

THE POEM “GRIEF OF MINDE”

Who Wrote it and Why it is Important

Frank M. Davis, MD



What plague is greater than the grief of minde?
The grief of minde that eats in every vein,
In every vein that leaves such clods behind
Such clods behind that breed such bitter pain,
So bitter pain that none shall ever find.
What plague is greater than the grief of minde.

E. of Ox.
England's Parnassus (1600)



FOLLOWING the 1920 publication of J.T. Looney's *Shakespeare Identified* with its promotion of the Earl of Oxford as author of the Shakespeare canon, we have seen a significant number of orthodox scholars question even his authorship of the few poems that have come down to us with his name attached to them, among them “Grief of Minde.”¹ If they are wrong, and it can be shown that “Grief of Minde” is more likely to have been written by Oxford than anyone else, the Shakespearean tone of the poem should make it a significant piece of evidence in the ongoing debate over the authorship of the Shakespeare canon.

But does it sound like Shakespeare? Charles Wisner Barrell thought so. Writing in 1937, Barrell listed what he saw as the “unmistakable thumbprints of William Shakespeare” on Oxford's poetry (14). He notes the fact that “Grief of Minde” displays the same rhetorical technique that Shakespeare used in *The Comedy of Errors*, where Dromio says to his master,

The meat is cold, because you come not home;
You come not home, because you have no stomach;
You have no stomach, having broke your fast;
But we, that know what 'tis to fast and pray
Are penitent for your default today.

Err. 1.2.47-52

In *The Arte of English Poesie*, published in 1589, the author (George Puttenham or possibly Lord Lumley) referred to this technique as “heel-treading,” meaning that the first words of a line are introduced by the last words of the preceding line. Another example (not noted by Barrell) can be found in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, where Panthino says:

Tut, tut, I mean thou'lt lose the flood,
 And in losing the flood, lose the voyage,
 And in losing thy voyage, lose thy master,
 And in losing thy master, lose thy service,
 And in losing thy service (TGV, 2.3.45-50)

As I have shown in a previous article in this journal, both Shakespeare and Oxford were capable of strong medical imagery, similar to the kind displayed in this poem, with its allusion to the behavior of blood and turbulent emotions (55).

The provenance of “Grief of Minde”

“Grief of Minde” is found in a collection of poems and fragments by various authors in a book titled *England's Parnassus*, edited by Robert Allot, published in 1600, in which it was attributed to “E. of Ox.” (poem #1174). Its first appearance in print, however, was in Thomas Newman's unauthorized first quarto (Q1) of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* of 1591 where it is found as the second stanza of “Canto Quinto,” the last of five cantos appended to Sidney's popular sonnet cycle. “Canto Quinto” was attributed only to “CONTENT.” It was the fashion with books of this type to include a number of poems by other authors, many of them either without attribution or signed only by initials or a Latin tag. Among the various appended poems by writers other than Sidney in Newman's A&S were twenty-eight poems signed “S.D.” or “Daniel” for Samuel Daniel, plus two other poems following the five cantos, one signed “E.O.” presumably for Earl of Oxford, and the last left without attribution.

Important too is the fact that the third stanza of “Canto Quinto” from the 1591 *Astrophel and Stella* was also printed in *England's Parnassus* as by “E. of O.” (#115). A third attribution

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to Oxford was included as well, as a segment of two lines from "Canto Quarto" (#962) was listed as by "E.O."

Finally, "Canto Quinto" was also printed in an abbreviated form (missing only two lines) without attribution in the *Verse Miscellany* of 1596.² The source of this manuscript may have been Newman's 1591 quarto of A&S.

Wrongly attributed?

All three of these poems and fragments from *England's Parnassus* that Allot attributed to Oxford have been labeled "wrongly attributed" by various twentieth century orthodox scholars who have chosen to assign them instead to Thomas Campion for a variety of reasons, reasons which we will examine here. Based on his article in the Winter 1980 edition of *Studies in Philology*, Steven May is often cited for the Campion attribution, but this was not May's "discovery" as he was simply referring to what had been said earlier by other scholars, among them Walter Davis in his 1967 *The Works of Thomas Campion* (3-10), Charles Crawford in the 1913 edition of *England's Parnassus* (xxv-xli) and Percival Vivian in his *Campion's Works* of 1909 (xxxvi-xxxviii, li).

