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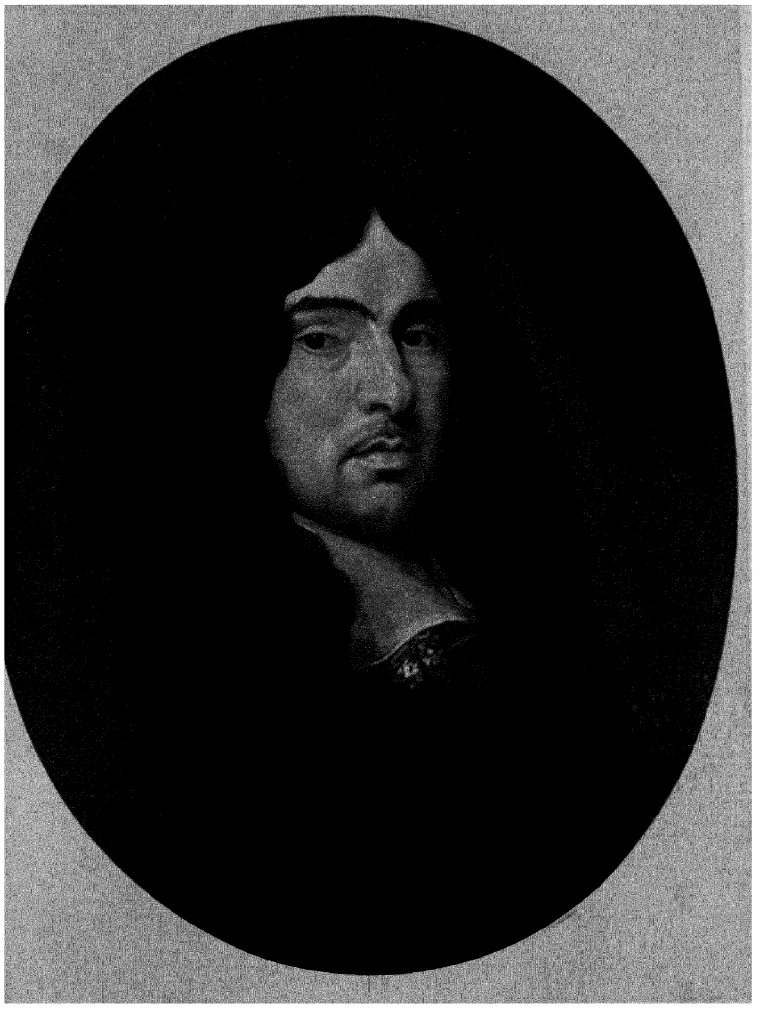

Andrew Marvell

from the painting in the National Portrait Gallery

THE

POEMS & LETTERS

OF

ANDREW MARVELL

Edited by

H. M. MARGOLIOUTH

In Two Volumes. Vol. I: POEMS

SECOND EDITION

OXFORD

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PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

ADVANTAGE has been taken of the need for reissuing these two volumes to correct a few misprints and other oversights and to include some additional matter on spare pages in each volume. Thanks are due to Lord Charnwood for leave to reprint one additional letter and to Mr. R. N. Carew Hunt for similar leave for another, of which he has most kindly provided a photostatic copy.

It has not been practicable to index the additional matter.

July 1951 H. M. M.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

IN the first of these volumes I have aimed at giving a trustworthy text of Marvell's verse and a complete commentary. The text is that of the original printed editions except for the majority of the satires, where I have followed manuscript versions. Collation of all manuscript copies known to me has convinced me beyond all doubt that they provide a text which is much more accurate than that of *Poems on Affairs of State*. The commentary is not as complete as I could wish. The elucidation of some points has escaped my utmost endeavours, and some questions, especially of authenticity, I have raised rather than solved. Moreover no two people will agree on what exactly does and does not require annotation : some of my notes will seem unnecessary to some readers : others will seek notes where it has not occurred to me that they are required.

In the second volume a small minority of the letters is taken from the earliest printed text, but the great majority is still extant in Marvell's autograph. I have aimed at reproducing this exactly. It is probably too much to hope that in nearly four hundred letters there is not a single error of reading, transcription or printing, but all have been checked at least twice, some more often, with the originals, and I feel confident that, when allowance is made for the irreducible minimum of human error, I can present them to the historian as material on the accuracy of which he can rely. This is my chief purpose in the second volume, the notes to which are on a much less ambitious scale

than in the first. These notes are concerned principally (*a*) with the documents themselves, and (*b*) with Marvell's biography. Although I have not rigidly excluded remarks which do not fall into either of these classes, I have not attempted a historical commentary: to do this adequately would be to write a Parliamentary history of the period.

It is more than thirteen years since I undertook this edition. It has been delayed by many causes, of which the war was chief. It is possible that I have not succeeded in eliminating from the notes all traces of changes of opinion or of method, and in other ways it has sometimes been difficult to retain a grip on work so often interrupted. But delay has probably brought me some pieces of information which I should otherwise have lacked and, in particular, it has made the later stages of my work coincide with that of M. Pierre Legouis of the University of Besançon. M. Legouis, who has in hand a literary and biographical study of Marvell which will shortly be published, has read the proofs of both my volumes with the minutest care. He has saved me from many slips or more serious mistakes, and has made most fruitful suggestions. I cannot too warmly acknowledge my sense of obligation to him.

Every student of seventeenth-century literature is under obligation to Sir Charles Firth and to Mr. G. Thorn Drury, K.C. I wish to thank both of them for looking at my proofs, for making suggestions and corrections, and for giving me information which I could have obtained from no other source. Some of my obligations to Mr. Thorn Drury are acknowledged in the notes to the first volume, but I must also thank him for having early in 1914 allowed me to have roto-

graphs of the unique pages of the 1681 folio which was then in his possession and has since been acquired by the British Museum. These rotographs have been used as printer's copy for the three Cromwell poems.

My other obligations are, of course, numerous. I am afraid that in the course of years I may even have forgotten some of them. Among those to whom I owe debts, which I here gratefully acknowledge, are the Secretary and Readers of the Clarendon Press, fellow-workers in the Bodleian such as Mr. Routledge, who is engaged in calendaring the Clarendon State Papers, and some of my former colleagues at University College, Southampton. Several other acknowledgements are made in the notes.

Finally, I wish to express my sense of indebtedness to those without whose permission or co-operation I could not have used the originals of the letters printed in Volume II. The *Corporation Letters* are, with the few exceptions mentioned in the first note, preserved in a single bound volume at the Guildhall, Hull. I wish to thank most sincerely the Corporation and the Town Clerk for granting me permission to make full use of this volume. I was also allowed free access to all the civic records of the period, including the Bench Books and the large collections of letters from Gilby, Stockdale, Lister, and other correspondents with the Corporation. Similarly I thank the Wardens and Elder Brethren of the Trinity House, Hull, for permission to make full use of the letters preserved there.

In making use of these privileges I had the great advantage of the courteous and skilled assistance of Mr. L. M. Stanewell, Clerk in charge of the Records, at the Guildhall, and of Mr. E. J. Heseltine, Warden's Clerk, at the Trinity House. I am happy to have this

opportunity of thanking them both, not only for helping me at Hull but also for looking up points for me in my absence. It is interesting to note that Mr. Heseltine's father, who was Warden's Clerk fifty years ago, is similarly thanked by Grosart in the preface to his second volume.

My researches at Hull were materially assisted by the City Librarian, Mr. W. H. Bagguley, who also very kindly lent the Hollar print reproduced in Volume II.

I have to thank the Society of Antiquaries for allowing me to reproduce Marvell's letter to Cromwell, and the Assistant Secretary, Mr. H. S. Kingsford, for having (before the letter had been photographed) kindly corrected my text by the original. I am indebted to his Grace the Duke of Portland for *Miscellaneous Letters* nos. 18, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30 and, in particular, to the Librarian at Welbeck Abbey, Mr. R. W. Goulding, who not only supplied me with copies but was also good enough to check my proofs by the originals: to Mr. H. Guppy, the John Rylands Librarian, for sending me a rotograph of no. 20: and to the late Right Hon. F. Leverton Harris, M.P., for no. 21.

H. M. M.

OXFORD, 26 *April* 1927.

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ANDREW MARVELL: from the edition of 1681 . . *to face p. 7*

Title-page of the folio of 1681 . . . . . *p. 7*

ADDITIONAL NOTES

PAGES 8, 218. 'Mary Marvell'.

Marvell was not married. A letter of Charles E. Ward of Duke University, North Carolina, in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 14 May 1938 first drew attention to a Chancery suit of 168½ in which Mary Palmer's claim to be Marvell's wife was denied. Almost immediately afterwards, in the *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America*, June 1938, Professor F. S. Tupper published the discoveries at length. They are neatly summarized on pp. 145–8 of *Andrew Marvell* by M. C. Bradbrook and M. G. Lloyd Thomas (Cambridge, 1940).

Edward Nelthorpe and Richard Thompson (*see* Vol. II, p. 353) were bankrupt. £500 belonging to them was deposited with a goldsmith in Marvell's name. Marvell died unexpectedly, and they could not touch the money, quite apart from their bankruptcy. They persuaded Marvell's housekeeper to say she was his wife in order that she might claim the money. There was a third bankrupt, John Farringdon, who quarrelled with the others and denied that the lady was Marvell's wife. The money was proved to belong to the bankrupts, but the lady was buried at St. Giles-in-the-Fields in 1687 as Mary Palmer.

The 1681 publication of Marvell's poems (without which they might have perished) may have been a mere move in the game of obtaining credence for the widowhood.

PAGES 19, 206, 221. *A Dialogue between Thyrsis and Dorinda.*

Mr. J. B. Leishman discovered that this poem, in addition to the six mentioned on p. 206, had been printed before 1681, viz. in John Gamble's *Ayres and Dialogues*, 'The Second Book' (1659), pp. 66–9; in the 'Ingenious Poems' (p. 92) added to the 1663 reprint of S. Rowlands's *A Crew of Kind London Gossips*; and in John Playford's *Choice Ayres* (1675), pp. 80–4. It is set to music in Gamble and (by Matthew Locke) in Playford. Two certain textual corrections were found, 'Cool' (for 'Cold') in line 34 and 'Carillo' in line 45. The whole matter was discussed fully in a letter over my name in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 19 May 1950.

PAGES 26, 222. *To his Coy Mistress.*

Addison was evidently acquainted with this poem (and presumably, therefore, with the whole 1681 folio) and makes undeniable, though unacknowledged, use of it in *Spectator* 89, as Professor P. Legouis pointed out in the *Review of English Studies* for October 1934.

In line 34 I return to Cooke's commonplace but probably correct emendation 'dew'. In lines 38–44 each of three separate and discontinuous images describes a supposed climax when the mistress is no longer coy. The second image is of a pomander, a union of strength and sweetness, male and female. In the third image the

'gates of Life', where the sexual strife is waged, suggest the well-known narrow reach of the Danube. Yet the threefold image of amorous consummation is miraculously blended with a triumph over Time, the exact opposite of *O lente, lente, currite noctis equi*. So in the final couplet (45–6), though there is probably a pun on 'sun' and 'son', the dominant theme of Time is fitly and finely concluded.

PAGES 36, 224. *The Definition of Love.*

Lines 4 and 25–8 are echoes of Massinger, *Maid of Honour*, I. ii. See Professor Legouis in the *Review of English Studies* for January 1947.

PAGES 141, 207. *The last Instructions to a Painter.*

A MS. copy of lines 29–48 is mentioned by M. T. Osborne, *Advice-to-a-Painter Poems* (University of Texas, 1949), which is a useful summary of information about this type of poem.

PAGES 184, 305. *Britannia and Rawleigh.*

My doubts about Marvell's authorship of this satire have been strengthened by Dr. H. F. Brooks, who has produced evidence that its author knew Oldham's *Garnet's Ghost* (published 1679) and *Satyr Against Vertue* (published later in 1679). My original suggestion (see note on line 42) holds good. Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. d. 49 (see below) ascribes it to Ayloffe.

PAGES 220, 250, 257. William Dutton.

Professor Legouis's suggestion in *André Marvell: poète, puritain, patriote* (1928) that Marvell continued to act as Dutton's tutor until 1657 is confirmed, at least within a few months, by a letter of E. E. Duncan-Jones in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 2 December 1949, with a correction in that of 13 January 1950. She quotes from BM. Add. MS. 15858, f. 135, a letter from J. Scudamore from Saumur, dated 15 August 1656, to Sir Richard Browne, Evelyn's father-in-law. Scudamore reported that there were many English at Saumur, but none of note except Lord Paget's son and 'Mr. Dutton, called by the French Le Genre du Protecteur whose Governour is one Mervill, a notable English Italo-Machavillian'. Dutton was already at Saumur in the previous March (*S.P. Dom. 1655–6*, p. 219, referred to in the same letter in *T.L.S.*). For Dutton as Cromwell's prospective son-in-law see note on *Two Songs*, lines 30–2 (p. 257).

PAGE 213. (*b*): Thompson's second MS. book.

In 1945 the Bodleian acquired a volume (MS. Eng. poet. d. 49) consisting of (1) the 1681 folio with omissions and MS. additions (the three Cromwell poems) and (2) a MS. appendage of satires. This volume was described and discussed by Mr. Hugh Macdonald in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 13 July 1951.

Is it Thompson's second MS. book which arrived when his 'three volumes were finished in the press'?

Arguments against:

1. It is not in Popple's handwriting, but Thompson said his second volume was 'written by Mr. William Popple'.

2. Where the Cromwell poems in BM. C. 59. i. 8 differ from Thompson's text, this MS. more often agrees with BM., e.g. *An Horatian Ode* 26, 101; *Upon the Death of O.C.* 132.
3. Thompson made no use of the MS. emendations (in a hand imitating print) in the 1681 part of this volume.

Arguments for:

A. Replies to the arguments against:
1. Thompson was just wrong or wrongly informed.
2. Thompson was not a perfect copyist or proof-reader (but in *Upon the Death of O.C.* 132 he must have invented 'world with throes' for 'Universe').
3. He could not. His three volumes were in the press: the only use he could make, or claimed to make, of his second MS. volume was in the Preface in which he described it and in *Addenda* to volume iii.

B. Independent arguments:
1. The five satires printed in Thompson's Preface, i, pp. xxxix–l, are in the same order as the satires in the MS. appendage of this volume, where they are interspersed with others which Thompson already had in his vol. iii.
2. The order of the stanzas of *The Checker Inn* in Thompson and this volume is the same and differs from that in the 1704 *State Poems* and in the MS. from which I printed (i. 312 ff.). Further, Thompson and this volume agree in (*a*) omitting the three stanzas of 'The Answer' and (*b*) inserting before 'The Hanmers', &c., the words 'A rabble of other names omitted and then follows'.

These last two arguments seem to me so cogent that I have little doubt that this Bodleian volume is Thompson's second MS. book. In that case it is now the prime authority for lines 185–324 of *Upon the Death of O.C.* which are not in the unique BM. copy of 1681. Some conjectural emendations are confirmed, and in line 275 'seate' is to be read for 'state'.

The volume may have begun as a preparation for the press some time in the eighteenth century. This is suggested both by the carefully written MS. corrections (which are, however, incomplete, especially in the Latin) and by the blank leaf between the two parts which may have been intended for a second title-page. The removal of *Tom May's Death*, *On the Victory obtained by Blake*, and *Thyrsis and Dorinda* was deliberate and is puzzling. Had it anything to do with keeping a length for the proposed publication? But the three extruded poems aggregate only 316 lines against the 846 of the three Cromwell poems added. Towards the end the volume is untidy and, perhaps, unfinished, and another hand is also found. Other points of interest are mentioned in Mr. Macdonald's article mentioned above.

POEMS PUBLISHED BEFORE 1650

Ad Regem Carolum Parodia.

Jam satis pestis, satis atque diri
Fulminis misit pater, & rubenti
Dexterâ nostras jaculatus arces
Terruit urbem.
Terruit cives, grave nè rediret
Pristinum seclum nova monstra questum,
Omne cùm pestis pecus egit altos
Visere montes;
Cùm scholae latis genus haesit agris,
Nota quae sedes fuerat bubulcis;
Cùm togâ abjectâ pavidus reliquit
Oppida doctus.
Vidimus Chamum fluvium retortis
Littore à dextro violenter undis
Ire plorantem monumenta pestis,
Templáque clausa.
Granta dum semet nimiùm querenti
Miscet uxorem. vagus & sinistrâ
Labitur ripâ, Jove comprobante,
Tristior amnis.
Audiit cœlos acuisse ferrum,
Quo graves Turcae meliùs perirent;
Audiit mortes vitio parentum
Rara juventus.
Quem vocet divûm populus ruentis
Imperî rebus? prece quâ fatigent
Doctior cœtus minùs audientes
Carmina cœlos?
Cui dabit partes luis expiandae
Jupiter, tandem venias, precamur,
Nube candentes humeros amictus
Auxiliator.

Sive tu mavis, Erycina nostra,
Quam jocus circumvolat & Cupido,
Túque neglectum genus & nepotes
Auxeris ipsa.
Sola tam longam removere pestem,
Quam juvat luctus faciésque tristis,
Prolis optatâ reparare mole
Sola potésque.
Sive felici Carolum figurâ
Parvulus Princeps imitetur, almae
Sive Mariæ decoret puellam
Dulcis imago.
Serus in cœlum redeas, diúque
Lætus intersis populo Britanno,
Néve te nostris vitiis iniquum
Ocyor aura
Tollat. Hîc magnos potiùs triumphos,
Hîc ames dici pater atque princeps,
Et novâ mortes reparato prole
Te patre, Cæsar.

Πρὸς Κάρολον τὸν βασιλέα.

Ω Δυσαριστοτόκος, Πέντ' ὦ δύσποτμος ἀριθμός ! *5. Novemb.*
'Ω Πέντε στυγερὸν, Πέντ', ἀΐδαο πύλαι ! *5. Aug.*
'Αγγλῶν ὦ μέγ' ὄνειδος, ὦ οὐρανίοισιν ἀπεχθές !
'Αλλ' ἀπελύμαινες Κάρολε τοῦτον ἄνα.
Πέμπτον τέκνον ἔδωκε μογοστόκος Εἰλείθυια,
Πέντε δὲ Πένταθλον τέκνα καλοῦσι τεόν.
Εἰ δὲ θέλεις βίβλοις ταῖς ὀψιγόνοισι τίεσθαι,
Πεντήτευχον ἔχεις παιδια διογενῆ.
Ἢ ὅτι θεσπεσίης φιλέεις μήστωρας ἀοιδῆς,
'Αρμονίην ποιεῖς τὴν Διὰ πέντε Πάτερ.

'Ανδρέας ὁ Μαρβέλλου, ἐκ τοῦ τῆς Τριαδος.

51 reparato] reparare *Cooke*

To his Noble Friend Mr. Richard Lovelace, *upon his Poems.*

Sir,

Our times are much degenerate from those
Which your sweet Muse which your fair Fortune chose,
And as complexions alter with the Climes,
Our wits have drawne th' infection of our times.
That candid Age no other way could tell
To be ingenious, but by speaking well.
Who best could prayse, had then the greatest prayse,
Twas more esteemd to give, then weare the Bayes :
Modest ambition studi'd only then,
To honour not her selfe, but worthy men.
These vertues now are banisht out of Towne,
Our Civill Wars have lost the Civicke crowne.
He highest builds, who with most Art destroys,
And against others Fame his owne employs.
I see the envious Caterpillar sit
On the faire blossome of each growing wit.
The Ayre 's already tainted with the swarms
Of Insects which against you rise in arms.
Word-peckers, Paper-rats, Book-scorpions,
Of wit corrupted, the unfashion'd Sons.
The barbed Censurers begin to looke
Like the grim consistory on thy Booke ;
And on each line cast a reforming eye,
Severer then the yong Presbytery.
Till when in vaine they have thee all perus'd,
You shall for being faultlesse be accus'd.
Some reading your *Lucasta*, will alledge
You wrong'd in her the Houses Priviledge.
Some that you under sequestration are,
Because you write when going to the Warre,
And one the Book prohibits, because *Kent*
Their first Petition by the Authour sent.
But when the beauteous Ladies came to know
That their deare *Lovelace* was endanger'd so :
Lovelace that thaw'd the most congealed brest,
He who lov'd best and them defended best.

Whose hand so rudely grasps the steely brand,
Whose hand so gently melts the Ladies hand.
They all in mutiny though yet undrest
Sally'd, and would in his defence contest.
And one the loveliest that was yet e're seen,
Thinking that I too of the rout had been,
Mine eyes invaded with a female spight,
(She knew what pain 'twould be to lose that sight.)
O no, mistake not, I reply'd, for I
In your defence, or in his cause would dy.
But he secure of glory and of time
Above their envy, or mine aid doth clime.
Him, valianst men, and fairest Nymphs approve,
His Booke in them finds Judgement, with you Love.

Andr. Marvell.

Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings.

Go, intercept some Fountain in the Vein,
Whose Virgin-Source yet never steept the Plain.
Hastings is dead, and we must finde a Store
Of Tears untoucht, and never wept before.
Go, stand betwixt the *Morning* and the *Flowers*;
And, ere they fall, arrest the early *Showers*.
Hastings is dead; and we, disconsolate,
With early *Tears* must mourn his early *Fate*.
Alas, his *Vertues* did his *Death* presage:
Needs must he die, that doth out-run his *Age*.
The Phlegmatick and Slowe prolongs his day,
And on Times Wheel sticks like a *Remora*.
What man is he, that hath not *Heaven* beguil'd,
And is not thence mistaken for a *Childe*?
While those of growth more sudden, and more bold,
Are hurried hence, as if already old.
For, there above, They number not as here,
But weigh to Man the *Geometrick* yeer.
Had he but at this Measure still increast,
And on *the Tree of Life* once made a Feast,
As that of *Knowledge*; what Loves had he given
To Earth, and then what Jealousies to Heaven!

42 been, *ed*: been. *1649*.

But 't is a *Maxime* of that State, That none,
Lest He become like Them, taste more then one.
Therefore the *Democratick* Stars did rise,
And all that Worth from hence did *Ostracize.*
  Yet as some *Prince,* that, for State-Jealousie,
Secures his neerest and most lov'd *Ally* ;
His Thought with richest Triumphs entertains,
And in the choicest Pleasures charms his Pains :
So he, not banisht hence, but there confin'd,
There better recreates his active Minde.
  Before the *Chrystal Palace* where he dwells,
The armed *Angels* hold their *Carouzels* ;
And underneath, he views the *Turnaments*
Of all these Sublunary *Elements.*
But most he doth th' *Eternal Book* behold,
On which the *happie Names* do stand enroll'd ;
And gladly there can all his Kinred claim,
But most rejoyces at his *Mothers* name.
  The gods themselves cannot their Joy conceal,
But draw their Veils, and their pure Beams reveal :
Onely they drooping *Hymeneus* note,
Who for sad *Purple,* tears his *Saffron*-coat ;
And trails his Torches th'row the Starry Hall
Reversed, at his *Darlings* Funeral.
  And *Æsculapius,* who, asham'd and stern,
Himself at once condemneth, and *Mayern* ;
Like some sad *Chymist,* who, prepar'd to reap
The *Golden Harvest,* sees his Glasses leap.
For, how Immortal must their race have stood,
Had *Mayern* once been mixt with *Hastings* blood !
How Sweet and Verdant would these *Lawrels* be,
Had they been planted on that *Balsam*-tree !
  But what could he, good man, although he bruis'd
All Herbs, and them a thousand ways infus'd ?
All he had try'd, but all in vain, he saw,
And wept, as we, without Redress or Law.
For *Man* (alas) is but the *Heavens* sport ;
And *Art* indeed is Long, but *Life* is Short.

Andrew Marvel.

The frontispiece and title-page which follow are those of the folio of 1681. The portrait is about five-eighths and the title-page about four-fifths of the original scale.

Andr: Marvell. Esq.

MISCELLANEOUS
POEMS.

BY

ANDREW MARVELL, Eſq;

Late Member of the Honourable Houſe of Commons.

LONDON,

Printed for *Robert Boulter*, at the *Turks-Head* in *Cornhill*. M. DC. LXXXI.

TO THE

READER.

THese are to Certifie every Ingenious Reader, that all these Poems, as also the other things in this Book contained, are Printed according to the exact Copies of my late dear Husband, under his own Hand-Writing, being found since his Death among his other Papers, Witness my Hand this 15*th* day of *October*, 1680.

Mary Marvell.

A

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

The Resolved Soul, and Created Pleasure.

Courage my Soul, now learn to wield
The weight of thine immortal Shield.
Close on thy Head thy Helmet bright.
Ballance thy Sword against the Fight.
See where an Army, strong as fair,
With silken Banners spreads the air.
Now, if thou bee'st that thing Divine,
In this day's Combat let it shine:
And shew that Nature wants an Art
To conquer one resolved Heart.

Pleasure.

Welcome the Creations Guest,
Lord of Earth, and Heavens Heir.
Lay aside that Warlike Crest,
And of Nature's banquet share:
Where the Souls of fruits and flow'rs
Stand prepar'd to heighten yours.

Soul.

I sup above, and cannot stay
To bait so long upon the way.

Pleasure.

On these downy Pillows lye,
Whose soft Plumes will thither fly:
On these Roses strow'd so plain
Lest one Leaf thy Side should strain.

Soul.

My gentler Rest is on a Thought,
Conscious of doing what I ought.

Pleasure.

If thou bee'st with Perfumes pleas'd,
Such as ott the Gods appeas'd,
Thou in fragrant Clouds shalt show
Like another God below.

Soul.

A Soul that knowes not to presume
Is Heaven's and its own perfume.

Pleasure.

Every thing does seem to vie
Which should first attract thine Eye :
But since none deserves that grace,
In this Crystal view *thy* face.

Soul.

When the Creator's skill is priz'd,
The rest is all but Earth disguis'd.

Pleasure.

Heark how Musick then prepares
For thy Stay these charming Aires ;
Which the posting Winds recall,
And suspend the Rivers Fall.

Soul.

Had I but any time to lose,
On this I would it all dispose.
Cease Tempter. None can chain a mind
Whom this sweet Chordage cannot bind.

Chorus.

Earth cannot shew so brave a Sight
As when a single Soul does fence
The Batteries of alluring Sense,
And Heaven views it with delight.
Then persevere : for still new Charges sound :
And if thou overcom'st thou shalt be crown'd.

Pleasure.

All this fair, and soft, and sweet,
Which scatteringly doth shine,
Shall within one Beauty meet,
And she be only thine.

Soul.

If things of Sight such Heavens be,
What Heavens are those we cannot see?

Pleasure.

Where so e're thy Foot shall go
The minted Gold shall lie;
Till thou purchase all below,
And want new Worlds to buy.

Soul.

Wer't not a price who'ld value Gold?
And that 's worth nought that can be sold.

Pleasure.

Wilt thou all the Glory have
That War or Peace commend?
Half the World shall be thy Slave
The other half thy Friend.

Soul.

What Friends, if to my self untrue?
What Slaves, unless I captive you?

Pleasure.

Thou shalt know each hidden Cause;
And see the future Time:
Try what depth the Centre draws;
And then to Heaven climb.

Soul.

None thither mounts by the degree
Of Knowledge, but Humility.

51 soft] *Ed. conj.*: coft *F.* *The line is usually printed as in Cooke,* All that 's costly, fair, and sweet

Chorus.

Triumph, triumph, victorious Soul;
The World has not one Pleasure more:
The rest does lie beyond the Pole,
And is thine everlasting Store.

On a Drop of Dew.

See how the Orient Dew,
Shed from the Bosom of the Morn
Into the blowing Roses,
Yet careless of its Mansion new;
For the clear Region where 'twas born
Round in its self incloses:
And in its little Globes Extent,
Frames as it can its native Element.
How it the purple flow'r does slight,
Scarce touching where it lyes,
But gazing back upon the Skies,
Shines with a mournful Light;
Like its own Tear,
Because so long divided from the Sphear.
Restless it roules and unsecure,
Trembling lest it grow impure:
Till the warm Sun pitty it's Pain,
And to the Skies exhale it back again.
So the Soul, that Drop, that Ray
Of the clear Fountain of Eternal Day,
Could it within the humane flow'r be seen,
Remembring still its former height,
Shuns the sweat leaves and blossoms green;
And, recollecting its own Light,
Does, in its pure and circling thoughts, express
The greater Heaven in an Heaven less.
In how coy a Figure wound,
Every way it turns away:
So the World excluding round.
Yet receiving in the Day.
Dark beneath, but bright above:
Here disdaining, there in Love,

1 See] SHee *most copies of F* 4 new;] new, *Cooke* 5 born] ›orn, *Cooke*

How loose and easie hence to go :
How girt and ready to ascend.
Moving but on a point below,
It all about does upwards bend.
Such did the Manna's sacred Dew destil ;
White, and intire, though congeal'd and chill.
Congeal'd on Earth : but does, dissolving, run
Into the Glories of th' Almighty Sun.

Ros.

Cernis ut Eoi *descendat Gemmula Roris,*
Inque Rosas roseo transfluat orta sinu.
Sollicitâ Flores stant ambitione supini,
Et certant foliis pellicuisse suis.
Illa tamen patriae lustrans fastigia Sphærae,
Negligit hospitii limina picta novi.
Inque sui nitido conclusa voluminis orbe,
Exprimit ætherei quâ licet Orbis aquas.
En ut odoratum spernat generosior Ostrum,
Vixque premat casto mollia strata pede.
Suspicit at longis distantem obtutibus Axem,
Inde & languenti lumine pendet amans,
Tristis, & in liquidum mutata dolore dolorem,
Marcet, uti roseis Lachryma fusa Genis.
Ut pavet, & motum tremit irrequieta Cubile,
Et quoties Zephyro *fluctuat Aura, fugit.*
Qualis inexpertam subeat formido Puellam,
Sicubi nocte redit incomitata domum.
Sic & in horridulas agitatur Gutta procellas,
Dum prae virgineo cuncta pudore timet.
Donec oberrantem Radio clemente vaporet,
Inque jubar reducem Sol genitale trahat.
Talis, in humano si possit flore videri,
Exul ubi longas Mens agit usque moras ;
Haec quoque natalis meditans convivia Cœli,
Evertit Calices, purpureosque Thoros.
Fontis stilla sacri, Lucis scintilla perennis,
Non capitur Tyriâ *veste, vapore* Sabae.
Tota sed in proprii secedens luminis Arcem,
Colligit in Gyros se sinuosa breves.

Magnorumque sequens Animo convexa Deorum,
Sydereum parvo fingit in Orbe Globum.
Quam bene in aversae modulum contracta figurae
Oppositum Mundo claudit ubique latus.
Sed bibit in speculum radios ornata rotundum ;
Et circumfuso splendet aperta Die.
Qua Superos spectat rutilans, obscurior infra ;
Caetera dedignans, ardet amore Poli.
Subsilit, hinc agili Poscens discedere motu,
Undique coelesti cincta soluta Viæ.
Totaque in aereos extenditur orbita cursus ;
Hinc punctim carpens, mobile stringit iter.
Haud aliter Mensis exundans Manna beatis
Deserto jacuit Stilla gelata solo :
Stilla gelata solo, sed Solibus hausta benignis,
Ad sua quâ cecidit purior Astra redit.

The Coronet.

When for the Thorns with which I long, too long,
With many a piercing wound,
My Saviours head have crown'd,
I seek with Garlands to redress that Wrong :
Through every Garden, every Mead,
I gather flow'rs (my fruits are only flow'rs)
Dismantling all the fragrant Towers
That once adorn'd my Shepherdesses head.
And now when I have summ'd up all my store,
Thinking (so I my self deceive)
So rich a Chaplet thence to weave
As never yet the king of Glory wore :
Alas I find the Serpent old
That, twining in his speckled breast,
About the flow'rs disguis'd does fold,
With wreaths of Fame and Interest.
Ah, foolish Man, that would'st debase with them,
And mortal Glory, Heavens Diadem!
But thou who only could'st the Serpent tame,
Either his slipp'ry knots at once untie,
And disintangle all his winding Snare:
Or shatter too with him my curious frame:

And let these wither, so that he may die,
Though set with Skill and chosen out with Care.
That they, while Thou on both their Spoils dost tread,
May crown thy Feet, that could not crown thy Head.

Eyes and Tears.

I.

How wisely Nature did decree,
With the same Eyes to weep and see !
That, having view'd the object vain,
They might be ready to complain.

II.

And, since the Self-deluding Sight,
In a false Angle takes each hight ;
These Tears which better measure all,
Like wat'ry Lines and Plummets fall.

III.

Two Tears, which Sorrow long did weigh
Within the Scales of either Eye,
And then paid out in equal Poise,
Are the true price of all my Joyes.

IV.

What in the World most fair appears,
Yea even Laughter, turns to Tears :
And all the Jewels which we prize,
Melt in these Pendants of the Eyes.

V.

I have through every Garden been,
Amongst the Red, the White, the Green ;
And yet, from all the flow'rs I saw,
No Hony, but these Tears could draw.

VI.

So the all-seeing Sun each day
Distills the World with Chymick Ray ;
But finds the Essence only Showers,
Which straight in pity back he powers.

VII.

Yet happy they whom Grief doth bless,
That weep the more, and see the less:
And, to preserve their Sight more true,
Bath still their Eyes in their own Dew.

VIII.

*So *Magdalen*, in Tears more wise
Dissolv'd those captivating Eyes,
Whose liquid Chaines could flowing meet
To fetter her Redeemers feet.

IX.

Not full sailes hasting loaden home,
Nor the chast Ladies pregnant Womb,
Nor *Cynthia* Teeming show's so fair,
As two Eyes swoln with weeping are.

X.

The sparkling Glance that shoots Desire,
Drench'd in these Waves, does lose it fire.
Yea oft the Thund'rer pitty takes
And here the hissing Lightning slakes.

XI.

The Incense was to Heaven dear,
Not as a Perfume, but a Tear.
And Stars shew lovely in the Night,
But as they seem the Tears of Light.

XII.

Ope then mine Eyes your double Sluice,
And practise so your noblest Use.
For others too can see, or sleep;
But only humane Eyes can weep.

XIII.

Now like two Clouds dissolving, drop,
And at each Tear in distance stop:
Now like two Fountains trickle down:
Now like two floods o'return and drown.

XIIII.

Thus let your Streams o'reflow your Springs,
Till Eyes and Tears be the same things :
And each the other's difference bears ;
These weeping Eyes, those seeing Tears.

---

*Magdala, *lascivos sic quum dimisit Amantes,*
Fervidaque in castas lumina solvit aquas ;
Hæsit in irriguo lachrymarum compede Christus,
Et tenuit sacros uda Catena pedes.

Bermudas.

Where the remote *Bermudas* ride
In th' Oceans bosome unespy'd,
From a small Boat, that row'd along,
The listning Winds receiv'd this Song.
What should we do but sing his Praise
That led us through the watry Maze,
Unto an Isle so long unknown,
And yet far kinder than our own ?
Where he the huge Sea-Monsters wracks,
That lift the Deep upon their Backs.
He lands us on a grassy Stage ;
Safe from the Storms, and Prelat's rage.
He gave us this eternal Spring,
Which here enamells every thing ;
And sends the Fowl's to us in care,
On daily Visits through the Air.
He hangs in shades the Orange bright,
Like golden Lamps in a green Night.
And does in the Pomgranates close,
Jewels more rich than *Ormus* show's.
He makes the Figs our mouths to meet ;
And throws the Melons at our feet.
But Apples plants of such a price,
No Tree could ever bear them twice.
With Cedars, chosen by his hand,
From *Lebanon*, he stores the Land.
And makes the hollow Seas, that roar,
Proclaime the Ambergris on shoar.
He cast (of which we rather boast)
The Gospels Pearl upon our Coast.

And in these Rocks for us did frame
A Temple, where to sound his Name.
Oh let our Voice his Praise exalt,
Till it arrive at Heavens Vault :
Which thence (perhaps) rebounding, may
Eccho beyond the *Mexique Bay*.
Thus sung they, in the *English* boat,
An holy and a chearful Note,
And all the way, to guide their Chime,
With falling Oars they kept the time.

Clorinda and Damon.

C. *Damon* come drive thy flocks this way.
D. No : 'tis too late they went astray.
C. I have a grassy Scutcheon spy'd,
Where *Flora* blazons all her pride.
The Grass I aim to feast thy Sheep :
The Flow'rs I for thy Temples keep.
D. Grass withers ; and the Flow'rs too fade.
C. Seize the short Joyes then, ere they vade.
Seest thou that unfrequented Cave ?
D. That den ? *C.* Loves Shrine. *D.* But Virtue's Grave.
C. In whose cool bosome we may lye
Safe from the Sun. *D.* not Heaven's Eye.
C. Near this, a Fountaines liquid Bell
Tinkles within the concave Shell.
D. Might a Soul bath there and be clean,
Or slake its Drought ? *C.* What is't you mean ?
D. These once had been enticing things,
Clorinda, Pastures, Caves, and Springs.
C. And what late change ? *D.* The other day
Pan met me. *C.* What did great *Pan* say ?
D. Words that transcend poor Shepherds skill,
But He ere since my Songs does fill :
And his Name swells my slender Oate.
C. Sweet must *Pan* sound in *Damons* Note.
D. *Clorinda's* voice might make it sweet.
C. Who would not in *Pan's* Praises meet ?

