

l. 5 *The crafty fowler*] either Sir Francis Walsingham, Queen Elizabeth’s chief spy-catcher, or Gifford, his agent in the Babington plot.

l. 12 *die*] in his own conceit the innocent Tichborne is put to death as a result of “guilt by association” with Ballard and Babington.

My prime of youth is but a frost of cares.
My feaste of ioy is but a dishe of payne.
My cropp of corne is but a field of tares—
And all my good is but vaine hope of gaine.
5 The day is gone, and yet I sawe no sonn.
And nowe I liue, and nowe my life is donn.

The springe is paste, and yet it hath not sprung
The frute is deade, and yet the leaues are greene
My youth is gone, and yet I am but yonge
10 I sawe the woorld and yet I was not seene

Part a: Variants from A-text within α -branch

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1. *prime*]—Penne G.
frost] feast D,G,I,J.
 2. *feaste*]—Feast G;
ioy] ioyes I,R; cares J.
payne] paines R.
 3. *cropp*]—Cropp G.
tares] teares I,J,K,L,M; T~~h~~ares (corrected) N.
 4. *And all my good is*] My joy is nothing but F;—Joy is nothing but G.
good] goods R; goods, α - ζ ; joy O; life J.
 5. *gone*] fled B,C,F,H,J,K,L,M,O; past P,Q,R.
sawe] have L.
 6. *nowe*] yet α - ζ .
 7. *and*] omitted I.
hath] is C.
it hath] I have α - ζ .
 8. *frute is*] roote R; trees are α - ζ .
the] my α - ζ .
are] be C,E,I,L,M,N,O, α - ζ .
 9. *gone*] past H,N, α - ζ .
 10. *saw the*] was in α - ζ .
and yet I] and ^{yet} I E.
was] saw (scribal error) K.
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1. 3 *My cropp of corne is but a field of tares*] A reference to the parable of the wheat and the tares, Matthew 13.25–29.

My threed is cutt, and yet it was not spunn—
And nowe I liue, and nowe my life is donn.

I saught my death, and found it in my woombe
I lookte for life, and sawe it was a shade.

- 15 I trode the earth and knewe it was my Tombe
And nowe I die, and nowe I am but made
The glasse is full, and nowe the glass is rune
And now I liue, and nowe my life is donn.

11. *is*] was G,I,L.
is cutt] was spent J; *is cate* [cale] $\alpha-\chi$.
and yet it was not spunn—] and now my thrid is spon E; and yet it hath not sprunge P.
was] is B,C,D,H,K,N.
12. *And nowe my*] and yet my $\alpha-\chi$.
13. *my death*] for death F,H,N,O, $\alpha-\chi$.
and found it in my woombe] yet ¹ found thee wombe L.
my woombe] the wombe F,G,H,I,J (*corrected from my*), K,L (*as above*),
14. *sawe*] yet H,M,N; knew $\alpha-\chi$.
15. *earth*] ground H,N.
my] myne E.
16. Sor is mans life which like the flowers doth fade G.
And] Ohe L.
and] yet M.
am] was F,J,L,M,O,R, $\alpha-\chi$.
17. *is full*] was full G,I.
nowe] B,H,N.
the] B,H,N,P,Q.
and nowe the glass is rune] and yet it was not runne I.

l. 13 *I saught my death, and found it in my woombe*] In searching for the reason for his early death, Tichborne found it in his being born a Catholic.

l. 17 *glasse*] hour-glass, but perhaps also a pun on looking-glass.

Last Letter to his Wife

A letter written by Chidioc Tichborne to his wife, the night before he suffered.

The most loving wife alive I commend me to thee, and desire God to bless thee with all happiness. Pray for thy dead husband, and be of good comfort, for I hope in Jesus Christ this morning to see the face of my Redeemer, in the most joyfull Throne of his glorious kingdom.