At first, the five cantos in question were attributed by scholars to Abraham Fraunce.³ The attribution to Campion of the five cantos in Newman's 1591 A&S began with G.C. Moore Smith in 1906. Smith was editing a Latin play, "Victoria," by Abraham Fraunce (written c. 1583 and presented to Philip Sidney). Smith noticed that "Canto Primo" had been published in Campion's *Booke of Ayres* ten years later in 1601; also that Bullen in his 1889 edition of Campion had said that the Third Canto was "undoubtedly Campion's" and that the Second Canto was "beyond the reach of Fraunce." Smith himself saw "no reason whatever for assigning any of these five cantos to Fraunce and every reason for assigning the whole group to Campion" (Bang xxxviii).

The authorship of "Canto Quinto" was not otherwise discussed, but, since it was grouped with the other four cantos, it too was claimed for Campion, somewhat by default. In 1909, Vivian explained the Campion attribution as largely based on what he regarded as a similarity of versification of thought in both Latin and English (li). He noted "similarities of versification" between "Canto Tertio" and "Canto Quarto" and two Latin epigrams by Campion, "In Melleam" and "Ad Amorem"; this he considered strong presumptive evidence of authorship. He had no doubt that the set of five were "obviously written by one man." Later he upgraded these "similarities of versification" to "close translations," an opinion which was then repeated by subsequent writers.

England's Parnassus

Not long after Vivian's attribution to Campion of the five cantos in the 1591 edition of *A&S*, Charles Crawford, in his 1913 edition of *England's Parnassus*, claimed that the three poems that bore Oxford's name were mistakes on the part of the editor, Allot. According to Crawford, Robert Allot had taken them from the 1591 *A&S*, although how he "knew" this is never addressed. He also stated that of the 2,350 poems or quotations, 130 (or 5.6 percent) were wrongly ascribed (clearly a matter of opinion), while 68 were left unsigned (xxv).

Crawford reveals his inclination to portray assumptions as fact when he tries to explain in detail just how Allot made his mistakes:

It is not hard to see Allot at work. First he provides himself with foolscap on which he copies down, without method, such passages as he intended to use, and under his extracts he names his author. As he goes on, he gets tired of writing down the same name so many times, and, being a bad clerk, uses "idem" instead of the author's name. Sometimes, too, he forgets to append the signatures to his extracts . . . he cuts up his sheets into slips, each containing one or more extracts, and pasted these on other sheets which had prepared headings. . . . To add trouble to Allot's problems, the printer did not see eye to eye with him, he attached little importance to the author's names, and omitted some when he could find no room on the page for them . . . he [Allot] knew his extracts were copied from a limited circle of writers, and therefore he used their names as best he could. (xxv, xxvi)

Certainly this scenario is lacking the kind of solid facts required for positive attribution.

In 1967, Walter Davis continued the "wrongful attribution" theme. He points out (as did first, G.C. Moore Smith in 1906) that "Canto Primo" is printed without alteration of any sort as "Poem XIX" in Campion's 1601 *A Booke of Ayres*; also that (as per Vivian) "Canto Tertio"

Canto Quinto

*A day, a night, an hour of sweet content,
Is worth a world consum'd in fretful care,
Unequal gods in your arbitrament
To sort us days whose sorrows endless are,
And yet what were it? As a fading flower;
To swim in bliss, a night an hour.*

*What plague is greater than the grief of minde?
The grief of mind that eats in every vein,
In every vein that leaves such clods behind
Such clods behind as breed such bitter pain,
So bitter pain that none shall ever find
What plague is greater than the grief of minde?*

*Doth sorrow fret thy soul? O direful spirit.
Doth pleasure feed thy heart? O Blessed man.
Hast thou been happy once? O heavy plight.
Are thy mishaps forepast? O happy then:
Or hast thou bliss in eld? O bliss too late:
But hast thou bliss in youth? O sweet estate.*

Finis. CONTENT

and "Canto Quarto" were "close translations" of Latin epigrams in Campion's *Poemata* of 1595 (Walter Davis, 3). The only ascription to these five cantos in Newman's Q1 of A&S was at the end of "Canto Quinto" which was signed "CONTENT," a posy possibly derived from the poem's first line. Davis takes this to mean that all five cantos were by "CONTENT" and thus all were by Campion "beyond reasonable doubt."