Chorus.

Of Pan *the flowry Pastures sing,*
Caves eccho, and the Fountains ring.
Sing then while he doth us inspire ;
For all the World is our Pan's *Quire.*

A Dialogue between Thyrsis *and* Dorinda.

Dorinda. When Death, shall part us from these Kids,
And shut up our divided Lids,
Tell me *Thyrsis*, prethee do,
Whither thou and I must go.

Thyrsis. To the Elizium : (*Dorinda*) oh where i'st ?
Thyrsis. A Chast Soul, can never mis't.
Dorinda. I know no way, but one, our home ;
Is our cell Elizium ?

Thyrsis. Turn thine Eye to yonder Skie,
There the milky way doth lye ;
'Tis a sure but rugged way,
That leads to Everlasting day.

Dorinda. There Birds may nest, but how can I,
That have no wings and cannot fly ?

Thyrsis. Do not sigh (fair Nimph) for fire
Hath no wings, yet doth aspire
Till it hit, against the pole,
Heaven's the Center of the Soul.

Dorinda. But in Elizium how do they
Pass Eternity away ?

Thyrsis. Oh, ther's, neither hope nor fear
Ther's no Wolf, no Fox, nor Bear.
No need of Dog to fetch our stray,
Our Lightfoot we may give away ;
No Oat-pipe's needfull, there thine Ears
May feast with Musick of the Spheres.

1 part *B 4*: snatch part *M 14*: Snatch *F* 3 *Thyrsis B 4*: *Thrisis F*: Thirsis *M 14* 4 must] must shall *M 14*

7, 8 As in *B 4*:
I know no way, but one, our home
Is our Elizium ? *F*
I know no Home but One,
Our Cell is our *Elizium*. *M 14*

9 Turn *M 14*, *B 4*: Cast *F* 13 can] can shall *M 14* 14 fly ? *M 14*: fly. *F* 20 away ? *M 14*: away *F* 21 Oh *M 14*, *B 4*: Ho *F* 22 nor *M 14*, *B 4*: no *F* 25 No . . . thine Ears *M 14*: No . . . our ears *B 4*: And there most sweetly thine Ear *F* 26 feast] sleep *B 4* Spheres *M 14*: Sphears *B 4*: Sphear *F*

Dorinda. Oh sweet! oh sweet! How I my future state
By silent thinking, Antidate:
I prethee let us spend our time to come
In talking of *Elizium.*

Thyrsis. Then I'le go on: There, sheep are full
Of sweetest grass, and softest wooll;
There, birds sing Consorts, garlands grow,
Cool winds do whisper, springs do flow.
There, alwayes is, a rising Sun,
And day is ever, but begun.
Shepheards there, bear equal sway,
And every Nimph's a Queen of *May.*

Dorinda. Ah me, ah me. (*Thyrsis.*) *Dorinda,* why do 'st Cry?

Dorinda. I'm sick, I'm sick, and fain would dye:
Convince me now, that this is true;
By bidding, with mee, all adieu.

Thyrsis. I cannot live, without thee, I
Will for thee, much more with thee dye.

Chorus. Then let us give *Carillo* charge o'th Sheep,
And thou and I'le pick poppies and them steep
In wine, and drink on't even till we weep,
So shall we smoothly pass away in sleep.

A Dialogue between the Soul and Body.

Soul.

O who shall, from this Dungeon, raise
A Soul inslav'd so many wayes?
With bolts of Bones, that fetter'd stands
In Feet; and manacled in Hands.
Here blinded with an Eye; and there
Deaf with the drumming of an Ear.
A Soul hung up, as 'twere, in Chains
Of Nerves, and Arteries, and Veins.
Tortur'd, besides each other part,
In a vain Head, and double Heart.

27 Dorinda. Oh sweet! oh sweet! *M 14*: D. Ah sweet! *B 4 om. F* 29 spend *M 14, B 4*: spend, *F*: to] *om. F* 32 sweetest *M 14, B 4*: softest *F* 34 springs] streams *B 4* 39 Arranged in one line as in MSS. *F* prints as two lines. Brackets placed round (Thyrsis) by *ed.* on analogy of l. 5. 41 Convince *M 14, B 4*: Convinc't *F* 42 adieu. *M 14, B 4*: adieu *F* 43 Thyrsis *M 14, B 4*: *om. F* 45 Chorus *M 14, B 4*: *Dorinda F* *Clorillo M 14*: *Corellia F*: *Corella B 4* 47 even] *om. M 14* 48 away] away, away, away *B 4*

34, 45 *see* Additional Notes

VIII.

This is the only *Banneret*
That ever Love created yet:
Who though, by the Malignant Starrs,
Forced to live in Storms and Warrs:
Yet dying leaves a Perfume here,
And Musick within every Ear:
And he in Story only rules,
In a Field *Sable* a Lover *Gules*.

The Gallery.

I.

Clora come view my Soul, and tell
Whether I have contriv'd it well.
Now all its several lodgings lye
Compos'd into one Gallery;
And the great *Arras*-hangings, made
Of various Faces, by are laid;
That, for all furniture, you'l find
Only your Picture in my Mind.

II.

Here Thou art painted in the Dress
Of an Inhumane Murtheress;
Examining upon our Hearts
Thy fertile Shop of cruel Arts:
Engines more keen than ever yet
Adorned Tyrants Cabinet;
Of which the most tormenting are
Black Eyes, red Lips, and curled Hair.

III.

But, on the other side, th' art drawn
Like to *Aurora* in the Dawn;
When in the East she slumb'ring lyes,
And stretches out her milky Thighs;
While all the morning Quire does sing,
And *Manna* falls, and Roses spring;
And, at thy Feet, the wooing Doves
Sit perfecting their harmless Loves.

IV.

Like an Enchantress here thou show'st,
Vexing thy restless Lover's Ghost;
And, by a Light obscure, dost rave
Over his Entrails, in the Cave;
Divining thence, with horrid Care,
How long thou shalt continue fair;
And (when inform'd) them throw'st away,
To be the greedy Vultur's prey.

V.

But, against that, thou sit'st a float
Like *Venus* in her pearly Boat.
The *Halcyons*, calming all that 's nigh,
Betwixt the Air and Water fly.
Or, if some rowling Wave appears,
A Mass of Ambergris it bears.
Nor blows more Wind than what may well
Convoy the Perfume to the Smell.

VI.

These Pictures and a thousand more,
Of Thee, my Gallery do store;
In all the Forms thou can'st invent
Either to please me, or torment:
For thou alone to people me,
Art grown a num'rous Colony;
And a Collection choicer far
Then or *White-hall's*, or *Mantua's* were.

VII.

But, of these Pictures and the rest,
That at the Entrance likes me best:
Where the same Posture, and the Look
Remains, with which I first was took.
A tender Shepherdess, whose Hair
Hangs loosely playing in the Air,
Transplanting Flow'rs from the green Hill,
To crown her Head, and Bosome fill.

42 do *Cooke*: dost *F*: doth *Aitken*: does *Grierson* (*in Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems*)

The Fair Singer.

I.

To make a final conquest of all me,
Love did compose so sweet an Enemy,
In whom both Beauties to my death agree,
Joyning themselves in fatal Harmony ;
That while she with her Eyes my Heart does bind,
She with her Voice might captivate my Mind.

II.

I could have fled from One but singly fair :
My dis-intangled Soul it self might save,
Breaking the curled trammels of her hair.
But how should I avoid to be her Slave,
Whose subtile Art invisibly can wreath
My Fetters of the very Air I breath ?

III.

It had been easie fighting in some plain,
Where Victory might hang in equal choice,
But all resistance against her is vain,
Who has th' advantage both of Eyes and Voice,
And all my Forces needs must be undone,
She having gained both the Wind and Sun.

Mourning.

I.

You, that decipher out the Fate
Of humane Off-springs from the Skies,
What mean these Infants which of late
Spring from the Starrs of *Chlora's* Eyes ?

II.

Her Eyes confus'd, and doubled ore,
With Tears suspended ere they flow ;
Seem bending upwards, to restore
To Heaven, whence it came, their Woe.

III.

When, molding of the watry Sphears,
Slow drops unty themselves away ;
As if she, with those precious Tears,
Would strow the ground where *Strephon* lay.

IV.

Yet some affirm, pretending Art,
Her Eyes have so her Bosome drown'd,
Only to soften near her Heart
A place to fix another Wound.

V.

And, while vain Pomp does her restrain
Within her solitary Bowr,
She courts her self in am'rous Rain ;
Her self both *Danae* and the Showr.

VI.

Nay others, bolder, hence esteem
Joy now so much her Master grown,
That whatsoever does but seem
Like Grief, is from her Windows thrown.

VII.

Nor that she payes, while she survives,
To her dead Love this Tribute due ;
But casts abroad these Donatives,
At the installing of a new.

VIII.

How wide they dream ! The *Indian* Slaves
That sink for Pearl through Seas profound,
Would find her Tears yet deeper Waves
And not of one the bottom sound.

IX.

I yet my silent Judgment keep,
Disputing not what they believe
But sure as oft as Women weep,
It is to be suppos'd they grieve.

Daphnis and *Chloe.*

I.

Daphnis must from *Chloe* part :
Now is come the dismal Hour
That must all his Hopes devour,
All his Labour, all his Art.

II.

Nature her own Sexes foe,
Long had taught her to be coy :
But she neither knew t'enjoy,
Nor yet let her Lover go.

III.

But, with this sad News surpriz'd,
Soon she let that Niceness fall ;
And would gladly yield to all,
So it had his stay compriz'd.

IV.

Nature so her self does use
To lay by her wonted State,
Lest the World should separate ;
Sudden Parting closer glews.

V.

He, well read in all the wayes
By which men their Siege maintain,
Knew not that the Fort to gain
Better 'twas the Siege to raise.

VI.

But he came so full possest
With the Grief of Parting thence,
That he had not so much Sence
As to see he might be blest.

VII.

Till Love in her Language breath'd
Words she never spake before ;
But then Legacies no more
To a dying Man bequeath'd.

VIII.

For, Alas, the time was spent,
Now the latest minut's run
When poor *Daphnis* is undone,
Between Joy and Sorrow rent.

IX.

At that *Why*, that *Stay my Dear*,
His disorder'd Locks he tare ;
And with rouling Eyes did glare,
And his cruel Fate forswear.

X.

As the Soul of one scarce dead,
With the shrieks of Friends aghast,
Looks distracted back in hast,
And then streight again is fled.

XI.

So did wretched *Daphnis* look,
Frighting her he loved most.
At the last, this Lovers Ghost
Thus his Leave resolved took.

XII.

Are my Hell and Heaven Joyn'd
More to torture him that dies ?
Could departure not suffice,
But that you must then grow kind ?

XIII.

Ah my *Chloe* how have I
Such a wretched minute found,
When thy Favours should me wound
More than all thy Cruelty ?

XIV.

So to the condemned Wight
The delicious Cup we fill ;
And allow him all he will,
For his last and short Delight.

XV.

But I will not now begin
Such a Debt unto my Foe ;
Nor to my Departure owe
What my Presence could not win.

XVI.

Absence is too much alone :
Better 'tis to go in peace,
Than my Losses to increase
By a late Fruition.

XVII.

Why should I enrich my Fate ?
'Tis a Vanity to wear,
For my Executioner,
Jewels of so high a rate.

XVIII.

Rather I away will pine
In a manly stubborness
Than be fatted up express
For the *Canibal* to dine.

XIX.

Whilst this grief does thee disarm,
All th' Enjoyment of our Love
But the ravishment would prove
Of a Body dead while warm.

XX.

And I parting should appear
Like the Gourmand *Hebrew* dead,
While with Quailes and *Manna* fed,
He does through the Desert err.

XXI.

Or the Witch that midnight wakes
For the Fern, whose magick Weed
In one minute casts the Seed,
And invisible him makes.

79 with *Cooke* : he *F* 80 He *Cooke* : And *F*

XXII.

Gentler times for Love are ment
Who for parting pleasure strain
Gather Roses in the rain,
Wet themselves and spoil their Sent.

XXIII.

Farewel therefore all the fruit
Which I could from Love receive :
Joy will not with Sorrow weave,
Nor will I this Grief pollute.

XXIV.

Fate I come, as dark, as sad,
As thy Malice could desire ;
Yet bring with me all the Fire
That Love in his Torches had.

XXV.

At these words away he broke ;
As who long has praying ly'n,
To his Heads-man makes the Sign,
And receives the parting stroke.

XXVI.

But hence Virgins all beware.
Last night he with *Phlogis* slept ;
This night for *Dorinda* kept ;
And but rid to take the Air.

XXVII.

Yet he does himself excuse ;
Nor indeed without a Cause.
For, according to the Lawes,
Why did *Chloe* once refuse ?

The Definition of Love.

I.

My Love is of a birth as rare
As 'tis for object strange and high :
It was begotten by despair
Upon Impossibility.

II.

Magnanimous Despair alone
Could show me so divine a thing,
Where feeble Hope could ne'r have flown
But vainly flapt its Tinsel Wing.

III.

And yet I quickly might arrive
Where my extended Soul is fixt,
But Fate does Iron wedges drive,
And alwaies crouds it self betwixt

IV.

For Fate with jealous Eye does see
Two perfect Loves; nor lets them close:
Their union would her ruine be,
And her Tyrannick pow'r depose.

V.

And therefore her Decrees of Steel
Us as the distant Poles have plac'd,
(Though Loves whole World on us doth wheel)
Not by themselves to be embrac'd.

VI.

Unless the giddy Heaven fall,
And Earth some new Convulsion tear;
And, us to joyn, the World should all
Be cramp'd into a *Planisphere.*

VII.

As Lines so Loves *oblique* may well
Themselves in every Angle greet:
But ours so truly *Paralel,*
Though infinite can never meet.

VIII.

Therefore the Love which us doth bind.
But Fate so enviously debarrs,
Is the Conjunction of the Mind,
And Opposition of the Stars.

The Picture of little T. C. in a Prospect of Flowers.

I.

See with what simplicity
This Nimph begins her golden daies !
In the green Grass she loves to lie,
And there with her fair Aspect tames
The Wilder flow'rs, and gives them names :
But only with the Roses playes ;
And them does tell
What Colour best becomes them, and what Smell.

II.

Who can foretel for what high cause
This Darling of the Gods was born !
Yet this is She whose chaster Laws
The wanton Love shall one day fear,
And, under her command severe,
See his Bow broke and Ensigns torn.
Happy, who can
Appease this virtuous Enemy of Man !

III.

O then let me in time compound,
And parly with those conquering Eyes ;
Ere they have try'd their force to wound,
Ere, with their glancing wheels, they drive
In Triumph over Hearts that strive,
And them that yield but more despise.
Let me be laid,
Where I may see thy Glories from some shade.

IV.

Mean time, whilst every verdant thing
It self does at thy Beauty charm,
Reform the errours of the Spring ;
Make that the Tulips may have share
Of sweetness, seeing they are fair ;
And Roses of their thorns disarm :
But most procure
That Violets may a longer Age endure.

V.

But O young beauty of the Woods,
Whom Nature courts with fruits and flow'rs,
Gather the Flow'rs, but spare the Buds ;
Lest *Flora* angry at thy crime,
To kill her Infants in their prime,
Do quickly make th' Example Yours ;
And, ere we see,
Nip in the blossome all our hopes and Thee.

The Match.

I.

Nature had long a Treasure made
Of all her choisest store ;
Fearing, when She should be decay'd,
To beg in vain for more.

II.

Her *Orientest* Colours there,
And Essences most pure,
With sweetest Perfumes hoarded were,
All as she thought secure.

III.

She seldom them unlock'd, or us'd,
But with the nicest care ;
For, with one grain of them diffus'd,
She could the World repair.

IV.

But likeness soon together drew
What she did separate lay ;
Of which one perfect Beauty grew,
And that was *Celia*.

V.

Love wisely had of long fore-seen
That he must once grow old ;
And therefore stor'd a Magazine,
To save him from the cold.

VI.

He kept the several Cells repleat
With Nitre thrice refin'd ;
The Naphta's and the Sulphurs heat,
And all that burns the Mind.

VII.

He fortifi'd the double Gate,
And rarely thither came ;
For, with one Spark of these, he streight
All Nature could inflame.

VIII.

Till, by vicinity so long,
A nearer Way they sought ;
And, grown magnetically strong,
Into each other wrought.

IX.

Thus all his fewel did unite
To make one fire high :
None ever burn'd so hot, so bright ;
And *Celia* that am I.

X.

So we alone the happy rest,
Whilst all the World is poor,
And have within our Selves possest
All Love's and Nature's store.

The Mower against Gardens.

Luxurious Man, to bring his Vice in use,
Did after him the World seduce :
And from the fields the Flow'rs and Plants allure,
Where Nature was most plain and pure.
He first enclos'd within the Gardens square
A dead and standing pool of Air :
And a more luscious Earth for them did knead,
Which stupifi'd them while it fed.
The Pink grew then as double as his Mind ;
The nutriment did change the kind.

With strange perfumes he did the Roses taint.
And Flow'rs themselves were taught to paint.
The Tulip, white, did for complexion seek ;
And learn'd to interline its cheek :
Its Onion root they then so high did hold,
That one was for a Meadow sold.
Another World was search'd, through Oceans new,
To find the *Marvel of Peru.*
And yet these Rarities might be allow'd,
To Man, that sov'raign thing and proud ;
Had he not dealt between the Bark and Tree,
Forbidden mixtures there to see.
No Plant now knew the Stock from which it came ;
He grafts upon the Wild the Tame :
That the uncertain and adult'rate fruit
Might put the Palate in dispute.
His green *Seraglio* has its Eunuchs too ;
Lest any Tyrant him out-doe.
And in the Cherry he does Nature vex,
To procreate without a Sex.
'Tis all enforc'd ; the Fountain and the Grot ;
While the sweet Fields do lye forgot :
Where willing Nature does to all dispence
A wild and fragrant Innocence :
And *Fauns* and *Faryes* do the Meadows till,
More by their presence then their skill.
Their Statues polish'd by some ancient hand,
May to adorn the Gardens stand :
But howso'ere the Figures do excel,
The *Gods* themselves with us do dwell.

Damon *the Mower.*

I.

Heark how the Mower *Damon* Sung,
With love of *Juliana* stung !
While ev'ry thing did seem to paint
The Scene more fit for his complaint.
Like her fair Eyes the day was fair ;
But scorching like his am'rous Care.
Sharp like his Sythe his Sorrow was,
And wither'd like his Hopes the Grass.

II.

Oh what unusual Heats are here,
Which thus our Sun-burn'd Meadows sear!
The Grass-hopper its pipe gives ore;
And hamstring'd Frogs can dance no more.
But in the brook the green Frog wades;
And Grass-hoppers seek out the shades.
Only the Snake, that kept within,
Now glitters in its second skin.

III.

This heat the Sun could never raise,
Nor Dog-star so inflame's the dayes.
It from an higher Beauty grow'th,
Which burns the Fields and Mower both:
Which made the Dog, and makes the Sun
Hotter then his own *Phaeton*.
Not *July* causeth these Extremes,
But *Juliana's* scorching beams.

IV.

Tell me where I may pass the Fires
Of the hot day, or hot desires.
To what cool Cave shall I descend,
Or to what gelid Fountain bend?
Alas! I look for Ease in vain,
When Remedies themselves complain.
No moisture but my Tears do rest,
Nor Cold but in her Icy Breast.

V.

How long wilt Thou, fair Shepheardess,
Esteem me, and my Presents less?
To Thee the harmless Snake I bring,
Disarmed of its teeth and sting.
To Thee *Chameleons* changing-hue,
And Oak leaves tipt with hony due.
Yet Thou ungrateful hast not sought
Nor what they are, nor who them brought.

VI.

I am the Mower *Damon*, known
Through all the Meadows I have mown.
On me the Morn her dew distills
Before her darling Daffadils.
And, if at Noon my toil me heat,
The Sun himself licks off my Sweat.
While, going home, the Ev'ning sweet
In cowslip-water bathes my feet.

VII.

What, though the piping Shepherd stock
The plains with an unnum'red Flock,
This Sithe of mine discovers wide
More ground then all his Sheep do hide.
With this the golden fleece I shear
Of all these Closes ev'ry Year.
And though in Wooll more poor then they,
Yet am I richer far in Hay.

VIII.

Nor am I so deform'd to sight,
If in my Sithe I looked right ;
In which I see my Picture done,
As in a crescent Moon the Sun.
The deathless Fairyes take me oft
To lead them in their Danses soft ;
And, when I tune my self to sing,
About me they contract their Ring.

IX.

How happy might I still have mow'd,
Had not Love here his Thistles sow'd !
But now I all the day complain,
Joyning my Labour to my Pain ;
And with my Sythe cut down the Grass,
Yet still my Grief is where it was :
But, when the Iron blunter grows,
Sighing I whet my Sythe and Woes.

X.

While thus he threw his Elbow round,
Depopulating all the Ground,
And, with his whistling Sythe, does cut
Each stroke between the Earth and Root,
The edged Stele by careless chance
Did into his own Ankle glance;
And there among the Grass fell down,
By his own Sythe, the Mower mown.

XI.

Alas! said He, these hurts are slight
To those that dye by Loves despight.
With Shepherds-purse, and Clowns-all-heal,
The Blood I stanch, and Wound I seal.
Only for him no Cure is found,
Whom *Julianas* Eyes do wound.
'Tis death alone that this must do:
For Death thou art a Mower too.

The Mower to the Glo-Worms.

I.

Ye living Lamps, by whose dear light
The Nightingale does sit so late,
And studying all the Summer-night,
Her matchless Songs does meditate;

II.

Ye Country Comets, that portend
No War, nor Princes funeral,
Shining unto no higher end
Then to presage the Grasses fall;

III.

Ye Glo-worms, whose officious Flame
To wandring Mowers shows the way
That in the Night have lost their air
And after foolish Fires do stray;

IV.

Your courteous Lights in vain you wast,
Since *Juliana* here is come,
For She my Mind hath so displac'd
That I shall never find my home.

The Mower's Song.

I.

My Mind was once the true survey
Of all these Medows fresh and gay;
And in the greenness of the Grass
Did see its Hopes as in a Glass;
When *Juliana* came, and She
What I do to the Grass, does to my Thoughts and Me.

II.

But these, while I with Sorrow pine,
Grew more luxuriant still and fine;
That not one Blade of Grass you spy'd,
But had a Flower on either side;
When *Juliana* came, and She
What I do to the Grass, does to my Thoughts and Me.

III.

Unthankful Medows, could you so
A fellowship so true forego,
And in your gawdy May-games meet,
While I lay trodden under feet?
When *Juliana* came, and She
What I do to the Grass, does to my Thoughts and Me.

IV.

But what you in Compassion ought,
Shall now by my Revenge be wrought:
And Flow'rs, and Grass, and I and all,
Will in one common Ruine fall.
For *Juliana* comes, and She
What I do to the Grass, does to my Thoughts and Me.

V.

And thus, ye Meadows, which have been
Companions of my thoughts more green,
Shall now the Heraldry become
With which I shall adorn my Tomb;
For *Juliana* comes, and She
What I do to the Grass, does to my Thoughts and Me.

Ametas *and* Thestylis *making Hay-Ropes.*

I.

Ametas.

Think'st Thou that this Love can stand,
Whilst Thou still dost say me nay?
Love unpaid does soon disband:
Love binds Love as Hay binds Hay.

II.

Thestylis.

Think'st Thou that this Rope would twine
If we both should turn one way?
Where both parties so combine,
Neither Love will twist nor Hay.

III.

Ametas.

Thus you vain Excuses find,
Which your selve and us delay:
And Love tyes a Womans Mind
Looser then with Ropes of Hay.

IV.

Thestylis.

What you cannot constant hope
Must be taken as you may.

V.

Ametas.

Then let 's both lay by our Rope,
And go kiss within the Hay.

Ast Ego, si vestras unquam temeravero stirpes,
Nulla Neæra, Chloe, Faustina, Corynna, *legetur :*
In proprio sed quæque libro signabitur Arbos.
O charæ Platanus, Cyparissus, Populus, Ulmus !
Hic Amor, exutis crepidatus inambulat alis,
Enerves arcus & stridula tela reponens,
Invertitque faces, nec se cupit usque timeri ;
Aut exporrectus jacet, indormitque pharetræ ;
Non auditurus quanquam Cytherea vocarit ;
Nequitias referunt nec somnia vana priores.
Lætantur Superi, *defervescente Tyranno,*
Et licet experti toties Nymphasque Deasque,
Arbore *nunc melius potiuntur quisque cupita.*
Jupiter *annosam, neglecta conjuge,* Quercum
Deperit ; haud alia doluit sic pellice Juno.
Lemniacum *temerant vestigia nulla Cubile,*
Nec Veneris *Mavors meminit si* Fraxinus *adsit.*
Formosæ pressit Daphnes *vestigia* Phœbus
Ut fieret Laurus ; *sed nil quæsiverat ultra.*
Capripes & peteret quòd Pan Syringa *fugacem,*
Hoc erat ut Calamum *posset reperire Sonorum.*

Desunt multa

Nec tu, Opifex horti, grato sine carmine abibis :
Qui brevibus plantis, & læto flore, notasti
Crescentes horas, atque intervalla diei.
Sol ibi candidior fragrantia Signa pererrat ;
Proque truci Tauro, *stricto pro forcipe* Cancri,
Securis violæque rosæque allabitur umbris.
Sedula quin & Apis, mellito intenta labori,
Horologo sua pensa thymo Signare videtur.
Temporis O suaves lapsus ! O Otia sana !
O Herbis dignæ numerari & Floribus Horæ !

31 Ulmus *Grosart* : *Ulnus F* 35 exporrectus *Cooke* : *experrectus F* 37 referunt *Cooke* : *referuut F*

To a Gentleman that only upon the sight of the Author's writing, had given a Character of his Person and Judgment of his Fortune.

Illustrissimo Viro

Domino Lanceloto Josepho de Maniban

Grammatomanti.

Quis posthac chartæ committat sensa loquaci,
Si sua crediderit Fata subesse stylo?
Conscia si prodat Scribentis Litera sortem,
Quicquid & in vita plus latuisse velit?
Flexibus in calami tamen omnia sponte leguntur
Quod non significant Verba, Figura notat.
Bellerophonteas *signat sibi quisque Tabellas;*
Ignaramque Manum Spiritus intus agit.
Nil præter solitum sapiebat Epistola nostra,
Exemplumque meæ Simplicitatis erat.
Fabula jucundos qualis delectat Amicos;
Urbe, lepore, novis, carmine tota scatens.
Hic tamen interpres quo non securior alter,
(*Non res, non voces, non ego notus ei*)
Rimatur fibras notularum cautus Aruspex,
Scripturæque inhians consulit exta meæ.
Inde statim vitæ casus, animique recessus
Explicat; (*haud* Genio *plura liquere putem.*)
Distribuit totum nostris eventibus orbem,
Et quo me rapiat cardine Sphæra *docet.*
Quæ Sol *oppositus, quæ* Mars *adversa minetur,*
Jupiter *aut ubi me,* Luna, Venusque *juvent.*
Ut trucis intentet mihi vulnera Cauda Draconis;
Vipereo levet ut vulnera more Caput.
Hinc mihi præteriti rationes atque futuri
Elicit; Astrologus *certior* Astronomo.
Ut conjecturas nequeam discernere vero,
Historiæ superet sed Genitura fidem.
Usque adeo cæli respondet pagina nostræ,
Astrorum & nexus syllaba scripta refert.

Viro . . . Grammatomanti *Cooke* : *Vero* . . . Grammatomantis *F*
3 Scribentis *Cooke* : Seribentis *F*

Scilicet & toti subsunt Oracula mundo,
Dummodo tot foliis una Sibylla *foret.*
Partum, Fortunæ mater Natura, propinquum
Mille modis monstrat mille per indicia :
Ingentemque Uterum quâ mole Puerpera solvat ;
Vivit at in præsens maxima pars hominum.
Ast Tu sorte tuâ gaude Celeberrime Vatum ;
Scribe, sed haud superest qui tua fata legat.
Nostra tamen si fas præsagia jungere vestris,
Quo magis inspexti sydera spernis humum.
Et, nisi stellarum fueris divina propago,
Naupliada *credam te* Palamede *satum.*
Qui dedit ex avium scriptoria signa volatu,
Sydereaque idem nobilis arte fuit.
Hinc utriusque tibi cognata scientia crevit,
Nec minus augurium Litera quam dat Avis.

Inscribenda Luparæ.

Consurgit Luparæ *Dum non imitabile culmen,*
Escuriale *ingens uritur invidia.*

Aliter.

Regibus hæc posuit Ludovicus *Templa futuris ;*
Gratior ast ipsi Castra *fuere Domus.*

Aliter.

Hanc sibi Sydeream Ludovicus *condidit Aulam ;*
Nec se propterea credidit esse Deum.

Aliter.

Atria miraris, summotumque Æthera tecto ;
Nec tamen in toto est arctior Orbe Casa.

Aliter.

Instituente domum Ludovico, *prodiit Orbis ;*
Sic tamen angustos incolit ille Lares.

Aliter.

Sunt geminæ Jani *Portæ, sunt Tecta* Tonantis ;
Nec deerit Numen *dum* Ludovicus *adest.*

7 tecto *Aitken* : *fecto F* 12 adest *Aitken* : *adect F*

Upon an Eunuch; a Poet.

Fragment.

Nec sterilem te crede; licet, mulieribus exul,
Falcem virginiæ nequeas immitere messi,
Et nostro peccare modo. Tibi Fama perennè
Prægnabit; rapiesque novem de monte Sorores;
Et pariet modulos Echo *repetita Nepotes.*

In the *French* translation of *Lucan*, by Monsieur *De Brebeuf* are these Verses.

C'est de luy que nous vient cet Art ingenieux
De peindre la Parole, et de parler aux Yeux;
Et, par les traits divers de figures tracées,
Donner de la couleur et du corps aux pensées.

Translated.

Facundis dedit ille notis, interprete pluma
Insinuare sonos oculis, & pingere voces,
Et mentem chartis, oculis impertiit aurem.

Senec. Traged. ex Thyeste Chor. 2.

Stet quicunque volet potens
Aulæ culmine lubrico &c.

Translated.

Climb at *Court* for me that will
Tottering favors Pinacle;
All I seek is to lye still.
Settled in some secret Nest
In calm Leisure let me rest;
And far of the publick Stage
Pass away my silent Age.

4 *monte*] *Cooke. monse F*: *deparler aua F* 3 par les *Brebeuf*: tracées *Brebeuf*: *tracees F* 1 *pluma Ed. conj.*: *plumas F* 2 de parler aux *Brebeuf*: *parles F. de*] des *Brebeuf.* 4 pensées *Brebeuf*: pensees *F*

Thus when without noise, unknown,
I have liv'd out all my span,
I shall dye, without a groan,
An old honest Country man.
Who expos'd to others Ey's,
Into his own Heart ne'r pry's,
Death to him 's a Strange surprise.

An Epitaph upon ——

Enough: and leave the rest to Fame.
'Tis to commend her but to name.
Courtship, which living she declin'd,
When dead to offer were unkind.
Where never any could speak ill,
Who would officious Praises spill?
Nor can the truest Wit or Friend,
Without Detracting, her commend.
To say she liv'd a *Virgin* chast,
In this Age loose and all unlac't;
Nor was, when Vice is so allow'd,
Of *Virtue* or asham'd, or proud;
That her Soul was on *Heaven* so bent
No Minute but it came and went;
That ready her last Debt to pay
She summ'd her Life up ev'ry day;
Modest as Morn; as Mid-day bright;
Gentle as Ev'ning; cool as Night;
'Tis true: but all so weakly said;
'Twere more Significant, *She's Dead.*

Epigramma in Duos montes Amosclivum Et Bilboreum. *Farfacio.*

Cernis ut ingenti distinguant limite campum
Montis Amosclivi Bilboreique juga!
Ille stat indomitus turritis undique saxis:
Cingit huic lætum Fraxinus alta Caput.
Illi petra minax rigidis cervicibus horret:
Huic quatiunt virides lenia colla jubas.
Fulcit Atlanteo ***Rupes ea vertice cœlos:***
Collis at hic humeros subjicit Herculeos.

2 *Amos clivi F*

Hic ceu carceribus visum sylvaque coercet :
Ille Oculos alter dum quasi meta trahit.
Ille Giganteum surgit ceu Pelion Ossa :
Hic agit ut Pindi *culmine* Nympha *choros.*
Erectus, præceps, salebrosus, & arduus ille :
Acclivis, placidus, mollis, amænus hic est.
Dissimilis Domino coiit Natura sub uno ;
Farfaciaque *tremunt sub ditione pares.*
Dumque triumphanti terras perlabitur Axe,
Præteriens æqua stringit utrumque Rota.
Asper in adversos, facilis cedentibus idem ;
Ut credas Montes extimulasse suos.
Hi sunt Alcidæ Borealis *nempe Columnæ,*
Quos medio scindit vallis opaca freto.
An potius, longe sic prona cacumina nutant,
Parnassus *cupiant esse* Maria *tuus.*

Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-borow.

To the Lord Fairfax.

I.

See how the arched Earth does here
Rise in a perfect Hemisphere !
The stiffest Compass could not strike
A Line more circular and like ;
Nor softest Pensel draw a Brow
So equal as this Hill does bow.
It seems as for a Model laid,
And that the World by it was made.

II.

Here learn ye Mountains more unjust,
Which to abrupter greatness thrust,
That do with your hook-shoulder'd height
The Earth deform and Heaven fright,
For whose excrescence ill design'd,
Nature must a new Center find,
Learn here those humble steps to tread,
Which to securer Glory lead.

23 *potius, Cooke*: *potius F*
24 *cupiant*] cupiunt *Aitken*
12 fright, *Cooke*: frght. *F*

See what a soft access and wide
Lyes open to its grassy side ;
Nor with the rugged path deterrs
The feet of breathless Travellers.
See then how courteous it ascends,
And all the way it rises bends ;
Nor for it self the height does gain,
But only strives to raise the Plain.

IV.

Yet thus it all the field commands,
And in unenvy'd Greatness stands,
Discerning further then the Cliff
Of Heaven-daring *Teneriff*.
How glad the weary Seamen hast
When they salute it from the Mast !
By Night the Northern Star their way
Directs, and this no less by Day.

V.

Upon its crest this Mountain grave
A Plump of aged Trees does wave.
No hostile hand durst ere invade
With impious Steel the sacred Shade.
For something alwaies did appear
Of the *great Masters* terrour there :
And Men could hear his Armour still
Ratling through all the Grove and Hill.

VI.

Fear of the *Master*, and respect
Of the great *Nymph* did it protect ;
Vera the *Nymph* that him inspir'd,
To whom he often here retir'd,
And on these Okes ingrav'd her Name ;
Such Wounds alone these Woods became :
But ere he well the Barks could part
'Twas writ already in their Heart.

22 it *Cooke* : ir *F* 27 further *Grosart* : furthe *F* : farther *Cooke*
34 Plump *ed. conj.* (*see notes*) : Plum *F* : Plume *Cooke*

VII.

For they ('tis credible) have sense,
As We, of Love and Reverence,
And underneath the Courser Rind
The *Genius* of the house do bind.
Hence they successes seem to know,
And in their *Lord's* advancement grow;
But in no Memory were seen
As under this so streight and green.

VIII.

Yet now no further strive to shoot,
Contented if they fix their Root.
Nor to the winds uncertain gust,
Their prudent Heads too far intrust.
Onely sometimes a flutt'ring Breez
Discourses with the breathing Trees;
Which in their modest Whispers name
Those Acts that swell'd the Cheek of Fame.

IX.

Much other Groves, say they, then these
And other Hills him once did please.
Through Groves of Pikes he thunder'd then,
And Mountains rais'd of dying Men.
For all the *Civick Garlands* due
To him our Branches are but few.
Nor are our Trunks enow to bear
The *Trophees* of one fertile Year.

X.

'Tis true, ye Trees nor ever spoke
More certain *Oracles* in Oak.
But Peace (if you his favour prize)
That Courage its own Praises flies.
Therefore to your obscurer Seats
From his own Brightness he retreats:
Nor he the Hills without the Groves,
Nor Height but with Retirement loves.

73 ye *Grosart*: the *F*

Upon Appleton House, to my Lord Fairfax.

I.

Within this sober Frame expect
Work of no Forrain *Architect*;
That unto Caves the Quarries drew,
And Forrests did to Pastures hew;
Who of his great Design in pain
Did for a Model vault his Brain,
Whose Columnes should so high be rais'd
To arch the Brows that on them gaz'd.

II.

Why should of all things Man unrul'd
Such unproportion'd dwellings build?
The Beasts are by their Denns exprest:
And Birds contrive an equal Nest;
The low roof'd Tortoises do dwell
In cases fit of Tortoise-shell:
No Creature loves an empty space;
Their Bodies measure out their Place.

III.