Commend me to all my friends, and desire them to pray for me, and in all charity to pardon me if I have offended them. Commend me to my six sisters, poor desolate souls: advise them to serve God, for without him, there is no goodness to be expected. Were it possible (dear wife) my little sister Bab: (the darling of my care) might be bred by thee; it were happy for her, and God would reward thee. But I have done thee (poor soul) too much wrong, I must needs confess it, to hasten my death, and impair thy estate by my dissolute negligence: thou having thereby too little for thy self, that I should add a further charge unto thee. Dearest wife forgive me, that have by these means so impoverished thy fortunes: Patience and Pardon good wife, I crave, make of these our necessities a virtue, and lay no further burthen on my neck, than is laid already.

3. *to thee*] unto you Harl. 36;787.

4. *thee*] you Harl. 36;787.

6. *my Redeemer*] my maker and redeemer Harl. 36.

12. (dear wife) *om.* Harl. 36;787.

13. *it were happy for her, and*] *om.* Harl. 36;787.

14. *But I have done thee (poor soul) too much wrong . . . my*]

But I doe thee wrong I confesse that hast by my Harl. 36;787.

20. *than is laid already*] than hath alreadie bene, Harl. 36;787.

l. 10 *six sisters*] except for the youngest, Bab (Barbara; see line 12), none of their names survive, but one of them married a Mr. Bruyn of Dorset, and another a Mr. Kyrkham of Devon (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Vol. II [1581–90], p. 354).

l. 15 *impair thy estate*] As a traitor, all of Tichborne's lands and moneys would be forfeit to the Crown, as mentioned again in ll. 18 and 22 below.

l. 16 *negligence*] he has neglected to think what the effects of his treason might be on his family.

ll. 19–20 *make of these our necessities a virtue*] a proverb, of which the ultimate source is probably St. Jerome, *In Libros Rufini*, III, 2.

There be certain debts which I owe, and because I know not the order of the law, it hath taken all from me, as forfeited by the course of this my offence to her Majesty. I cannot advise thee what to do herein, but if there fall out wherewithall: let them be discharged, sweet wife, for God's sake: I will not that you trouble your self with the performance thereof (mine own heart), but make it known to my Uncles, and desire them for the honour of God to do their best in it. Now (dear heart) what is left me to bestow on thee, a small jointure (God knows), a small recompence for thy deserving: these legacies following to be thine own: God of his infinite goodness and mercy, give thee always his grace to remain his true and most faithful servant, that through the merits of his bitter and blessed passion, thou mayest become an inheritrix of his kingdom with the blessed women in heaven. Jesus give thee of his peace, and to his glory all the benefits of this transitory life. The holy ghost comfort thee with all necessaries for the wealth of thy soul in the world to come: where until it please almighty God I meet thee, farewell loving wife, farewell the dearest to me in all the earth: farewell for ever in this world: farewell.

By the hand and the heart of thy
most loving husband,
Chidiock Tichborne.

21. *and*] *om.* Harl. 36;787.

23–24. *what to do herein*] to benefit me herein Harl. 36;787.

27. *God . . .*] God and ease of their nephewes soule to take care of them, as they may and especially care of my sisters bringing upp the burthen whereof is now laide on them: Harl. 36;787.

28. *Now (dear heart)*] *Nowe sweet chooke* Harl. 36;787.

38–39. *farewell for ever in this world: farewell.*] *om.* Harl. 36;787.

40. *and the*] and from the Harl. 36;787.

Tichborne's Speech at his Execution

My dearest Countrymen, you look for some oration of me; but I am a bad Orator, and my text is naught. Here you see a company of young men (and that Generosi too) playing a woefull Tragedy. Our state may be compared to Adam's, who being in Paradise as a place of most highest happiness, having leave to take his pleasure of all that pleasant place, one tree only excepted, did yet, by the woman's incitement, eat thereof, for which he was exiled: So we young men had given us of God even all the pleasures of the World, living as it were the lusty Gallants of this Land, sometime in the City, sometime in the field—walking, talking, feasting, sporting. Yet one thing undid us all, as you see here the spectacle—a warning to all young Gentlemen.

I have cause to lament, and you to shed tears for joy: I lament my woefull state and end; and you shed tears for joy that She liveth, that She liveth, I say, and long may she live! For my part, I was induced by Babington, my dear friend. He is gone before, and I must after. None of my ancestors were ever attained, and I too soon.