The Campion authorship

There are many reasons to think that Thomas Campion wrote the second stanza of "Canto Quinto" which is different in style, theme, and tone from the first and third stanzas. The second stanza uses vivid imagery of grief. Also, unlike the first stanza, the second uses the extreme rhetorical device of personification. The bird in "Grief of Minde" has a human face and must question the alleged Campion authorship of this poem.



challenge the theory that Campion wrote the poem in question. First, the second stanza of "Canto Quinto," is obviously very different in style, theme, and tone from the calm contentment of the first and third stanzas. The second stanza uses vivid imagery of grief and personification, which is strikingly different from the medical imagery that appears in Campion's extant poems in English, we must question the alleged Campion authorship of this poem.

Despite the fact that Campion later studied medicine, there are only two minor medical references found in his (uncontested) works in English. One is from "Poem II" in the first *Booke of Ayres*: "Though you are yong and I am olde / Though your vaines hot, and my blood colde." The other is from "Poem XXII" in the *Fourth Booke of Ayres* in which he states, "Nor gout-like in your heele or toe." Admittedly this is hardly enough to deny that Campion could use medical imagery, yet it would seem to be enough to require that the burden of proof fall on those who would deny Oxford the authorship of poems that were labeled as his by a contemporary editor.

Campion's themes and style

The absence of medical references in Campion's early works was noted by Vivian, who said "a comparison between his 1595 and 1619 edition of Latin poems, from the total absence of medical allusions in the former and the abundance in the latter, will assure us that he had not studied medicine before 1595" (xxxix). Vivian was correct, for although Thomas Campion did become a physician, he did not receive his M.D. degree (from the University of Caen, France) until 1605—a fact not known at the time that Vivian was writing.

Nor did I find any other poems by this gifted poet with stanzas as incongruous as is the second stanza in the “Canto Quinto.” Further, the texture and rhythm of “Canto Quinto” seems different from the rest of Campion’s poems. Vivian may be correct in stating that “a personal sense of style is a slippery thing” (liii), yet the difference in style between the Ayres of Campion and “Grief of Minde” seems too great to let slide.

Campion charged with plagiarism?

Vivian noted the similarity of Campion’s epigram “In Sannium” (*Liber Secundus*) with Antonio Ferrabosco’s poem in his Ayres: “Had those that dwell in error foule” (374). More significant even may be Phillip Rosseter’s dedication to Thomas Munson in Campion’s 1601 *Booke of Ayres* where Rosseter states:

... especially because the first ranke of songs are of his owne composition, made at his vacant houres, and privately emparked to his friends, whereby they grew both publicke, and (as coine crackt in exchange) corrupted: some of them, both words and notes, unrespectively challenged by others. (374)

Thus it appears that Campion’s contemporaries may have accused him of plagiarism. Is there evidence that Oxford had been plagiarized? Yes, according to Steven May in his book, *The Elizabethan Courtier*

Megliora spero

(2nd of the poems appended to Newman’s A&S)

*Faction that ever dwells, in court where wit excels
Hath set defiance.*

*Fortune and Love have sworn, that they were never born
Of one alliance.*

*Cupid which doth aspire, to be god of desire
Swears he gives laws;*

*That where his arrows hit, some joy, some sorrow it,
Fortune no cause.*

*Fortune swears weakest hearts (the books of Cupid’s arts)
Turn’d with her wheel.*

*Senseless themselves shall prove: venter hath place in love,
Ask them that feel.*

*This discord it begot atheists, that honor not.
Nature thought good,*

*Fortune should ever dwell in court, where wits excell,
Love keep the wood.*

*So to the wood went I, with love to live and lie,
Fortune’s forlorn:*

*Experience of my youth, make think humble truth
In deserts born.*

*My Saint I keep to me, and Joan herself is she,
Joan fair and true:*

*She that doth only move passions of love and love:
Fortune adieu.*

Finis. E. O.