But He, superfluously spread,
Demands more room alive then dead.
And in his hollow Palace goes
Where Winds as he themselves may lose.
What need of all this Marble Crust
T'impark the wanton Mote of Dust,
That thinks by Breadth the World t'unite
Though the first Builders fail'd in Height?

IV.

But all things are composed here
Like Nature, orderly and near:
In which we the Dimensions find
Of that more sober Age and Mind,
When larger sized Men did stoop
To enter at a narrow loop;
As practising, in doors so strait,
To strain themselves through *Heavens Gate.*

22 mote *Wright*: Mose *F*: Mole *Cooke*

V.

And surely when the after Age
Shall hither come in *Pilgrimage,*
These sacred Places to adore,
By *Vere* and *Fairfax* trod before,
Men will dispute how their Extent
Within such dwarfish Confines went:
And some will smile at this, as well
As *Romulus* his Bee-like Cell.

VI.

Humility alone designs
Those short but admirable Lines,
By which, ungirt and unconstrain'd,
Things greater are in less contain'd.
Let others vainly strive t'immure
The *Circle* in the *Quadrature*!
These *holy Mathematicks* can
In ev'ry Figure equal Man.

VII.

Yet thus the laden House does sweat,
And scarce indures the *Master* great:
But where he comes the swelling Hall
Stirs, and the *Square* grows *Spherical*;
More by his *Magnitude* distrest,
Then he is by its straitness prest:
And too officiously it slights
That in it self which him delights.

VIII.

So Honour better Lowness bears,
Then That unwonted Greatness wears.
Height with a certain Grace does bend,
But low Things clownishly ascend.
And yet what needs there here Excuse,
Where ev'ry Thing does answer Use?
Where neatness nothing can condemn,
Nor Pride invent what to contemn?

IX.

A Stately *Frontispice of Poor*
Adorns without the open Door:
Nor less the Rooms within commends
Daily new *Furniture of Friends.*
The House was built upon the Place
Only as for *a Mark of Grace*;
And for an *Inn* to entertain
Its *Lord* a while, but not remain.

X.

Him *Bishops-Hill*, or *Denton* may,
Or *Bilbrough*, better hold then they:
But Nature here hath been so free
As if she said leave this to me.
Art would more neatly have defac'd
What she had laid so sweetly wast;
In fragrant Gardens, shaddy Woods,
Deep Meadows, and transparent Floods.

XI.

While with slow Eyes we these survey,
And on each pleasant footstep stay,
We opportunly may relate
The Progress of this Houses Fate.
A *Nunnery* first gave it birth.
For *Virgin Buildings* oft brought forth.
And all that Neighbour-Ruine shows
The Quarries whence this dwelling rose.

XII.

Near to this gloomy Cloysters Gates
There dwelt the blooming Virgin *Thwates*;
Fair beyond Measure, and an Heir
Which might Deformity make fair.
And oft She spent the Summer Suns
Discoursing with the *Suttle Nunns.*
Whence in these Words one to her weav'd,
(As 'twere by Chance) Thoughts long conceiv'd.

XIII.

'Within this holy leisure we
'Live innocently as you see.
'These Walls restrain the World without,
'But hedge our Liberty about.
'These Bars inclose that wider Den
'Of those wild Creatures, called Men.
'The Cloyster outward shuts its Gates,
'And, from us, locks on them the Grates.

XIV.

'Here we, in shining Armour white,
'Like *Virgin Amazons* do fight.
'And our chast *Lamps* we hourly trim,
'Lest the great *Bridegroom* find them dim.
'Our *Orient* Breaths perfumed are
'With insense of incessant Pray'r.
'And Holy-water of our Tears
'Most strangly our Complexion clears.

XV.

'Not Tears of Grief; but such as those
'With which calm Pleasure overflows;
'Or Pity, when we look on you
'That live without this happy Vow.
'How should we grieve that must be seen
'Each one a *Spouse*, and each a *Queen*;
'And can in *Heaven* hence behold
'Our brighter Robes and Crowns of Gold?

XVI.

'When we have prayed all our Beads,
'Some One the holy *Legend* reads;
'While all the rest with Needles paint
'The Face and Graces of the *Saint*.
'But what the Linnen can't receive
'They in their Lives do interweave.
'This Work the *Saints* best represents;
'That serves for *Altar's Ornaments*.

XVII.

'But much it to our work would add
' If here your hand, your Face we had :
' By it we would *our Lady* touch ;
' Yet thus She you resembles much.
' Some of your Features, as we sow'd,
' Through ev'ry *Shrine* should be bestow'd.
' And in one Beauty we would take
' Enough a thousand *Saints* to make.

XVIII.

' And (for I dare not quench the Fire
' That me does for your good inspire)
' 'Twere Sacriledge a Man t'admit
' To holy things, for *Heaven* fit.
' I see the *Angels* in a Crown
' On you the Lillies show'ring down :
' And round about you Glory breaks,
' That something more then humane speaks.

XIX.

' All Beauty, when at such a height,
' Is so already consecrate.
' *Fairfax* I know ; and long ere this
' Have mark'd the Youth, and what he is.
' But can he such a *Rival* seem
' For whom you *Heav'n* should disesteem ?
' Ah, no ! and 'twould more Honour prove
' He your *Devoto* were, then *Love*.

XX.

' Here live beloved, and obey'd :
' Each one your Sister, each your Maid.
' And, if our Rule seem strictly pend,
' The Rule it self to you shall bend.
' Our *Abbess* too, now far in Age,
' Doth your succession near presage.
' How soft the yoke on us would lye,
' Might such fair Hands as yours it tye !

139 Man *Cooke* : Mant *F*

XXI.

'Your voice, the sweetest of the Quire,
'Shall draw *Heav'n* nearer, raise us higher.
'And your Example, if our Head,
'Will soon us to perfection lead.
'Those Virtues to us all so dear,
'Will straight grow Sanctity when here:
'And that, once sprung, increase so fast
'Till Miracles it work at last.

XXII.

'Nor is our *Order* yet so nice,
'Delight to banish as a Vice.
'Here Pleasure Piety doth meet;
'One perfecting the other Sweet.
'So through the mortal fruit we boyl
'The Sugars uncorrupting Oyl:
'And that which perisht while we pull,
'Is thus preserved clear and full.

XXIII.

'For such indeed are all our Arts;
'Still handling Natures finest Parts.
'Flow'rs dress the Altars; for the Clothes,
'The Sea-born Amber we compose;
'Balms for the griv'd we draw; and Pasts
'We mold, as Baits for curious tasts.
'What need is here of Man? unless
'These as sweet Sins we should confess.

XXIV.

'Each Night among us to your side
'Appoint a fresh and Virgin Bride;
'Whom if *our Lord* at midnight find,
'Yet Neither should be left behind.
'Where you may lye as chast in Bed,
'As Pearls together billeted.
'All Night embracing Arm in Arm,
'Like Chrystal pure with Cotton warm.

XXV.

'But what is this to all the store
'Of Joys you see, and may make more!
'Try but a while, if you be wise:
'The Tryal neither Costs, nor Tyes.
Now *Fairfax* seek her promis'd faith:
Religion that dispensed hath;
Which She hence forward does begin;
The *Nuns* smooth Tongue has suckt her in.

XXVI.

Oft, though he knew it was in vain,
Yet would he valiantly complain.
'Is this that *Sanctity* so great,
'An Art by which you finly'r cheat?
'Hypocrite Witches, hence *avant*,
'Who though in prison yet inchant!
'Death only can such Theeves make fast,
'As rob though in the Dungeon cast.

XXVII.

'Were there but, when this House was made,
'One Stone that a just Hand had laid,
'It must have fall'n upon her Head
'Who first Thee from thy Faith misled.
'And yet, how well soever ment,
'With them 'twould soon grow fraudulent:
'For like themselves they alter all,
'And vice infects the very Wall.

XXVIII.

'But sure those Buildings last not long,
'Founded by Folly, kept by Wrong.
'I know what Fruit their Gardens yield,
'When they it think by Night conceal'd.
'Fly from their Vices. 'Tis thy state,
'Not Thee, that they would consecrate.
'Fly from their Ruine. How I fear
'Though guiltless lest thou perish there.

XXIX.

What should he do ? He would respect
Religion, but not Right neglect :
For first Religion taught him Right,
And dazled not but clear'd his sight.
Sometimes resolv'd his Sword he draws,
But reverenceth then the Laws :
For Justice still that Courage led ;
First from a Judge, then Souldier bred.

XXX.

Small Honour would be in the Storm.
The *Court* him grants the lawful Form ;
Which licens'd either Peace or Force,
To hinder the unjust Divorce.
Yet still the *Nuns* his Right debar'd,
Standing upon their holy Guard.
Ill-counsell'd Women, do you know
Whom you resist, or what you do ?

XXXI.

Is not this he whose Offspring fierce
Shall fight through all the *Universe* ;
And with successive Valour try
France, Poland, either *Germany* ;
Till one, as long since prophecy'd,
His Horse through conquer'd *Britain* ride ?
Yet, against Fate, his Spouse they kept ;
And the great Race would intercept.

XXXII.

Some to the Breach against their Foes
Their *Wooden Saints* in vain oppose.
Another bolder stands at push
With their old *Holy-Water Brush.*
While the disjointed *Abbess* threads
The gingling Chain-shot of her *Beads.*
But their lowd'st Cannon were their Lungs ;
And sharpest Weapons were their Tongues.

XXXIII.

But, waving these aside like Flyes,
Young *Fairfax* through the Wall does rise.
Then th' unfrequented Vault appear'd,
And superstitions vainly fear'd.
The *Relicks false* were set to view ;
Only the Jewels there were true.
But truly bright and holy *Thwaites*
That weeping at the *Altar* waites.

XXXIIII.

But the glad Youth away her bears,
And to the *Nuns* bequeaths her Tears :
Who guiltily their Prize bemoan,
Like Gipsies that a Child hath stoln.
Thenceforth (as when th'Inchantment ends
The Castle vanishes or rends)
The wasting Cloister with the rest
Was in one instant dispossest.

XXXV.

At the demolishing, this Seat
To *Fairfax* fell as by Escheat.
And what both *Nuns* and *Founders* will'd
'Tis likely better thus fulfill'd.
For if the *Virgin* prov'd not theirs,
The *Cloyster* yet remained hers.
Though many a *Nun* there made her Vow,
'Twas no *Religious House* till now.

XXXVI.

From that blest Bed the *Heroe* came,
Whom *France* and *Poland* yet does fame :
Who, when retired here to Peace,
His warlike Studies could not cease ;
But laid these Gardens out in sport
In the just Figure of a Fort ;
And with five Bastions it did fence,
As aiming one for ev'ry Sense.

XXXVII.

When in the *East* the Morning Ray
Hangs out the Colours of the Day,
The Bee through these known Allies hums,
Beating the *Dian* with its *Drumms*.
Then Flow'rs their drowsie Eylids raise,
Their Silken Ensigns each displayes,
And dries its Pan yet dank with Dew,
And fills its Flask with Odours new.

XXXVIII.

These, as their *Governour* goes by,
In fragrant Vollyes they let fly;
And to salute their *Governess*
Again as great a charge they press:
None for the *Virgin Nymph*; for She
Seems with the Flow'rs a Flow'r to be.
And think so still! though not compare
With Breath so sweet, or Cheek so faire.

XXXIX.

Well shot ye Firemen! Oh how sweet,
And round your equal Fires do meet;
Whose shrill report no Ear can tell,
But Ecchoes to the Eye and smell.
See how the Flow'rs, as at *Parade*,
Under their *Colours* stand displaid:
Each *Regiment* in order grows,
That of the Tulip Pinke and Rose.

XL.

But when the vigilant *Patroul*
Of Stars walks round about the *Pole*,
Their Leaves, that to the stalks are curl'd,
Seem to their Staves the *Ensigns* furl'd.
Then in some Flow'rs beloved Hut
Each Bee as Sentinel is shut;
And sleeps so too: but, if once stir'd,
She runs you through, or askes *the Word*.

320 or] nor *Cooke*

XLI.

Oh Thou, that dear and happy Isle
The Garden of the World ere while,
Thou *Paradise* of four Seas,
Which *Heaven* planted us to please,
But, to exclude the World, did guard
With watry if not flaming Sword ;
What luckless Apple did we tast,
To make us Mortal, and The Wast ?

XLII.

Unhappy ! shall we never more
That sweet *Militia* restore,
When Gardens only had their Towrs,
And all the Garrisons were Flowrs,
When Roses only Arms might bear,
And Men did rosie Garlands wear ?
Tulips, in several Colours barr'd,
Were then the *Switzers* of our *Guard.*

XLIII.

The *Gardiner* had the *Souldiers* place,
And his more gentle Forts did trace.
The Nursery of all things green
Was then the only *Magazeen.*
The *Winter Quarters* were the Stoves,
Where he the tender Plants removes.
But War all this doth overgrow :
We Ord'nance Plant and Powder sow.

XLIV.

And yet their walks one on the Sod
Who, had it pleased him and *God,*
Might once have made our Gardens spring
Fresh as his own and flourishing.
But he preferr'd to the *Cinque Ports*
These five imaginary Forts :
And, in those half-dry Trenches, spann'd
Pow'r which the Ocean might command.

323 *Paradise Cooke* : *Puradise F*

XLV.

For he did, with his utmost Skill,
Ambition weed, but *Conscience* till.
Conscience, that Heaven-nursed Plant,
Which most our Earthly Gardens want.
A prickling leaf it bears, and such
As that which shrinks at ev'ry touch ;
But Flowrs eternal, and divine,
That in the Crowns of Saints do shine.

XLVI.

The sight does from these *Bastions* ply,
Th' invisible *Artilery* ;
And at proud *Cawood Castle* seems
To point the *Battery* of its Beams.
As if it quarrell'd in the Seat
Th' Ambition of its *Prelate* great.
But ore the Meads below it plays,
Or innocently seems to gaze.

XLVII.

And now to the Abbyss I pass
Of that unfathomable Grass,
Where Men like Grashoppers appear,
But Grashoppers are Gyants there :
They, in there squeking Laugh, contemn
Us as we walk more low then them :
And, from the Precipices tall
Of the green spir's, to us do call.

XLVIII.

To see Men through this Meadow Dive,
We wonder how they rise alive.
As, under Water, none does know
Whether he fall through it or go.
But, as the Marriners that sound,
And show upon their Lead the Ground,
They bring up Flow'rs so to be seen,
And prove they've at the Bottom been.

XLIX.

No Scene that turns with Engines strange
Does oftner then these Meadows change.
For when the Sun the Grass hath vext,
The tawny Mowers enter next ;
Who seem like *Israalites* to be,
Walking on foot through a green Sea.
To them the Grassy Deeps divide,
And crowd a Lane to either Side.

L.

With whistling Sithe, and Elbow strong,
These Massacre the Grass along :
While one, unknowing, carves the *Rail*,
Whose yet unfeather'd Quils her fail.
The Edge all bloody from its Breast
He draws, and does his stroke detest ;
Fearing the Flesh untimely mow'd
To him a Fate as black forebode.

LI.

But bloody *Thestylis*, that waites
To bring the mowing Camp their Cates,
Greedy as Kites has trust it up,
And forthwith means on it to sup :
When on another quick She lights,
And cryes, he call'd us *Israelites* ;
But now, to make his saying true,
Rails rain for Quails, for Manna Dew.

LII.

Unhappy Birds ! what does it boot
To build below the Grasses Root ;
When Lowness is unsafe as Hight,
And Chance o'retakes what scapeth spight ?
And now your Orphan Parents Call
Sounds your untimely Funeral.
Death-Trumpets creak in such a Note,
And 'tis the *Sourdine* in their Throat.

389 *Israalites*] *Israaliies F*: *Israelites Cooke*

LIII.

Or sooner hatch or higher build :
The Mower now commands the Field ;
In whose new Traverse seemeth wrought
A Camp of Battail newly fought :
Where, as the Meads with Hay, the Plain
Lyes quilted ore with Bodies slain :
The Women that with forks it fling,
Do represent the Pillaging.

LIV.

And now the careless Victors play,
Dancing the Triumphs of the Hay ;
Where every Mowers wholesome Heat
Smells like an *Alexanders sweat.*
Their Females fragrant as the Mead
Which they in *Fairy Circles* tread :
When at their Dances End they kiss,
Their new-made Hay not sweeter is.

LV.

When after this 'tis pil'd in Cocks,
Like a calm Sea it shews the Rocks :
We wondring in the River near
How Boats among them safely steer.
Or, like the *Desert Memphis Sand,*
Short *Pyramids* of Hay do stand.
And such the *Roman Camps* do rise
In Hills for Soldiers Obsequies.

LVI.

This *Scene* again withdrawing brings
A new and empty Face of things ;
A levell'd space, as smooth and plain,
As Clothes for *Lilly* strecht to stain.
The World when first created sure
Was such a Table rase and pure.
Or rather such is the *Toril*
Ere the Bulls enter at Madril.

LVII.

For to this naked equal Flat,
Which *Levellers* take Pattern at,
The Villagers in common chase
Their Cattle, which it closer rase ;
And what below the Sith increast
Is pincht yet nearer by the Beast.
Such, in the painted World, appear'd
Davenant with th' Universal Heard.

LVIII.

They seem within the polisht Grass
A Landskip drawen in Looking-Glass.
And shrunk in the huge Pasture show
As Spots, so shap'd, on Faces do.
Such Fleas, ere they approach the Eye,
In Multiplying Glasses lye.
They feed so wide, so slowly move,
As *Constellations* do above.

LIX.

Then, to conclude these pleasant Acts,
Denton sets ope its *Cataracts* ;
And makes the Meadow truly be
(What it but seem'd before) a Sea.
For, jealous of its *Lords* long stay,
It try's t'invite him thus away.
The River in it self is drown'd,
And Isl's th' astonish'd Cattle round.

LX.

Let others tell the *Paradox*,
How Eels now bellow in the Ox ;
How Horses at their Tails do kick,
Turn'd as they hang to Leeches quick ;
How Boats can over Bridges sail ;
And Fishes do the Stables scale.
How *Salmons* trespassing are found ;
And Pikes are taken in the Pound.

454 Beast *Cooke* : Breast *F* 462 Multiplying] Multiplyiug *F*
›4 *Constellations Cooke* : *Constellatious F* 472 astonish'd *Cooke* :
ıtonish *F*

LXI.

But I, retiring from the Flood,
Take Sanctuary in the Wood ;
And, while it lasts, my self imbark
In this yet green, yet growing Ark ;
Where the first Carpenter might best
Fit Timber for his Keel have Prest.
And where all Creatures might have shares,
Although in Armies, not in Paires.

LXII.

The double Wood of ancient Stocks
Link'd in so thick, an Union locks,
It like two *Pedigrees* appears,
On one hand *Fairfax*, th' other *Veres* :
Of whom though many fell in War,
Yet more to Heaven shooting are :
And, as they Natures Cradle deckt,
Will in green Age her Hearse expect.

LXIII.

When first the Eye this Forrest sees
It seems indeed as *Wood* not *Trees* :
As if their Neighbourhood so old
To one great Trunk them all did mold.
There the huge Bulk takes place, as ment
To thrust up a *Fifth Element* ;
And stretches still so closely wedg'd
As if the Night within were hedg'd.

LXIV.

Dark all without it knits ; within
It opens passable and thin ;
And in as loose an order grows,
As the *Corinthean Porticoes.*
The arching Boughs unite between
The Columnes of the Temple green ;
And underneath the winged Quires
Echo about their tuned Fires.

LXV.

The *Nightingale* does here make choice
To sing the Tryals of her Voice.
Low Shrubs she sits in, and adorns
With Musick high the squatted Thorns.
But highest Oakes stoop down to hear,
And listning Elders prick the Ear.
The Thorn, lest it should hurt her, draws
Within the Skin its shrunken claws.

LXVI.

But I have for my Musick found
A Sadder, yet more pleasing Sound:
The *Stock-doves*, whose fair necks are grac'd
With Nuptial Rings their Ensigns chast;
Yet always, for some Cause unknown,
Sad pair unto the Elms they moan.
O why should such a Couple mourn,
That in so equal Flames do burn!

LXVII.

Then as I carless on the Bed
Of gelid *Straw-berryes* do tread,
And through the Hazles thick espy
The hatching *Thrastles* shining Eye,
The *Heron* from the Ashes top,
The eldest of its young lets drop,
As if it Stork-like did pretend
That *Tribute* to *its Lord* to send.

LXVIII.

But most the *Hewel's* wonders are,
Who here has the *Holt-felsters* care.
He walks still upright from the Root,
Meas'ring the Timber with his Foot;
And all the way, to keep it clean,
Doth from the Bark the Wood-moths glean.
He, with his Beak, examines well
Which fit to stand and which to fell.

LXIX.

The good he numbers up, and hacks ;
As if he mark'd them with the Ax.
But where he, tinkling with his Beak,
Does find the hollow Oak to speak,
That for his building he designs,
And through the tainted Side he mines.
Who could have thought the *tallest Oak*
Should fall by such a *feeble Strok'* !

LXX.

Nor would it, had the Tree not fed
A *Traitor-worm*, within it bred.
(As first our *Flesh* corrupt within
Tempts impotent and bashful *Sin*.
And yet that *Worm* triumphs not long,
But serves to feed the *Hewels young*.
While the Oake seems to fall content,
Viewing the Treason's Punishment.

LXXI.

Thus I, *easie Philosopher*,
Among the *Birds* and *Trees* confer :
And little now to make me, wants
Or of the *Fowles*, or of the *Plants*.
Give me but Wings as they, and I
Streight floting on the Air shall fly :
Or turn me but, and you shall see
I was but an inverted Tree.

LXXII.

Already I begin to call
In their most learned Original :
And where I Language want, my Signs
The Bird upon the Bough divines ;
And more attentive there doth sit
Then if She were with Lime-twigs knit.
No Leaf does tremble in the Wind
Which I returning cannot find.

562 Birds *Cooke* : *Birds F*

LXXIII.

Out of these scatter'd *Sibyls* Leaves
Strange *Prophecies* my Phancy weaves :
And in one History consumes,
Like *Mexique Paintings*, all the *Plumes*.
What *Rome*, *Greece*, *Palestine*, ere said
I in this light *Mosaick* read.
Thrice happy he who, not mistook,
Hath read in *Natures mystick Book*.

LXXIV.

And see how Chance's better Wit
Could with a Mask my studies hit !
The Oak-Leaves me embroyder all,
Between which Caterpillars crawl :
And Ivy, with familiar trails,
Me licks, and clasps, and curles, and hales.
Under this *antick Cope* I move
Like some great *Prelate of the Grove*,

LXXV.

Then, languishing with ease, I toss
On Pallets swoln of Velvet Moss ;
While the Wind, cooling through the Boughs,
Flatters with Air my panting Brows.
Thanks for my Rest ye *Mossy Banks*,
And unto you *cool Zephyr's* Thanks,
Who, as my Hair, my Thoughts too shed,
And winnow from the Chaff my Head.

LXXVI.

How safe, methinks, and strong, behind
These Trees have I incamp'd my Mind ;
Where Beauty, aiming at the Heart,
Bends in some Tree its useless Dart ;
And where the World no certain Shot
Can make, or me it toucheth not.
But I on it securely play,
And gaul its Horsemen all the Day.

LXXVII.

Bind me ye *Woodbines* in your 'twines,
Curle me about ye gadding *Vines,*
And Oh so close your Circles lace,
That I may never leave this Place:
But, lest your Fetters prove too weak,
Ere I your Silken Bondage break,
Do you, *O Brambles,* chain me too,
And courteous *Briars* nail me through.

LXXVIII.

Here in the Morning tye my Chain,
Where the two Woods have made a Lane;
While, like a *Guard* on either side,
The Trees before their *Lord* divide;
This, like a long and equal Thread,
Betwixt two *Labyrinths* does lead.
But, where the Floods did lately drown,
There at the Ev'ning stake me down.

LXXIX.

For now the Waves are fal'n and dry'd,
And now the Meadows fresher dy'd;
Whose Grass, with moister colour dasht,
Seems as green Silks but newly washt.
No *Serpent* new nor *Crocodile*
Remains behind our little *Nile;*
Unless it self you will mistake,
Among these Meads the only Snake.

LXXX.

See in what wanton harmless folds
It ev'ry where the Meadow holds;
And its yet muddy back doth lick,
Till as a *Chrystal Mirrour* slick;
Where all things gaze themselves, and doubt
If they be in it or without.
And for his shade which therein shines,
Narcissus like, the *Sun* too pines.

LXXXI.

Oh what a Pleasure 'tis to hedge
My Temples here with heavy sedge ;
Abandoning my lazy Side,
Stretcht as a Bank unto the Tide ;
Or to suspend my sliding Foot
On the Osiers undermined Root,
And in its Branches tough to hang,
While at my Lines the Fishes twang !

LXXXII.

But now away my Hooks, my Quills,
And Angles, idle Utensils.
The *young Maria* walks to night :
Hide trifling Youth thy Pleasures slight.
'Twere shame that such judicious Eyes
Should with such Toyes a Man surprize ;
She that already is the *Law*
Of all her *Sex*, her *Ages Aw*.

LXXXIII.

See how loose Nature, in respect
To her, it self doth recollect ;
And every thing so whisht and fine,
Starts forth with to its *Bonne Mine*.
The *Sun* himself, of *Her* aware,
Seems to descend with greater Care ;
And lest *She* see him go to Bed ;
In blushing Clouds conceales his Head.

LXXXIV.

So when the Shadows laid asleep
From underneath these Banks do creep,
And on the River as it flows
With *Eben Shuts* begin to close ;
The modest *Halcyon* comes in sight,
Flying betwixt the Day and Night ;
And such an horror calm and dumb,
Admiring Nature does benum.

LXXXV.

The viscous Air, wheres'ere She fly,
Follows and sucks her Azure dy;
The gellying Stream compacts below,
If it might fix her shadow so;
The stupid Fishes hang, as plain
As *Flies* in *Chrystal* overt'ane;
And Men the silent *Scene* assist,
Charm'd with the *Saphir-winged Mist.*

LXXXVI.

Maria such, and so doth hush
The *World,* and through the *Ev'ning* rush.
No new-born *Comet* such a Train
Draws through the Skie, nor Star new-slain.
For streight those giddy Rockets fail,
Which from the putrid Earth exhale,
But by her *Flames,* in *Heaven* try'd,
Nature is wholly *vitrifi'd.*

LXXXVII.

'Tis *She* that to these Gardens gave
That wondrous Beauty which they have;
She streightness on the Woods bestows;
To *Her* the Meadow sweetness owes;
Nothing could make the River be
So Chrystal-pure but only *She*;
She yet more Pure, Sweet, Streight, and Fair,
Then Gardens, Woods, Meads, Rivers are.

LXXXVIII.

Therefore what first *She* on them spent,
They gratefully again present.
The Meadow Carpets where to tread;
The Garden Flow'rs to Crown *Her* Head;
And for a Glass the limpid Brook,
Where *She* may all *her* Beautyes look;
But, since *She* would not have them seen,
The Wood about *her* draws a Skreen.

LXXXIX.

For *She*, to higher Beauties rais'd,
Disdains to be for lesser prais'd.
She counts her Beauty to converse
In all the Languages as *hers*;
Nor yet in those *her self* imployes
But for the *Wisdome*, not the *Noyse*;
Nor yet that *Wisdome* would affect,
But as 'tis *Heavens Dialect.*

LXXXX.

Blest Nymph! that couldst so soon prevent
Those *Trains* by Youth against thee meant;
Tears (watry Shot that pierce the Mind;)
And *Sighs* (Loves Cannon charg'd with Wind;)
True Praise (That breaks through all defence;)
And *feign'd complying Innocence*;
But knowing where this *Ambush* lay,
She scap'd the safe, but roughest Way.

LXXXXI.

This 'tis to have been from the first
In a *Domestick Heaven* nurst,
Under the *Discipline* severe
Of *Fairfax*, and the starry *Vere*;
Where not one object can come nigh
But pure, and spotless as the Eye;
And *Goodness* doth it self intail
On *Females*, if there want a *Male.*

LXXXXII.

Go now fond Sex that on your Face
Do all your useless Study place,
Nor once at Vice your Brows dare knit
Lest the smooth Forehead wrinkled sit:
Yet your own Face shall at you grin,
Thorough the Black-bag of your Skin;
When *knowledge* only could have fill'd
And *Virtue* all those *Furrows till'd.*

LXXXXIII.

Hence *She* with Graces more divine
Supplies beyond her *Sex* the *Line*;
And, like a *sprig of Misleto,*
On the *Fairfacian Oak* does grow;
Whence, for some universal good,
The *Priest* shall cut the sacred Bud;
While her *glad Parents* most rejoice,
And make their *Destiny* their *Choice.*

LXXXXIV.

Mean time ye Fields, Springs, Bushes, Flow'rs,
Where yet She leads her studious Hours,
(Till Fate her worthily translates,
And find a *Fairfax* for our *Thwaites*)
Employ the means you have by Her,
And in your kind your selves preferr;
That, as all *Virgins* She preceds,
So you all *Woods, Streams, Gardens, Meads.*

LXXXXV.

For you *Thessalian Tempe's Seat*
Shall now be scorn'd as obsolete;
Aranjuez, as less, disdain'd;
The *Bel-Retiro* as constrain'd;
But name not the *Idalian Grove,*
For 'twas the Seat of wanton Love;
Much less the Dead's *Elysian Fields,*
Yet nor to them your Beauty yields.

LXXXXVI.

'Tis not, what once it was, the *World*;
But a rude heap together hurl'd;
All negligently overthrown,
Gulfes, Deserts, Precipices, Stone.
Your lesser *World* contains the same.
But in more decent Order tame;
You Heaven's Center, Nature's Lap.
And Paradice's only Map.

755 Aranjuez *Aitken*: *Aranjeuz F* 761, 2 'Tis not . . . hurl'd] 'Tis not, as once appear'd, the World, A Heap confus'd together hurl'd *Cooke*

LXXXXVII.

But now the *Salmon-Fishers* moist
Their *Leathern Boats* begin to hoist;
And, like *Antipodes* in Shoes,
Have shod their *Heads* in their *Canoos*.
How *Tortoise like*, but not so slow,
These rational *Amphibii* go?
Let 's in: for the dark *Hemisphere*
Does now like one of them appear.

Fleckno, *an English Priest at* Rome.

Oblig'd by frequent visits of this man,
Whom as Priest, Poet, and Musician,
I for some branch of *Melchizedeck* took,
(Though he derives himself from *my Lord Brooke*)
I sought his Lodging; which is at the Sign
Of the sad *Pelican*; Subject divine
For Poetry: There three Stair-Cases high,
Which signifies his triple property,
I found at last a Chamber, as 'twas said,
But seem'd a Coffin set on the Stairs head.
Not higher then Seav'n, nor larger then three feet;
Only there was nor Seeling, nor a Sheet,
Save that th' ingenious Door did as you come
Turn in, and shew to Wainscot half the Room.
Yet of his State no man could have complain'd;
There being no Bed where he entertain'd:
And though within one Cell so narrow pent,
He'd *Stanza's* for a whole Appartement.
Straight without further information,
In hideous verse, he, and a dismal tone,
Begins to exercise; as if I were
Possest; and sure the *Devil* brought me there.
But I, who now imagin'd my self brought
To my last Tryal, in a serious thought
Calm'd the disorders of my youthful Breast,
And to my Martyrdom prepared Rest.
Only this frail Ambition did remain,
The last distemper of the sober Brain,
That there had been some present to assure
The future Ages how I did indure:

21 exercise] exorcise *Aitken*

And how I, silent, turn'd my burning Ear
Towards the Verse ; and when that could not hear,
Held him the other ; and unchanged yet,
Ask'd still for more, and pray'd him to repeat :
Till the Tyrant, weary to persecute,
Left off, and try'd t' allure me with his Lute.
Now as two Instruments, to the same key
Being tun'd by Art, if the one touched be
The other opposite as soon replies,
Mov'd by the Air and hidden Sympathies ;
So while he with his gouty Fingers craules
Over the Lute, his murmuring Belly calls,
Whose hungry Guts to the same streightness twin'd
In Echo to the trembling Strings repin'd.
I, that perceiv'd now what his Musick ment,
Ask'd civilly if he had eat this Lent.
He answered yes ; with such, and such an one.
For he has this of gen'rous, that alone
He never feeds ; save only when he tryes
With gristly Tongue to dart the passing Flyes.
I ask'd if he eat flesh. And he, that was
So hungry that though ready to say *Mass*
Would break his fast before, said he was Sick,
And th' *Ordinance* was only Politick.
Nor was I longer to invite him Scant :
Happy at once to make him Protestant,
And Silent. Nothing now Dinner stay'd
But till he had himself a Body made.
I mean till he were drest : for else so thin
He stands, as if he only fed had been
With consecrated Wafers : and the *Host*
Hath sure more flesh and blood then he can boast.
This *Basso Relievo* of a Man,
Who as a Camel tall, yet easly can
The Needles Eye thread without any stich,
(His only impossible is to be rich)
Lest his too suttle Body, growing rare,
Should leave his Soul to wander in the Air,
He therefore circumscribes himself in rimes ;
And swaddled in's own papers seaven times,
Wears a close Jacket of poetick Buff,

55 him Scant :] him: Scant *F*: him scant, *Aitken* 57 Dinner] the Dinner *Wright*

With which he doth his third Dimension Stuff.
Thus armed underneath, he over all
Does make a primitive *Sotana* fall;
And above that yet casts an antick Cloak,
Worn at the first Counsel of *Antioch*;
Which by the *Jews* long hid, and Disesteem'd,
He heard of by Tradition, and redeem'd.
But were he not in this black habit deck't,
This half transparent Man would soon reflect
Each colour that he past by; and be seen,
As the *Chamelion*, yellow, blew, or green.
He drest, and ready to disfurnish now
His Chamber, whose compactness did allow
No empty place for complementing doubt,
But who came last is forc'd first to go out;
I meet one on the Stairs who made me stand,
Stopping the passage, and did him demand:
I answer'd he is here *Sir*; but you see
You cannot pass to him but thorow me.
He thought himself affronted; and reply'd,
I whom the Pallace never has deny'd
Will make the way here; I said *Sir* you'l do
Me a great favour, for I seek to go.
He gathring fury still made sign to draw;
But himself there clos'd in a Scabbard saw
As narrow as his Sword's; and I, that was
Delightful, said there can no Body pass
Except by penetration hither, where
Two make a crowd, nor can three Persons here
Consist but in one substance. Then, to fit
Our peace, the Priest said I too had some wit:
To prov't, I said, the place doth us invite
By its own narrowness, Sir, to unite.
He ask'd me pardon; and to make me way
Went down, as I him follow'd to obey.
But the propitiatory Priest had straight
Oblig'd us, when below, to celebrate
Together our attonement: so increas'd
Betwixt us two the Dinner to a Feast.
Let it suffice that we could eat in peace;
And that both Poems did and Quarrels cease

104 By *Cooke*: But *F*

During the Table ; though my new made Friend
Did, as he threatned, ere 'twere long intend
To be both witty and valiant : I loth,
Said 'twas too late, he was already both.
  But now, Alas, my first Tormentor came,
Who satisfy'd with eating, but not tame
Turns to recite ; though Judges most severe
After th'Assizes dinner mild appear,
And on full stomach do condemn but few :
Yet he more strict my sentence doth renew ;
And draws out of the black box of his Breast
Ten quire of paper in which he was drest.
Yet that which was a greater cruelty
Then *Nero*'s Poem he calls charity :
And so the *Pelican* at his door hung
Picks out the tender bosome to its young.
  Of all his Poems there he stands ungirt
Save only two foul copies for his shirt :
Yet these he promises as soon as clean.
But how I loath'd to see my Neighbour glean
Those papers, which he pilled from within
Like white fleaks rising from a Leaper's skin !
More odious then those raggs which the *French* youth
At ordinaries after dinner show'th,
When they compare their *Chancres* and *Poulains.*
Yet he first kist them, and after takes pains
To read ; and then, because he understood
Not one Word, thought and swore that they were good.
But all his praises could not now appease
The provok't Author, whom it did displease
To hear his Verses, by so just a curse
That were ill made condemn'd to be read worse :
And how (impossible) he made yet more
Absurdityes in them then were before.
For he his untun'd voice did fall or raise
As a deaf Man upon a Viol playes,
Making the half points and the periods run
Confus'der then the atomes in the Sun.
Thereat the Poet swell'd, with anger full,
And roar'd out, like *Perillus* in's own *Bull* ;
Sir you read false. That any one but you
Should know the contrary. Whereat, I, now

Made Mediator, in my room, said, Why ?
To say that you read false *Sir* is no Lye.
Thereat the waxen Youth relented straight ;
But saw with sad dispair that 'twas too late.
For the disdainful Poet was retir'd
Home, his most furious Satyr to have fir'd
Against the Rebel ; who, at this struck dead,
Wept bitterly as disinherited.
Who should commend his Mistress now ? Or who
Praise him ? both difficult indeed to do
With truth. I counsell'd him to go in time,
Ere the fierce Poets anger turn'd to rime.
He hasted ; and I, finding my self free,
As one scap't strangely from Captivity,
Have made the Chance be painted ; and go now
To hang it in *Saint Peter's* for a Vow.

