



Percy's own copies of the "Reliques"

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painter; and the reference to L'Ariceia has no significance, since it was a stock painting ground for artists living in Rome. Lastly, when Hollis at the end of the second letter gives a conditional commission to the painter for three landscapes, of which he describes the subjects, he is prescribing a group of exercises suitable for a student, but not for a painter of reputation. Similar reasons are against an alternative suggestion that Jenkins is the painter in question, as well as the fact that by 1753 Jenkins had embarked on a prosperous career as go-between and dealer. So the meeting at breakfast in London is the only definite information we have about the relations of Hollis and Wilson, after the portrait had been painted.

One other point may be noted. In a letter to President Holyoke of 13 September 1764,¹⁹ speaking of the Cip-

¹⁹ Harvard University Archives.

riani copy of the portrait of his great-uncle, Hollis says: 'In my last I forgot to request, that the Picture might be so placed in the College, as to receive its light from Left to Right, & *always* to remain without Sunshine; and when in the Course of time, it should become dirty, that then it might be GENTLY washed, by a soft sponge, with fair water *only*, & varnished over *lightly* with white of Egg.' Whether the portrait of the elder Hollis is so hung, I do not know; but the Wilson portrait of the younger Hollis now hangs in the office of the Librarian of Harvard College, on a wall where it receives a north light falling from left to right, exactly as the sitter wished his great-uncle's portrait to hang. Before, however, either portrait is washed with water and varnished with white of egg, it is to be hoped that the Fogg Museum will be consulted.

W. G. CONSTABLE

Percy's Own Copies of the *Reliques*

AN examination of Bishop Percy's own copies of the three volumes of the first edition, 1765, of his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, now at Harvard, together with certain proofsheets also there, reveals new details about the changes which Percy effected while the work was passing through the press, particularly about poems which he altered or omitted after they had been set in type. The proofsheets were acquired by Harvard in 1884, when Miss Isted's collection of Percy materials was sold at Sotheby's, and are now to be found

in folder 275 of the Harvard Percy Papers. His copies of the *Reliques* Percy presented in 1808 to his secretary, Meredith Darby, from whom they passed to Thomas Romney Robinson, a protégé of the Bishop. In 1917 they were acquired by Harvard from Henry Sotheran & Co., of London.

The Percy copies are lettered on the spines 'ANCIENT POETRY / FIRST COPY' and stamped in gold with the original volume numbers: thus Volume III, which was printed first, is stamped '1' and vice versa. Volumes

III and II have evidently been rebound, probably in their original marbled boards, to include preliminaries and some other inserted material: in Volume II signatures B recto and Aa8 verso show stains from the inner edges of marbled boards. These two volumes must have been originally bound for Percy's own use as the text was completed.

The uncut sheets of the three Percy copies are in the same state as those of the two Farmer-Douce volumes described by Mr L. F. Powell: ¹ they are not proofs or revises, but have not been pulled through the roller to receive their engravings, which are, instead, pasted into their proper positions. A few leaves have been torn out. Some of these are cancellanda; three leaves were sent to the printer as copy for the 1794 edition of the *Reliques*, but were later pasted back into place. More than compensating for these defacements, however, are the numerous annotations, cancellanda, proofs, and revises bound up at the end of Volumes III and II and also pasted onto the flyleaves, covers, and even pages of the text.

In Percy's hand are numerous corrections and additions. Only those on the proofs and revises were incorporated in the text of the first edition; but most of the rest were printed in the 'Additions and Corrections' sheet and the Errata leaf added at the end of Volume III as published, and almost all the remainder were used in the second edition in 1767. The information never incorporated in any edition of the *Reliques* includes notations of the collections where the proper music is

¹L. F. Powell, 'Percy's *Reliques*,' *Library*, 4th Ser., IX (1928), 130.

to be found; a few identifications, such as that of Walpole as the '*ingenious Friend*' mentioned in the second edition in the headnote to 'Glasgerion'; the ascription to Richard Farmer and Sir David Dalrymple of much of the material used in the 'Additions and Corrections'; and Percy's incomplete but helpful notations of cancellations and other changes.