Yet somewhat to extenuate my fault, though not to clear it, I was not by malice, but by blind zeal and persuasion of Babington seduced, albeit not to destroy her Majesty, yet unto a great offense: But as I offended God and her Majesty, so being sorry for it, I trust God will forgive me, and her Majesty pardon me, which I heartily desire. I have a dear wife and a child, with six sisters, to whom (I hope) her Majesty will be favourable: and that my debts may be discharged. And I desire all true Catholics to pray for me, and I will say the Lord's Prayer, first in Latin, and then in English, that you may know I understand what I say.

Which when he had done, he desired a little more respite, to meditate on his Almighty God: And so lifting up his hands and eyes to Heaven, praying softly, was turned off the ladder.

l. 3 *Generosi*] high-born (from the Latin *generosus*).

playing a woefull Tragedy] with their high drama, enormous audiences, and speeches on the scaffold, public executions were obviously thought of as theater.

l. 14 *She*] Queen Elizabeth.

l. 16 *Babington*] Anthony Babington, who introduced him to the Babington plot.

l. 17 *attainted*] loss of property and civil rights.

l. 23 *and a child*] No child is mentioned in his letter to his wife the night before, nor listed in the detailed Pedigree of the Tichborne family in British Library MS. Harley 5800.

l. 25 *all true Catholics to pray for me*] An audacious request, but he had nothing to lose.

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Tichborne's verses made by him selfe not
 three dayes before his execution: at Trenchard
 12. house of
 that antide-
 vari
 I have blaine wronge written by him selfe

My name of oute is but a profe of roare:
 My fiste of foot, is but a diste of roare:
 My troope of roare, is but a filder of roare:
 And all my good, is but name of roare:
 Eye daye is gone, and yet I have no roare:
 And nowe I live, and nowe my life is done

Eye farme is waste, and yet it ate not gone:
 Eye fute is decay, and yet it ate not done:
 My troope, is gone, and yet I am but a roare:
 My troope eye, is gone, and yet I am but a roare:
 My troope is full, and yet it ate not done:
 And nowe I live, and nowe my life is done

Eye fute, my deare, and fomme is in my roare:
 Eye fute, my deare, and fomme is in my roare:
 Eye fute, my deare, and fomme is in my roare:
 Eye fute, my deare, and fomme is in my roare:
 Eye fute, my deare, and fomme is in my roare:
 Eye fute, my deare, and fomme is in my roare:

Written by him selfe
 3. dayes before his
 execution: Chidiok Tichborne
 original written with his own hand.

verses scanned to the Quene's Lib.
 at Hesperotype.

Herminia famix ~~coram~~ *politica* *gloriosa*
 Heros superior *libera* *inlustris* *et* *regna*
 Musarum *cultrix*, *Græjæ* *sapientibus* *oratrix*
 Mercuriana *lingua* *rotunda*, *et* *Apollinis* *artem*
 In *buclia* *pederem* *atembunt*, *et* *scote*, *Stianam*
 He *vident* *facie* *felicia* *lingua* *plena*

B.C.

The scribal copy of the holograph of Chidiok Tichborne's "Lament," used as copy-text for the present edition. MS. Tanner 169, fol. 79, reprinted with permission of Bodleian Library, Oxford.

A Note on the Edited Texts

The choice of copy-text for “To his Friend” and “The Housedove” was easy, as only the one MS. of the two poems is known. But for the “Lament” twenty-eight MSS. exist, which after five years seeking out, collating and stemmatizing, were found to comprise two distinct textual branches: Branch α descends from MS. α , Tichborne’s holograph, now lost and best represented by MS. A, a scribal copy of that holograph when it was in the possession of Sir Stephen Powle, owner of MS. A; and branch β , which all descend from the single printed sheet of *VERSES / of Prayse and Ioy / WRITTEN / Upon her Maiesties Preseruation / Whereunto is Annexed Tychbornes lamentation, written in the Towre with his owne hand, and an answer / to the same, / LONDON / Printed by John Wolfe / 1586.* / The verses of praise and joy are signed T. K., almost certainly Thomas Kyd, the author of *The Spanish Tragedy*.