An Horatian *Ode upon* Cromwel's *Return from* Ireland.

The forward Youth that would appear
Must now forsake his *Muses* dear,
Nor in the Shadows sing
His Numbers languishing.
'Tis time to leave the Books in dust,
And oyl th' unused Armours rust :
Removing from the Wall
The Corslet of the Hall.
So restless *Cromwel* could not cease
In the inglorious Arts of Peace,
But through adventrous War
Urged his active Star.
And, like the three-fork'd Lightning, first
Breaking the Clouds where it was nurst,
Did thorough his own Side
His fiery way divide.
For 'tis all one to Courage high
The Emulous or Enemy ;
And with such to inclose
Is more then to oppose.

158 'twas *Grosart* : was *F*
Title Horatian *T* : Horation *F*
5 thorough *T* : through *F*

Then burning through the Air he went,
And Pallaces and Temples rent:
  And *Cæsars* head at last
  Did through his Laurels blast.
'Tis Madness to resist or blame
The force of angry Heavens flame:
  And, if we would speak true,
  Much to the Man is due.
Who, from his private Gardens, where
He liv'd reserved and austere,
  As if his highest plot
  To plant the Bergamot,
Could by industrious Valour climbe
To ruine the great Work of Time,
  And cast the Kingdome old
  Into another Mold.
Though Justice against Fate complain,
And plead the antient Rights in vain:
  But those do hold or break
  As Men are strong or weak.
Nature that hateth emptiness,
Allows of penetration less:
  And therefore must make room
  Where greater Spirits come.
What Field of all the Civil Wars,
Where his were not the deepest Scars?
  And *Hampton* shows what part
  He had of wiser Art.
Where, twining subtile fears with hope,
He wove a Net of such a scope,
  That *Charles* himself might chase
  To *Caresbrooks* narrow case.
That thence the *Royal Actor* born
The *Tragick Scaffold* might adorn:
  While round the armed Bands
  Did clap their bloody hands.
He nothing common did or mean
Upon that memorable Scene:
  But with his keener Eye
  The Axes edge did try:

26 force] face *T* 35 Kingdome] kingdoms *T* 45. 6 Wars . . . Scars] warre . . . scarre *T*

Nor call'd the *Gods* with vulgar spight
To vindicate his helpless Right,
  But bow'd his comely Head,
  Down as upon a Bed.
This was that memorable Hour
Which first assur'd the forced Pow'r.
  So when they did design
  The *Capitols* first Line,
A bleeding Head where they begun,
Did fright the Architects to run ;
  And yet in that the *State*
  Foresaw it's happy Fate.
And now the *Irish* are asham'd
To see themselves in one Year tam'd :
  So much one Man can do,
  That does both act and know.
They can affirm his Praises best,
And have, though overcome, confest
  How good he is, how just,
  And fit for highest Trust :
Nor yet grown stiffer with Command,
But still in the *Republick's* hand :
  How fit he is to sway
  That can so well obey.
He to the *Commons Feet* presents
A *Kingdome*, for his first years rents :
  And, what he may, forbears
  His Fame to make it theirs :
And has his Sword and Spoyls ungirt,
To lay them at the *Publick's* skirt.
  So when the Falcon high
  Falls heavy from the Sky,
She, having kill'd, no more does search,
But on the next green Bow to pearch ;
  Where, when he first does lure,
  The Falckner has her sure.
What may not then our *Isle* presume
While Victory his Crest does plume !
  What may not others fear
  If thus he crown each Year !

85 Commons *T* : *Common F* 100 crown] crowns *T*

A *Cæsar* he ere long to *Gaul*,
To *Italy* an *Hannibal*,
  And to all States not free
  Shall *Clymacterick* be.
The *Pict* no shelter now shall find
Within his party-colour'd Mind ;
  But from this Valour sad
  Shrink underneath the Plad :
Happy if in the tufted brake
The *English Hunter* him mistake ;
  Nor lay his Hounds in near
  The *Caledonian* Deer.
But thou the Wars and Fortunes Son
March indefatigably on ;
  And for the last effect
  Still keep thy Sword erect :
Besides the force it has to fright
The Spirits of the shady Night,
  The same *Arts* that did *gain*
  A *Pow'r* must it *maintain*.

Tom May's Death.

As one put drunk into the Packet-boat,
Tom May was hurry'd hence and did not know't.
But was amaz'd on the Elysian side,
And with an Eye uncertain, gazing wide,
Could not determine in what place he was,
For whence in Stevens ally Trees or Grass ?
Nor where the Popes head, nor the Mitre lay,
Signs by which still he found and lost his way.
At last while doubtfully he all compares,
He saw near hand, as he imagin'd *Ares*.
Such did he seem for corpulence and port,
But 'twas a man much of another sort ;
'Twas *Ben* that in the dusky Laurel shade
Amongst the Chorus of old Poets laid,
Sounding of ancient Heroes, such as were
The Subjects Safety, and the Rebel's Fear.
But how a double headed Vulture Eats,
Brutus and *Cassius* the Peoples cheats.
But seeing *May* he varied streight his Song,

101 A] As *T* 116 thy] the *T* 6 Grass ? *Cooke* : Grass. *F*

Gently to signifie that he was wrong.
Cups more then civil of *Emathian* wine,
I sing (said he) and the *Pharsalian* Sign,
Where the Historian of the Common-wealth
In his own Bowels sheath'd the conquering health.
By this *May* to himself and them was come,
He found he was translated, and by whom.
Yet then with foot as stumbling as his tongue
Prest for his place among the Learned throng.
But *Ben*, who knew not neither foe nor friend,
Sworn Enemy to all that do pretend,
Rose more then ever he was seen severe,
Shook his gray locks, and his own Bayes did tear
At this intrusion. Then with Laurel wand,
The awful Sign of his supream command.
At whose dread Whisk *Virgil* himself does quake,
And *Horace* patiently its stroke does take,
As he crowds in he whipt him ore the pate
Like *Pembroke* at the Masque, and then did rate.
Far from these blessed shades tread back agen
Most servil' wit, and Mercenary Pen.
Polydore, Lucan, Allan, Vandale, Goth,
Malignant Poet and Historian both.
Go seek the novice Statesmen, and obtrude
On them some Romane cast similitude,
Tell them of Liberty, the Stories fine,
Until you all grow Consuls in your wine.
Or thou *Dictator* of the glass bestow
On him the *Cato*, this the *Cicero*.
Transferring old *Rome* hither in your talk,
As *Bethlem's* House did to *Loretto* walk.
Foul Architect that hadst not Eye to see
How ill the measures of these States agree.
And who by *Romes* example *England* lay,
Those but to *Lucan* do continue *May*.
But the nor Ignorance nor seeming good
Misled, but malice fixt and understood.
Because some one than thee more worthy weares
The sacred Laurel, hence are all these teares ?
Must therefore all the World be set on flame,

Emathian Cooke: *Emilthian F* 26 translated *Cooke*: tran-d *F*

Because a Gazet writer mist his aim ?
And for a Tankard-bearing Muse must we
As for the Basket *Guelphs* and *Gibellines* be ?
When the Sword glitters ore the Judges head,
And fear has Coward Churchmen silenced,
Then is the Poets time, 'tis then he drawes,
And single fights forsaken Vertues cause.
He, when the wheel of Empire, whirleth back,
And though the World's disjointed Axel crack,
Sings still of ancient Rights and better Times,
Seeks wretched good, arraigns successful Crimes.
But thou base man first prostituted hast
Our spotless knowledge and the studies chast.
Apostatizing from our Arts and us,
To turn the Chronicler to *Spartacus*.
Yet wast thou taken hence with equal fate,
Before thou couldst great *Charles* his death relate.
But what will deeper wound thy little mind,
Hast left surviving *Davenant* still behind
Who laughs to see in this thy death renew'd,
Right Romane poverty and gratitude.
Poor Poet thou, and grateful Senate they,
Who thy last Reckoning did so largely pay.
And with the publick gravity would come,
When thou hadst drunk thy last to lead thee home.
If that can be thy home where *Spencer* lyes
And reverend *Chaucer*, but their dust does rise
Against thee, and expels thee from their side,
As th' Eagles Plumes from other birds divide.
Nor here thy shade must dwell, Return, Return,
Where Sulphrey *Phlegeton* does ever burn.
The *Cerberus* with all his Jawes shall gnash,
Megæra thee with all her Serpents lash.
Thou rivited unto *Ixion's* wheel
Shalt break, and the perpetual Vulture feel.
'Tis just what Torments Poets ere did feign,
Thou first Historically shouldst sustain.
Thus by irrevocable Sentence cast,
May only Master of these Revels past.
And streight he vanisht in a Cloud of pitch,
Such as unto the Sabboth bears the Witch.

Dignissimo suo Amico Doctori Wittie.

De Translatione Vulgi Errorum *D. Primrosii.*

Nempe sic innumero succrescunt agmine libri,
Sæpia vix toto ut jam natet una mari.
Fortius assidui surgunt a vulnere præli :
Quoque magis pressa est, auctior Hydra redit.
Heu quibus Anticyris, quibus est sanabilis herbis
Improba scribendi pestis, avarus amor !
India sola tenet tanti medicamina morbi,
Dicitur & nostris ingemuisse malis.
Utile Tabacci dedit illa miserta venenum,
Acri veratro quod meliora potest.
Jamque vides olidas libris fumare popinas :
Naribus O doctis quam pretiosus odor !
Hâc ego præcipua credo herbam dote placere,
Hinc tuus has nebulas Doctor in astra vehit.
Ah mea quid tandem facies timidissima charta ?
Exequias Siticen jam parat usque tuas.
Hunc subeas librum sancti ceu limen asyli,
Quem neque delebit flamma, nec ira Jovis.

To his worthy Friend Doctor Witty *upon his Translation of the Popular Errors.*

Sit further, and make room for thine own fame,
Where just desert enrolles thy honour'd Name
The good Interpreter. Some in this task
Take off the Cypress vail, but leave a mask,
Changing the Latine, but do more obscure
That sence in *English* which was bright and pure.

Wittie . . . Primrosii] WITTIE, *de Translatione* Vulgi Errorum. *1651* 4 *pressa est*] premitur *1651* 6 *amor* !] amor. *1651* 10 Acri *Cooke* : Acci *F*, *1651* 13 *præcipua*] præcipuâ *1651* 16 *Siticen*] siticen *1651* 17 *sancti*] *Sansti F* : sancti *1651* *Signed in 1651* ' *Andrew Marvell.* A. F.' * *No italics in 1651 after the title except 2 Sæpia, 5 Anticyris, 7 India, 9 Tabacci, 10 Acci, 14 Doctor, 16 siticen, 18 Jovis and signature.* Witty . . . *Popular Errors.*] WITTIE . . . Popular Errours *1651* 1 room] roome *1651* 2 enrolles . . . Name] enroles . . . name *1651* 3 The good Interpreter] *The good Interpreter 1651* 4 off *1651* : of *F* Cypress vail] Cypresse veile *1651* 5 do] doe *1651* 6 sence . . . *English*] sense . . . English *1651*

* i. e. Andreæ Filius

So of Translators they are Authors grown,
For ill Translators make the Book their own.
Others do strive with words and forced phrase
To add such lustre, and so many rayes,
That but to make the Vessel shining, they
Much of the precious Metal rub away.
He is Translations thief that addeth more,
As much as he that taketh from the Store
Of the first Author. Here he maketh blots
That mends ; and added beauties are but spots.
Cælia whose English doth more richly flow
Then *Tagus*, purer then dissolved snow,
And sweet as are her lips that speak it, she
Now learns the tongues of *France* and *Italy* ;
But she is *Cælia* still : no other grace
But her own smiles commend that lovely face ;
Her native beauty's not Italianated,
Nor her chast mind into the *French* translated :
Her thoughts are *English*, though her sparkling wit
With other Language doth them fitly fit.
Translators learn of her : but stay I slide
Down into Error with the Vulgar tide ;
Women must not teach here : the Doctor doth
Stint them to Cawdles, Almond-milk, and Broth.
Now I reform, and surely so will all
Whose happy Eyes on thy Translation fall,
I see the people hastning to thy Book,
Liking themselves the worse the more they look,
And so disliking, that they nothing see
Now worth the liking, but thy Book and thee.

7 Translators . . . Authors] *Translatours . . . Authours 1651* 8 Translators . . . Book] *Translatours* . . . booke *1651* 10 add] adde *1651* 11 Vessel] vessell *1651* 12 precious Metal] pretious Metall *1651* 13 Translations thief] *Translations* theefe *1651* 15 Author] *Authour 1651* 19 speak] speake *1651* 20 learns . . . *Italy*] learnes . . . *Italie 1651* 21 no] No *1651* 23 Italianated] *Italianated 1651* 24 chast mind] chaste minde *1651* 26 Language] language *1651* 27 *no fresh paragraph in 1651.* Translators . . . but] *Translatours* learne of her. But *1651* 28 Down . . . Error . . . Vulgar] Downe . . . *Errour* . . . *vulgar 1651* 29 the Doctor] The *Doctor 1651* 30 Cawdles, *1651* : Cawdles *F.* Almond-milk . . . Broth] Almond milk . . . broth *1651* 31 reform,] reforme ; *1651* 32 Eyes . . . Translation fall,] eyes . . . *Translation* fall. *1651* 33 hastning . . . Book] hasting . . . booke *1651* 36 liking, . . . Book . . . thee] liking . . . Booke . . . Thee *1651*

And (if I Judgment have) I censure right ;
For something guides my hand that I must write.
You have Translations statutes best fulfil'd.
That handling neither sully nor would guild.

In Legationem Domini *Oliveri St. John* ad Provincias Fœderatas.

Ingeniosa Viris contingunt Nomina magnis,
Ut dubites Casu vel Ratione data.
Nam Sors, *cæca licet, tamen est præsaga* futuri ;
Et sub fatidico Nomine *vera premit.*
Et Tu, cui soli voluit Respublica *credi,*
Fœdera seu Belgis *seu nova Bella feras ;*
Haud frustra cecidit tibi Compellatio fallax,
Ast scriptum ancipiti Nomine *Munus erat ;*
Scilicet hoc Martis, *sed* Pacis *Nuntius illo :*
Clavibus his Jani *ferrea Claustra regis.*
Non opus Arcanos Chartis committere Sensus,
Et varia licitos condere Fraude Dolos.
Tu *quoque si taceas tamen est* Legatio Nomen
Et velut in Scytale *publica verba refert.*
Vultis Oliverum, Batavi, Sanctumve Johannem ?
Antiochus *gyro non breviore stetit.*

The Character of Holland

Holland, that scarce deserves the name of *Land*,
As but th'Off-scouring of the *Brittish Sand* ;
And so much Earth as was contributed
By *English Pilots* when they heav'd the Lead ;
Or what by th' Oceans slow alluvion fell,
Of shipwrackt Cockle and the Muscle-shell ;
This indigested vomit of the Sea
Fell to the *Dutch* by just Propriety.
Glad then, as Miners that have found the Oar,
They with mad labour fish'd the *Land* to *Shoar* ;
And div'd as desperately for each piece
Of Earth, as if't had been of *Ambergreece*;

37 Judgment] judgement *1651* 39 fulfil'd.] fulfil'd, *1651* 40 That] That, *1651*. *Signed in 1651 'Andrew Marvell* A. F.'

Collecting anxiously small Loads of Clay,
Less then what building Swallows bear away ;
Or then those Pills which sordid Beetles roul,
Tranfusing into them their Dunghil Soul.
How did they rivet, with Gigantick Piles,
Thorough the Center their new-catched Miles ;
And to the stake a strugling Country bound,
Where barking Waves still bait the forced Ground ;
Building their *watry Babel* far more high
To reach the *Sea*, then those to scale the *Sky*.
Yet still his claim the Injur'd Ocean laid,
And oft at Leap-frog ore their Steeples plaid :
As if on purpose it on Land had come
To shew them what's their *Mare Liberum*.
A daily deluge over them does boyl ;
The Earth and Water play at *Level-coyl* ;
The Fish oft-times the Burger dispossest,
And sat not as a Meat but as a Guest ;
And oft the *Tritons* and the *Sea-Nymphs* saw
Whole sholes of *Dutch* serv'd up for *Cabillau* ;
Or as they over the new Level rang'd
For pickled *Herring*, pickled *Heeren* chang'd.
Nature, it seem'd, asham'd of her mistake,
Would throw their Land away at *Duck* and *Drake*.
Therefore *Necessity*, that first made *Kings*,
Something like *Government* among them brings.
For as with *Pygmees* who best kills the *Crane*,
Among the *hungry* he that treasures *Grain*,
Among the *blind* the one-ey'd *blinkard* reigns,
So rules among the *drowned* he that *draines*.
Not who first see the *rising Sun* commands,
But who could first discern the *rising Lands*.
Who best could know to pump an Earth so leak
Him they their *Lord* and *Country's Father* speak.
To make a *Bank* was a great *Plot of State* ;
Invent a *Shov'l* and be a *Magistrate*.
Hence some small *Dyke-grave* unperceiv'd invades
The *Pow'r*, and grows as 'twere a *King of Spades*.
But for less envy some *joynt States* endures,
Who look like a *Commission of the Sewers*.
For these *Half-anders*, half wet, and half dry,
Nor bear *strict service*, nor *pure Liberty*.

'Tis probable *Religion* after this
Came next in order ; which they could not miss.
How could the *Dutch* but be converted, when
Th' *Apostles* were so many Fishermen ?
Besides the Waters of themselves did rise,
And, as their Land, so them did re-baptize.
Though *Herring* for their *God* few voices mist,
And *Poor-John* to have been th' *Evangelist.*
Faith, that could never Twins conceive before,
Never so fertile, spawn'd upon this shore :
More pregnant then their *Marg'ret,* that laid down
For *Hans-in-Kelder* of a whole *Hans-Town.*
Sure when *Religion* did it self imbark,
And from the *East* would *Westward* steer its Ark,
It struck, and splitting on this unknown ground,
Each one thence pillag'd the first piece he found :
Hence *Amsterdam, Turk-Christian-Pagan-Jew,*
Staple of Sects and Mint of Schisme grew ;
That *Bank of Conscience,* where not one so strange
Opinion but finds Credit, and Exchange.
In vain for *Catholicks* our selves we bear ;
The *universal Church* is onely there.
Nor can Civility there want for *Tillage,*
Where wisely for their *Court* they chose a *Village.*
How fit a Title clothes their *Governours,*
Themselves the *Hogs* as all their Subjects *Bores* !
Let it suffice to give their Country Fame
That it had one *Civilis* call'd by Name,
Some Fifteen hundred and more years ago ;
But surely never any that was so.
See but their *Mairmaids* with their *Tails of Fish,*
Reeking at *Church* over the *Chafing-Dish.*
A vestal Turf enshrin'd in Earthen Ware
Fumes through the loop-holes of a wooden Square.
Each to the *Temple* with these *Altars* tend,
But still does place it at her *Western End* :
While the fat steam of *Female Sacrifice*
Fills the *Priests Nostrils* and puts out his *Eyes.*
Or what a Spectacle the *Skipper gross,*
A Water-Hercules Butter-Coloss,

88 a *Harleian Miscellany* : *om. F*

Tunn'd up with all their sev'ral *Towns of Beer* ;
When Stagg'ring upon some Land, *Snick and Sneer,*
They try, like Statuaries, if they can,
Cut out each others *Athos* to a Man :
And carve in their large Bodies, where they please,
The Armes of the *United Provinces.*
But when such Amity at home is show'd ;
What then are their confederacies abroad ?
Let this one court'sie witness all the rest ;
When their whole Navy they together prest,
Not Christian Captives to redeem from Bands :
Or intercept the Western golden Sands :
No, but all ancient Rights and Leagues must vail,
Rather then to the *English* strike their sail ;
To whom their weather-beaten *Province* ows
It self, when as some greater Vessel tows
A Cock-boat tost with the same wind and fate ;
We buoy'd so often up their *sinking State.*
Was this *Jus Belli & Pacis* ; could this be
Cause why their *Burgomaster of the Sea*
Ram'd with Gun-powder, flaming with Brand wine,
Should raging hold his Linstock to the Mine ?
While, with feign'd *Treaties,* they invade by stealth
Our sore new circumcised *Common wealth.*
Yet of his vain Attempt no more he sees
Then of *Case-Butter* shot and *Bullet-Cheese.*
And the torn Navy stagger'd with him home,
While the Sea laught it self into a foam,
'Tis true since that (as fortune kindly sports,)
A wholesome Danger drove us to our Ports.
While half their banish'd keels the Tempest tost,
Half bound at home in Prison to the frost :
That ours mean time at leizure might careen,
In a calm Winter, under Skies Serene.
As the obsequious Air and Waters rest,
Till the dear *Halcyon* hatch out all its nest.
The *Common wealth* doth by its losses grow ;
And, like its own Seas, only Ebbs to flow.
Besides that very Agitation laves,
And purges out the corruptible waves.
And now again our armed *Bucentore*
Doth yearly their *Sea-Nuptials* restore.

And now the *Hydra of seaven Provinces*
Is strangled by our *Infant Hercules.*
Their Tortoise wants its vainly stretched neck ;
Their Navy all our Conquest or our Wreck :
Or, what is left, their *Carthage* overcome
Would render fain unto our better *Rome.*
Unless our *Senate,* lest their Youth disuse,
The War, (but who would) Peace if begg'd refuse.
For now of nothing may our *State* despair,
Darling of Heaven, and of Men the Care ;
Provided that they be what they have been,
Watchful abroad, and honest still within.
For while our *Neptune* doth a *Trident* shake,
Steel'd with those piercing Heads, *Dean, Monck and Blake.*
And while *Jove* governs in the highest Sphere,
Vainly in *Hell* let *Pluto* domineer.

A Letter to Doctor *Ingelo,* then with my Lord *Whitlock,* Ambassador from the *Protector* to the Queen of *Sweden.*

Quid facis Arctoi *charissime transfuga cœli,*
Ingele, *proh serò cognite, rapte citò ?*
Num satis Hybernum defendis pellibus Astrum,
Qui modo tam mollis nec bene firmus eras ?
Quæ Gentes Hominum, quæ sit Natura Locorum,
Sint Homines, potius dic ibi sintne Loca ?
Num gravis horrisono Polus *obruit omnia lapsu,*
Jungitur & præceps Mundus utraque nive ?
An melius canis horrescit Campus Aristis,
Annuus Agricolis & redit Orbe labor ?
Incolit, ut fertur, sævam Gens mitior Oram,
Pace vigil, Bello strenua, justa Foro.
Quin ibi sunt Urbes, *atque alta* Palatia Regum,
Musarumque domus, & *sua* Templa Deo.
Nam regit Imperio populum Christina *ferocem,*
Et dare jura potest regia Virgo *viris.*
Utque trahit rigidum Magnes *Aquilone Metallum.*
Gaudet eam Soboles ferrea sponte sequi.

137 now *Thompson* : how *F*

Dic quantum liceat fallaci credere Famæ,
Invida num taceat plura, sonetve loquax.
At, si vera fides, Mundi melioris ab ortu,
Sæcula Christinæ *nulla tulere parem.*
Ipsa licet redeat (nostri decus orbis) Eliza,
Qualis nostra tamen quantaque Eliza *fuit.*
Vidimus Effigiem, mistasque Coloribus Umbras :
Sic quoque Sceptripotens, *sic quoque visa* Dea.
Augustam decorant (raro concordia) frontem
Majestas & Amor, Forma Pudorque *simul.*
Ingens Virgineo spirat Gustavus *in ore :*
Agnoscas animos, fulmineumque Patrem.
Nulla suo nituit tam lucida Stella sub Axe ;
Non Ea quæ meruit Crimine Nympha *Polum.*
Ah quoties pavidum demisit conscia Lumen,
Utque suæ timuit Parrhasis *Ora* Deæ *!*
Et, simulet falsa ni Pictor imagine Vultus,
Delia *tam similis nec fuit ipsa sibi.*
Ni quod inornati Triviæ *sint forte Capilli,*
Sollicita sed huic distribuantur Acu.
Scilicet ut nemo est illa reverentior æqui ;
Haud ipsas igitur fert sine Lege Comas.
Gloria sylvarum pariter communis utrique
Est, & perpetuæ Virginitatis Honos.
Sic quoque Nympharum *supereminet Agmina collo,*
Fertque Choros Cynthi *per Juga, perque Nives.*
Haud aliter pariles Ciliorum contrahit Arcus
Acribus ast Oculis tela subesse putes.
Luminibus dubites an straverit illa Sagittis
Quæ fovet exuviis ardua colla Feram.
Alcides *humeros coopertus* pelle Nemæa
Haud ita labentis sustulit Orbis Onus.
Heu quæ Cervices subnectunt Pectora tales,
Frigidiora Gelu, candidiora Nive.
Cætera non licuit, sed vix ea tota, videre ;
Nam clausi rigido stant Adamante *Sinus.*
Seu Chlamys Artifici nimium succurrerit auso,
Sicque imperfectum fugerit impar Opus :
Sive tribus spernat Victrix certare Deabus,
Et pretium formæ nec spoliata ferat.

44 perque *Cooke* *per F* 48 fovet *Grosart* : *foret F*

Junonis *properans & clara Trophæa* Minervæ ;
Mollia nam Veneris *præmia nosse piget.*
Hinc neque consuluit fugitivæ prodiga Formæ,
Nec timuit seris invigilasse Libris.
Insomnem quoties Nymphæ *monuere sequaces*
Decedet roseis heu color ille Genis.
Jamque vigil leni cessit Philomela *sopori,*
Omnibus & Sylvis conticuere Feræ.
Acrior illa tamen pergit, Curasque fatigat :
Tanti est doctorum volvere scripta Virum.
Et liciti quæ sint moderamina discere Regni,
Quid fuerit, quid sit, noscere quicquid erit.
Sic quod in ingenuas Gothus *peccaverit Artes*
Vindicat, & studiis expiat Una *suis.*
Exemplum dociles imitantur nobile Gentes,
Et geminis Infans imbuit Ora sonis.
Transpositos Suecis *credas migrasse* Latinos,
Carmine Romuleo *sic strepit omne Nemus.*
Upsala *nec priscis impar memoratur* Athenis,
Ægidaque & Currus *hic sua* Pallas *habet.*
Illinc O quales liceat sperasse Liquores,
Quum Dea *præsideat fontibus ipsa sacris !*
Illic Lacte ruant illic & flumina Melle,
Fulvaque inauratam tingat Arena Salam.
Upsalides Musæ *nunc & majora canemus,*
Quæque mihi Famæ non levis Aura tulit.
Creditur haud ulli Christus *signasse suorum*
Occultam gemma de meliore Notam.
Quemque tenet charo descriptum Nomine *semper,*
Non minus exculptum Pectore fida refert.
Sola hæc virgineas depascit Flamma Medullas,
Et licito pergit solvere corda foco.
Tu quoque Sanctorum fastos Christina *sacrabis,*
Unica nec Virgo Volsiniensis *erit.*
Discite nunc Reges (Majestas proxima cœlo)
Discite proh magnos hinc coluisse Deos.
Ah pudeat Tantos puerilia fingere cœpta,
Nugas nescio quas, & male quærere Opes.
Acer Equo *cunctos dum præterit ille* Britanno,
Et pecoris spolium nescit inerme sequi.

97 ille *Cooke* : *illa F*

Ast Aquilam *poscit* Germano *pellere* Nido,
Deque Palatino *Monte fugare* Lupam.
Vos etiam latos in prædam jungite Campos,
Impiaque arctatis cingite Lustra Plagis.
Victor Oliverus *nudum Caput exerit Armis,*
Ducere sive sequi nobile lætus Iter.
Qualis jam Senior *Solymæ* Godfredus *ad Arces,*
Spina cui canis floruit alba Comis.
Et Lappos Christina *potest & solvere* Finnos,
Ultima quos Boreæ *carcere Claustra premunt.*
Æoliis *quales Venti fremuere sub antris,*
Et tentant Montis corripuisse moras.
Hanc Dea *si summa demiserit Arce procellam*
Quam gravis Austriacis Hesperiisque *cadat!*
Omnia sed rediens olim narraveris Ipse;
Nec reditus spero tempora longa petit.
Non ibi lenta pigro stringuntur frigore Verba,
Solibus, & tandem Vere liquanda novo.
Sed radiis hyemem Regina *potentior urit;*
Hæcque magis solvit, quam ligat illa Polum.
Dicitur & nostros mœrens audisse Labores,
Fortis & ingenuam Gentis amasse Fidem.
Oblatæ Batavam *nec paci commodat* Aurem;
Nec versat Danos *insidiosa* dolos.
Sed pia festinat mutatis Fœdera rebus,
Et Libertatem *quæ dominatur amat.*
Digna cui Salomon *meritos retulisset honores,*
Et Saba *concretum Thure cremasset Iter.*
Hanc tua, sed melius, celebraverit, Ingele, Musa;
Et labor est vestræ debitus ille Lyræ.
Nos sine te frustra Thamisis *saliceta subimus,*
Sparsaque per steriles Turba vagamur Agros.
Et male tentanti querulum respondet Avena:
Quin & Rogerio *dissiluere fides.*
Hæc tamen absenti memores dictamus Amico,
Grataque speramus qualiacumque fore.

In Effigiem *Oliveri Cromwell.*

Hæc est quæ toties Inimicos *Umbra fugavit,*
At sub qua Cives *Otia lenta terunt.*

In eandem Reginæ *Sueciæ* transmissam

Bellipotens Virgo, septem Regina Trionum.
Christina, Arctoi lucida stella Poli;
Cernis quas merui dura sub Casside Rugas;
Sicque Senex *Armis impiger Ora fero;*
Invia Fatorum dum per Vestigia nitor,
Exequor & Populi fortia Jussa Manu.
At tibi submittit frontem reverentior Umbra,
Nec sunt hi Vultus *Regibus usque truces.*

THE FIRST
ANNIVERSARY

Of the Government under O. C.

Like the vain Curlings of the Watry maze,
Which in smooth streams a sinking Weight does raise;
So Man, declining alwayes, disappears
In the weak Circles of increasing Years;
And his short Tumults of themselves Compose,
While flowing Time above his Head does close.
Cromwell alone with greater Vigour runs,
(Sun-like) the Stages of succeeding Suns:
And still the Day which he doth next restore,
Is the just Wonder of the Day before.
Cromwell alone doth with new Lustre spring,
And shines the Jewel of the yearly Ring.
'Tis he the force of scatter'd Time contracts,
And in one Year the work of Ages acts:
While heavy Monarchs make a wide Return,
Longer, and more Malignant then *Saturn*:
And though they all *Platonique* years should raign,
In the same Posture would be found again.
Their earthy Projects under ground they lay,
More slow and brittle then the *China* clay:
Well may they strive to leave them to their Son,
For one Thing never was by one King don.

6 flowing] flow'ring *T* 17 though they] they, though *T*
19 earthy] earthly *T* 21 to their] on their *T*

Yet some more active for a Frontier Town
Took in by Proxie, beggs a false Renown ;
Another triumphs at the publick Cost,
And will have Wonn, if he no more have Lost ;
They fight by Others, but in Person wrong,
And only are against their Subjects strong ;
Their other Wars seem but a feign'd contest,
This Common Enemy is still opprest ;
If Conquerors, on them they turn their might ;
If Conquered, on them they wreak their Spight :
They neither build the Temple in their dayes,
Nor Matter for succeeding Founders raise ;
Nor sacred Prophecies consult within,
Much less themselves to perfect them begin ;
No other care they bear of things above,
But with Astrologers divine, and *Jove*,
To know how long their Planet yet Reprives
From the deserved Fate their guilty lives :
Thus (Image-like) an useless time they tell,
And with vain Scepter, strike the hourly Bell ;
Nor more contribute to the state of Things,
Then wooden Heads unto the Viols strings.
  While indefatigable *Cromwell* hyes,
And cuts his way still nearer to the Skyes,
Learning a Musique in the Region clear,
To tune this lower to that higher Sphere.
  So when *Amphion* did the Lute command,
Which the God gave him, with his gentle hand,
The rougher Stones, unto his Measures hew'd,
Dans'd up in order from the Quarreys rude ;
This took a Lower, that an Higher place,
As he the Treble alter'd, or the Base :
No Note he struck, but a new Story lay'd,
And the great Work ascended while he play'd.
  The listning Structures he with Wonder ey'd,
And still new Stopps to various Time apply'd :
Now through the Strings a Martial rage he throws,
And joyning streight the *Theban* Tow'r arose ;
Then as he strokes them with a Touch more sweet,
The flocking Marbles in a Palace meet ;

29 seem] are *T* 38 and] of *T* 41 an *1655*, *T* : and *F*
45 hyes] tryes *T* 60 joyning *1655*, *T* : joyng *F*

But, for he most the graver Notes did try,
Therefore the Temples rear'd their Columns high:
Thus, ere he ceas'd, his sacred Lute creates
Th'harmonious City of the seven Gates.
Such was that wondrous Order and Consent,
When *Cromwell* tun'd the ruling Instrument;
While tedious Statesmen many years did hack,
Framing a Liberty that still went back;
Whose num'rous Gorge could swallow in an hour
That Island, which the Sea cannot devour:
Then our *Amphion* issues out and sings,
And once he struck, and twice, the pow'rful Strings.
The Commonwealth then first together came,
And each one enter'd in the willing Frame;
All other Matter yields, and may be rul'd;
But who the Minds of stubborn Men can build?
No Quarry bears a Stone so hardly wrought,
Nor with such labour from its Center brought;
None to be sunk in the Foundation bends,
Each in the House the highest Place contends,
And each the Hand that lays him will direct,
And some fall back upon the Architect;
Yet all compos'd by his attractive Song,
Into the Animated City throng.
The Common-wealth does through their Centers all
Draw the Circumf'rence of the publique Wall;
The crossest Spirits here do take their part,
Fast'ning the Contignation which they thwart;
And they, whose Nature leads them to divide,
Uphold, this one, and that the other Side;
But the most Equal still sustein the Height,
And they as Pillars keep the Work upright;
While the resistance of opposed Minds,
The Fabrick as with Arches stronger binds,
Which on the Basis of a Senate free,
Knit by the Roofs Protecting weight agree.
When for his Foot he thus a place had found,
He hurles e'r since the World about him round;
And in his sev'ral Aspects, like a Star,
Here shines in Peace, and thither shoots a War.
While by his Beams observing Princes steer,
And wisely court the Influence they fear;

O would they rather by his Pattern won.
Kiss the approaching, nor yet angry Son ;
And in their numbred Footsteps humbly tread
The path where holy Oracles do lead ;
How might they under such a Captain raise
The great Designes kept for the latter Dayes !
But mad with Reason, so miscall'd, of State
They know them not, and what they know not, hate.
Hence still they sing Hosanna to the Whore,
And her whom they should Massacre adore :
But Indians whom they should convert, subdue ;
Nor teach, but traffique with, or burn the Jew.
  Unhappy Princes, ignorantly bred,
By Malice some, by Errour more misled ;
If gracious Heaven to my Life give length,
Leisure to Time, and to my Weakness Strength,
Then shall I once with graver Accents shake
Your Regal sloth, and your long Slumbers wake :
Like the shrill Huntsman that prevents the East,
Winding his Horn to Kings that chase the Beast.
  Till then my Muse shall hollow far behind
Angelique *Cromwell* who outwings the wind ;
And in dark Nights, and in cold Dayes alone
Pursues the Monster thorough every Throne :
Which shrinking to her *Roman* Den impure,
Gnashes her Goary teeth ; nor there secure.
  Hence oft I think, if in some happy Hour
High Grace should meet in one with highest Pow'r,
And then a seasonable People still
Should bend to his, as he to Heavens will,
What we might hope, what wonderful Effect
From such a wish'd Conjuncture might reflect.
Sure, the mysterious Work, where none withstand,
Would forthwith finish under such a Hand :
Fore-shortned Time its useless Course would stay,
And soon precipitate the latest Day.
But a thick Cloud about that Morning lyes,
And intercepts the Beams of Mortal eyes,
That 'tis the most which we determine can,
If these the Times, then this must be the Man.
And well he therefore does, and well has guest,
Who in his Age has always forward prest :

114 her] *om. T* 116 Nor] Not *T*

And knowing not where Heavens choice may light,
Girds yet his Sword, and ready stands to fight ;
But Men alas, as if they nothing car'd,
Look on, all unconcern'd, or unprepar'd ;
And Stars still fall, and still the Dragons Tail
Swinges the Volumes of its horrid Flail.
For the great Justice that did first suspend
The World by Sin, does by the same extend.
Hence that blest Day still counterpoysed wastes,
The Ill delaying, what th'Elected hastes ;
Hence landing Nature to new Seas is tost,
And good Designes still with their Authors lost.
  And thou, great *Cromwell*, for whose happy birth
A Mold was chosen out of better Earth ;
Whose Saint-like Mother we did lately see
Live out an Age, long as a Pedigree ;
That she might seem, could we the Fall dispute,
T'have smelt the Blossome, and not eat the Fruit ;
Though none does of more lasting Parents grow,
But never any did them Honor so ;
Though thou thine Heart from Evil still unstain'd,
And always hast thy Tongue from fraud refrain'd ;
Thou, who so oft through Storms of thundring Lead
Hast born securely thine undaunted Head,
Thy Brest through ponyarding Conspiracies,
Drawn from the Sheath of lying Prophecies ;
Thee proof beyond all other Force or Skill,
Our Sins endanger, and shall one day kill.
  How near they fail'd, and in thy sudden Fall
At once assay'd to overturn us all.
Our brutish fury strugling to be Free,
Hurry'd thy Horses while they hurry'd thee.
When thou hadst almost quit thy Mortal cares,
And soyl'd in Dust thy Crown of silver Hairs.
Let this one Sorrow interweave among
The other Glories of our yearly Song.
Like skilful Looms which through the costly thred
Of purling Ore, a shining wave do shed :
So shall the Tears we on past Grief employ,
Still as they trickle, glitter in our Joy.