Percy's alterations were extensive. Information about the cancels in Volumes III and II has already been given by Mr Powell. His account it seems unnecessary to repeat here, but one may add to it where the Percy copies reveal additional changes. Thus the first proofsheets which Percy received show an early running title, 'SELECT SONGS / AND BALLADS.' In the preliminaries he made considerable alterations. The Preface as originally printed occupied pages ix through xxiii (signatures A5 recto through b4 recto) and included the 'Essay on Ancient Minstrels.' Perhaps for purposes of flattery, he had the Dedication to Lady Percy, Countess of Northumberland, reset in larger type, so that it occupied four pages instead of the original three.² At the last minute he inserted at the end of Book I, in Volume I, the 'Elegy on Henry Fourth Earl of Northumberland,' evidently after he had received permission from Lady Percy to dedicate the *Reliques* to her. Even after the sheets of Volume I were

²These changes were noted by Percy in a letter written to Richard Farmer about 10 November 1764 and printed by V. H. Ogburn in 'Further Notes on Thomas Percy,' *PMLA*, LI (1936), 452; and were pointed out by Cleand Brooks in his edition of *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy & Richard Farmer* (The Percy Letters, Vol. III; Baton Rouge, 1946), pp. 78-79 and 79, n. 2.

printed off he canceled leaf C₂ to designate more properly Henry Lord Percy, usually called 'Hotspur' in the cancellandum, and to remove doubts of his valor. Thus on page 19, note ‡, concerning the slaying of Earl Douglas in the Battle of Otterbourne, originally read 'Not by Henry Percy as represented in this ballad . . .,' but was altered to read 'By Henry L. Percy according to this ballad . . .'³

He changed many of the introductory notes to the particular poems. For example in Volume III in the headnote for 'The Boy and the Mantle' he incorporated material from a suppressed postscript of two paragraphs, possibly because of Shenstone's criticism: 'I rather chuse to prefix what is requisite to make y^e ballad understood or interesting, y^e to add it by way of Note at Bottom.'⁴ Some introductory notes he lengthened. In Volume II the headnote to 'The Winning of Cales' was as first printed shorter by the second paragraph and the final sentence; and that for 'Brave Lord Willoughby' lacked the paragraph in quotes. Other prefatory notes he shortened. In Volume II he omitted a paragraph of preliminary annotations for 'Corydon's Doleful Knell,' perceiving that Shenstone's suggestion concerning the placing of explanatory material was not always practicable. These annotations he subsequently restored as footnotes in the second edition of the *Reliques*.

³The cancels in Volume I were briefly noted by A. N. L. Munby, 'Cancels in Percy's "Reliques,"' *TLS*, 31 October 1936, p. 892.

⁴William Shenstone to Thomas Percy, n.d., in the Harvard Percy Papers, folder 273. It is quoted by Marjorie Williams in her edition of Shenstone's *Letters* (Oxford, 1939), p. 660.

In Volume I, from the headnote to 'King Estmere' he omitted material from Thomas Warton's *Observations on the Faerie Queene*; and from the headnote to 'Edom o' Gordon' he suppressed an anecdote concerning the family history of the Gordons, presumably because he feared that it might seem offensive.

A particularly interesting suppression is Percy's first hesitating identification of Lord Vaux, one of the contributors to Tottel's *Miscellany*. As part of his introductory note to Vaux's 'Aged Lover,' in Volume I, Percy originally printed the following conjecture, with accompanying external and internal evidence: '. . . I am inclined to suspect that Lord Vaux the poet, is not the Lord Vaux, who flourished in Henry the VIIIth's time, and who died in 1523 . . . but a successor of his in his name and titles.' Unsure of his evidence, however, Percy suppressed the entire passage, about a page in length. Not until 1767 did he feel certain enough to publish it, in altered and slightly expanded form, as an extended postscript to Vaux's 'Cupid's Lament,' in Volume II, now tentatively identifying the poet as Thomas Vaux.

In the poems also Percy made considerable changes. Most were merely corrections to the numerous compositor's errors. Occasionally he altered a title: for example, 'St. George and the Fair Sabra' to 'St. George and the Dragon,' and Thomas Carew's 'Disdain Returned' to 'Unfading Beauty.'

The modernizing influence of Shenstone, a tendency frequently deplored by Percy's critics, appeared at the very first. Thus in Volume III for the old fragment of 'The Marriage of Sir Gawaine' Percy decided to substitute

Shenstone's modernized version even before the material for the second sheet was sent to the printer. At least in the Percy copy the proof of sheet B reaches only line 77, and the poem is concluded in manuscript on inserted leaves. The original version was finally printed in the 1794 edition of the *Reliques*. In Volume II, 'As Ye Came from the Holy Land' was at first printed substantially as it appears in the Percy Folio; and the headnote read 'This copy is printed from the Editor's folio MS. compared with another in "The Garland of Good-will. . ."' As actually published, however, it too was considerably 'improved' by Shenstone.