Poets. May notes that Oxford's poem "My mind to me a kingdom is" was very popular, appearing in at least fifteen manuscripts between 1581 and 1624 (64). Both William Byrd and Orlando Gibbons set it to music and many, including Robert Greene and Robert Southwell, plagiarized it. Keeping in mind that attitudes towards the use of another's original work were much different then, there can be no doubt that Campion could have used someone else's poem--perhaps even Oxford's--for the words to his "ayre #19," just as others did with "My mind to me a kingdom is."

Campion known only for his Latin poetry before 1601

It is very important to note that, prior to the printing of the *Booke of Ayres* in 1601, Campion was known *only* for his Latin epigrams. He was recognized only as a Latin poet in Meres's *Wit's Treasury* of 1598 and only as a Latin poet in Fitzgeffery's *Affaniae* of 1601. As his lifelong friend and companion (Vivian xxxvii), it seems unlikely that Fitzgeffery would be in ignorance of any work Campion had done in English.

"Apollo led me to the fields of healing"

That Campion was not writing poetry in English in 1591 is further shown by his Latin epigram 2 from "Book II" of 1619 where the last two lines from the first section translate:

Whereby Apollo led me to the fields of healing
and taught me to prepare English words in sound.⁴

This would seem to indicate that Campion began writing English ayres at about the time that he began to study medicine. Since he obtained his medical degree in 1605, this would fit very well with his *Booke of Ayres* of 1601, but not with Newman's 1591 edition of *Astrophel & Stella*, a full decade earlier. It should also be of interest that in 1591, the year of Newman's first quarto, Vivian shows that Campion was in France fighting with Essex (xxxii-xxxv).

By using the five cantos of Newman's first edition of *Astrophel & Stella* and the 1596 printing of "Canto Quinto" in the *Verse Miscellany* as evidence that Campion wrote poetry in English prior to his Latin epigrams published in 1595, it seems that Vivian is indulging in circular reasoning. At least one connection to a reliable basis in fact is required, even for conjecture. Vivian lacks such a connection, since none of the poems that he uses were ascribed in the works he cited. The following is another example of an apparent mistake by Vivian.

“What If a Day”

As further evidence, Vivian uses the poem, “What If a Day,” found in John Sanderson’s commonplace book c. 1592 and later in Richard Allison’s 1606 book, *An Houres Recreation in Musicke* (STC 356); yet in neither case was this poem ascribed to anyone. A.E.H. Swaen—who concluded that “What If a Day” was not by Campion—was wrong, according to Vivian, who used Richard Alison’s 1606 book which he says gave Campion as the author: “Thomas Campion, M.D.” (378).

But Vivian’s own printing of the text of this poem as he took it from Alison’s book, gives no attribution (353), nor is the poem attributed in the original copy of Alison’s book in the Bodleian Library.⁵ Also, a Cambridge librarian reports that another manuscript that contains “What If a Day” gives no author,⁶ and neither does their nineteenth-century manuscript catalogue, nor a manuscript expansion by M.R. James currently held by Cambridge (Wells).

Similarity of versification vs. close translation

Regarding Vivian’s claims of similarities of “Cantos Tertio” and “Quarto” with Campion’s Latin epigrams, I would propose that these similarities are not so impressive as Vivian would have us believe. To call them “close translations” as he does is really unwarranted. Further, “Canto Tertio” is also to be found (with three additional strophes) in the 1601 publication of Robert Jones’s *The Second Booke of Ayres*, where again it is not ascribed.

The point seems clear. Despite the efforts and assumptions of the various aforementioned scholars, there is still no solid evidence to show that Campion was writing poetry in English in 1591 when the “Grief of Minde” poem was first printed.

Following are the two examples of “similarity of versification” in Latin/English that Vivian gives to support his claim:

In Melleam

*Mellea mi si abeam promittit basia septem;
Basia dat septem, nec minus inde moror:
Euge, licet vafras fugit hace fraus una paellas,
Basia maioresingere usque moras.*

[Mellea promises me seven kisses if I leave her;
She gives me seven kisses, therefore I linger:
Hurray, this one deceit escapes clever girls,
One is allowed to heap on more kisses with each delay.]