173 Thee] The *T* 177 brutish] British *T* 183 thred *1655*, *T* : threed *F*

So with more Modesty we may be True,
And speak as of the Dead the Praises due :
While impious Men deceiv'd with pleasure short,
On their own Hopes shall find the Fall retort.
But the poor Beasts wanting their noble Guide,
What could they more ? shrunk guiltily aside.
First winged Fear transports them far away,
And leaden Sorrow then their flight did stay.
See how they each his towring Crest abate,
And the green Grass, and their known Mangers hate,
Nor through wide Nostrils snuffe the wanton air,
Nor their round Hoofs, or curled Mane's compare ;
With wandring Eyes, and restless Ears they stood,
And with shrill Neighings ask'd him of the Wood.
Thou *Cromwell* falling, not a stupid Tree,
Or Rock so savage, but it mourn'd for thee :
And all about was heard a Panique groan,
As if that Natures self were overthrown.
It seem'd the Earth did from the Center tear ;
It seem'd the Sun was faln out of the Sphere :
Justice obstructed lay, and Reason fool'd ;
Courage disheartned, and Religion cool'd.
A dismal Silence through the Palace went,
And then loud Shreeks the vaulted Marbles rent.
Such as the dying Chorus sings by turns,
And to deaf Seas, and ruthless Tempests mourns,
When now they sink, and now the plundring Streams
Break up each Deck, and rip the Oaken seams.
But thee triumphant hence the firy Carr,
And firy Steeds had born out of the Warr,
From the low World, and thankless Men above,
Unto the Kingdom blest of Peace and Love :
We only mourn'd our selves, in thine Ascent,
Whom thou hadst left beneath with Mantle rent.
For all delight of Life thou then didst lose,
When to Command, thou didst thy self Depose ;
Resigning up thy Privacy so dear,
To turn the headstrong Peoples Charioteer ;
For to be *Cromwell* was a greater thing,
Then ought below, or yet above a King :
Therefore thou rather didst thy Self depress,
Yielding to Rule, because it made thee Less.

200 him] *om. T* 206 faln out of the] fallen from his *T*

For, neither didst thou from the first apply
Thy sober Spirit unto things too High,
But in thine own Fields exercisedst long,
An healthful Mind within a Body strong;
Till at the Seventh time thou in the Skyes,
As a small Cloud, like a Mans hand didst rise;
Then did thick Mists and Winds the air deform,
And down at last thou pow'rdst the fertile Storm;
Which to the thirsty Land did plenty bring,
But though forewarn'd, o'r-took and wet the King.
What since he did, an higher Force him push'd
Still from behind, and it before him rush'd,
Though undiscern'd among the tumult blind,
Who think those high Decrees by Man design'd.
'Twas Heav'n would not that his Pow'r should cease,
But walk still middle betwixt War and Peace;
Choosing each Stone, and poysing every weight,
Trying the Measures of the Bredth and Height;
Here pulling down, and there erecting New,
Founding a firm State by Proportions true.
When *Gideon* so did from the War retreat,
Yet by the Conquest of two Kings grown great,
He on the Peace extends a Warlike power,
And *Is'rel* silent saw him rase the Tow'r;
And how he *Succoths* Elders durst suppress,
With Thorns and Briars of the Wilderness.
No King might ever such a Force have done;
Yet would not he be Lord, nor yet his Son.
Thou with the same strength, and an Heart as plain,
Didst (like thine Olive) still refuse to Reign;
Though why should others all thy Labor spoil,
And Brambles be anointed with thine Oyl,
Whose climbing Flame, without a timely stop,
Had quickly Levell'd every Cedar's top.
Therefore first growing to thy self a Law,
Th'ambitious Shrubs thou in just time didst aw.
So have I seen at Sea, when whirling Winds,
Hurry the Bark, but more the Seamens minds,
Who with mistaken Course salute the Sand,
And threat'ning Rocks misapprehend for Land;
While baleful *Tritons* to the shipwrack guide.
And Corposants along the Tacklings slide.

229 didst] did *T* 238 though] thou *T* 243 that] that e're *T* 257 as] so *T*

The Passengers all wearyed out before,
Giddy, and wishing for the fatal Shore ;
Some lusty Mate, who with more careful Eye
Counted the Hours, and ev'ry Star did spy,
The Helm does from the artless Steersman strain,
And doubles back unto the safer Main.
What though a while they grumble discontent,
Saving himself he does their loss prevent.
'Tis not a Freedome, that where All command ;
Nor Tyranny, where One does them withstand :
But who of both the Bounders knows to lay
Him as their Father must the State obey.
Thou, and thine House, like *Noah's* Eight did rest,
Left by the Wars Flood on the Mountains crest :
And the large Vale lay subject to thy Will,
Which thou but as an Husbandman wouldst Till :
And only didst for others plant the Vine
Of Liberty, not drunken with its Wine.
That sober Liberty which men may have,
That they enjoy, but more they vainly crave :
And such as to their Parents Tents do press,
May shew their own, not see his Nakedness.
Yet such a *Chammish* issue still does rage,
The Shame and Plague both of the Land and Age,
Who watch'd thy halting, and thy Fall deride,
Rejoycing when thy Foot had slipt aside ;
That their new King might the fifth Scepter shake,
And make the World, by his Example, Quake :
Whose frantique Army should they want for Men
Might muster Heresies, so one were ten.
What thy Misfortune, they the Spirit call,
And their Religion only is to Fall.
Oh *Mahomet* ! now couldst thou rise again,
Thy Falling-sickness should have made thee Reign,
While *Feake* and *Simpson* would in many a Tome,
Have writ the Comments of thy sacred Foame :
For soon thou mightst have past among their Rant
Wer't but for thine unmoved Tulipant ;
As thou must needs have own'd them of thy band
For prophecies fit to be *Alcorand.*

286 wouldst *1655, T* : would *F* 293 *Chammish*] clammish *T*
5 deride] devide *T*

Accursed Locusts, whom your King does spit
Out of the Center of th'unbottom'd Pit;
Wand'rers, Adult'rers, Lyers, *Munser's* rest,
Sorcerers, Atheists, Jesuites, Possest;
You who the Scriptures and the Laws deface
With the same liberty as Points and Lace;
Oh Race most hypocritically strict!
Bent to reduce us to the ancient Pict;
Well may you act the *Adam* and the *Eve*;
Ay, and the Serpent too that did deceive.
But the great Captain, now the danger's orc,
Makes you for his sake Tremble one fit more;
And, to your spight, returning yet alive
Does with himself all that is good revive.
So when first Man did through the Morning new
See the bright Sun his shining Race pursue,
All day he follow'd with unwearied sight,
Pleas'd with that other World of moving Light;
But thought him when he miss'd his setting beams,
Sunk in the Hills, or plung'd below the Streams.
While dismal blacks hung round the Universe,
And Stars (like Tapers) burn'd upon his Herse:
And Owls and Ravens with their screeching noyse
Did make the Fun'rals sadder by their Joyes.
His weeping Eyes the doleful Vigils keep,
Not knowing yet the Night was made for sleep:
Still to the West, where he him lost, he turn'd,
And with such accents, as Despairing, mourn'd:
Why did mine Eyes once see so bright a Ray;
Or why Day last no longer then a Day?
When streight the Sun behind him he descry'd,
Smiling serenely from the further side.
So while our Star that gives us Light and Heat,
Seem'd now a long and gloomy Night to threat,
Up from the other World his Flame he darts,
And Princes shining through their windows starts;
Who their suspected Counsellors refuse,
And credulous Ambassadors accuse.
'Is this, saith one, the Nation that we read
'Spent with both Wars, under a Captain dead?

325 new] dew *T* 334 the] their *T* 345–6 he darts . . . starts loth dart . . . start *T*

'Yet rig a Navy while we dress us late;
'And ere we Dine, rase and rebuild their State.
'What Oaken Forrests, and what golden Mines!
'What Mints of Men, what Union of Designes!
'Unless their Ships, do, as their Fowle proceed
'Of shedding Leaves, that with their Ocean breed.
'Theirs are not Ships, but rather Arks of War,
'And beaked Promontories sail'd from far;
'Of floting Islands a new Hatched Nest;
'A Fleet of Worlds, of other Worlds in quest;
'An hideous shole of wood-Leviathans,
'Arm'd with three Tire of brazen Hurricans;
'That through the Center shoot their thundring side
'And sink the Earth that does at Anchor ride.
'What refuge to escape them can be found,
'Whose watry Leaguers all the world surround?
'Needs must we all their Tributaries be,
'Whose Navies hold the Sluces of the Sea.
'The Ocean is the Fountain of Command,
'But that once took, we Captives are on Land.
'And those that have the Waters for their share,
'Can quickly leave us neither Earth nor Air.
'Yet if through these our Fears could find a pass;
'Through double Oak, & lin'd with treble Brass;
'That one Man still, although but nam'd, alarms
'More then all Men, all Navies, and all Arms.
'Him, all the Day, Him, in late Nights I dread,
'And still his Sword seems hanging o're my head.
'The Nation had been ours, but his one Soul
'Moves the great Bulk, and animates the whole.
'He Secrecy with Number hath inchas'd,
'Courage with Age, Maturity with Hast:
'The Valiants Terror, Riddle of the Wise;
'And still his Fauchion all our Knots unties.
'Where did he learn those Arts that cost us dear?
'Where below Earth, or where above the Sphere?
'He seems a King by long Succession born,
'And yet the same to be a King does scorn.
'Abroad a King he seems, and something more,
'At Home a Subject on the equal Floor.

352 their *Ed. conj.*: our *1655, F, T*

'O could I once him with our Title see,
'So should I hope yet he might Dye as wee.
'But let them write his Praise that love him best,
'It grieves me sore to have thus much confest.
Pardon, great Prince, if thus their Fear or Spight
More then our Love and Duty do thee Right.
I yield, nor further will the Prize contend;
So that we both alike may miss our End:
While thou thy venerable Head dost raise
As far above their Malice as my Praise.
And as the *Angel* of our Commonweal,
Troubling the Waters, yearly mak'st them Heal.

On the Victory obtained by Blake *over the* Spaniards, *in the Bay of* Sanctacruze, *in the Island of* Teneriff. 1657.

Now does *Spains* Fleet her spatious wings unfold,
Leaves the new World and hastens for the old:
But though the wind was fair, they slowly swoome
Frayted with acted Guilt, and Guilt to come:
For this rich load, of which so proud they are,
Was rais'd by Tyranny, and rais'd for War;
Every capatious Gallions womb was fill'd,
With what the Womb of wealthy Kingdomes yield,
The new Worlds wounded Intrails they had tore,
For wealth wherewith to wound the old once more.
Wealth which all others Avarice might cloy,
But yet in them caus'd as much fear, as Joy.
For now upon the Main, themselves they saw,
That boundless Empire, where you give the Law,

391 O] Or *T* 392 yet] that (y^{t}) *Ed.*: *conj.* *1655 begins new paragraphs at ll. 179, 189*
On the Victory . . . 1657] On The Victory over the *Spaniards* in the *Bay* of *Sancta Crux*, in the Island of *Teneriffe*. *1674* 2 new World . . . for the old :] New World, . . . to the Old; *1674* 3 though the wind was . . . swoome] tho the Wind were . . . swom, *1674* 4 Frayted . . . come :] Fraighted with active guilt, and guilt to come; *1674* 5 rich] Rich *1674* 6 War;] War. *1674* 7 Every . . . fill'd,] Ev'ry capacious Galleons Womb was fill'd *1674* 8 Kingdomes yield,] Kingdoms yield: *1674* 9 new] New 1674. Intrails *1674*: Intails *F.* tore,] tore *1674* 10 wealth . . . old once] Wealth, ... Old one *1674* 11 Wealth] Wealth, *1674* 12 fear,] Fear *1674* 13 Main,] Main *1674* 14 Empire, . . . you . . . Law,] Empire . . . we . . . Law. *1674*

Of winds and waters rage, they fearful be,
But much more fearful are your Flags to see.
Day, that to those who sail upon the deep,
More wish't for, and more welcome is then sleep,
They dreaded to behold, Least the Sun's light,
With *English* Streamers, should salute their sight :
In thickest darkness they would choose to steer,
So that such darkness might suppress their fear ;
At length theirs vanishes, and fortune smiles ;
For they behold the sweet Canary Isles ;
One of which doubtless is by Nature blest
Above both Worlds, since 'tis above the rest.
For least some Gloominess might stain her sky,
Trees there the duty of the Clouds supply ;
O noble Trust which Heaven on this Isle poures,
Fertile to be, yet never need her showres.
A happy People, which at once do gain
The benefits without the ills of rain.
Both health and profit, Fate cannot deny ;
Where still the Earth is moist, the Air still dry ;
The jarring Elements no discord know,
Fewel and Rain together kindly grow ;
And coolness there, with heat doth never fight,
This only rules by day, and that by Night.
Your worth to all these Isles, a just right brings,
The best of Lands should have the best of Kings.
And these want nothing Heaven can afford,
Unless it be, the having you their Lord ;
But this great want, will not a long one prove,
Your Conquering Sword will soon that want remove.
For *Spain* had better, Shee'l ere long confess,
Have broken all her Swords, then this one Peace,

15 winds . . . rage,] Winds and Waters rage *1674* 16 are your Flags] th' English Flags *1674* 17 deep,] Deep *1674* 18 wish't . . . sleep,] wisht . . . Sleep, *1674* 19 Least . . . light,] lest . . . Light *1674* 20 *English* streamers, . . . sight :] our dread Streamers . . . sight. *1674* 21 darkness . . . choose] Darkness . . . chuse *1674* 22 darkness . . . fear ;] Darkness . . . fear. *1674* 23 fortune smiles ;] Fortune smiles, *1674* 24 Canary Isles] *Canary*-Isles *1674* 27 least . . . sky] lest . . . Sky *1674* 28 duty . . . supply ;] Duty . . . supply. *1674* 29 noble . . poures] Noble Trust, which Heav'n on this Isle pours *1674* 30 showres.] showrs ! *1674* 32 benefits . . . ills . . . rain.] Benefits . . . Ills . . . Rain ! *1674* 33 health . . . profit . . . deny ;] Health . . . Profit . . . deny, *1674* 34 dry ;] dry. *1674* 37 coolness . . . doth] Coolness there with Heat does *1674* 38 rules . . . day] Rules . . . Day *1674* 39–52 *om. 1674*

Casting that League off, which she held so long,
She cast off that which only made her strong.
Forces and art, she soon will feel, are vain,
Peace, against you, was the sole strength of *Spain*.
By that alone those Islands she secures,
Peace made them hers, but War will make them yours
There the indulgent Soil that rich Grape breeds,
Which of the Gods the fancied drink exceeds ;
They still do yield, such is their pretious mould,
All that is good, and are not curst with Gold.
With fatal Gold, for still where that does grow,
Neither the Soyl, nor People quiet know.
Which troubles men to raise it when 'tis Oar,
And when 'tis raised, does trouble them much more.
Ah, why was thither brought that cause of War,
Kind Nature had from thence remov'd so far.
In vain doth she those Islands free from Ill,
If fortune can make guilty what she will.
But whilst I draw that Scene, where you ere long,
Shall conquests act, your present are unsung.
For *Sanctacruze* the glad Fleet takes her way,
And safely there casts Anchor in the Bay.
Never so many with one joyful cry,
That place saluted, where they all must dye.
Deluded men ! Fate with you did but sport,
You scap't the Sea, to perish in your Port.
'Twas more for *Englands* fame you should dye there,
Where you had most of strength, and least of fear.
The Peek's proud height, the *Spaniards* all admire,
Yet in their brests, carry a pride much higher.

53 Soil that] Soyl the *1674* 54 drink exceeds ;] Drink exceeds : *1674* 55 pretious mould] precious mold *1674* 56 curst . . . Gold.] curs'd . . . Gold, *1674* 57 Gold, . . . that] Gold : for where e're it *1674* 58 Soyl, . . . know.] Soyl . . . know ; *1674* 59 when . . . Oar] while . . . Ore *1674* 60 raised, does trouble] rais'd t troubles *1674* 61 Ah, . . . War,] Ah ! . . . war *1674* 62 Kind . . far.] Kinde . . . far ? *1674* 63 Ill] ill *1674* 64 fortune] Fortune *1674* 65–6 'But whilst I draw the Scene where we ere long Again may conquer, this is left unsung. *1674* 66 unsung.] unsung, *F* 67 *Sanctacruze*] *Sancta Crux 1674* 69 joyful cry] Joyful Cry *1674* 70 saluted, . . . dye] saluted . . . die *1674* 71 sport,] sport ; *1674* 72 scap't . . . Port.] scapt . . . Port ; *1674* 73 *Englands* . . . dye] *England*'s . . . Die *1674* 74 strength . . . fear] Strength . . . Fear *1674* 75 height, . . . all] height . . . do *1674* 76 brests, . . . pride . . . higher.] Brests . . . Pride . . . higher : *1674*

Onely to this vast hill a power is given,
At once both to Inhabit Earth and Heaven.
But this stupendious Prospect did not neer,
Make them admire, so much as they did fear.
  For here they met with news, which did produce,
A grief, above the cure of Grapes best juice.
They learn'd with Terrour, that nor Summers heat,
Nor Winters storms, had made your Fleet retreat.
To fight against such Foes, was vain they knew,
Which did the rage of Elements subdue.
Who on the Ocean that does horror give,
To all besides, triumphantly do live.
  With hast they therefore all their Gallions moar,
And flank with Cannon from the Neighbouring shore.
Forts, Lines, and Sconces all the Bay along,
They build and act all that can make them strong.
  Fond men who know not whilst such works they raise,
They only Labour to exalt your praise.
Yet they by restless toyl, became at Length,
So proud and confident of their made strength,
That they with joy their boasting General heard,
Wish then for that assault he lately fear'd.
His wish he has, for now undaunted *Blake*,
With winged speed, for *Sanctacruze* does make.
For your renown, his conquering Fleet does ride,
Ore Seas as vast as is the *Spaniards* pride.
Whose Fleet and Trenches view'd, he soon did say,
We to their Strength are more oblig'd then they.

77 Onely . . . hill . . . power . . . given] Only . . . Hill . . . pow'r . . . giv'n *1674* 78 Inhabit . . . Heaven.] inhabit . . . Heav'n ; *1674* 79 Prospect . . . neer,] prospect . . . near *1674* 80 admire,] admire *1674*: as] as as *F* 81 news, . . . produce,] News . . . produce *1674* 82 grief, . . . cure . . . juice.] Grief . . . Cure . . . Juyce ; *1674* 83 Terrour] terror *1674* 84 storms, . . . your] storms could make our *1674* 85 Foes, . . . vain] Foes . . . vain, *1674* 86 subdue.] subdue ; *1674* 87 Ocean . . . give,] Ocean, . . . give *1674* 88 triumphantly] Triumphantly *1674* 89 hast] haste 1674 90 Neighbouring shore.] neighbouring shore ; *1674* 91 Sconces . . . along,] Sconces, . . . along *1674* 93 men . . . works] men ! . . . Works *1674* 94 your] our *1674* 95 toyl, . . . Length,] Toyls . . . length *1674* 96 strength, *1674*: strength. *F* 98 Wish . . . assault he] Wisht . . . Assault they *1674* 99 has] hath *1674* 100 *Sanctacruze* . . . make.] Sancta Crux . . . make ; *1674* 101 your renown, . . . conquering . . . ride,] our Renown . . . Conquering . . . ride *1674* 102 Ore . . . pride.] O're . . . Pride ; *1674* 104 Strength] strength *1674* oblig'd *1674*: obilg'd *F* they.] they : *1674*

Wer't not for that, they from their Fate would run,
And a third World seek out our Armes to shun.
Those Forts, which there, so high and strong appear,
Do not so much suppress, as shew their fear.
Of Speedy Victory let no man doubt,
Our worst works past, now we have found them out.
Behold their Navy does at Anchor lye,
And they are ours, for now they cannot fly.
  This said, the whole Fleet gave it their applause,
And all assumes your courage, in your cause.
That Bay they enter, which unto them owes,
The noblest wreaths, that Victory bestows.
Bold *Stainer* Leads, this Fleets design'd by fate,
To give him Lawrel, as the Last did Plate.
  The Thund'ring Cannon now begins the Fight,
And though it be at Noon, creates a Night.
The Air was soon after the fight begun,
Far more enflam'd by it, then by the Sun.
Never so burning was that Climate known,
War turn'd the temperate, to the Torrid Zone.
  Fate these two Fleets, between both Worlds had brought,
Who fight, as if for both those Worlds they fought.
Thousands of wayes, Thousands of men there dye,
Some Ships are sunk, some blown up in the skie.
Nature ne'r made Cedars so high aspire,
As Oakes did then, Urg'd by the active fire.
Which by quick powders force, so high was sent,
That it return'd to its own Element.

105 Wer't] Were't *1674* 106 out . . . Armes] out, . . . Arms *1674* 107 Forts, . . . there,] Forts . . . there *1674* 108 fear] Fear *1674* 109 Speedy . . . doubt,] speedy . . . doubt ; *1674* 110 works] work's *1674* 111 Behold . . . Navy . . . lye,] Behold, . . . Navie . . . lie ; *1674* 112 fly.] flie ! *1674* 114 assumes . . . cause.] assum'd his courage for the Cause ; *1674* 115 owes,] owes *1674* 116 wreaths,] Wreathes *1674* 117 Stainer . . . fate,] Stayner leads : this Fleet's design'd by Fate *1674* 118 Last] last *1674* 119 Thund'ring] thundring *1674* 120 And . . . Night.] And, . . . Night ; *1674* 121 Air . . . soon . . . fight] air . . . soon, . . . Fight *1674* 122 enflam'd . . . then] inflam'd . . . than *1674* 123 known,] known ; *1674* 124 temperate . . . Torrid] *Temperate . . . Torrid* *1674* 125 these . . . brought.] had those Fleets just between both worlds brought *1674* 126 fight, . . . Worlds] fight . . . worlds *1674* 127 wayes . . . dye,] ways . . . die ; *1674* 128 Ships are] ships there *1674* 129 ne'r . . . aspire *1674* : never . . . a Spire *F* 130 Oakes . . . then, Urg'd . . . fire.] Oaks . . . there, urg'd . . . fire *1674* 131 powders force,] Powders force *1674* 132 Element element *1674*

Torn Limbs some leagues into the Island fly,
Whilst others lower, in the Sea do lye.
Scarce souls from bodies sever'd are so far,
By death, as bodies there were by the War.
Th' all-seeing Sun, neer gaz'd on such a sight,
Two dreadful Navies there at Anchor Fight.
And neither have, or power, or will to fly,
There one must Conquer, or there both must dye.
Far different Motives yet, engag'd them thus,
Necessity did them, but Choice did us.
A choice which did the highest worth express,
And was attended by as high success.
For your resistless genious there did Raign,
By which we Laurels reapt ev'n on the Mayn.
So prosperous Stars, though absent to the sence,
Bless those they shine for, by their Influence.
Our Cannon now tears every Ship and Sconce,
And o're two Elements Triumphs at once.
Their Gallions sunk, their wealth the Sea does fill,
The only place where it can cause no Ill.
Ah would those Treasures which both Indies have,
Were buryed in as large, and deep a grave,
Wars chief support with them would buried be,
And the Land owe her peace unto the Sea.
Ages to come, your conquering Arms will bless,
There they destroy, what had destroy'd their Peace.
And in one War the present age may boast,
The certain seeds of many Wars are lost.
All the Foes Ships destroy'd, by Sea or fire,
Victorious *Blake,* does from the Bay retire,

133 Limbs . . . leagues . . . fly] limbs . . . Leagues . . . flie *1674* 134 lower, . . . lye.] lower . . . lie : *1674* 135 sever'd . . . far,] so far sever'd are *1674* 136 the] fierce *1674* 137 Sun, neer . . . sight,] Sun ne'r . . . sight ; *1674* 138 Fight.] fight ; *1674* 139 neither *1674* : neitheir *F.* have, . . . power, . . . fly,] have . . . power . . . flie ; *1674* 140 dye] die *1674* 141 Motives yet, . . . thus,] motions yet . . . thus ; *1674* 142 us.] us : *1674* 143 choice] Choice *1674* 144 success] Success *1674* 145 For your . . . genious . . . Raign] *England*'s . . . *Genius* . . . *raign* *1674* 146 ev'n . . . Mayn] even . . . Main *1674* 147 sence] sense *1674* 148 Influence] influence *1674* 150 Triumphs] triumphs *1674* 151 wealth] Wealth *1674* 152 Ill, *F* : ill. *1674* 153 Ah . . . Indies have,] Ah ! . . . *Indies* have *1674* 154 buryed . . . large, . . . grave,] buried . . . large . . . Grave ! *1674* 157 come, your conquering] come our Conquering *1674* 158 There they destroy, . . . Peace.] They there destroy'd . . . Peace ; *1674* 159 age] Age *1674* 160 seeds . . . lost, *F* : Seeds . . . lost. *1674* 161 destroy'd, . . . fire] destroy'd . . . Fire *1674* 162 *Blake,* . . . Bay retire,] *Blake* . . . *Bay* retire ; *1674*

His Seige of *Spain* he then again pursues,
And there first brings of his success the news ;
The saddest news that ere to *Spain* was brought,
Their rich Fleet sunk, and ours with Lawrel fraught.
Whilst fame in every place, her Trumpet blowes,
And tells the World, how much to you it owes.

Two Songs at the Marriage of the Lord Fauconberg *and the Lady* Mary Cromwell.

First.

Chorus. Endymion. Luna.

Chorus.

Th' *Astrologers* own Eyes are set,
And even Wolves the Sheep forget ;
Only *this Shepheard*, late and soon,
Upon this Hill outwakes the *Moon*.
Heark how he sings, with sad delight,
Thorough the clear and silent Night.

Endymion.

Cynthia, O Cynthia, turn thine Ear,
Nor scorn *Endymions* plaints to hear.
As we our Flocks, so you command
The fleecy Clouds with silver wand.

Cynthia.

If thou a *Mortal*, rather sleep ;
Or if a *Shepheard*, watch thy Sheep.

Endymion.

The *Shepheard*, since he saw thine Eyes,
And *Sheep* are both thy *Sacrifice*.
Nor merits he a *Mortal's* name,
That burns with an *immortal Flame*.

163 Seige] Siege *1674* 164 success . . . news ;] Success . . . News. *1674* 165 The . . . ere] (The saddest News which e're *1674* 166 Lawrel fraught.] Laurel fraught.) *1674* 167 Whilst . . . blowes,] " Whilst Fame in every place her Triumph blows, *1674* 168 And . . . World, . . . owes] " And . . . World . . . ows *1674* *Heading* Lady *Cooke* : Ludy *F*

Cynthia.

I have enough for me to do,
Ruling the Waves that Ebb and flow.

Endymion.

Since thou disdain'st not then to share
On Sublunary things thy care ;
Rather restrain these double Seas,
Mine Eyes uncessant deluges.

Cynthia.

My wakeful Lamp all night must move,
Securing their Repose above.

Endymion.

If therefore thy resplendent Ray
Can make a Night more bright then Day ;
Shine thorough this obscurer Brest,
With shades of deep Despair opprest.

Chorus.

Courage, *Endymion*, boldly Woo,
Anchises was a *Shepheard* too ;
Yet is *her younger Sister* laid
Sporting with him in *Ida's shade* :
And *Cynthia*, though the strongest,
Seeks but the honour to have held out longest.

Endymion.

Here unto *Latmos Top* I climbe :
How far below thine *Orbe* sublime ?
O why, as well as Eyes to see,
Have I not Armes that reach to thee ?

Cynthia.

'Tis needless then that I refuse,
Would you but your own Reason use.

Endymion.

Though I so high may not pretend,
It is the same so you descend.

Cynthia.

These Stars would say I do them wrong,
Rivals each one for thee too strong.

Endymion.

The Stars are fix'd unto their *Sphere,*
And cannot, though they would, come near.
Less Loves set of each others praise,
While *Stars* Eclypse by mixing Rayes.

Cynthia.

That Cave is dark.

Endymion

Then none can spy :
Or shine Thou there and 'tis the Sky.

Chorus.

Joy to *Endymion,*
For he has *Cynthia's* favour won.
And *Jove* himself approves
With his serenest influence their Loves.
For he did never love to pair
His Progeny above the Air ;
But to be honest, valiant, wise,
Makes *Mortals* matches fit for *Deityes.*

Second Song.

Hobbinol. Phillis. Tomalin.

Hobbinol.

Phillis, Tomalin, away :
Never such a merry day.
For *the Northern Shepheards Son.*
Has *Menalca's daughter* won.

Phillis.

Stay till I some flow'rs ha' ty'd
In a Garland for the Bride.

Tomalin.

If thou would'st a Garland bring,
Phillis you may wait the Spring :
They ha' chosen such an hour
When *She* is the only flow'r.

Phillis.

Let's not then at least be seen
Without each a Sprig of Green.

Hobbinol.

Fear not ; at *Menalca's Hall*
There is Bayes enough for all.
He when Young as we did graze,
But when Old he planted Bayes.

Tomalin.

Here *She* comes ; but with a Look
Far more catching then my Hook.
'Twas those Eyes, I now dare swear,
Led our Lambs we knew not where.

Hobbinol.

Not our Lambs own Fleeces are
Curl'd so lovely as her Hair :
Nor our Sheep new Wash'd can be
Half so white or sweet as *She.*

Phillis.

He so looks as fit to keep
Somewhat else then silly *Sheep.*

Hobbinol.

Come, lets in some Carol new
Pay to Love and Them their due.

All.

Joy to that *happy Pair,*
Whose Hopes united banish our Despair.
What *Shepheard* could for Love pretend,
Whil'st all the *Nymphs* on *Damon's* choice attend ?
What *Shepherdess* could hope to wed
Before *Marina's* turn were sped ?
Now lesser Beauties may take place,
And meaner Virtues come in play ;
While they,
Looking from high,
Shall grace
Our Flocks and us with a propitious Eye.

But what is most, the gentle Swain
No more shall need of Love complain ;
But Virtue shall be Beauties hire,
And those be equal that have equal Fire.
Marina yields. Who dares be coy ?
Or who despair, now *Damon* does enjoy ?
Joy to that happy Pair,
Whose Hopes united banish our Despair.

A Poem upon the Death of O. C.

That Providence which had so long the care
Of *Cromwell's* head, and numbered ev'ry hair,
Now in its self (the Glass where all appears)
Had seen the period of his golden Years :
And thenceforth onely did attend to trace,
What death might least so fair a Life deface.
The People, which what most they fear esteem,
Death when more horrid so more noble deem ;
And blame the last *Act*, like *Spectators* vain,
Unless the *Prince* whom they applaud be slain.
Nor Fate indeed can well refuse that right
To those that liv'd in War, to dye in Fight.
But long his *Valour* none had left that could
Indanger him, or *Clemency* that would.
And he whom Nature all for Peace had made,
But angry Heaven unto War had sway'd,
And so less useful where he most desir'd,
For what he least affected was admir'd,
Deserved yet an End whose ev'ry part
Should speak the wondrous softness of his Heart.
To *Love* and *Grief* the fatal Writ was sign'd ;
(Those nobler weaknesses of humane Mind,
From which those Powers that issu'd the Decree,
Although immortal, found they were not free.)
That they, to whom his Breast still open lyes,
In gentle Passions should his Death disguise :
And leave succeeding Ages cause to mourn,
As long as Grief shall weep, or Love shall burn.
Streight does a slow and languishing Disease
Eliza, Natures and his darling, seize.

22 Mind] kinde *T*

Her when an infant, taken with her Charms,
He oft would flourish in his mighty Arms ;
And, lest their force the tender burthen wrong,
Slacken the vigour of his Muscles strong ;
Then to the Mothers brest her softly move,
Which while she drain'd of Milk she fill'd with Love.
But as with riper Years her Virtue grew,
And ev'ry minute adds a Lustre new ;
When with meridian height her Beauty shin'd,
And thorough that sparkled her fairer Mind ;
When She with Smiles serene and Words discreet
His hidden Soul at ev'ry turn could meet ;
Then might y' ha' daily his Affection spy'd,
Doubling that knot which Destiny had ty'd.
While they by sence, not knowing, comprehend
How on each other both their Fates depend.
With her each day the pleasing Hours he shares,
And at her Aspect calms his growing Cares ;
Or with a Grandsire's joy her Children sees
Hanging about her neck or at his knees.
Hold fast dear Infants, hold them both or none ;
This will not stay when once the other's gone.
A silent fire now wasts those Limbs of Wax,
And him within his tortur'd Image racks.
So the Flowr with'ring which the Garden crown'd,
The sad Root pines in secret under ground.
Each Groan he doubled and each Sigh he sigh'd,
Repeated over to the restless Night.
No trembling String compos'd to numbers new,
Answers the touch in Notes more sad more true.
She lest He grieve hides what She can her pains,
And He to lessen hers his Sorrow feigns :
Yet both perceiv'd, yet both conceal'd their Skills,
And so diminishing increast their ills :
That whether by each others grief they fell,
Or on their own redoubled, none can tell.
And now *Eliza's* purple Locks were shorn,
Where She so long her *Fathers* fate had worn :
And frequent lightning to her Soul that flyes,
Devides the Air, and opens all the Skyes :

41 and] in *T* 48 his growing *T* : her growing *F*

And now his Life, suspended by her breath,
Ran out impetuously to hasting Death.
Like polish'd Mirrours, so his steely Brest
Had ev'ry figure of her woes exprest;
And with the damp of her last Gasps obscur'd,
Had drawn such staines as were not to be cur'd.
Fate could not either reach with single stroke,
But the dear Image fled the Mirrour broke.
Who now shall tell us more of mournful Swans,
Of Halcyons kind, or bleeding Pelicans?
No downy breast did ere so gently beat,
Or fan with airy plumes so soft an heat.
For he no duty by his height excus'd,
Nor though a *Prince* to be a *Man* refus'd:
But rather then in his *Eliza's* pain
Not love, not grieve, would neither live nor reign:
And in himself so oft immortal try'd,
Yet in compassion of another dy'd.
So have I seen a Vine, whose lasting Age
Of many a Winter hath surviv'd the rage.
Under whose shady tent Men ev'ry year
At its rich bloods expence their Sorrows chear,
If some dear branch where it extends its life
Chance to be prun'd by an untimely knife,
The Parent-Tree unto the Grief succeeds,
And through the Wound its vital humour bleeds;
Trickling in watry drops, whose flowing shape
Weeps that it falls ere fix'd into a Grape.
So the dry Stock, no more that spreading Vine,
Frustrates the Autumn and the hopes of Wine.
A secret Cause does sure those Signs ordain
Fore boding Princes falls, and seldom vain.
Whether some Kinder Pow'rs, that wish us well,
What they above cannot prevent, foretell;
Or the great World do by consent presage,
As hollow Seas with future Tempests rage:
Or rather Heav'n, which us so long foresees,
Their fun'rals celebrates while it decrees.
But never yet was any humane Fate
By nature solemniz'd with so much state.