Branch β is the text of the “Lament” that has become familiar by having been reprinted in so many anthologies, but its provenance is inferior to that of branch α . The two branches separate textually at line 7, where MS. A reads “The springe is paste, and yet it hath not sprong” where Wolfe’s printed text reads “My tale was heard, and yet it was not told.” The variants between the two branches all hang on these two lines, and on their rhyme-companion, line 9. Of the known MSS., twenty-one follow MS. A, and only seven follow the Wolfe print, or possibly its printer’s copy, MS. β presumably a copy of Tichborne’s poem, but of unknown authority or provenance, prepared for the press by T. K., whose brutal “answer” to it does not suggest a disinterested copyist.

On the written testimony of Sir Stephen Powle, at the time an agent of Walsingham and Burghley with probable access to the Tower, the copy of Tichborne’s poem in his Commonplace-Book was copied from Tichborne’s own original, “written with his owne hande.” This text, MS. A, is therefore the only possible choice as copy-text for a critical edition of this poem. In the case of the Speech at his Execution, where there are three entirely independent accounts of what Tichborne said on the scaffold, since Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson B. 224 has the most coherent text of the speech, I have used this as my copy-text, but have not attempted to list variants.

In the Textual Notes at the foot of the other texts I have listed only substantive variants, ignoring accidentals; in the Notes under “To his Friend” the name Robbie immediately after the square bracket identifies an emendation by H. J. L. Robbie, who first printed the poem, several of whose emendations I have followed.

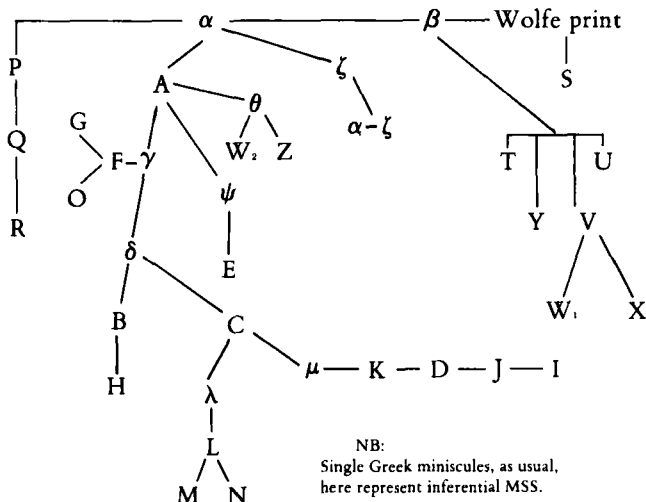
Additional Notes on Individual Texts

Tichborne’s Lament

Spelling and Punctuation

Because of the special authority of MS. A, I have printed the “Lament” in its original spelling, since some of Tichborne’s own orthography may have survived the copyist’s pen. The poem is only punctuated very lightly, with colons at the ends of four of the six lines of stanza one, the third line ending with a dash, and the last line left unpunctuated. I have given the colons their modern equivalent, the period, have retained the dash, and ended each refrain-line with a period, but have not otherwise tampered with the punctuation, as the end-stopped nature of the lines seems to provide their own internal punctuation. In the case of the other works, where no such close relation between copy-text and holograph can be shown, I have modernized the spelling throughout, and provided whatever punctuation the modern reader might need.

STEMMA OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF TICHBORNE'S "LAMENT":



SIGLA OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF TICHBORNE'S POEMS:

- A Bodleian Library MS. Tanner 169
 B British Library MS. Additional 38823
 C British Library MS. Harley 6910
 D Bodleian Library MS. Ashmole 781
 E Edinburgh University Library MS. Laing II, 69/24
 F Bodleian Library MS. Corpus Christi College 328
 G Bodleian Library MS. Ashmole 47
 H British Library MS. Harley 36
 I Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson poet. 172
 J Bodleian Library MS. Wood 460
 K Folger Shakespeare Library MS. V.a. 262
 L Trinity College, Cambridge MS. 0127
 M Bodleian Library MS. Eng. poet. f. 10
 N Pierpont Morgan Library MS. 1057
 O British Library MS. Lansdowne 777
 P British Library MS. Sloane 3769
 Q Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson 208
 R Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson D. 859
 S Folger Shakespeare Library MS. V.a. 161
 T Folger Shakespeare Library MS. V.a. 162
 U British Library MS. Additional 30.076
 V Folger Shakespeare Library MS. V.a. 345
 W1 } British Library MS. 30982 { fol. 24
 W2 } { fol. 160
 X British Library MS. Egerton 923
 Y Bodleian Library MS. Malone 19

Z Bodleian Library MS. Eng. poet. e. 97
 α-ζ Christ Church, Oxford MS. 184

Early Printing History

The first printing of the "Lament" was in T. K., *Verses of Prayse and Ioy on Her Maiesties Preservation* (London: 4° [single sheet], Printed by John Wolfe, 1586; *STC* 7605).