Canto Tertio

My love bound me with a kiss
That I should no longer stay;
When I felt so sweete a blisse,
I had less power to pass away:
Alas that women do not know
Kisses make men loath to go.

Ad Amorem

*Cogis ut insipidis sapiat, damnose Cupido,
Mollis at insipidos qui sapuere of acis.
Qui sapit ex damno misere sapit; o ego semper
Desipuisse velium, sis modo mollis, Amor.*

[O pernicious Cupid, as you force a fool to be wise,
But you make those who were wise soft and foolish.
He who is wise from a loss is wise, wretchedly;
Oh love, may I always wish to have acted foolishly,
May you only be gentle.]

Canto Quarto

Love whets the dullest wittes, his plagues be such,
But makes the wise by pleasing doat as much.
So wit is purchast by this dire disease
Oh let me doat, so love be bent to please.

Granted they both deal with love, kisses, etc., and there are some similar conceits, but I submit that "Canto Tertio" and "Quarto" are *not* close translations of "In Melleam" and "Ad Admorem." If we are willing to find such broad similarities, I submit the following:

How love makes young men thrall, and old men dote;
How love is wise in folly, foolish-witty . . .

Venus and Adonis, 837-8

I submit that these lines from V&A possess no less similarity of versification than does "Ad Amorem" with "Canto Quarto"! Is this proof of same authorship or was this just a common theme of the period? I rather suspect the latter, although if we use Vivian's test of similarity

of versification it should mean that whoever wrote “Canto Quarto” also wrote *Venus and Adonis*. The fact of the matter is that comparison of these two cantos with Campion’s two epigrams represents too small a sample to make a judgement either way.

Who suppressed the first edition of A&S?

Newman’s unauthorized 1591 publication of *Astrophel & Stella* ran into trouble shortly after it was published. Apparently he had neglected to obtain a license for the publication, nor did he have permission from Sidney’s heirs. Fines were levied after only a few copies were sold, and the remainder of the edition was suppressed. Ringler says this could have been done only at the instigation of someone with high authority; someone such as Sidney’s sister, the Countess of Pembroke, or his widow, Frances Walsingham. It may even have been Burghley, as it seems that the Stationer’s representative, John Wolfe, made a special trip to communicate with Burghley about Newman’s quarto, which led to its suppression (543). Ringler bases this on a 1591 notice by the wardens of the Stationer’s Company:

Item paid to John Wolfe [the company beadle] when he ryd with an answer to my Lord Treasurer [Burghley] beinge with her maiestie in progress for the takinge in of books intituled Sir P.S.: Astrophell and stella. (xvs)

That Newman went on to reprint Sidney’s sonnet cycle in subsequent quartos without the appended poems of the earlier quarto and that these subsequent editions were *not* suppressed, suggests that the reason for the suppression of the earlier quarto may have had less to do with Sidney’s sonnets than with the appended poems. The following year (1592) Samuel Daniel published his poems himself, dedicating them to the Countess of Pembroke, placing the blame for the previous, unauthorized version on the printer:

Although I rather desired to keep in the private passions of my youth, from the multitude, as things uttered to my selfe, and consecrated to silence: yet seeing I was betraide by the indiscretion of a greedie Printer, and had some of my secrets bewraide to the world, uncorrected: doubting the like of the rest, I am forced to publish that which I never ment. (Ringler 543)

Evidence for Campion too weak

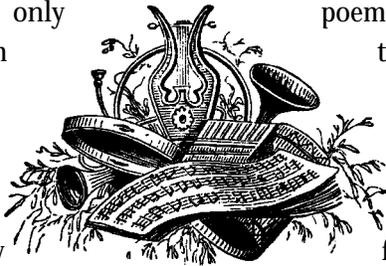
In the study of Elizabethan poetry it soon becomes evident that writers of the period (as have many since) were prone to “borrowing” phrases and themes. Often, it is difficult or even impossible to determine who borrowed from whom. It also appears that occasionally there may have been careless or wrongful attribution of authorship. In addition to these problems, we are invariably faced with text corruption through editing errors and printer’s mistakes.

Considering the foregoing, Allot's presumed ascription error rate of only 5.6 percent seems very creditable, despite the efforts of Davis, Ringler and May to portray him as "unreliable."