72 hasting] hastning *T* 108 celebrates *T*: celebrate *F*

He unconcern'd the dreadful passage crost ;
But oh what pangs that Death did Nature cost !
First the great *Thunder* was shot off, and sent
The Signal from the starry Battlement.
The *Winds* receive it, and its force out-do,
As practising how they could thunder too :
Out of the Binders Hand the Sheaves they tore,
And thrash'd the Harvest in the airy floore ;
Or of huge Trees, whose growth with his did rise,
The deep foundations open'd to the Skyes.
Then heavy *Showres* the winged Tempests lead,
And pour the Deluge ore the *Chaos* head.
The Race of warlike *Horses* at his Tomb
Offer themselves in many an *Hecatomb* ;
With pensive head towards the ground they fall,
And helpless languish at the tainted Stall.
Numbers of *Men* decrease with pains unknown,
And hasten not to see his Death their own.
Such Tortures all the Elements unfix'd,
Troubled to part where so exactly mix'd.
And as through Air his wasting Spirits flow'd,
The Universe labour'd beneath their load.
  Nature it seem'd with him would Nature vye ;
He with *Eliza*, It with him would dye.
  He without noise still travell'd to his End,
As silent Suns to meet the Night descend.
The *Stars* that for him fought had only pow'r
Left to determine now his fatal Hour ;
Which, since they might not hinder, yet they cast
To chuse it worthy of his *Glories* past.
  No part of time but bore his mark away
Of honour ; all the Year was *Cromwell's* day :
But this, of all the most auspicious found,
Twice had in open field him Victor crown'd :
When up the armed Mountains of *Dunbar*
He march'd, and through deep *Severn* ending war.
What day should him *eternize* but the same
That had before *immortaliz'd* his *Name* ?
That so who ere would at his Death have joy'd,
In their own Griefs might find themselves imploy'd ;

121 lead *Grosart* : dead *F, T*
132 Universe] world with throes *T*

But those that sadly his departure griev'd,
Yet joy'd remembring what he once atchiev'd.
And the last minute his victorious *Ghost*
Gave chase to *Ligny* on the *Belgick Coast.*
Here ended all his mortal toyles: He lay'd
And slept in Peace under the *Lawrel shade.*
O Cromwell, Heavens Favorite! To none
Have such high honours from above been shown:
For whom the Elements we Mourners see,
And *Heav'n* it self would the great *Herald* be;
Which with more Care set forth his Obsequies
Then those of *Moses* hid from humane Eyes;
As jealous only here lest all be less,
That we could to his Memory express.
Then let us to our course of Mourning keep:
Where *Heaven* leads, 'tis *Piety* to weep.
Stand back ye Seas, and shrunk beneath the vail
Of your Abysse, with cover'd Head bewail
Your *Monarch*: We demand not your supplies
To compass in our *Isle*; our Tears suffice;
Since him away the dismal Tempest rent,
Who once more joyn'd us to the Continent;
Who planted *England* on the *Flandrick shoar,*
And stretch'd *our frontire* to the *Indian Ore*;
Whose greater *Truths* obscure the *Fables* old,
Whether of *British Saints or Worthy's* told;
And in a valour less'ning *Arthur's* deeds,
For Holyness the *Confessor* exceeds.
He first put Armes into *Religions* hand,
And tim'rous *Conscience* unto *Courage* man'd:
The Souldier taught that inward Mail to wear,
And *fearing God* how they should *nothing fear.*
Those Strokes he said will pierce through all below
Where those that strike from Heaven fetch their Blow.
Astonish'd armyes did their flight prepare,
And cityes strong were stormed by his prayer;
Of that for ever Preston's field shall tell
The story, and impregnable Clonmell.
And where the sandy mountain Fenwick seal'd,
The sea between, yet hence his pray'r prevail'd.

179 He] The *T*
185–324 *are not in F*

What man was ever so in Heav'n obey'd
Since the commanded sun o're Gibeon stay'd ?
In all his warrs needs must he triumph, when
He conquer'd God, still ere he fought with men :
Hence, though in battle none so brave or fierce,
Yet him the adverse steel could never pierce.
Pity it seem'd to hurt him more that felt
Each wound himself which he to others delt ;
Danger itself refusing to offend
So loose an enemy, so fast a friend.
Friendship, that sacred virtue, long dos claime
The first foundation of his house and name :
But within one its narrow limits fall,
His tendernesse extended unto all.
And that deep soule through every channell flows,
Where kindly nature loves itself to lose.
More strong affections never reason serv'd,
Yet still affected most what best deserv'd.
If he Eliza lov'd to that degree,
(Though who more worthy to be lov'd than she ?)
If so indulgent to his own, how deare
To him the children of the Highest were ?
For her he once did nature's tribute pay :
For these his life adventur'd every day :
And 'twould be found, could we his thoughts have cast,
Their griefs struck deepest, if Eliza's last.
What prudence more than humane did he need
To keep so deare, so diff'ring minds agreed ?
The worser sort, so conscious of their ill,
Lye weak and easy to the ruler's will ;
But to the good (too many or too few)
All law is uselesse, all reward is due.
Oh ! ill advis'd, if not for love, for shame,
Spare yet your own, if you neglect his fame ;
Least others dare to think your zeale a maske,
And you to govern only Heaven's taske.
Valour, religion, friendship, prudence dy'd
At once with him, and all that's good beside ;
And we death's refuse nature's dregs confin'd
To loathsome life, alas ! are left behind.

201 dos claime Ed. : desclaime *T* : does claime *Grosart* 229 refuse *Wright* : refuge *T*

Where we (so once we us'd) shall now no more,
To fetch day, presse about his chamber-door ;
From which he issu'd with that awfull state,
It seem'd Mars broke through Janus' double gate ;
Yet always temper'd with an aire so mild,
No April sunns that e'er so gently smil'd ;
No more shall heare that powerful language charm,
Whose force oft spar'd the labour of his arm :
No more shall follow where he spent the dayes
In warre, in counsell, or in pray'r, and praise ;
Whose meanest acts he would himself advance,
As ungirt David to the arke did dance.
All, all is gone of ours or his delight
In horses fierce, wild deer, or armour bright ;
Francisca faire can nothing now but weep,
Nor with soft notes shall sing his cares asleep.
I saw him dead, a leaden slumber lyes,
And mortal sleep over those wakefull eyes :
Those gentle rays under the lids were fled,
Which through his looks that piercing sweetnesse shed ;
That port which so majestique was and strong,
Loose and depriv'd of vigour, stretch'd along :
All wither'd, all discolour'd, pale and wan,
How much another thing, no more that man ?
Oh ! humane glory, vaine, oh ! death, oh ! wings,
Oh ! worthlesse world ! oh transitory things !
Yet dwelt that greatnesse in his shape decay'd,
That still though dead, greater than death he lay'd ;
And in his alter'd face you something faigne
That threatens death, he yet will live again.
Not much unlike the sacred oak, which shoots
To Heav'n its branches, and through earth its roots :
Whose spacious boughs are hung with trophies round,
And honour'd wreaths have oft the victour crown'd.
When angry Jove darts lightning through the aire,
At mortalls sins, nor his own plant will spare ;
(It groanes, and bruises all below that stood
So many yeares the shelter of the wood.)
The tree ere while foreshortned to our view,
When fall'n shews taller yet than as it grew :
So shall his praise to after times encrease,
When truth shall be allow'd, and faction cease,

272 cease,] cease *T*

And his own shadows with him fall; the eye
Detracts from objects than itself more high:
But when death takes them from that envy'd seate,
Seeing how little we confess, how greate;
Thee, many ages hence, in martial verse
Shall th' English souldier, ere he charge, rehearse;
Singing of thee, inflame themselves to fight,
And with the name of Cromwell, armyes fright.
As long as rivers to the seas shall runne,
As long as Cynthia shall relieve the sunne,
While staggs shall fly unto the forests thick,
While sheep delight the grassy downs to pick,
As long as future time succeeds the past,
Always thy honour, praise and name, shall last.
Thou in a pitch how farre beyond the sphere
Of humane glory tow'rst, and raigning there
Despoyl'd of mortall robes, in seas of blisse,
Plunging dost bathe and tread the bright abysse:
There thy great soule at once a world does see,
Spacious enough, and pure enough for thee.
How soon thou Moses hast, and Joshua found,
And David, for the sword and harpe renown'd;
How streight canst to each happy mansion goe?
(Farr better known above than here below;)
And in those joyes dost spend the endlesse day,
Which in expressing, we ourselves betray.
For we, since thou art gone, with heavy doome,
Wander like ghosts about thy loved tombe;
And lost in tears, have neither sight nor mind
To guide us upward through this region blinde.
Since thou art gone, who best that way could'st teach,
Onely our sighs, perhaps, may thither reach.
And Richard yet, where his great parent led,
Beats on the rugged track: he, vertue dead,
Revives; and by his milder beams assures;
And yet how much of them his griefe obscures.
He, as his father, long was kept from sight
In private, to be view'd by better light;
But open'd once, what splendour does he throw?
A Cromwell in an houre a prince will grow.

273 fall; *Grosart*: full, *T*
275 seate, *see* Additional Notes
276 greate; *Ed.*: greate, *T*
291 at *Ed. conj.*: yet *T*

How he becomes that seat, how strongly streigns,
How gently winds at once the ruling reins ?
Heav'n to this choice prepar'd a diadem,
Richer than any eastern silk, or gemme ;
A pearly rainbow, where the sun inchas'd
His brows, like an imperiall jewell grac'd.
We find already what those omens mean,
Earth ne'er more glad, nor Heaven more serene.
Cease now our griefs, calme peace succeeds a war,
Rainbows to storms, Richard to Oliver.
Tempt not his clemency to try his pow'r,
He threats no deluge, yet foretells a showre.

On Mr. Milton's *Paradise lost.*

When I beheld the Poet blind, yet bold,
In slender Book his vast Design unfold,
Messiah Crown'd, *Gods* Reconcil'd Decree,
Rebelling *Angels*, the Forbidden Tree,
Heav'n, Hell, Earth, Chaos, All ; the Argument
Held me a while misdoubting his Intent,
That he would ruine (for I saw him strong)
The sacred Truths to Fable and old Song,
(So *Sampson* groap'd the Temples Posts in spight)
The World o'rewhelming to revenge his Sight.
Yet as I read, soon growing less severe,
I lik'd his Project, the success did fear ;
Through that wide Field how he his way should find
O're which lame Faith leads Understanding blind ;
Lest he perplext the things he would explain,
And what was easie he should render vain.
Or if a Work so infinite he spann'd,
Jealous I was that some less skilful hand
(Such as disquiet alwayes what is well,
And by ill imitating would excell)
Might hence presume the whole Creations day
To change in Scenes, and show it in a Play.
Pardon me, *mighty Poet*, nor despise
My causeless, yet not impious, surmise.
But I am now convinc'd, and none will dare
Within thy Labours to pretend a Share.

On . . . lost] On Paradise Lost *1674* 8 Song,] Song *1674* 10 Sight.] sight *1674* 19 alwayes] always *1674* 23 *mighty Poet,*] Mighty Poet *1674*

Thou hast not miss'd one thought that could be fit,
And all that was improper dost omit:
So that no room is here for Writers left,
But to detect their Ignorance or Theft.
That Majesty which through thy Work doth Reign
Draws the Devout, deterring the Profane.
And things divine thou treatst of in such state
As them preserves, and Thee inviolate.
At once delight and horrour on us seize,
Thou singst with so much gravity and ease;
And above humane flight dost soar aloft,
With Plume so strong, so equal, and so soft.
The *Bird* nam'd from that *Paradise* you sing
So never Flags, but alwaies keeps on Wing.
Where couldst thou Words of such a compass find?
Whence furnish such a vast expense of Mind?
Just Heav'n Thee, like *Tiresias*, to requite,
Rewards with *Prophesie* thy loss of Sight.
Well mightst thou scorn thy Readers to allure
With tinkling Rhime, of thy own Sense secure;
While the *Town-Bays* writes all the while and spells,
And like a Pack-Horse tires without his Bells.
Their Fancies like our bushy Points appear,
The Poets tag them; we for fashion wear.
I too transported by the *Mode* offend,
And while I meant to *Praise* thee, must Commend.
Thy verse created like thy *Theme* sublime,
In Number, Weight, and Measure, needs not *Rhime*.

Janæ Oxenbrigiæ Epitaphium.

Juxta hoc Marmor, breve Mortalitatis speculum, Exuviæ jacent Janæ Oxenbrigiæ. *Quæ nobili, si id dixisse attinet, paterno* But-

33 treatst *1674*: treats *F* 34 Thee] thee, *1674* 35 seize] seise *1674* 39 *Bird . . . Paradise*] Bird . . . Paradise *1674* 40 Flags . . . alwaies] flaggs . . . always *1674* 42 expense] expence *1674* 43 Thee, . . . *Tiresias*, . . . requite,] thee . . . Tiresias . . . requite *1674* 44 *Prophesie. . .* Sight.] Prophesie . . . sight *1674* 45 mightst *1674*: might *F* 46 Sense] sense *1674* 47 *Town-Bays*] *Town-Bayes 1674* 48 Bells.] Bells: *1674* 49 bushy Points] Bushy-points *1674* 50 them ;] them, *1674* 51 *Mode*] Mode *1674* 52 *Praise* thee,] Praise thee *1674* 53 *Theme*] Theme *1674* 54 *Rhime*] Rhime *1674*

2 Oxenbrigiæ] oxenbridgiae *Le Neve* 2–3 Butleriorum] Butleiorum *Le Neve*

leriorum, *materno* Claveringiorum *genere orta,* Johanni Oxenbrigio *Collegii hujus socio nupsit. Prosperorum deinceps et adversorum ei Consors fidelissima. Quem, Religionis causa oberrantem, Usque ad incertam* Bermudæ Insulam *secuta: Nec Mare vastum, nec tempestates horridas exhorruit: sed, delicato Corpore, quos non Labores exantlavit? quæ non, obivit Itinera? Tantum* Mariti *potuit Amor, sed magis* Dei. *Tandem cum, (redeunte conscientiarum libertate) in patriam redux, magnam partem* Angliæ *cum Marito pervagata; qui lætus undequaque de novo disseminabat* Evangelium. *Ipsa maximum ministerii sui decus, & antiqua modestia eandem animarum capturam domi, quam ille foris exercens, hic tandem divino nutu cum illo consedit: Ubi pietatis erga* Deum, *conjugalis & materni affectus, erga proximos charitatis, omnium denique Virtutum* Christianarum *Exemplum degebat inimitabile. Donec quinque annorum hydrope laborans, per lenta incrementa ultra humani corporis modum intumuit. Anima interim spei plena, fidei ingens, Stagnanti humorum diluvio tranquillè vehebatur. Et tandem, post* 37. *peregrinationis annos,* 23 Apr. *Anno* 1658. *Evolavit ad Cœlos, tanquam Columba ex Arca Corporis: Cujus semper dulci, semper amaræ memoriæ, Mœrens Maritus posuit. Flentibus juxta quatuor liberis,* Daniele, Bathshua, Elizabetha, Maria.

Johannis Trottii Epitaphium

Charissimo Filio Iohanni Trottio
Iohannes Trottius
(E Laverstoke In Agro Hantoniensi Baronettus)
Pater Et Elizabetha Mater
Funebrem tabulam curavimus.
Age Marmor, & pro solita tua humanitate,
(Ne inter Parentum Dolorem & Modestiam
Supprimantur præclari Juvenis meritæ laudes)
Effare Johannis Trotii *breve Elogium.*
Erat ille totus Candidus, Politus, Solidus,

4 hujus] Ætonensis *Le Neve* 5 *ei Consors*] Consors ei *Le Neve* 8 exantlavit *Le Neve*: *ex antlavit F* 10 *redux*] *redua F*: Redux *Le Neve* 11 *disseminabat*] disseminâsset *Le Neve* 14 *Ubi*] *om. Le Neve* 14–15 *conjugalis . . . charitatis*] Charitatis erga proximos, Conjugalis et Materni affectus *Le Neve* 15 *denique*] *om. Le Neve* 19–20 37 . . . Apr . . . 1658] 77 . . . Aprilis . . . 1653 *Le Neve*

1–4 *as Lav: F has only*
Charissimo Filio &c.
Pater & Mater &c.

Ultra vel Parii Marmoris metaphoram,
Et Gemmâ Scalpi dignus, non Lapide :
E Schola Wintoniensi *ad* Academiam Oxonii,
Inde ad Interioris Templi *Hospitium gradum fecerat :*
Summæ Spei, Summæ Indolis, ubique vestigia reliquit ;
Supra Sexum Venustus,
Supra Ætatem Doctus,
Ingeniosus supra Fidem.
Et jam vicesimum tertium annum inierat,
Pulcherrimo undequaque vitæ prospectu,
Quem Mors immatura obstruxit.
Ferales Pustulæ Corpus tam affabre factum
Ludibrio habuere, & vivo incrustarunt sepulchro.
Anima evasit Libera, Æterna, Fœlix,
Et morti insultans
Mortalem Sortem cum Fœnore accipiet.
Nos interim, meri vespillones,
Parentes Filio extra ordinem Parentantes,
Subtus in gentilitia crypta reliquias composuimus,
Ipsi eandem ad Dei *nutum subituri.*
Natus est XXVII° Sept^is^ An° MDCXLII obiit XXVIII° Junii MDCLXIIII
Reviviscet Primo Resurrectionis.

Edmundi Trotii Epitaphium.

Dilectissimo Filio Edmundo Trottio
Posuimus Iidem Iohannes Pater Et Elizabetha Mater
Frustra superstites.
Legite Parentes, vanissimus hominum ordo,
Figuli Filiorum, Substructores Nominum,
Fartores Opum, Longi Speratores,
Et nostro, si fas, sapite infortunio.
Fuit Edmundus Trottius.

12 Scalpi *Lav* : *Sculpi F* 28 Filio *Cooke* : *Filia F, Lav* 29 *gentilitia*] *gentilitio F, Lav* : gentilitiâ *Cooke* 31 XXVII° . . . MDCLXIIII *Lav* : *&c Mortuus &c F* 32 reviviscet *F puts at end of previous line*

1 Dilectissimo *Lav* : *Charissimo F* Trottio *Lav* : Trotio *F* 2 Iidem . . . Mater *Lav* : *Pater & Mater F* 3 Nominum *Lav* : *Hominum F*

E quatuor masculæ stirpis residuus,
Statura justa, Forma virili, specie eximia,
Medio juventutis Robore simul & Flore,
Aspectu, Incessu, sermone juxta amabilis,
Et siquid ultra Cineri pretium addit.
Honesta Disciplina domi imbutus,
Peregre profectus
Generosis Artibus Animum
Et exercitiis Corpus firmaverat.
Circæam Insulam, Scopulos Sirenum
Præternavigavit,
Et in hoc naufragio morum & sæculi
Solus perdiderat nihil, auxit plurimum.
Hinc erga Deum *pietate,*
Erga nos Amore & Obsequio,
Comitate erga Omnes, & intra se Modestia
Insignis, & quantævis fortunæ capax:
Delitiæ Æqualium, Senum Plausus,
Oculi Parentum, (nunc, ah, Lachrymæ)
In eo tandem peccavit quòd mortalis.
Et fatali Pustularum morbo aspersus,
Factus est
(Ut veræ Laudis Invidiam ficto Convitio levemus)
Proditor Amicorum, Parricida Parentum,
Familiæ Spongia:
Et Naturæ invertens ordinem
Nostri suique Contemptor,
Mundi Desertor, defecit ad Deum.
Undecimo Augusti Æræ Christianæ 1667 *suæ* XXIIII
Talis quum fuerit Coelo non invidemus.

An Epitaph upon ——

Here under rests the body of , who in his life-time reflected all the lustre he derived from his Family, and recompens'd the Honour of his Descent by his Virtue. For being of an excellent Nature, he cultivated it nevertheless by all the best means of improvement: nor left any spot empty for the growth of Pride, or Vanity. So that, although he was polished to the utmost per-

12 Incessu *Lav*: In cessu *F* 37 Augusti *Lav*: *Augusti*; *F* Christianae *Lav*: *Christae F* suae XXIIII *om. F* 38 *Coelo ed.*: Coeeo *Lav*: *Calo F*

fection, he appeared only as a Mirrour for others, not himself to look in. Chearful without Gall, Sober without Formality, Prudent without Stratagem; and Religious without Affectation. He neither neglected, nor yet pretended to Business: but as he loved not to make work, so not to leave it imperfect. He understood, but was not enamour'd of Pleasure. He never came before in Injury, nor behind in Courtesie: nor found sweetness in any Revenge but that of Gratitude. He so studiously discharged the obligations of a Subject, a Son, a Friend, and an Husband, as if those relations could have consisted only on his part. Having thus walked upright, and easily through this World, nor contributed by any excess to his Mortality; yet Death took him: wherein therefore, as his last Duty, he signaliz'd the more his former Life with all the Decency and Recumbence of a departing Christian.

SATIRES

of the Reign of

CHARLES II

CLARINDON'S *House-Warming.*

When *Clarindon* had discern'd beforehand,
(As the Cause can eas'ly foretel the Effect)
At once three Deluges threatning our Land;
'Twas the season he thought to turn Architect.

Us *Mars*, and *Apollo*, and *Vulcan* consume;
While he the Betrayer of *England* and *Flander*,
Like the King-fisher chuseth to build in the Broom,
And nestles in flames like the Salamander.

But observing that Mortals run often behind,
(So unreasonable are the rates they buy-at)
His Omnipotence therefore much rather design'd
How he might create a House with a *Fiat*.

He had read of *Rhodope*, a Lady of *Thrace*,
Who was dig'd up so often ere she did marry;
And wish'd that his Daughter had had as much grace
To erect him a Pyramid out of her Quarry.

But then recollecting how the Harper *Amphyon*
Made *Thebes* dance aloft while he fidled and sung,
He thought (as an Instrument he was most free on)
To build with the Jews-trump of his own tongue.

Yet a President fitter in *Virgil* he found,
Of *African Poultney*, and *Tyrian Did*'
That he begg'd for a Pallace so much of his ground,
As might carry the measure and name of an *Hyde*.

Thus dayly his Gouty Inventions he pain'd,
And all for to save the expences of Brickbat,
That Engine so fatal, which *Denham* had brain'd,
And too much resembled his Wives Chocolatte.

But while these devices he all doth compare,
None sollid enough seem'd for his Thong *Caster*;
He himself would not dwell in a Castle of air,
Though he had built full many a one for his Master

Already he had got all our Money and Cattel,
To buy us for Slaves, and purchase our Lands;
What *Joseph* by Famine, he wrought by Sea-Battel;
Nay scarce the Priests portion could scape from his hands.

And hence like *Pharoah* that *Israel* prest
To make Mortar and Brick, yet allow'd them no straw,
He car'd not though *Egypt*'s Ten Plagues us distrest,
So he could to build but make Policy Law.

The *Scotch* Forts & *Dunkirk*, but that they were sold,
He would have demolisht to raise up his Walls;
Nay ev'n from *Tangier* have sent back for the mold,
But that he had nearer the Stones of St. *Pauls*.

His Wood would come in at the easier rate,
So long as the Yards had a Deal or a Spar:
His Friends in the Navy would not be ingrate,
To grudge him some Timber who fram'd them the War.

To proceed in the Model he call'd in his *Allens*,
The two *Allens* when jovial, who ply him with gallons,
The two *Allens* who serve his blind Justice for ballance,
The two *Allens* who serve his Injustice for Tallons.

They approve it thus far, and said it was fine;
Yet his Lordship to finish it would be unable;
Unless all abroad he divulg'd the design,
For his House then would grow like a Vegetable.

His Rent would no more in arrear run to *Worster*;
He should dwell more noble, and cheap too at-home,
While into a fabrick the Presents would muster;
As by hook and by crook the world cluster'd of Atome.

27 brain'd, *1697*: brain'd. *1667* 30 Thong *Caster b*: strong *Castor 1667* 48 War. *1697*: War, *1667*

He lik'd the advice, and then soon it assay'd ;
And Presents croud headlong to give good example :
So the Bribes overlaid her that *Rome* once betray'd :
The Tribes ne'er contributed so to the Temple.

Straight Judges, Priests, Bishops, true sons of the Seal,
Sinners, Governors, Farmers, Banquers, Patentees.
Bring in the whole Milk of a year at a meal,
As all Chedder Dairys club to the incorporate Cheese

Bulteales, Beakns, Morley, Wrens fingers with telling
Were shriveled, and *Clutterbuck, Eagers & Kips* ;
Since the Act of Oblivion was never such selling,
As at this Benevolence out of the Snips.

'Twas then that the Chimny-Contractors he smoakd,
Nor would take his beloved Canary in kind :
But he swore that the Patent should ne'er be revok'd ;
No, would the whole Parliament kiss him behind.

Like *Jove* under *Aetna* o'erwhelming the Gyant,
For foundation he *Bristol* sunk in the Earth's bowel ;
And *St. John* must now for the Leads be compliant,
Or his right hand shall else be cut off with the Trowel.

For surveying the building, *Prat* did the feat,
But for the expence he rely'd upon *Worstenholm,*
Who sate heretofore at the King's Receipt ;
But receiv'd now and paid the Chancellours Custome.

By Subsidies thus both Clerick and Laick,
And with matter profane, cemented with holy,
He finish'd at last his Palace Mosaick,
By a Model more excellent than *Lesly*'s Folly.

And upon the *Tarras,* to consummate all,
A Lanthorn, like *Faux*'s surveys the burnt Town,
And shews on the top by the Regal Gilt Ball,
Where you are to expect the Scepter and Crown.

Fond City, its Rubbish and Ruines that builds,
Like vain Chymists, a flower from its ashes returning ;
Your Metropolis House is in St. *James*'s Fields,
And till there you remove, you shall never leave burning

67 Milk *b* : Mite *1667* 68 all *b* : the *1667* : Dairys club *b* : Clubs Dairy *1667* 78 he *b* : the *1667* 92 Crown. *1697* : Crown *1667*

This Temple, of War and of Peace is the Shrine ;
  Where this Idol of State sits ador'd and accurst :
And to handsel his Altar and Nostrils divine,
  Great *Buckingham*'s Sacrifice must be the first.

Now some (as all Buildings must censure abide)
  Throw dust in its Front, and blame situation :
And others as much reprehend his Backside,
  As too narrow by far for his expatiation,

But do not consider how in process of times,
  That for Name-sake he may with *Hyde* Park it enlarge,
And with that convenience he soon for his Crimes
  At Tybourn may land, and spare the Tower-Barge.

Or rather how wisely his Stall was built near,
  Lest with driving too far his Tallow impair ;
When like the good Oxe, for publick good chear,
  He comes to be roasted next St. *James*'s Fair.

Upon his House.

Here lies the sacred Bones
Of *Paul* late gelded of his Stones.
Here lie Golden Briberies,
The price of ruin'd Families :
The Cavaliers Debenter-Wall,
Fixt on an Eccentrick Basis ;
Here 's *Dunkirk-Town* and *Tangier-Hall*,
The Queens Marriage and all ;
The Dutchman's *Templum Pacis*.

Upon his Grand-Children.

Kendal is dead, and *Cambridge* riding post.
What fitter Sacrifice for *Denham*'s Ghost ?

101 Buildings *b* : Builders *1667* 104 expatiation, *Ed.* : expatiation. *1667*, *1697*
Upon his House. 2 late gelded *b* : beguiled *1667*
Upon his Grand-Children. 1 post. *Ed.* : post ? *1667*

The last Instructions to a Painter.

After two sittings, now our *Lady State,*
To end her Picture, does the third time wait.
But er'e thou fal'st to work, first *Painter* see
It be'nt too slight grown, or too hard for thee.
Canst thou paint without Colours? Then 'tis right:
For so we too without a Fleet can fight.
Or canst thou dawb a Sign-post, and that ill?
'Twill suit our great debauch and little skill.
Or hast thou mark't how antique Masters limn
The Aly roof, with snuff of Candle dimm,
Sketching in shady smoke prodigious tools,
'Twill serve this race of Drunkards, Pimps, and Fools.
But if to match our Crimes thy skill presumes,
As th' *Indians*, draw our Luxury in Plumes.
Or if to score out our compendious Fame,
With *Hook* then, through the *microscope*, take aim
Where, like the new *Controller*, all men laugh
To see a tall Lowse brandish the white Staff.
Else shalt thou oft thy guiltless Pencil curse,
Stamp on thy Pallat, nor perhaps the worse.
The Painter so, long having vext his cloth,
Of his Hound's Mouth to feign the raging froth,
His desperate Pencil at the work did dart,
His Anger reacht that rage which past his Art;
Chance finisht that which Art could but begin,
And he sat smiling how his Dog did grinn.
So may'st thou perfect, by a lucky blow,
What all thy softest touches cannot do.
Paint then St. *Albans* full of soup and gold,
The new *Courts* pattern, Stallion of the old.
Him neither Wit nor Courage did exalt,
But Fortune chose him for her pleasure salt.
Paint him with *Drayman*'s Shoulders, butchers *Mien*,
Member'd like Mules, with Elephantine chine.
Well he the Title of St. *Albans* bore,
For never *Bacon* study'd Nature more.
But Age, allaying now that youthful heat,
Fits him in *France* to play at Cards and treat.

14 *Indians, ed.*: *Indians 1689*

Draw no Commission lest the *Court* should lye,
That, disavowing Treaty, ask supply.
He needs no Seal, but to St. *James*'s lease,
Whose Breeches were the Instrument of Peace.
Who, if the *French* dispute his Pow'r, from thence
Can straight produce them a *Plenipotence.*
Nor fears he *the most Christian* should trepan
Two Saints at once, St. *German,* St. *Alban.*
But thought the Golden Age was now restor'd,
When Men and Women took each others Word.
Paint then again *Her Highness* to the life,
Philosopher beyond *Newcastle*'s Wife.
She, nak'd, can *Archimedes* self put down,
For an Experiment upon the *Crown.*
She perfected that Engine, oft assay'd,
How after Childbirth to renew a Maid.
And found how *Royal Heirs* might be matur'd,
In fewer months than Mothers once indur'd.
Hence *Crowder* made the rare Inventress free,
Of's *Highnesses Royal Society.*
Happy'st of Women, if she were but able
To make her glassen *D——s* once *malleable* !
Paint her with Oyster Lip, and breath of Fame,
Wide Mouth that Sparagus may well proclaim :
With *Chanc'lor's* Belly, and so large a Rump.
There, not behind the Coach, her Pages jump.
Express her studying now, if *China*-clay,
Can without breaking venom'd juice convey.
Or how a mortal Poyson she may draw,
Out of the cordial meal of the *Cacao.*
Witness ye stars of Night, and thou the pale
Moon, that o'rcome with the sick steam did'st fail ;
Ye neighb'ring Elms, that your green leaves did shed,
And Fawns, that from the womb abortive fled.
Not unprovok'd she trys forbidden Arts,
But in her soft Breast Loves hid Cancer smarts.
While she revolves, at once, *Sidney*'s disgrace,
And her self scorn'd for emulous *Denham*'s Face ;
And nightly hears the hated Guards away
Galloping with the *Duke* to other Prey.

60 *D——s 1689* : Dildoes *MS. in B.M. copy of 1689* Duke *1697*: *Dukes ed. conj.*

Paint *Castlemaine* in Colours that will hold,
Her, not her Picture, for she now grows old.
She through her Lacquies Drawers as he ran,
Discern'd Love's Cause, and a new Flame began.
Her wonted joys thenceforth and *Court* she shuns,
And still within her mind the Footman runs:
His brazen Calves, his brawny Thighs, (the Face
She slights) his Feet shapt for a smoother race.
Poring within her Glass she re-adjusts
Her looks, and oft-try'd Beauty now distrusts:
Fears lest he scorn a Woman once assay'd,
And now first, wisht she e're had been a Maid.
Great Love, how dost thou triumph, and how reign,
That to a Groom couldst humble her disdain!
Stript to her Skin, see how she stooping stands,
Nor scorns to rub him down with those fair Hands;
And washing (lest the scent her Crime disclose)
His sweaty Hooves, tickles him 'twixt the Toes.
But envious Fame, too soon, begun to note
More gold in's Fob, more Lace upon his Coat
And he, unwary, and of Tongue too fleet,
No longer could conceal his Fortune sweet.
Justly the Rogue was whipt in Porter's Den:
And *Jermyn* straight has leave to come agen.
Ah *Painter*, now could *Alexander* live,
And this *Campaspe* thee *Apelles* give!
Draw next a Pair of Tables op'ning, then
The *House of Commons* clatt'ring like the Men.
Describe the *Court* and *Country*, both set right,
On opposite points, the black against the white.
Those having lost the Nation at *Trick track*,
These now advent'ring how to win it back.
The Dice betwixt them must the Fate divide,
As Chance does still in Multitudes decide.
But here the *Court* does its advantage know,
For the Cheat *Turnor* for them both must throw.
As some from Boxes, he so from the Chair
Can strike the Die, and still with them goes share.
Here *Painter* rest a little, and survey
With what small Arts the publick game they play.
For so too *Rubens*, with affairs of State,
His lab'ring Pencil oft would recreate.

The close *Cabal* mark'd how the Navy eats,
And thought all lost that goes not to the Cheats :
So therefore secretly for Peace decrees,
Yet as for War the *Parliament* should squeeze ;
And fix to the Revenue such a Summ,
Should *Goodrick* silence, and strike *Paston* dumb ;
Should pay Land Armies, should dissolve the vain
Commons, and ever such a *Court* maintain,
Hyde's Avarice, *Bennet*'s Luxury should suffice,
And what can these defray but the *Excise* ?
Excise, a Monster worse than e're before
Frighted the Midwife, and the Mother tore.
A thousand Hands she has and thousand Eyes,
Breaks into Shops, and into Cellars prys.
With hundred rows of Teeth the Shark exceeds,
And on all Trade like *Casawar* she feeds :
Chops off the piece where e're she close the Jaw,
Else swallows all down her indented maw.
She stalks all day in Streets conceal'd from sight,
And flies like Batts with leathern Wings by Night.
She wastes the Country and on Cities preys.
Her, of a female Harpy, in Dog Days :
Black *Birch*, of all the Earth-born race most hot,
And most rapacious, like himself begot.
And, of his Brat enamour'd, as't increast,
Bugger'd in Incest with the mungrel Beast.
Say Muse, for nothing can escape thy sight,
(And Painter, wanting other, draw this Fight.)
Who, in an *English* Senate, fierce debate,
Could raise so long for this new Whore of State.
Of early Wittals first the Troop march'd in,
For Diligence renown'd, and Discipline :
In Loyal haste they left young Wives in Bed,
And *Denham* these by one consent did head.
Of the old Courtiers next a Squadron came,
That sold their Master, led by *Ashburnham*.
To them succeeds a despicable Rout,
But knew the Word and well could face about ;
Expectants pale, with hopes of spoil allur'd,
Thought yet but Pioneers, and led by *Steward*.
Then damming Cowards rang'd the vocal Plain,
Wood these commands, Knight of the Horn and Cane.

143 *Birch 1697* : *B——b 1689*

Still his Hook-shoulder seems the blow to dread,
And under's Armpit he defends his Head.
The posture strange men laught at of his Poll,
Hid with his Elbow like the Spice he stole.
Headless St. *Dennis* so his Head does bear ;
And both of them alike *French* Martyrs were.
Court-Officers, as us'd, the next place took,
And follow'd *Fox*, but with disdainful look.
His Birth, his Youth, his Brokage all dispraise,
In vain, for always he commands that pays.
Then the Procurers under *Progers* fil'd,
Gentlest of men, and his Lieutenant mild,
Bronkard Loves Squire ; through all the field array'd,
No Troop was better clad nor so well pay'd.
Then march't the Troop of *Clarendon*, all full,
Haters of Fowl, to *Teal* preferring *Bull*.
Gross Bodies, grosser Minds, and grossest Cheats ;
And bloated *Wren* conducts them to their seats.
C——*n* advances next, whose Coife dos awe
The Miter Troop, and with his looks gives Law.
He March'd with Beaver cock'd of Bishop's brim,
And hid much Fraud under an aspect grim.
Next th' Lawyers Mercenary Band appear :
Finch, in the Front, and *Thurland* in the Rear.
The Troop of Priviledge, a Rabble bare
Of Debtors deep, fell to *Trelawny's* Care.
Their Fortune's error they supply'd in rage,
Nor any further would then these ingage.
Then marcht the Troop, whose valiant Acts before,
(Their publick Acts) oblig'd them still to more.
For Chimney's sake they all Sir *Pool* obey'd,
Or in his absence him that first it lay'd.
Then comes the thrifty Troop of Privateers,
Whose Horses each with other enterfeers.
Before them *Higgins* rides with brow compact,
Mourning his *Countess*, anxious for his Act.
Sir *Frederick* and Sir *Salomon* draw Lotts
For the command of Politicks or Sotts.
Thence fell to Words, but, quarrel to adjourn,
Their Friends agreed they should command by turn.

174 mild, *ed.* : mild. *1689* 181 *C*——*n*] Charleton *1697*, *but see note* 186 *Thurland 1697* : *T*——*d 1689*: Trenchard *MS. in B.M. copy of 1689* 187 Rabble *1697* : Rubble *1689* 193 o'bey'd, *1697* : obey'd ? *1689*

Carteret the rich did the Accomptants guide,
And in ill *English* all the World defy'd.
The *Papists*, but of those the *House* had none:
Else *Talbot* offer'd to have led them on.
Bold *Duncombe* next, of the Projectors chief:
And old *Fitz-Harding* of the Eaters Beef.
Late and disorder'd out the Drinkers drew;
Scarce them their Leaders, they their Leaders knew.
Before them enter'd, equal in Command,
Apsley and *Brotherick*, marching hand in hand.
Last then but one, *Powell*, that could not ride,
Led the *French* Standard, weltring in his stride,
He, to excuse his slowness, truth confest
That 'twas so long before he could be drest.
The *Lords Sons*, last, all these did reinforce:
Cornbury before them manag'd Hobby-horse.
  Never, before nor since, an Host so steel'd
Troop't on to muster in the *Tuttle-field*.
Not the first Cock-horse, that with Cork were shod
To rescue *Albemarle* from the Sea-Cod:
Nor the late Feather-men, whom *Tomkins* fierce
Shall with one Breath like thistle-down disperse.
All the two *Coventrys* their Gen'rals chose:
For one had much, the other nought to lose.
Nor better choice all accidents could hit;
While Hector *Harry* steers by *Will* the Wit:
They both accept the Charge with merry glee,
To fight a Battel, from all Gun-shot free.
  Pleas'd with their Numbers, yet in Valour wise,
They feign a parly, better to surprize:
They, that e're long shall the rude *Dutch* upbraid,
Who in a time of Treaty durst invade.
Thick was the Morning, and the *House* was thin,
The *Speaker* early, when they all fell in.
Propitious Heavens, had not you them crost,
Excise had got the day, and all been lost.
For th' other side all in loose Quarters lay,
Without Intelligence, Command, or Pay:
A scatter'd Body, which the Foe ne'r try'd,
But oftner did among themselves divide.
And some ran o're each night while others sleep,
And undescry'd return'd e're morning peep.