* This was reprinted in Huth's *Fugitive Poetical Tracts*, First Series, No. 26.

It was printed again in John Mundy's *Songs and Psalms* (London: 4°, Printed by T. Est, the assign of W. Byrd, 1594; *STC* 18284), and again in Michael East, *Madrigales to 3, 4 and 5 parts apt for viols and voices*. London: 4°, Printed by T. Este, 1604; *STC* 7460.

* The first two stanzas alone were printed in Richard Alison, *An Howres Recreation in Musicke* (London: 4°, J. Windet, the assign of W. Barley, 1606; *STC* 356), and were reprinted in E. Arber, *An English Garner*, VI (London, 1886), p. 394 and A. H. Bullen, *Some Shorter Elizabethan Poems* (Westminster, 1903), p. 266. The full text appeared again in *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (1654), pp. 511–12, and has been anthologized many times since, most recently in *The New Oxford Book of English Verse*, Chosen and edited by Dame Helen Gardner (Oxford, 1972), p. 59.

Musical Settings

Beside the two musical settings marked with asterisks above, a new musical setting of the "Lament" has been published by Norman Dello Joio (New York: Carl Fischer, Inc., 1949), while Philip Brett has reprinted Mundy's setting in his revision of *The English Madrigalists*, 35B, ed. E. H. Fellows and Thurston Dart (London, 1961), p. 15.

"The Lament"

Part b: Wolfe's printed text, and variants from it within β-branch:

- My prime of youth is but a frost of cares,
 my feast of ioy is but a dish of paine:
 My Crop of corne is but a field of tares,
 and al my good is but vaine hope of gaine
 5 The day is past, and yet I saw no sunne,
 And now I liue, and now my life is done.
- My tale was heard, and yet it was not told,
 my fruite is falne, & yet my leaues are greene:
 My youth is spent, and yet I am not old,
 10 I saw the world, and yet I was not seene.

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|---------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. frost] feast X. | |
| 2. ioy] ioyes T, Y. | |
| 3. tares] teares U, X. | |
| 4. good is] goods are V, W1, X. | 8. is] be X. |
| vaine] meere X. | are] be X. |
| 5. The] My W1. | 10. the] ye X. |
| | and] but X. |

- My thred is cut, and yet it is not spunne,
 And now I liue, and now my life is done.
 I sought my death, and found it in my wombe,
 I lookt for life, and saw it was a shade:
 15 I trod the earth, and knew it was my Tombe,
 and now I die, and now I was but made.
 My glasse is full, and now my glasse is runne,
 And now I liue, and now my life is done.

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11. *is*] was V,X.
 13. *my*] for T.
 my] the Y.
 14. *lookt*] looke X.
 for life] for my life U.
 15. *my*] a X.
 *16. *die,*] liue W1.
 but made] as dead W1.
 17. *now*] yet T, W1, X.
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"The Lament"

Part c: Incomplete texts (θ branch), and variants between them
 and the two complete branches α and β :

NB: These two texts consist only of the first stanza of the Lament.

1. *frost*] feast W2.
3. *crop*] Cropt Z.
4. *And all my good is but vaine hope of gaine*] And all my hope is but a hope in vaine.
 W2,Z.
5. *past*] gone Z.
6. *run together with line 5 and abbreviated Z.*

Speech at His Execution

There are three independent versions of Tichborne's speech. The one here reproduced is found in Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson B. 224. The others are in British Library MS. Harley 290, and in George Whetstone, *The Censure of a Loyall Subiecte* (London, Printed by Richard Jones, 1587), the latter of which is mainly propaganda.