Put simply, the evidence for Thomas Campion's authorship of "Grief of Minde" is too weak to maintain. The fact remains that the poem was assigned to Oxford by Robert Allot in 1600 while the Earl was still very much alive and so far no evidence has been revealed or insight provided of sufficient strength to override the authority of what remains a solid piece of primary evidence. Oxford's documented ability to use significant medical imagery is lacking in the early work of Campion. The arguments that deny Oxford the authorship of "Grief of Minde" are just too weak to stand.

Was Oxford "Content"?

As previously noted, the only bears any attribution apart from Allot's collection, is "Cantion of *Astrophel and Stella*, Minde," which was signed *content* may be a common have had a particular affinity five of Oxford's poems, not count-



poem of those discussed here that those attributed to Oxford in Quinto" from the 1591 edition containing "Grief of "CONTENT." Although word, Oxford seems to for it. It is found six times in ing "Canto Quinto." It is found

capitalized twice in "In Praise of a Contented Mind."⁷ It is found (along with the word "mal-content")⁸ in "Wing'd with desire";⁹ in "Love Compared to a Tennis Play";¹⁰ in "Were I a king;"¹¹ and also in "If women would be fair."¹² "Content" is also found in Shakespeare with great frequency; he used it 152 times in his plays and poems, as well as "mal-content," which he used five times (Bartlett 278, 9). It should be noted in passing that "mal-content" can also be found in "Canto XLVIII" of *Willobie his Avis*a (published 1594), while in "Canto XLVII" and "Canto XLVIII" of the same are found another Oxford favorite, "trickling tears."

"Floods of tears" and "seales of love"

Newman's final appended poem, which has no attribution, provides a striking comparison with its opening phrase: "Floods of tears." This same phrase is found in several of the poems from *A Paradyse of Dainty Devises* (1576) that have been attributed to Oxford's "I am not as I seem to be." Oxford also uses "streams of tears" in "Being in Love, he complaineth" as well as in "Reason and Affection" and "trickling tears" in both "A lover rejected, complaineth" and "The Forsaken Man." Shakespeare uses "floods of tears" on three occasions (*Err.*, 3.2.45; *1H6*, 3.3.36; *Tim.*, 5.3.9).

Vivian notes that “seales of love,” meaning kisses, in “Canto Tertio” (second stanza, 1605 edition) is also found in Robert Jones’s *The Second Booke of Ayres* of 1601 as well as in the opening song of Act IV, scene 1, of Shakespeare’s *Measure for Measure* (377). Who “borrowed” from whom? Or do they have a common source?

“Faction dwelles . . .”

May and others have attributed the poem “Faction that ever dwelles” that Newman signs “E.O.” to Fulke Greville because it was almost exactly reproduced in his collected *Workes*, printed forty-two years later in 1633, and found (thirty years after Q1) in a manuscript of the *Caelica* sequence.¹³ According to the British Library (Afric), the *Caelica* manuscript is dated 1619-1625. It is curious that scholars are so positive in attributing this poem to Greville when it was not attributed to him in print until thirty to forty years after the poem had been attributed to Oxford. Based on Greville’s other poetry, I would not contest his ability to write this poem. However, as May points out, Greville “borrowed heavily” from Dyer and Sidney (91-92). So he may have borrowed from Oxford as well.



Vivian thought that Nashe edited Newman’s Q1 (li), though Ringler thought it unlikely (543). If Nashe did have a hand in the Newman edition he would have been in a position to have knowledge of Oxford’s poetry, which could be of significance to the attribution of “Faction that ever dwelles.” It is important to note the title of the appended poems in Newman’s Q1: “Poems and Sonets of Sundrie Other Noblemen and Gentlemen.” The editor clearly indicates that some of the poems are by noblemen. If not by Oxford, then by whom? Newman and/or Nashe believed that “Faction” was by Oxford, and I submit that “Canto Quinto” could well have been, too, as CONTENT may also have been an Oxford posie.¹⁴

The final appended poem was attributed to Nashe by Collier, though without any specific reason that I can see other than that he wrote a preface to the 1591 Newman Q1 of *Astrophel and Stella*, an attribution that was rejected by Nashe’s biographer, McKerrow, in 1905 (Ringler 542).