In Volume I, Book I originally concluded with 'Edom o' Gordon,' which at first followed the Foulis edition of 1755, with the following final stanzas by Sir David Dalrymple:

And mony wer the mudie men,
Lay gasping on the grèin;
For o' fifty men, that Edom brocht out,
But five returnd again.

And mony were the mudie men,
He left to grin and grane:
And mony were the weiping dames,
Lay lemanless at hame.

Then back to his lady and babes he hied,
Their esches dear to find:
Ah! lever I'd find those dear eschès,
Then a' the gowd of Inde.

And round, and round the wa's he went
Ein wood wi' fell despair:
Then lap into the brenning flames,
And word spaik nevir mair.

But Percy and Shenstone collaborated in the revision of 'Edom o' Gordon' to include some of the version of 'Cap-

tain Carre,' in the Percy Folio.⁵ Still, however, the conflation concluded Book I, even though at this time Percy had already written Lady Percy asking permission to dedicate the *Reliques* to her.

Most interesting of all among the Percy copies of the *Reliques* and the proofsheets are several poems which, for one reason or another, Percy decided to suppress. In Volume I, 'The Jolly Beggar,' attributed to James V of Scotland, he canceled after the sheets had been printed off, as 'too licentious to be admitted into this collection.'⁶ Percy's version was to comprise twenty-eight verses, plus a 'Fa la la' refrain, as in Herd's version. Whether Percy's canceled 'Jolly Beggar' was the first printing of the ballad, however, seems unlikely. 'The Jolly Beggar' seems to have been printed, presumably with the longer refrain, in Volume II of *The Charmer*, published in Edinburgh by J. Yair in 1752.⁷ This collection Percy possessed.

In Volume II Percy printed, then omitted 'On Saint Thomas a Becket' and 'Allen and Mary.' The former, which was originally printed in Book I as Number V, occupying pages 23, 24, and most of 25, Percy found in the first number of *Bibliotheca Literaria*

⁵ Shenstone began 'improving' 'Edom o' Gordon,' particularly the conclusion, even before 6 June 1759, evidently shortly after Percy sent him a copy of the poem. See Shenstone's *Letters*, pp. 513, 517, 520, 532, 598.

⁶ See Percy's *Reliques*, 2nd ed., 1767, II, 59.

⁷ The index of Vol. I lists 'The Jolly Beggar' for Vol. II, pp. 237-247. Vol. I contains also 'The Gaberlunzie-Man,' likewise attributed to James V of Scotland and printed in the *Reliques*. A copy of Vol. II has not yet been located.

(1722), edited by Samuel Jebb.⁸ 'Allen and Mary' was originally accorded the honor of ending the volume:⁹

ALLEN AND MARY.

Written by Mr. Marshall, a young gentleman of Dublin, lately deceased.

THE bells were heard all in the morn,
And Allen he rose full soon;
Sad tidings he heard for Allen to hear,
That Mary would wed ere noon.

Then Allen he call'd on Thomas's name,
And Thomas came at his call:
Make ready a coffin and winding shroud,
For Mary shall see my fall.

When last we parted with brimful cyne,
Right loving she made a vow: —
But Richard has twice as my [many] sheep,
And Mary forgets me now.

Then bear me to the grass-green bank,
Where we did kiss and play;
And tell her the rain, that made it so green,
Has wash'd my kisses away.

The bridegroom he led the bride so fair,
The parson he came anon;
But Thomas had brought his dear friend's corse
Or ere the wedding was done.

He laid him on the grass-green bank,
Where they did kiss, and play,
And told her the rain, that made it so green,
Had wash'd his kisses away.

⁸In the proof copy of the poem in the Harvard Percy Papers, folder 275, the source is inaccurately supplied in manuscript as 'Wasse's Miscellanea Literaria.' The poem appears in an article submitted by Joseph Wasse.

⁹It occupied pages 371 and 372 (leaf Aaz), and at its conclusion was printed 'THE END OF BOOK THE THIRD.'

When she beheld poor Allen his corse,
Her maiden blush was lost,
She faded as though, on an April day
A primrose nipt by the frost.

Then all-heneath [beneath] one fatal sod
Together they buried were:
False lovers, who break your plighted
vows,
Take heed ye never come there!

Percy evidently decided early not to use the poem, for he never corrected the compositor's errors in the proof.¹⁰ Its author may have been the John Marshall who in 1743 published *The Charmers* anonymously in Dublin.