But *Strangeways*, that all Night still walk'd the round,
(For Vigilance and Courage both renown'd)
First spy'd the Enemy and gave th' Alarm :
Fighting it single till the rest might arm.
Such *Roman Cocles* strid : before the Foe,
The falling Bridge behind, the Stream below.
  Each ran, as chance him guides, to sev'ral Post :
And all to pattern his Example boast.
Their former Trophees they recal to mind,
And to new edge their angry Courage grind.
First enter'd forward *Temple*, Conqueror
Of *Irish*-Cattel and *Sollicitor*.
Then daring *Seymour*, that with Spear and Shield,
Had strecht the monster *Patent* on the Field.
Keen *Whorwood* next, in aid of Damsel frail,
That pierc't the Gyant *Mordant* through his Mail.
And surly *Williams*, the Accomptants bane :
And *Lovelace* young, of Chimney-men the Cane.
Old *Waller*, Trumpet-gen'ral swore he'd write
This Combat truer than the Naval Fight.
Of Birth, State, Wit, Strength, Courage, *How'rd* presumes,
And in his Breast wears many *Montezumes*.
These and some more with single Valour stay
The adverse Troops, and hold them all at Bay.
Each thinks his Person represents the whole,
And with that thought does multiply his Soul :
Believes himself an Army, theirs one Man,
As eas'ly Conquer'd, and believing can.
With Heart of Bees so full, and Head of Mites,
That each, tho' Duelling, a Battel fights.
Such once *Orlando*, famous in *Romance*,
Broach'd whole Brigades like Larks upon his Lance.
  But strength at last still under number bows,
And the faint sweat trickled down *Temples* Brows.
Ev'n Iron *Strangeways*, chafing yet gave back,
Spent with *fatigue*, to breath a while Toback.
When, marching in, a seas'nable recruit
Of Citizens and Merchants held dispute :
And, charging all their Pikes, a sullen Band
Of *Presbyterian Switzers*, made a stand.

257 *Seymour Grosart* : S——r *1689*, *1697* 271 theirs *1697* : there 's *1689*

Nor could all these the Field have long maintain'd,
But for th'unknown Reserve that still remain'd :
A *Gross* of *English Gentry*, nobly born,
Of clear *Estates*, and to no Faction sworn ;
Dear Lovers of their King, and Death to meet,
For Countrys Cause, that Glorious think and sweet :
To speak not forward, but in Action brave ;
In giving Gen'rous, but in Counsel Grave ;
Candidly credulous for once, nay twice ;
But sure the *Devil* cannot cheat them thrice.
The Van and Battel, though retiring, falls
Without disorder in their Intervals :
Then closing, all in equal Front fall on,
Led by great *Garrway*, and great *Littleton*.
Lee, equal to obey or to command,
Adjutant-General was still at hand.
The martial Standard *Sands* displaying, shows
St. *Dunstan* in it, tweaking *Satan*'s Nose.
See sudden chance of War ! To Paint or Write,
Is longer Work, and harder than to fight.
At the first Charge the Enemy give out ;
And the *Excise* receives a total Rout.
Broken in Courage, yet the Men the same,
Resolve henceforth upon their other Game :
Where force had fail'd with Stratagem to play,
And what haste lost, recover by delay.
St. *Albans* straight is sent to, to forbear,
Lest the sure Peace, forsooth, too soon appear.
The Seamens Clamour to three ends they use ;
To cheat their Pay, feign want, the *House* accuse.
Each day they bring the Tale, and that too true,
How strong the *Dutch* their Equipage renew.
Mean time through all the Yards their Orders run
To lay the Ships up, cease the Keels begun.
The Timber rots, and useless Ax does rust,
The unpractis'd Saw lyes bury'd in its Dust ;
The busie Hammer sleeps, the Ropes untwine ;
The Stores and Wages all are mine and thine.
Along the Coast and Harbours they take care
That Money lack, nor Forts be in repair.
Long thus they could against the *House* conspire,
Load them with Envy, and with Sitting tire :

321 Ropes untwine *1697* : Rope untwines *1689*

And the lov'd *King*, and never yet deny'd,
Is brought to beg in publick and to chide.
But when this fail'd, and Months enough were spent,
They with the first days proffer seem content:
And to *Land-tax* from the *Excise* turn round,
Bought off with *Eighteen hundred thousand pound.*
Thus, like fair Thieves, the *Commons* Purse they share,
But all the *Members* Lives, consulting, spare.
  Blither than Hare that hath escap'd the Hounds,
The *House* Prorogu'd, the *Chancellor* rebounds.
Not so decrepid *Æson*, hash'd and stew'd
With *Magic* Herbs, rose from the Pot renew'd:
And with fresh Age felt his glad Limbs unite;
His Gout (yet still he curst) had left him quite.
What Frosts to Fruit, what Ars'nick to the Rat,
What to fair *Denham* mortal *Chocolat*;
What an Account to *Carteret*; that and more
A *Parliament* is to the *Chancellor.*
So the sad Tree shrinks from the Mornings Eye;
But blooms all Night, and shoots its branches high.
So, at the Suns recess, again returns,
The Comet dread, and Earth and Heaven burns.
  Now *Mordant* may, within his Castle Tow'r,
Imprison Parents, and the Child deflowre.
  The *Irish*-Herd is now let loose, and comes
By Millions over, not by *Hecatombs.*
And now, now, the *Canary-Patent* may
Be Broach'd again, for the great Holy-day
  See how he Reigns in his new Palace *culminant*,
And sits in State Divine like *Jove* the *fulminant*!
First *Buckingham*, that durst to him Rebel,
Blasted with Lightning, struck with Thunder fell.
Next the *Twelve Commons* are condemn'd to groan,
And roul in vain at *Sisyphus*'s Stone.
But still he car'd, while in Revenge he brav'd,
That Peace secur'd, and Money might be sav'd.
Gain and Revenge, Revenge and Gain are sweet·
United most, else when by turns they meet.
France had St. *Albans* promis'd (so they sing)
St *Albans* promis'd him, and he the *King.*
The *Count* forthwith is order'd all to close,
To play for *Flanders*, and the stake to lose.

While Chain'd together two *Ambassadors*
Like Slaves, shall beg for Peace at *Hollands* doors.
This done, among his *Cyclops* he retires,
To forge new Thunder, and inspect their Fires.
  The *Court*, as once of War, now fond of Peace,
All to new Sports their wanton fears release.
From *Greenwich* (where Intelligence they hold)
Comes news of Pastime, Martial and old:
A Punishment invented first to awe
Masculine Wives, transgressing Natures Law.
Where when the brawny Female disobeys,
And beats the Husband till for peace he prays:
No concern'd *Jury* for him Damage finds,
Nor partial *Justice* her Behaviour binds;
But the just Street does the next House invade,
Mounting the neighbour Couple on lean Jade.
The Distaff knocks, the Grains from Kettle fly,
And Boys and Girls in Troops run houting by;
Prudent Antiquity, that knew by Shame,
Better than Law, Domestick Crimes to tame
And taught Youth by Spectacle Innocent!
So thou and I, dear *Painter*, represent
In quick *Effigy*, others Faults, and feign
By making them ridiculous to restrain.
With homely sight, they chose thus to relax
The Joys of State, for the new Peace and Tax.
So *Holland* with us had the Mast'ry try'd,
And our next neighbours *France* and *Flanders* ride.
  But a fresh News, the great designment nips,
Off, at the Isle of *Candy*, *Dutch* and ships.
Bab May and *Arlington* did wisely scoff,
And thought all safe if they were so far off.
Modern *Geographers*, 'twas there they thought,
Where *Venice* twenty years the *Turk* had fought:
While the first year our Navy is but shown,
The next divided, and the third we've none.
They, by the Name, mistook it for that Isle,
Where Pilgrim *Palmer* travell'd in Exile,
With the Bulls Horn to measure his own Head,
And on *Pasiphae*'s Tomb to drop a Bead.
But *Morrice* learn'd demonstrates, by the Post,
This Isle of *Candy* was on *Essex* Coast.

Fresh Messengers still the sad News assure,
More tim'rous now we are, than first secure.
False Terrors our believing Fears devise:
And the *French* Army one from *Calais* spies.
Bennet and *May*, and those of shorter reach,
Change all for Guinea's, and a Crown for each:
But wiser Men, and well foreseen in chance,
In *Holland* theirs had lodg'd before, and *France*.
White-hall's unsafe, the *Court* all meditates
To fly to *Windsor*, and mure up the Gates.
Each does the other blame, and all distrust;
But *Mordant* new oblig'd, would sure be just.
Not such a fatal stupefaction reign'd
At *London*'s Flame, nor so the *Court* complain'd.
The *Bloodworth-Chanc'lor* gives, then does recal
Orders, amaz'd at last gives none at all.
St. *Albans* writ to that he may bewail
To Master *Lewis*, and tell Coward tale,
How yet the *Hollanders* do make a noise,
Threaten to beat us, and are naughty Boys.
Now *Doleman*'s disobedient, and they still
Uncivil: His unkindness would us kill.
Tell him our Ships unrigg'd, our Forts unman'd,
Our Money spent; else 'twere at his command.
Summon him therefore of his Word, and prove
To move him out of Pity, if not Love.
Pray him to make *De-Witte*, and *Ruyter* cease,
And whip the *Dutch*, unless they'l hold their peace.
But *Lewis* was of Memory but dull,
And to St. *Albans* too undutiful;
Nor Word, nor near Relation did revere;
But ask'd him bluntly for his *Character*.
The gravell'd *Count* did with the Answer faint:
(His *Character* was that which thou didst paint)
And so enforc'd, like Enemy or Spy,
Trusses his baggage, and the Camp does fly.
Yet *Lewis* writes, and lest our Hearts should break,
Consoles us morally out of *Seneque*.
Two Letters next unto *Breda* are sent,
In Cipher one to *Harry* Excellent.

424 so *Grosart*: to *1689*, *1697*

The first instructs our (Verse the Name abhors)
Plenipotentiary Ambassadors,
To prove by *Scripture,* Treaty does imply
Cessation, as the look Adultery.
And that by Law of Arms, in Martial strife,
Who yields his Sword has Title to his Life.
Presbyter Hollis the first point should clear;
The second *Coventry* the *Cavalier.*
But, would they not be argu'd back from Sea,
Then to return home straight *infecta re.*
But *Harry*'s Order, if they won't recal
Their Fleet, to threaten, we will give them all.
The *Dutch* are then in *Proclamation* shent,
For Sin against th' *Eleventh Commandment.*
Hyde's flippant Stile there pleasantly curvets;
Still his sharp Wit on States and Princes whets.
(So *Spain* could not escape his Laughters Spleen:
None but himself must chuse the *King* a *Queen.*)
But when he came the odious Clause to Pen,
That summons up the *Parliament* agen;
His Writing-Master many a time he bann'd,
And wish'd himself the Gout, to seize his hand.
Never old Letcher more repugnance felt,
Consenting, for his Rupture, to be Gelt;
But still in hope he solac'd, e're they come,
To work the Peace, and so to send them home.
Or in their hasty Call to find a flaw,
Their Acts to vitiate, and them over-awe.
But most rely'd upon this *Dutch* pretence,
To raise a two-edg'd Army for's defence.
First, then he march'd our whole *Militia's* force,
(As if, alas, we Ships or *Dutch* had Horse.)
Then, from the usual *Common-place,* he blames
These; and in Standing-Armies praise declaims.
And the wise *Court,* that always lov'd it dear,
Now thinks all but too little for their Fear.
Hyde Stamps, and straight upon the ground the swarms
Of current *Myrmidons* appear in Arms.
And for their Pay he writes as from the *King,*
With that curs'd Quill pluck'd from a Vulture's Wing:
Of the whole Nation now to ask a Loan.
(The *Eighteen hundred thousand pound* was gone.)

This done, he Pens a *Proclamation* stout,
In rescue of the *Banquiers Banquerout*:
His minion Imps that, in his secret part,
Lye nuzz'ling at the *Sacramental* wart;
Horse-leeches circling at the Hem'roid Vein;
He sucks the King, they him, he them again.
The Kingdoms Farm he lets to them bid least:
Greater the Bribe, and that 's at Interest.
Here Men induc'd by Safety, Gain, and Ease,
Their Money lodge; confiscate when he please.
These can, at need, at instant, with a scrip,
(This lik'd him best) his Cash beyond Sea whip.
When *Dutch* Invade, when *Parliament* prepare,
How can he Engines so convenient spare?
Let no Man touch them, or demand his own,
Pain of Displeasure of great *Clarendon*.
The State Affairs thus Marshall'd, for the rest
Monk in his Shirt against the *Dutch* is prest.
Often, dear *Painter*, have I sate and mus'd
Why he should still b'on all adventures us'd.
If they for nothing ill, like *Ashen-wood*,
Or think him, like *Herb-John*, for nothing good.
Whether his Valour they so much admire,
Or that for Cowardice they all retire.
As Heav'n in Storms, they call, in gusts of State,
On *Monk* and *Parliament*, yet both do hate.
All Causes sure concur, but most they think
Under *Herculean* Labours he may sink.
Soon then the *Independent* Troops would close,
And *Hyde*'s last Project would his Place dispose.
Ruyter the while, that had our Ocean curb'd,
Sail'd now among our Rivers undisturb'd:
Survey'd their Crystal Streams, and Banks so green,
And Beauties e're this never naked seen.
Through the vain sedge the bashful *Nymphs* he ey'd;
Bosomes, and all which from themselves they hide.
The Sun much brighter, and the Skies more clear,
He finds the Air, and all things, sweeter here.
The sudden change, and such a tempting sight,
Swells his old Veins with fresh Blood, fresh Delight.
Like am'rous Victors he begins to shave,
And his new Face looks in the *English* Wave.

His sporting Navy all about him swim,
And witness their complaisence in their trim.
Their streaming Silks play through the weather fair,
And with inveigling Colours Court the Air.
While the red Flags breath on their Top-masts high
Terrour and War, but want an Enemy.
Among the Shrowds the Seamen sit and sing,
And wanton Boys on every Rope do cling.
Old *Neptune* springs the Tydes, and Water lent :
(The Gods themselves do help the provident.)
And, where the deep Keel on the shallow cleaves,
With *Trident*'s Leaver, and great Shoulder heaves.
Æolus their Sails inspires with *Eastern* Wind,
Puffs them along, and breathes upon them kind.
With Pearly Shell the *Tritons* all the while
Sound the Sea-march, and guide to *Sheppy Isle.*
  So have I seen in *April*'s bud, arise
A Fleet of Clouds, sailing along the Skies :
The liquid Region with their Squadrons fill'd,
The airy Sterns the Sun behind does guild ;
And gentle Gales them steer, and Heaven drives,
When, all on sudden, their calm bosome rives
With Thunder and Lightning from each armed Cloud ;
Shepherds themselves in vain in bushes shrowd.
Such up the stream the *Belgick* Navy glides,
And at *Sheerness* unloads its stormy sides.
  Sprag there, tho practic'd in the Sea command,
With panting Heart, lay like a fish on Land,
And quickly judg'd the Fort was not *tenable,*
Which, if a House, yet were not *tenantable.*
No man can sit there safe, the Cannon pow'rs
Through the Walls untight, and Bullet show'rs :
The neighbr'hood ill, and an unwholesome seat.
So at the first Salute resolves Retreat,
And swore that he would never more dwell there
Until the *City* put it in repair.
So he in Front, his Garrison in Rear,
March straight to *Chatham,* to increase the fear.
  There our sick Ships unrigg'd in Summer lay,
Like molting Fowl, a weak and easie Prey.
For whose strong bulk Earth scarce could Timber find,
The Ocean Water, or the Heavens Wind.

Those Oaken Gyants of the ancient Race,
That rul'd all Seas, and did our Channel grace.
The conscious Stag, so once the Forests dread,
Flies to the Wood, and hides his armless Head.
Ruyter forthwith a Squadron does untack,
They sail securely through the Rivers track.
An *English* Pilot too, (O Shame, O Sin !)
Cheated of Pay, was he that show'd them in.
  Our wretched Ships within their Fate attend,
And all our hopes now on frail Chain depend :
Engine so slight to guard us from the Sea,
It fitter seem'd to captivate a Flea.
A *Skipper* rude shocks it without respect,
Filling his Sails, more force to recollect.
Th' *English* from shore the Iron deaf invoke
For its last aid : Hold Chain or we are broke.
But with her Sailing weight, the *Holland* Keel
Snapping the brittle links, does thorow reel ;
And to the rest the open'd passage shew.
  Monk from the bank the dismal sight does view.
Our feather'd *Gallants*, which came down that day
To be Spectators safe of the *new Play*,
Leave him alone when first they hear the Gun ;
(*Cornbry* the fleetest) and to *London* run.
Our Seamen, whom no Dangers shape could fright,
Unpaid, refuse to mount our Ships for spight :
Or to their fellows swim on board the *Dutch*,
Which show the tempting metal in their clutch.
Oft had he sent, of *Duncombe* and of *Legg*
Cannon and Powder, but in vain, to beg :
And *Upnor*-Castle's ill-deserted Wall,
Now needful, does for Ammunition call.
He finds wheresoe're he succour might expect,
Confusion, folly, treach'ry, fear, neglect.
  But when the *Royal Charles*, what Rage, what Grief,
He saw seiz'd, and could give her no Relief !
That sacred Keel, which had, as he, restor'd
His exil'd *Sov'raign* on its happy Board ;
And thence the *Brittish* Admiral became ;
Crown'd, for that Merit, with their Masters Name.

616 their] his *1697* : her *ed. conj.*

That Pleasure-boat of War, in whose dear side
Secure so oft he had this Foe defy'd :
Now a cheap spoil, and the mean Victor's Slave,
Taught the *Dutch* Colours from its top to wave ;
Of former Glories the reproachful thought,
With present shame compar'd, his mind distraught.
Such from *Euphrates* bank, a Tygress fell,
After the Robbers, for her Whelps does yell :
But sees, inrag'd, the River flow between.
Frustrate Revenge, and Love, by loss more keen,
At her own Breast her useless claws does arm ;
She tears herself since him she cannot harm.
The Guards, plac'd for the Chains and Fleets defence,
Long since were fled on many a feign'd pretence.
Daniel had there adventur'd, Man of might ;
Sweet *Painter* draw his Picture while I write.
Paint him of Person tall, and big of bone,
Large Limbs, like Ox, not to be kill'd but shown.
Scarce can burnt Iv'ry feign an Hair so black,
Or Face so red thine Oker and thy Lack.
Mix a vain Terrour in his Martial look,
And all those lines by which men are mistook.
But when, by shame constrain'd to go on Board,
He heard how the wild Cannon nearer roar'd ;
And saw himself confin'd, like Sheep in Pen ;
Daniel then thought he was in *Lyons* Den.
But when the frightful Fire-ships he saw,
Pregnant with Sulphur, to him nearer draw
Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, all make haste,
E're in the Firy Furnace they be cast.
Three Children tall, unsing'd, away they row,
Like *Shadrack, Mesheck,* and *Abednego.*
Not so brave *Douglas* ; on whose lovely chin
The early Down but newly did begin ;
And modest Beauty yet his Sex did Veil,
While envious Virgins hope he is a Male.
His yellow Locks curl back themselves to seek,
Nor other Courtship knew but to his Cheek.
Oft has he in chill *Eske* or *Seine,* by night,
Harden'd and cool'd his Limbs, so soft, so white,
Among the Reeds, to be espy'd by him,
The *Nymphs* would rustle ; he would forward swim.

They sigh'd and said, Fond Boy, why so untame,
That fly'st Love Fires, reserv'd for other Flame?
Fixt on his Ship, he fac'd that horrid Day,
And wondred much at those that run away:
Nor other fear himself could comprehend,
Then, lest Heav'n fall, e're thither he ascend.
But entertains, the while, his time too short
With birding at the *Dutch*, as if in sport:
Or Waves his Sword, and could he them conjure
Within its circle, knows himself secure.
The fatal Bark him boards with grappling fire,
And safely through its Port the *Dutch* retire:
That precious life he yet disdains to save,
Or with known Art to try the gentle Wave.
Much him the Honours of his ancient Race
Inspire, nor would he his own deeds deface.
And secret Joy, in his calm Soul does rise,
That *Monk* looks on to see how *Douglas* dies.
Like a glad Lover, the fierce Flames he meets,
And tries his first embraces in their Sheets.
His shape exact, which the bright flames infold,
Like the Sun's Statue stands of burnish'd Gold.
Round the transparent Fire about him glows,
As the clear Amber on the Bee does close:
And, as on Angels Heads their Glories shine,
His burning Locks adorn his Face Divine.
But, when in his immortal Mind he felt
His alt'ring Form, and soder'd Limbs to melt;
Down on the Deck he laid himself, and dy'd,
With his dear Sword reposing by his Side.
And, on the flaming Plank, so rests his Head,
As one that 's warm'd himself and gone to Bed.
His Ship burns down, and with his Relicks sinks,
And the sad Stream beneath his Ashes drinks.
Fortunate Boy! if either Pencil's Fame,
Or if my Verse can propagate thy Name;
When *Œta* and *Alcides* are forgot,
Our *English* youth shall sing the Valiant *Scot*.
Each doleful day still with fresh loss returns;
The *Loyal-London*, now a third time burns.
And the true *Royal-Oak*, and *Royal-James*,
Ally'd in Fate, increase, with theirs, her Flames.

Of all our Navy none should now survive,
But that the Ships themselves were taught to dive:
And the kind River in its Creek them hides,
Fraughting their pierced Keels with Oosy Tides.
  Up to the *Bridge* contagious Terrour strook:
The *Tow'r* it self with the near danger shook.
And were not *Ruyters* maw with ravage cloy'd,
Ev'n *London*'s Ashes had been then destroy'd.
Officious fear, however, to prevent
Our loss, does so much more our loss augment.
The *Dutch* had robb'd those Jewels of the Crown:
Our Merchant-men, lest they should burn, we drown.
So when the Fire did not enough devour,
The Houses were demolish'd near the *Tow'r*.
Those Ships, that yearly from their teeming Howl,
Unloaded here the Birth of either Pole;
Furrs from the *North*, and Silver from the *West*,
From the *South* Perfumes, Spices from the *East*;
From *Gambo* Gold, and from the *Ganges* Gems;
Take a short Voyage underneath the *Thames*.
Once a deep River, now with Timber floor'd,
And shrunk, lest Navigable, to a Ford.
  Now (nothing more at *Chatham* left to burn)
The *Holland* Squadron leisurely return:
And spight of *Ruperts* and of *Albemarles*,
To *Ruyter*'s Triumph lead the captive *Charles*.
The pleasing sight he often does prolong:
Her Masts erect, tough Cordage, Timbers strong,
Her moving Shape; all these he does survey,
And all admires, but most his easie Prey.
The Seamen search her all, within, without:
Viewing her strength, they yet their Conquest doubt.
Then with rude shouts, secure, the Air they vex;
With Gamesome Joy insulting on her Decks.
Such the fear'd *Hebrew*, captive, blinded, shorn,
Was led about in sport, the publick scorn.
  Black Day accurs'd! On thee let no man hale
Out of the Port, or dare to hoise a Sail,
Or row a Boat in thy unlucky hour:
Thee, the Year's monster, let thy Dam devour.

715 Howl] hole *1697*

And constant Time, to keep his course yet right,
Fill up thy space with a redoubled Night.
When aged *Thames* was bound with Fetters base,
And *Medway* chast ravish'd before his Face,
And their dear Off-spring murder'd in their sight;
Thou, and thy Fellows, held'st the odious Light.
Sad change, since first that happy pair was wed,
When all the Rivers grac'd their Nuptial Bed;
And Father *Neptune* promis'd to resign
His Empire old, to their immortal Line!
Now with vain grief their vainer hopes they rue,
Themselves dishonour'd, and the *Gods* untrue:
And to each other helpless couple moan,
As the sad Tortoise for the Sea does groan.
But most they for their Darling *Charles* complain:
And were it burnt, yet less would be their pain.
To see that fatal Pledge of Sea-Command,
Now in the Ravisher *De-Ruyter*'s hand,
The *Thames* roar'd, swouning *Medway* turn'd her tide,
And were they mortal, both for grief had dy'd.
The *Court* in Farthing yet it self does please,
And female *Stewart*, there, *Rules the four Seas.*
But Fate does still accumulate our Woes,
And *Richmond* here commands, as *Ruyter* those.
After this loss, to rellish discontent,
Some one must be accus'd by Punishment.
All our miscarriages on *Pett* must fall:
His Name alone seems fit to answer all.
Whose Counsel first did this mad War beget?
Who all Commands sold thro' the Navy? *Pett.*
Who would not follow when the *Dutch* were bet?
Who treated out the time at *Bergen*? *Pett.*
Who the *Dutch* Fleet with Storms disabled met,
And rifling Prizes, them neglected? *Pett.*
Who with false News prevented the *Gazette*?
The Fleet divided? Writ for *Rupert*? *Pett.*
Who all our Seamen cheated of their Debt?
And all our Prizes who did swallow? *Pett.*
Who did advise no Navy out to set?
And who the Forts left unrepair'd? *Pett.*
Who to supply with Powder, did forget
Languard, Sheerness, Gravesend, and *Upnor*? *Pett.*

764 here] her *1697*

Who all our Ships expos'd in *Chathams* Net ?
Who should it be but the *Phanatick Pett.*
Pett, the Sea Architect, in making Ships,
Was the first cause of all these Naval slips :
Had he not built, none of these faults had bin ;
If no Creation, there had been no Sin.
But, his great Crime, one Boat away he sent ;
That lost our Fleet, and did our Flight prevent.
Then that Reward might in its turn take place,
And march with Punishment in equal pace ;
Southampton dead, much of the Treasure's care,
And place in Counsel fell to *Duncombes* share.
All men admir'd he to that pitch could fly :
Powder ne're blew man up so soon so high.
But sure his late good Husbandry in *Peeter,*
Show'd him to manage the *Exchequer* meeter :
And who the Forts would not vouchsafe a corn,
To lavish the *King*'s Money more would scorn.
Who hath no Chimneys, to give all is best,
And ablest Speaker, who of Law has least ;
Who less Estate, for *Treasurer* most fit ;
And for a *Couns'llor,* he that has least Wit.
But the true cause was, that, in 's Brother *May,*
The *Exchequer* might the *Privy-purse* obey.
  But now draws near the *Parliament*'s return ;
Hyde and the *Court* again begin to mourn.
Frequent in Counsel, earnest in Debate,
All Arts they try how to prolong its Date.
Grave *Primate Shelden* (much in Preaching there)
Blames the last Session, and this more does fear.
With *Boynton* or with *Middleton* 'twere sweet ;
But with a *Parliament* abhors to meet,
And thinks 'twill ne're be well within this Nation,
Till it be govern'd by a *Convocation.*
But in the *Thames* mouth still *de Ruyter* laid,
The Peace not sure, new Army must be paid.
Hyde saith he hourly waits for a Dispatch ;
Harry came Post just as he shew'd his Watch.
All to agree the Articles were clear,
The *Holland* Fleet and *Parliament* so near.

817 de *1697* : *om* : *1689*

Yet *Harry* must job back and all mature,
Binding, e're th' *Houses* meet, the Treaty sure.
And 'twixt Necessity and Spight, till then,
Let them come up so to go down agen.
Up ambles *Country Justice* on his Pad,
And Vest bespeaks to be more seemly clad.
Plain *Gentlemen* are in Stage-Coach o'rethrown,
And *Deputy-Lieutenants* in their own.
The portly *Burgess*, through the Weather hot,
Does for his Corporation sweat and trot.
And all with Sun and Choler come adust;
And threaten *Hyde* to raise a greater Dust.
  But, fresh as from the *Mint*, the *Courtiers* fine
Salute them, smiling at their vain design.
And *Turner* gay up to his Pearch does march,
With Face new bleacht, smoothen'd and stiff with starch.
Tells them he at *Whitehall* had took a turn,
And for three days, thence moves them to adjourn.
Not so, quoth *Tomkins*; and straight drew his Tongue,
Trusty as Steel, that always ready hung;
And so, proceeding in his motion warm,
Th'Army soon rais'd, he doth as soon disarm.
True *Trojan*! while this Town can Girls afford,
And long as Cider lasts in *Hereford*;
The Girls shall always kiss thee, though grown old,
And in eternal Healths thy Name be trowl'd.
  Mean while the certain News of Peace arrives
At *Court*, and so reprieves their guilty Lives.
Hyde orders *Turner* that he should come late,
Lest some new *Tomkins* spring a fresh debate.
The *King*, that day rais'd early from his rest,
Expects as at a Play till *Turner's* drest.
At last together *Eaton* come and he:
No Dial more could with the Sun agree.
The *Speaker*, Summon'd, to the *Lords* repairs,
Nor gave the *Commons* leave to say their Pray'rs:
But like his Pris'ners to the Bar them led,
Where mute they stand to hear their Sentence read;
Trembling with joy and fear, *Hyde* them Prorogues,
And had almost mistook and call'd them Rogues.

834 threaten *1697*: threatens *1689*

Dear *Painter*, draw this *Speaker* to the foot:
Where Pencil cannot, there my Pen shall do't;
That may his Body, this his Mind explain.
Paint him in Golden Gown, with Mace's Brain:
Bright Hair, fair Face, obscure and dull of Head;
Like Knife with Iv'ry haft, and edge of Lead.
At Pray'rs, his Eyes turn up the Pious white,
But all the while his *Private-Bill*'s in sight.
In Chair, he smoaking sits like Master-Cook,
And a *Poll-Bill* does like his Apron look.
Well was he skill'd to season any question,
And make a sawce fit for *Whitehall*'s digestion:
Whence ev'ry day, the Palat more to tickle;
Court-mushrumps ready are sent in in pickle.
When *Grievance* urg'd, he swells like squatted Toad,
Frisks like a Frog to croak a *Taxes* load.
His patient Piss, he could hold longer then
An Urinal, and sit like any Hen.
At Table, jolly as a Country-Host,
And soaks his Sack with *Norfolk* like a Toast.
At night, than *Canticleer* more brisk and hot,
And Serjeants Wife serves him for *Partelott*.
Paint last the King, and a dead shade of Night,
Only dispers'd by a weak Tapers light;
And those bright gleams that dart along and glare
From his clear Eyes, yet these too dark with Care.
There, as in the calm horrour all alone,
He wakes and Muses of th' uneasie Throne:
Raise up a sudden Shape with Virgins Face,
Though ill agree her Posture, Hour, or Place:
Naked as born, and her round Arms behind,
With her own Tresses interwove and twin'd:
Her mouth lockt up, a blind before her Eyes,
Yet from beneath the Veil her blushes rise;
And silent tears her secret anguish speak,
Her heart throbs, and with very shame would break.
The Object strange in him no Terrour mov'd:
He wonder'd first, then pity'd, then he lov'd:
And with kind hand does the coy Vision press,
Whose Beauty greater seem'd by her distress;

879 then *P. Legouis*: than *1689, 1697, edd.* 884 *Partelott*] P——tt *1689*: Portelott *1697*

But soon shrunk back, chill'd with her touch so cold,
And th' airy Picture vanisht from his hold.
In his deep thoughts the wonder did increase,
And he Divin'd 'twas *England* or the *Peace*.
  Express him startling next with listning ear,
As one that some unusual noise does hear.
With Canon, Trumpets, Drums, his door surround,
But let some other Painter draw the sound :
Thrice did he rise, thrice the vain Tumult fled,
But again thunders when he lyes in Bed ;
His mind secure does the known stroke repeat,
And finds the Drums *Lewis*'s March did beat.
  Shake then the room, and all his Curtains tear,
And with blue streaks infect the Taper clear :
While, the pale Ghosts, his Eye does fixt admire
Of Grandsire *Harry*, and of *Charles* his Sire.
Harry sits down, and in his open side
The grizly Wound reveals, of which he dy'd.
And ghastly *Charles*, turning his Collar low,
The purple thread about his Neck does show :
Then, whisp'ring to his Son in Words unheard,
Through the lock'd door both of them disappear'd.
The wondrous Night the pensive *King* revolves,
And rising, straight on *Hyde*'s Disgrace resolves.
  At his first step, he *Castlemain* does find,
Bennet and *Coventry*, as't were design'd.
And they, not knowing, the same thing propose,
Which his hid mind did in its depths inclose.
Through their feign'd speech their secret hearts he knew ;
To her own Husband, *Castlemain*, untrue.
False to his Master *Bristol*, *Arlington*,
And *Coventry*, falser than any one,
Who to the Brother, Brother would betray ;
Nor therefore trusts himself to such as they.
His Fathers Ghost too whisper'd him one Note,
That who does cut his Purse will cut his Throat.
But in wise anger he their Crimes forbears,
As Thieves repriev'd for Executioners ;
While *Hyde* provok'd his foaming tusk does whet,
To prove them Traytors, and himself the *Pett*.

911 fled *1697* : led *1689*

Painter adieu, how will our Arts agree ;
Poetick Picture, Painted Poetry.
But this great work is for our *Monarch* fit,
And henceforth *Charles* only to *Charles* shall sit.
His Master-hand the Ancients shall out-do
Himself the *Poet* and the *Painter* too.

To the King.

So his bold Tube, Man, to the Sun apply'd,
And Spots unknown to the bright Star descry'd ;
Show'd they obscure him, while too near they please,
And seem his Courtiers, are but his disease.
Through Optick Trunk the Planet seem'd to hear,
And hurls them off, e're since, in his Career.
And you, *Great Sir*, that with him Empire share,
Sun of our World, as he the *Charles* is there.
Blame not the *Muse* that brought those spots to sight,
Which, in your Splendor hid, Corrode your Light ;
Kings in the Country oft have gone astray,
Nor of a Peasant scorn'd to learn the way.
Would she the unattended Throne reduce,
Banishing Love, Trust, Ornament and Use ;
Better it were to live in Cloysters Lock,
Or in fair Fields to rule the easie Flock.
She blames them only who the *Court* restrain,
And, where all *England* serves, themselves would reign.
Bold and accurs'd are they, that all this while
Have strove to Isle the *Monarch* from his *Isle* :
And to improve themselves, on false pretence,
About the Common *Prince* have rais'd a Fence ;
The *Kingdom* from the *Crown* distinct would see,
And peal the Bark to burn at last the Tree.
(But *Ceres* Corn, and *Flora* is the Spring,
Bacchus is Wine, the Country is the *King*.)
Not so does Rust insinuating wear,
Nor Powder so the vaulted Bastion tear ;
Nor Earthquake so an hollow Isle overwhelm,
As scratching *Courtiers* undermine a *Realm* :
And through the Palace's Foundations bore,
Burr'wing themselves to hoard their guilty Store.

The smallest Vermin make the greatest waste,
And a poor Warren once a City ras'd.
But they whom born to Virtue and to Wealth,
Nor Guilt to flatt'ry binds, nor want to stealth;
Whose gen'rous Conscience and whose Courage high
Does with clear Counsels their large Souls supply;
That serve the *King* with their Estates and Care,
And, as in Love, on *Parliaments* can stare:
(Where few the number, choice is there less hard)
Give us this *Court*, and rule without a *Guard*.

The Kings Vowes.

When the Plate was at pawne, and the fobb att low Ebb,
And the Spider might weave in our Stomack its web;
Our Pockets as empty as braine;
Then Charles without acre
Made these Vowes to his Maker ——
If ere I see England againe,

1.

I will have a Religion then all of my owne,
Where Papist from Protestant shall not be knowne;
But if it grow troublesome, I will have none.

2.

I will have a fine Parliament allwayes to Friend,
That shall furnish me Treasure as fast as I spend;
But when they will not, they shall be att an end.

3.

I will have as fine Bishops as were ere made with hands,
With Consciences flexible to my Commands;
But if they displease me, I will have all their Lands.

4.

I will have a fine Chancelor beare all the sway,
Yet if Men should clammor I'le pack him away:
And yet call him home again, soon as I may.

982 ras'd *Cooke*: rais'd *1689*: rac't *1697* 984–6 *See notes.*
Title: *So M 16. M 12 heads it* A Libellous Poem. *SP call it* Royal Resolutions 3 Pockets *M 16*: Stomacks *M 12*: Stomack *SP.*
16 a fine *M 12*: my *M 16* 16–18 *See note on authenticity*

5.

I will have a fine Navy to Conquer the Seas,
And the Dutch shall give Caution for their Provinces ;
But if they should beat me, I will doe what they please.

6.

I will have a new London instead of the old,
With wide streets and uniforme of my owne mold ;
But if they build it too fast, I will soon make them hold.