Oxford’s medical imagery

One of the best examples of medical imagery from the period is to be found in the fifth paragraph of Oxford’s prefatory letter to Thomas Bedingfield’s 1573 translation of *Cardanus’ Comfort*:

. . . I may seem to you to play the part of the cunning and expert mediciner or physi-

cian, who, although his patient, in the extremity of his burning fever, is desirous of cold liquor to drink to qualify his sore thirst, or rather kill his languishing body, yet for the danger he doth evidently know by his science to ensue, denieth him the same. So you being sick of too much doubt in your own proceedings, through which infirmity you are desirous to bury and insevill [bury] your works in the grave of oblivion, yet I, knowing the discommodities that shall redound to yourself thereby (and which is more, unto your countrymen) as one that is willing to salve so great an inconvenience, am nothing dainty to deny your request. (Chiljan 155)

Despite the fact that we have so few poems by Oxford and all of those early, there may be one from *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* that is of interest here. This anthology included poems by a wide variety of authors, some attributed, some not, some living at the time and some not. The publisher claimed the collection was made by the poet and playwright, Richard Edwards, who himself had been dead almost ten years at the time that it was published in 1576. It contains several poems attributed to Oxford. Poem #42,¹⁵ though not attributed to anyone, contains an unusual amount of medical imagery, and a phrase in the third line below should be familiar by now.

By change of air I see, by haunt of healthful soil,
 By diet duly kept, gross humors are expelled.
 I know that *griefs of mind* and inward heart's turmoil
 By faithful friends' advice in time may be repelled



NOTES

1 These motives likely arose out of the desire by students of Campion to enhance his reputation and not out of the desire to strip Oxford of his, or at least, those arguments published before Looney's book in 1920.

2 BL Harleian MS 6910.

3 Much earlier, Joseph Hunter in his *Chorus Vatum* of 1852 followed by Sidney Lee in his article in the DNB both held that the five cantos of the 1591 Newman Q1 of A&S were the work of Abraham Fraunce (Bang xxxvii).

4 Epigram 2 from Book II *Poemata*, 1619:

Lusus si mollis, iocus aut leuis, his tibi, Lector, Occurrit, vitae prodita vere scias, Dum regnat Cytheraea: ex illo musa quieuit Nostra diu, Cereis curaque maior erat: In medicos ubi me campos deduxit Apollo, Aptare et docuit verba Britanna sonis.

[If the game seems pleasant or the joke is light, Reader, You should know the true fickleness of life. When Venus was ruling from that time our muse was quiet a long time: Concern for Ceres {bread, daily chores} was greater. Whereby Apollo led me to the fields of healing and taught me to Prepare English words in sound {ayres, meter}.]

5 BL: MS. Rawl. Poet, 112, fo. 9.

6 University Library, Cambridge: MS K.K.5. 30, fo. 82b.

7 BL: Petyt MS 538.10, f. 3.

8 BL: Rawlinson Poet. MS 85, ff. 48-49.

9 Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin: MS 183, f. 20.

10 Chetham Library: MS 8012, p. 84.

11 *Psalms, Sonnets, and Songs of Sadness and Piety* by William Byrd, 1583.

12 *The Paradise of Dainty Devises* by Richard Edwards, 1576.

13 BL: Add. MS. 54570, ff. 18-19.

14 It should also be of interest that in *Willobie his Avisa* (in which the last poem is signed with the posy "EVER or NEVER"), printed in 1594, the last line of this last poem titled "In praise of a contented mind" is ended with "I am content." Note that this poem's title is essentially the same (with only "The" substituted for "In") as the title given for Oxford's "My mind to me a kingdom is" as found in the Petyt MS 538.10, f.3. It has frequently been suggested by Oxfordian scholars that the eight poems of *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (1573) signed by the posy "Ever or Never" were written by Oxford.

15 Randall Barron offers his analysis of Poem #42 from *Paradise of Dainty Devises* on his web site: <http://www.pe.net/~webrebel/Sel42.html>. I agree that this poem is likely Oxford's.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- BL British Library
DNB Dictionary of National Biography
STC Short Title Catalog

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