For Volume III Percy printed, then suppressed 'The Protestation,' 'Alphonso and Gonsalez,' and 'The Dying Shepherdess.' Proofsheets of all of these are contained in folder 275 of the Harvard Percy Papers. At least ten lines of Carew's 'Protestation' were printed, presumably on page 245, following 'St. George and the Dragon.' The remainder of the poem is in the proofsheets supplied in manuscript. That Percy suppressed Carew's poem is especially interesting in the light of his announcement, also suppressed, in the prefatory note to Carew's 'Disdain Returned' that he would in the *Reliques* revive many of Carew's 'sonnets.' Yet during the proof stage he even cut the only Carew poem he retained: 'Disdain Returned' once included all but its last two lines, which Percy evidently did not intend to print, as they are supplied in manuscript.

'Alphonso and Gonsalez,' which was printed from the Percy Folio, collated with an 'old printed copy,' once occupied pages 247 (signature R4 recto)

¹⁰These are here corrected from a manuscript copy among the Harvard Percy Papers, folder 240.

through 254. Presumably Percy decided to omit it because Shenstone, who read the poem in the 1723 *Collection of Old Ballads*, thought it a 'very cold Narrative.'¹¹

'The Dying Shepherdess' was to occupy the three following pages, but page 257 was presumably never in print, for lines 32-37 are supplied in manuscript. Evidently Percy decided to omit the poem before the printer ever received copy for sheet S. Although the headnote announces that it is 'Printed (with some corrections) from the editor's folio MS. collated with two black-letter copies in the Pepys collection,' it is so changed from the 'Amyntas' of the Folio as to be almost unrecognizable, a fate which was unfortunately far from unique.

From these changes which Percy effected during the printing one can observe new details of the processes

¹¹ Shenstone to Percy, n.d., in the Harvard Percy Papers, folder 273. It is printed in Shenstone's *Letters*, p. 658. There are two identical proofs of 'Alphonso and Gonsalez' in folder 275.

which helped to alter the selection and treatment of material for the *Reliques*. Among these processes several, most of them already familiar to students of Percy, are particularly notable. Thus he exhibited increasing tact in omitting poems which, like 'The Jolly Beggar,' might shock some of his readers, and in altering materials so as to flatter rather than offend the family pride of aristocrats like the Gordons and Lady Percy. Moreover Shenstone, until his death early in 1763, exerted considerable influence toward the selection, arrangement, and modernization of material. Yet after the printing began, Percy, as has been seen, decided to limit the reprinting of such Cavalier lyrics as Carew's and to suppress Marshall's modern ballad 'Allen and Mary.' Thus Percy's own copies of the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* reveal more clearly than before a shift away from the material indicated by the earliest running title — 'SELECT SONGS / AND BALLADS.'

RODNEY M. BAINE

William and Mary Howitt: Bibliographical Notes

BESIDES their friendships with Wordsworth, Hunt, Tennyson, Dickens, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the Rossettis, and many other prominent nineteenth-century figures, William and Mary Howitt made a claim upon readers of English literature by numberless contributions to periodicals and one hundred and eighty or more separately published works — which achieved a total of

about seven hundred editions and issues. They quickened the stream of imaginative books for children: Mary introduced Hans Christian Andersen to English readers, and wrote 'The Spider and the Fly' in her series first collected as *Sketches of Natural History*. They translated from German, Danish, Dano-Norwegian, Swedish, and French. They wrote the first substantial English history of Scandina-

List of Contributors

- M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE, Boston, Massachusetts
- G. W. COTTRELL, JR, Editor in the Harvard University Library
- HENRY J. CADBURY, Hollis Professor of Divinity and Dexter Lecturer on Biblical Literature, Harvard University, and Director of the Andover-Harvard Theological Library
- CAROLINE ROBBINS, Professor of History, Bryn Mawr College
- PHILIP HOFER, Lecturer on Fine Arts, Curator of Printing and Graphic Arts in the College Library, and Secretary of the William Hayes Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University
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- A. E. GALLATIN, New York City
- L. M. OLIVER, Assistant to the Librarian in the Houghton Library, Harvard University
- W. G. CONSTABLE, Curator of Paintings, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
- RODNEY M. BAINE, Associate Professor of English, University of Richmond
- CARL R. WOODRING, Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin
- ROBERT W. LOVETT, Head of the Manuscript Division, Baker Library, Harvard University