7.

I will have a fine Son in makeing tho marrd,
If not o're a Kingdome, to raigne ore my Guard ;
And Successor be, if not to me, to Gerrard.

8.

I will have a fine Court with ne'er an old face,
And allwayes who beards me shall have the next Grace,
And I either will vacate, or buy him a place.

9.

I will have a Privy-purse without a Controll,
I will winke all the while my Revenue is stole,
And if any be Questiond, I'lle answer the whole.

10.

I will have a Privy Councell to sit allwayes still,
I will have a fine Junto to doe what I will,
I will have two fine Secretaryes pisse thro one Quill.

11.

But what ever it cost I will have a fine Whore,
As bold as Alce Pierce and as faire as Jane Shore ;
And when I am weary of her, I'le have more.

12.

Which if any bold Commoner dare to opose,
I'll order my Bravo's to cutt off his Nose,
Tho' for't I a branch of Prerogative lose.

21 they please *Thompson* : y^{e} (?) please *M 16* 27 be *M 12* : *om. M 16.* 28 ne'er *Thompson* : never *M 16* 40–2 *inserted later in M 16 and the verse not numbered (verses 13–20 are numbered 12–19 in M 16). Further the margin of the MS. has been cut and the first two words of each line are here supplied from SP*

13.

Of my Pimp I will make my Minister Premier,
My Bawd shall Embassadors send farr and neare,
And my Wench shall dispose of the Congé d'eslire.

14.

If this please not I'lle Raigne upon any Condition,
Miss and I will both learne to live on Exhibition,
And I'lle first put the Church then my Crowne in Commission.

15.

I will have a fine Tunick a Sash and a Vest,
Tho' not rule like the Turk yet I will be so drest,
And who knowes but the Mode may soon bring in the rest ?

16.

I will have a fine pond and a pretty decoy,
Where the Ducks and the Drakes may their freedomes enjoy,
And Quack in their Language still Vive le Roy.

17.

The Antient Nobility I will lay by,
And new Ones Create Great Places to supplye,
That they may raise Fortunes to my owne frye.

18.

Some one I will advance from mean descent,
So high that he shall brave the Parliament,
And all their bills for publike good prevent.

56 Great Places] their Rooms *SP* 57 raise Fortunes *SP*: Fortunes raise *SP* 58–66 *The text at the end of M 16 is rather lame. SP's version is as follows :*

10.

Some one I'll advance from a common Descent,
So high, that he shall hector the Parliament,
And all wholsom Laws for the Publick prevent

11.

And I will assert him to such a Degree,
That all his foul Treasons tho' daring and high,
Under my Hand and Seal shall have Indempnity

15

I'll wholly abandon all publick Affairs,
And pass all my time with Buffoons and Players,
And santer to *Nelly* when I should be at Prayers.

19.

And I will take his part to that degree,
That all his dareing crimes, what ere they be,
Under my hand and Seal shall have Indemnity.

20.

I wholly will abandon State affaires,
And pass my Time with Parrasites and Players,
And Visit Nell when I shold be att Prayers.

Further Advice to a Painter.

Painter once more thy Pencell reassume,
And draw me in one Scene London and Rome,
There holy Charles, here good Aurelius Sate,
Weeping to see their Sonns degenerate,
The Roman takeing up the fencers trade,
The Brittain Jigging it in Mascarade ;
Whilest the brave youths tired with the work of State
Their wearied Limbs and minds to recreate,
Do to their more belov'd delights repair,
One to his Pathic, th' other to his Player.

Then change the scene and let the next present
A Landskip of our Mottly Parliament ;
Where draw Sir Edward mounted on his throne,
Whose life does scarce one Generous Action own,
Unless it be his late Assumed grief
To keep his own and loose his sergeants wife.
And place me by the Barr on the left hand
Circean Clifford with his charming Wand,
Our Pig-eyed Duncomb in his Dover Fashion
Sate by the worst Attorney of the Nacion,
This great triumvirate that can devide
The spoyls of England ; and along that side
Place Falstaffs Regement of Thread-bare Coates
All looking this way how to give their votes,
Their new made Band of Pentioners
That give their votes more by their eyes than ears :
And of his dear Reward let none dispair,
For money comes when Seymour leaves the Chair.
Change once again and let the next afford

Title. Further Advice] A new advice *M 13, H*: Farther Instructions *SP* 8 to *B 3, C, H, SP*: Do *B 1, M 13* 13–16 *om. M 13, SP*: *in B 3 they are the last four lines of the satire* 19 in] with *B 1 only* 25, 26 *in B 1 only* 27 his *B 3, C, M 13, SP*: this *B 1*

The figure of a Drunken Councell board
At Arlingtons, and round about it sate
Our mighty Masters in a warme debate ;
Capacious Bowles with Lusty wine repleat
To make them th' other Councell board forgett.
Thus whilst the King of France with powerfull Armes
Frightens all Christendome with fresh Alarms,
Wee in our Glorious Bacchanals dispose
The humble fate of a Plebeian nose ;
Which to effect when thus it was decreed
Draw me a Champion mounted on his steed,
And after him a brave Bregade of Hors
Arm'd at all points ready to reinforce
The body of foot that was to have the van
In this Assault upon a single man.
Tis this must make Obryan great in Story,
And add new Beams to Sands's former Glory.

Draw our Olimpia next in Councell Sate
With Cupid Seymour and the Tool of State,
Two of the five recanters of the Hous
That aime at mountains and bring forth a Mous,
Who make it by their mean retreat appear
Five members need not be demanded here.
These must assist her in her countermines
To overthrow the Darby Hous designes,
Whilst Positive walks Woodcock in the dark,
Contriving Projects with a Brewers Clerk.
Thus all imploy themselves, and without pitty
Leave Temple Single to be beat in the Citty.
What Scandal's this ! Temple, the wise, the Brave,
To be reproacht with Tearm of Turncoat knave ;
Whom France Esteem'd our Chiefe in Parliament,
To be at home made such a presedent !
Tis hard ; yet this he has for safe retreat :
Tis by afflictions passive men grow great.

33 Capacious *B 3, M 13 C, H* : Captious *B 1* : Full *SP* with . . . repleat *B 3, M 13, H* : with . . . repeate *C*. and . . . repeat *B 1, 1697* 35 Thus *B 3, M 13, H* : That *B 1, C, 1697* 36 Gives all his fearful Neighbours strange alarms *SP* 38 of a *B 3, C, M 13, H, SP* : the *B 1* 48 Tool] fool *M 13* 49 mountains] mountain *B 1 only* 55 walks Woodcock] walkes woodcockes *B 3* : leads Woodcock *C, M 13* : walks, like *Woodcock SP* Dark] Park *SP* 59–64 *in B 1 and C only* 60 Turncoat *B 1* : Coward ye *C* 61 our . . . in *B 1* : the . . . du *C* 63 for *B 1* : by *C*

Bludius et Corona.

Bludius, ut ruris damnum repararet aviti,
  Addicit fisco dum Diadema suo :
Egregium Sacro facinus velavit Amictu :
  (Larva solet Reges fallere nulla magis).
Excidit ast ausis tactus pietate prophana,
  Custodem ut servet, maluit ipse capi.
Si modo Saevitiam texisset Pontificalem,
  Veste Sacerdotis, rapta corona foret.

NOSTRADAMUS'S *Prophecy.*

The blood of the Just London's firm Doome shall fix
And cover it in flames in sixty six ;
Fireballs shall flye and but few see the traine
As farr as from Whitehall to Pudden lane
To burne the Cittye which againe shall rise
With high aspireing head towards those Skyes
Where Vengeance dwells, but there is one trick more
Tho the Walls stand to bring the Citty lower ;
When Legislators shall their trust betray
Hir'd for their share to give the rest away
And those false Men the Soveraign People sent
Give Taxes to the King and Parliament.
When bare fac'd Villany shall not blush to cheat
And Checquer dores shall shut up Lombard street,
When Players shall use to act the parts of Queens
Within the Curtains and behind the Scenes,
When Sodomy is the Premier Ministers sport
And whoreing shall be the least sin att Court,
A Boy shall take his Sister for his Mate
And practise Incest between Seven and Eight,
And no Man knowes in whom to put his trust,
When even to rob the Checquer shall be Just,
When Declarations lye, when every Oath
Shall be in use at Court but faith and Troth,
When two good Kings shall be att Brantford knowne
And when att London their shall not be One,
When publike faith and Vowes and Payments stop,

1 ruris] fundi *M 9* 2 dum] cum *B 1* 6 ipse] ille *B 1*
1, 2 Her [For *SP*] faults and follies London's doom shall fix,
  And she must sink in flames in sixty-six. *SP, C*
23 lye *C, H* : Lie *1689* : Lies *1697* : Vowes *M 16* 25 Shall . . . Brantford] att Brantford shall be *M 16*. knowne *M 16, H* : town *C, SP*
27–32 *not in SP or C*

Then London lately burnt shall be blowne up,
And Wooden shoos shall come to be the weare
When Cerberus shall be the Treasurer.
London shall then see, for it will come to pass,
A Greater Thief then Alexander was.
The Frogs shall then grow weary of their Crane
And pray to Jove to take him back againe.

Second Part.

When the Seal 's given to a talking fool
Whom Wise men Laugh att and the Women Rule,
A Minister able only in his Tongue
To make starcht empty Speeches two hours long.
When an old Scotch Covenanter shall be
The Champion of the English Hierarchye,
When Bishops shall lay all Religion by
And strive by Law to 'stablish Tyrany,
When a lean Treasurer shall in one year
Make him self rich, his king and People bare,
When the Crowne's Heir shall English Men dispise
And think French onely Loyall, Irish wise,
Then wooden Shoos shall be the English weare
And Magna Carta shall no more appeare,
Then the English shall a Greater Tyrant Know
Then either Greek or Gallick Story shew,
Their Wives to his Lust expos'd, their Wealth to his spoyle
With groans to fill his Treasure they must toyle,
But like the Bellydes shall toyle in vaine
For that still fill'd runs out as fast againe ;
Then They with envious Eyes shall Belgium See
And wish in vain Venetian Libertye.

The Loyall Scot.

Upon the occasion of the death of Captain Douglas burnt in one of his Majesties shipps at Chatham.

Of the old Heroes when the Warlike shades
Saw Douglass Marching on the Elisian Glades,
They streight Consulting gather'd in a Ring
Which of their Poets shold his Welcome sing,

33, 4 *at the end of the satire in SP and C* *Second Part*: *M 16 only* A Libell *H* (*in which it is quite separate from the preceding piece*) 37 able *SP, C*: *om. M 16* 43 When a lean *SP, C*: The Lord *M 16* 44 rich *M 16, C, H*: fat, *SP*: his *SP, C*: *om. M 16*: and *H* 49 the English] London *M 16 only* 53 Bellydes] Beltydes *M 16*

3 Consulting gather'd *B 1, 1694, SP* consulted gathering *M 5, m*

And (as a favourable Pennance) Chose
Cleavland on whom they would the Task Impose.
Hee Understood and Willingly Addrest
His ready muse to Court the Warlike Guest.
Much had hee Cur'd the Humor of his vein :
Hee Judg'd more Clearly now and saw more plain.
For those soft Airs had temper'd every thought,
And of wise Lethe hee had took a draught.
Abruptly he began disguising art,
As of his Satyr this had been a part.

Not so brave Douglass, on whose Lovely Chin
The Early down but newly did begin,
And modest beauty yet his sex did vail,
Whilst Envious virgins hope hee is a Male.
His shady locks Curl back themselves to seek
Nor other Courtship knew but to his Cheek.
Oft as hee in Chill Eske or Seyne by night
Hardned and Cool'd those Limbs soe soft, soe white,
Among the Reeds to bee espy'd by him
The Nymphs would Rustle, hee would forward swim :
They sigh'd and said ' fond boy why soe Untame,
That flyst loves fires reserv'd for other flame ? '
Fix'd on his ship hee fac'd the horrid day
And wonder'd much at those that Runne away,
Nor other fear himself cold Comprehend
Then least Heaven fall ere thither hee Ascend.
With birding at the Dutch, as though in sport,
Hee entertains the while his life too short,
Or waves his sword and, Cou'd hee them Conjure,
Within its Circle knows himselfe secure.
The fatall bark him boards with Grapling fire
And safely through its ports the Dutch retire.
That pretious life hee yet disdaines to save
Or with known art to try the Gentle Wave.
Much him the glories of his Antient Race
Inspire, nor cold hee his own Deeds deface ;
And secrett Joy in his own soul doth Rise
That Monk lookes on to see how Douglass dies.
Like a glad lover the fierce Flames hee meets
And tries his first Imbraces in their sheets.

6 *In B 1 the brackets enclose the whole line* 25, 6 *inverted commas are Ed's.* 43 glad lover] fierce lover *B 1 only*

His shape Exact which the bright flames enfold
Like the sun's Statue stands of burnisht Gold :
Round the Transparent fire about him Glowes
As the Clear Amber on the bee doth Close ;
And as on Angells head their Glories shine
His burning Locks Adorn his face divine.
But when in his Imortall mind hee felt
His Altred form and sodred Limbs to Melt,
Down on the Deck hee laid him down and dy'd
With his dear sword reposing by his side,
And on his flaming Planks soe rests his head
As one that Huggs himself in a Warm bed.
The ship burnes down and with his reliques sinks,
And the sad stream beneath his Ashes drinks.
Fortunate Boy, if ere my verse may Claim
That Matchless grace to propagate thy fame,
When Oeta and Alcides are forgott,
Our English youth shall sing the valiant Scott.
Skip Sadles : Pegasus thou needst not Bragg,
Sometimes the Gall'way Proves the better Nagg.
Shall not a death soe Generous now when told
Unite our distance, fill the breaches old ?
Such in the Roman forum Curtius brave
Galloping down Clos'd up the Gaping Cave.
Noe more discourse of Scotch or English Race
Nor Chaunt the fabulous hunt of Chivy Chase :
Mixt in Corinthian Mettall at thy Flame
Our nations Melting thy Colossus Frame,
Shall fix a foot on either neighbouring Shore
And Joyn those Lands that seemed to part before.

Prick down the point whoever has the Art
Where Nature Scotland doth from England part.
Anatomists may Sooner fix the Cells
Where life resides or Understanding dwells :
But this wee know, tho' that Exceed their skill,
That whosoever separates them doth kill.
What Ethick River is this Wondrous Tweed
Whose one bank vertue, th' other vice doth breed ?

49 Glories] Glory *B 1 only* 61 Octa] Octa *B 1* 63, 4 *om. 1694* 63 Skip Sadles *B 1, SP* : Skip-sadled *m* : Skip saddle *M 5* 73, 4 *om. B 1, 1694, SP* 80 *See notes* 81 Ethic *or* Ethick *B 1, 1694, SP* : Ethnick *M 5, m* :

Or what new perpendicular doth rise
Up from her Stream Continued to the Sky's,
That between us the Common Air shold bar
And split the Influence of Every star ?

But who Considers well will find indeed
'Tis Holy Island parts us not the Tweed.
Nothing but Clergie cold us two seclude :
Noe Scotch was ever like a Bishops feud.
All Letanies in this have wanted faith :
Theres noe ' deliver us from a Bishops Wrath '.
Never shall Calvin Pardoned bee for Sales,
Never for Burnetts sake the Lauderdales,
For Becketts sake Kent alwayes shall have tails.
Who sermons ere can pacifie and prayers ?
Or to the Joynt stooles reconcile the Chairs ?
Nothing, not Boggs, not Sands, not seas, not Alpes
Seperate the world soe as the Bishops scalpes.
Stretch for your Line their Circingle Alone,
'Twill make a more Inhabitable zone.
The friendly Loadstone hath not more Combin'd
Then Bishops Crampt the Comerce of Mankind.
A Bishop will like Mahomet tear the Moon
And slip one Half into his sleeve as soon.
The Jugling Prelate on his hocus calls,
Shews you first one, then makes that one two Balls.
Instead of all the Plagues had Bishops come,
Pharoah at first would have sent Israell home.
From Church they need not Censure men Away,
A Bishops self is an Anathama.
Where Foxes Dung their earths the Badgers yeild ;
At Bishops Dung the Foxes quit the feild.
Their Rank Ambition all this heat hath stir'd
A Bishops Rennett makes the strongest Curd.
How Reverend things are ' Lord ', Lawn Sleeves and Ease !
How a Clean Laundress and noe sermons please.
They wanted zeal and Learning, soe mistook
The Bible and Grammar for the service Book.
Religion has the World too Long deprav'd
A shorter Way 's to bee by Clergie sav'd.
Beleive but onely as the Church beleives
And learn to pin your faith upon their sleeves.
Ah ! like Lotts wife they still look Back and Halt
And surplic'd shew like Pillars too of salt.

89–103 *om. 1694* 92 *inverted commas are Ed's.* 93 Sales] sales *B 1* 97 *See notes* 98 Sands] Lands *M 5 ,m* 104–233 *om. 1694, SP* 104 tear *B 1* : seize *M 5, m* 116 *inverted commas are Ed's.* are Lord *M 5, m* : (Lord !) are *B 1, which may be correct, cf.* Rebel Scot, l. 101 (*quoted in notes*) 121 ways *M 5* : way is *m* : wayes *B 1* 123 faith *M 5, m* : souls *B 1* 124 Ah ! *B 1*: As *M 5, m*

Who that is wise would pulpit Toyl Indure ?
A Bishoprick is a great sine-Cure.
Enough for them, God knows, to Count their Wealth,
To Excommunicate and Study health.
A higher work is to their Court Annext :
The Nation they devide, their Curates Text.
Noe Bishop Rather then it shold bee soe !
Noe Church ! noe Trade ! noe king ! noe people ! noe !
All Mischeifs Moulded by those state divines :
Aaron Casts Calves but Moses them Calcines.
The Legion Devil did but one man possess :
One Bishops fiend spirits a whole Diocesse.
That power Alone Can Loose this spell that tyes,
For only Kings can Bishops Exercise.
Will you bee treated Princes ? here fall to :
Fish and flesh Bishops are the Ambigue.
Howere Insipid Yet the Sawce will mend 'em
Bishops are very good when in Commendum.
If Wealth or vice can tempt your appetites,
These Templar Lords Exceed the Templar Knights,
And in a Baron Bishop you have both
Leviathen served up and Behemoth.
How can you bear such Miscreants shold live,
And holy Ordure Holy orders give ?
None knows what god our Flamen now Adores ;
One Mytre fitts the Heads of full four Moors.
Noe Wonder if the Orthodox doe Bleed,
Whilst Arrius stands at th' Athanasian Creed.
What soe obdurate Pagan Heretique
But will Transform for an Archbishoprick.
In faith Erronious and in life Prophane
These Hypocrites their faith and Linnen stain.
Seth's Pillars are noe Antique Brick and stone
But of the Choicest Modern flesh and Bone.
Who views but Gilberts Toyls will reason find
Neither before to trust him nor behind.
How oft hath age his hallowing hands Misled
Confirming breasts and Armepitts for the head.
Abbot one Buck, but he shot many a Doe,
Nor is our Sheldon whiter then his Snow.
Their Companyes the worst that ever playd
And their Religion all but Masquerade.
The Conscious Prelate therefore did not Err,
When for a Church hee built a Theatre.
A Congruous Dress they to themselves Adapt,
Like Smutty Storyes in Pure Linnen Wrapt.

135 but] *om. B 1* 139 For *B 1* : And *M 5, m* 144 tempt *M 5, m* : whet *B 1* 146 Baron *M 5, m* : barren *B 1*. *See notes.* 147 serv'd] scru'd *B 1* 149 Ordure *B 1* : Ordders *M 5* : orders *m* 157 faith *B 1* : silke *M 5, m* 160 Toyls *B 1* : smiles *M 5, m* 163 Armepitts *M 5, m* : Armpipes *B 1*

Doe but their Pyebald Lordships once Uncase
Of Rochets Tippets Copes, and wheres theire Grace ?
A Hungry Chaplain and a Starved Rat
Eating their brethren Bishop Turn and Cat
But an Apochriphall Archbishopp Bell
Like Snake that Swallowes toad doth Dragon swell.

When daring Blood to have his rents regain'd
Upon the English Diadem distrain'd,
Hee Chose the Cassock Circingle and Gown,
The fittest Mask for one that Robs a Crown.
But his Lay pitty underneath prevailed
And while hee spared the keepers life hee fail'd.
With the preists vestments had hee but put on
A Bishops Cruelty, the Crown had gone.

Strange was the Sight the scotch Twin headed man
With single body like the two Neckt Swan,
And wild disputes betwixt those heads must Grow,
Where but two hands to Act, two feet to goe.
Nature in Living Embleme there Exprest
What Brittain was, betwixt two Kings distrest.
But now, when one Head doeth both Realmes controule,
The Bishops Nodle Perks up cheek by Jowle.
They, tho' noe poets, on Parnassus dream,
And in their Causes think themselves supream.
Kings head saith this, But Bishops head that doe.
Doth Charles the second rain or Charles the two ?
Well that Scotch monster and our Bishops sort
It was Musitian too and dwelt at Court.
Hark ! tho' at such a Distance what a Noise
Shattering the silent Air disturbs our Joys !
The Mitred Hubbub against Pluto Moot
That Cloven head must Govern Cloven foot.
Strange boldness ! even bishops there rebell
And plead their Jus Divinum tho' in Hell.
Those whom you hear more Clamerous Yet and Loud
Of Ceremonyes Wrangle in the Crow'd,
And would like Chymists fixing Mercury
Transfuse Indiferrence with necessity.
To sit is Necessary in Parliament,
To preach in diocesse Indifferent.
To conform 's necessary or bee shent,
But to reform is all Indifferent

173 Copes *M 5, m*: Lopes *B 1* 176 Archbishop Bell] Archbishops Belly *M 5, m* 177 swell] swell yee *M 5*: swell yea *m* 178 Blood] blood *B 1* 179 distrain'd] restrayn'd *B 1* 189 but] put *B 1* 192, 3 *om. B 1* 193 Bishops *M 5*: Bishop *m* Perks *m*: creeps *M 5* 194 Parnassus] parnassus *B 1* 199 It *B 1*: Hee *M 5, m* 213 is *M 5, m*: us (?) *B 1*

'Tis necessary Bishops have their rent,
To cheat the Plague money Indifferent.
'Tis necessary to rebabel Pauls,
Indifferent to Rob Churches of their Coals.
'Tis necessary Lambeth never wed,
Indifferent to have a Wench in bed.
Such Bishops are Without a Complement
Not necessary nor Indifferent.
Incorrigible among all their paines
Some sue for tyth of the Elyzean plaines:
Others Attempt, to Cool their fervent Chine,
The second time to Ravish Proserpine.
Ev'n Father Dis tho so with Age defac'd
With much adoe preserves his postern Chast.
The Innocentest mind their thirst alone
And Uninforc'd Quaff healths in Phlegethon.
Luxury malice superstition pride
Opression Avarice Ambition Id—
-leness and all the vice that did abound,
While they liv'd here, still Haunts them Underground.
Had it not been for such a Biass Strong,
Two Nations Neere had mist the Marke soe long.

The world in all doth but two Nations bear,
The good, the bad, and those mixt every where.
Under each pole place either of the two,
The good will bravely, bad will basely doe;
And few indeed can paralell our Climes
For Worth Heroick or Heroick Crimes.
The Tryell would however bee too nice
Which stronger were, a Scotch or English vice,
Or whether the same vertue would reflect
From Scotch or English heart the same effect.
Nation is all but name as Shibboleth,
Where a Mistaken accent Causeth death.
In Paradice Names only Nature Shew'd,
At Babel names from pride and discord flow'd,
And ever since men with a female spite
First call each other names and then they fight.
Scotland and England cause of Just uproar!
Does man and wife signifie Rogue and Whore?

216 rebabel *B 1*: rebuild St *m*: build st *M 5* 223 the] th' *B 1*
225 Proserpine] proserpine *B 1* 230–2 *as in M 5 and m. B 1 has*
Luxury Malice pride and superstition
Oppression Averice and Ambition
Sloth and all vice that did abound
234, 5 *om. 1694* 247 accent] Action *B 1 only*

Say but a Scot and streight wee fall to sides :
That syllable like a Picts wall devides.
Rationall mens words pledges are of peace,
Perverted serve dissentions to increase.
For shame extirpate from each loyall brest
That senseless Rancour against Interest.
One King, one faith, one Language and one Ile :
English and Scotch, 'tis all but Crosse and Pile
Charles our great soul this onely Understands :
Hee our Affection both and will Comands,
And, where twin Simpathies cannot atone,
Knowes the last secret how to make them one.
Just soe the prudent Husbandman who sees
The Idle tumult of his factious bees,
The morning dews and flowers Neglected grown,
The hive a comb case, every bee a drone,
Powders them ore till none discern their foes
And all themselves in meal and friendship close.
The Insect Kingdome streight begins to thrive
And Each works hony for the Common Hive.
Pardon, Young Heroe, this soe long Transport ;
Thy death more noble did the same Extort.
My former satyr for this verse forget,
The hare's head 'gainst the goose gibletts sett.
I single did against a Nation write,
Against a Nation thou didst singly fight.
My differing Crime doth more thy vertue raise
And such my Rashness best thy valour praise.

Here Douglas smileing said hee did Intend
After such Frankness shown to bee his friend,
Forwarn'd him therefore lest in time he were
Metemsicosd to some Scotch Presbyter.

254 Scot] scot *B 1* 255 Picts] picts *B 1* 258 each] *om. B 1 only* 259 Interest] Innocence *B 1 only* 264 atone] alone *B 1 only* 269 comb case *B 1, SP* : combat *M 5, m, 1694* 271 meal] meat *B 1 only* close *B 1* : lose *m, 1694, SP* : *M 5 has a corner torn off here.* 277 The hare's] Th' hare's *B 1 only*

The Statue in Stocks-Market.

As cities that to the fierce conquerors yield
Do at their own charge their citadels build,
So Sir Robert advanced the King's statue, in token
Of bankers defeated and Lombard-street broken.

Some thought it a knightly and generous deed,
Obliging the city with a king and a steed,
When with honour he might from his word have gone back;
He that vows for a calm is absolved by a wreck.

But now it appears from the first to the last
To be all a revenge and a malice forecast,
Upon the King's birthday to set up a thing
That shews him a monster more like than a king.

When each one that passes finds fault with the horse,
Yet all do affirm that the king is much worse,
And some by the likeness Sir Robert suspect
That he did for the King his own statue erect.

To see him so disfigured the herbwomen chide,
Who upon their panniers more decently ride,
And so loose in his seat that all men agree
Even Sir William Peake sits much firmer than he.

But a market, they say, does suit the king well,
Who the Parliament buys and revenues does sell,
And others to make the similitude hold
Say his Majesty himself is bought too and sold.

This statue is surely more scandalous far
Than all the Dutch pictures that caused the war,
And what the exchequer for that took on trust
May be henceforth confiscate for reasons more just.

1 cities *MSS.*, *T*: citizens *SP* conquerors *M 3, 5, SP*: conqueror *M 13, m, T* 2 charge *most MSS.*, *SP*: charges *M 13, T* 12 monster *MSS.*: monkey *SP, T* 17 To see him so *MSS.*, *SP*: Thus to see him *T* 18 decently *MSS.*, *SP*: gracefully *T* 19 men *MSS.*, *SP*: persons *T* 21 they *MSS.*, *1689*: as some *1697, T* 22 buys . . . revenues *MSS.*, *SP*: too . . . revenue *T* 24 himself *M 5, m, SP*: Majesties self *M 13* too *M 3, T*: bought too *M 13, m*: bought *M 3, 5*: oft bought *SP*: oft purchas'd *T* 26 that *MSS.*, *SP*: which *T* 28 be *MSS.*, *SP*: we *T*

But Sir Robert to take all the scandal away
Does the fault upon the artificer lay,
And alleges the workmanship was not his own
For he counterfeits only in gold, not in stone.

But, Sir Knight of the Vine, how came't in your thought
That when to the scaffold your liege you had brought
With canvas and deals you e'er since do him cloud,
As if you had meant it his coffin and shroud ?

Hath Blood him away (as his crown once) conveyed ?
Or is he to Clayton's gone in masquerade ?
Or is he in cabal in his cabinet set ?
Or have you to the Compter removed him for debt ?

Methinks by the equipage of this vile scene
That to change him into a Jack-pudding you mean,
Or else thus expose him to popular flouts,
As if we'd as good have a king made of clouts.

Or do you his beams out of modesty veil
With three shattered planks and the rags of a sail
To express how his navy was shattered and torn
The day that he was both restored and born ?

Sure the king will ne'er think of repaying his bankers,
Whose loyalty now all expires with his spankers.
If the Indies and Smyrna do not him enrich,
They will scarce afford him a rag to his breech.

But Sir Robert affirms we do him much wrong ;
For the graver's at work to reform him thus long.
But alas ! he will never arrive at his end,
For 'tis such a king as no chisel can mend.

But with all his faults restore us our King,
As ever you hope in December for Spring,
For though the whole world cannot shew such another,
Yet we'd better by far have him than his brother.

30 fault *MSS.*, *SP* : error *T* 37 *brackets from m* once *MSS.* : he *SP*, *T* 43 else *MSS.*, *SP* : why *T* 45–52 *om. m* 45 beams *MSS.* : faults *T* : errors *SP* 46 rags *M 3, 13, SP* : rag *M 5, H, T* 47 tattered *MSS.* 49, 50 *om. SP* 50 Whose *MSS.* : When *T* 51 Indies . . . Smyrna *MSS.*, *T* : Judges . . . Parliament *SP* 52 They *M 3, 5, 1689* : These *M 13* : You *1697* : He *T* Scarce *M 3, 13* : scarcely *H*, *SP* : not *M 5* : hardly *T* afford him a (*or* one) rag *MSS.*, *SP* : have left a poor rag *T* 54 For *M 3, 5, m* : 'Tis *M 13, SP, T* graver's *MSS.*, *1689* : graver *1697*, *T* thus *MSS* : so *SP*, *T* 56 'tis *M 3, m, SP* : it is *M 5, H, T* : hee's *M 13* 57 faults *MSS.*, *SP* : errors *T* 58 As *MSS.*, *SP* : If *T* 59 the whole *MSS.*, *SP* : all the *T* 60 by far *om. SP*, *T* Pockify'd Brother *1689* : bigotted brother *1697*, *T*

Upon his Majesties being made free of the Citty

The Londoners Gent,
To the King doe present
In a Box the Citty Maggott ;
'Tis a thing sure of Weight,
That requires the Might
Of the whole Guild-Hall Teame to dragg it.

Whil'st your Churches unbuilt
And your Houses undwelt
And your Orphans want Bread to feed on,
In a Golden Box
Set with Stones of both Rocks
You in Chaines offer your freedome.

Oh you Addle-Brain'd Citts
Who henceforth in their Witts
Wou'd intrust their youth to your heeding ?
When in Diamonds and Gold
You have him thus enroll'd,
Yet know both his Freinds and his Breeding.

Beyond Sea he began,
Where such Riott he ran,
That all the World there did leave him ;
And now he 's come ore,
Much worse than before ;
Oh what Fooles were you to receive him.

He ne're knew not he
How to serve or be free,
'Tho he has past through so many Adventures ;
But e're since he was bound
('Tis the same to be Crown'd)
Has every Day broke his Indentures.

He spends all his Days
In runing to Plays,
When in his Shop he shou'd be poreing ;
And wasts all his Nights
In his constant Delights
Of Revelling, Drinking and Whoreing.

Title in *SP* is *On the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen presenting the late King and Duke of York each with a Copy of their Freedom, 1674, H* calls it. *The City Maggott*

1 Londoners *H, SP*: Londoner *M 3* 7, 8, 9 your *H*: the *M 3*: *their SP* 15 heeding *H*: heading *SP*: Tradeing M 3

When his Masters too rash
Intrusted him with Cash,
He us'd as his owne to spend on't
And amongst his Wild Crew
The Money he threw
As if he shou'd ne're see an end on't.

Throughout Lumbard Streete
Each one he cou'd meete,
He wou'd run on the score and borrow ;
But when they ask't for their owne
He was broken and gone
And his Creditors all left to Sorrow.

Tho' oft bound to the Peace
He never wou'd cease
But molested the neighbours with Quarrells,
And when he was beate,
He still made a Retreate
To his Cleavelands, his Nells and his Carwells.

Nay his Company lewd
Were thrice growne so rude,
But he chanc'd to have more Sobriety,
And the House was well barr'd,
Else with Guard upon Guard
They had Burglard all your Propriety.

The Plott was so laid,
Had it not been betray'd,
As had cancelld all former Disasters
All your Wives had been Strumpetts
To his Highnesses's Trumpetts
And the Souldiers had all beene your Masters.

So many are the Debts
And the Bastards he gets
Which must all be defrayd by London,
That Notwithstanding the Care
Of Sir Thomas Player
Your Chamber must needs be undone.

54 Cleavelands . . . Nells] Cleaveland . . . Nelly *M 3* his Carwel[l]s *SP*: Carwells *H*: Carwell *M 3* 56 thrice] twice *H, SP* 58 well *H, SP*: So *M 3* 59 Else *H*: om. *M 3, SP* 60 They *SP*: He *M 3* your *Ed. conj.*: the *M 3*: our *SP* 62 it not been] not *Ashley SP* 66 Souldiers] Foot-Boys *SP* your *H, SP*: their *M 3*

His word nor his Oath
Cannot bind him to Troth,
He values not Credit nor Hist'ry,
And tho' he has serv'd now
Two Prentiships through,
He know's not his Trade, nor his Mist'ry.
Then o London rejoyce !
In thy fortunate Choyce
To have made this Freeman of Spices ;
Yet I doe not distrust
But he may prove more just,
For his virtues exceed all his vices.
But what little thing,
Is this that you bring,
To the Duke the Kingdoms Darling ?
How you hugg it and draw,
Like Ants at a Straw,
Tho' too small for the Carriage of Starling.
If a Box of Pills
To cure the Dukes ills,
Hee is too farr gone to begin it ;
Or does your fayre show
A Processioning goe,
With the Pex and the Host within it ?
You durst not I find
Leave his freedome behind
And in this Box you have sent it ;
But if ever he get,
For himself up to set,
The whole Nation may chance to repent it.
And yet if our Toy
You would wisely employ,
It might deserve a Box and a Gold one ;
In Ballating it use
A new Duke to choose,
For wee have had too much of the Old one.

75 not *H*, *SP* : no *M* 3 77 Two *SP* : Three *M* 3 78 nor his] nor *M* 3 79–84 *om. H* 81–4 *SP's version is* :

To have made him free of thy Spices ;
And do not mistrust he may once grow more just,
When he 's worn of his Follies and Vices.

86 this that *H* : that *M* 3 : that which *SP* 90 Carriage *M* 3 : Gristle *H*, *SP* 94 fayre show *H* : fine show *SP* : Grace tro] [? too] *M* 3 98 his *H*, *T* : this *M* 3 100 if ever *H*, *T* : before *M* 3

The very First Head
Of the Oth to him read
Shews how fit he is to Governe ;
When in Heart you all knew
He could never be true
To Charters, our King and Soveraigne.

And how cou'd he sweare
That he would forbeare
To colour the good of an Alien,
Who still doth advance
The Government of France
With a Wife of Religion Italian ?

But all ye Blind Apes,
Led in Hell by the Papes,
Never think in England to swagger,
He will fmd who unlocks,
I'th' bottome of the Box,
London beares the Crosse with the Dagger.

And now Worshipfull Sirs
Goe fold up your Furrs,
And turne again Viner, turne again ;
I see who e're is freed,
You for Slaves are decreed,
Unless you all burne again, burne again.

BRITANNIA *and* RAWLEIGH.

Brit: Ah ! Rawleigh, when thy Breath thou didst resign
To trembling James, would I had yeilded mine.
Cubbs, didst thou call 'um ? hadst thou seen this Brood
Of Earles, of Dukes, and Princes of the blood,
No more of Scottish race thou wouldst complain ;
Those would be Blessings in this spurious reign,
Awake, arise, from thy long blest repose ;
Once more with me partake of mortall woes.
Raw: What mighty power has forc'd me from my rest ?
Ah ! mighty Queen, why so unsemly drest ?
Brit: Favour'd by night, conceald by this disguise,

114 Charters . . . and] his Country or to his *SP* 120 a *H, SP*: the *M 3* 121 ye *Thompson*: the *M 3* 122 Led *Thompson*: Bred *M 3* 125 I' th' *Thompson*: The *M 3* 129 And *H, SP*: *om. M 3* 130 I *SP*: *om. M 3* 10 unsemly] untimely *C, M 3, 5, 11, 13, H, SP*

Whilest the Lew'd Court in drunken slumbers lyes,
I stole away ; and never will return
Till England knowes who did her Citty burn,
Till Cavaleers shall favorites be Deem'd
And loyall sufferings by the Court esteem'd,
Till Howard and Garway shall a bribe reject,
Till Golden Osborn cheating shall detect,
Till Atheist Lauderdale shall leave this Land,
Till commons votes shall cut-nose guards disband,
Till Kate a happy mother shall become,
Till Charles loves Parliaments, till James hates Rome.
Rawl: What fatall crimes make you forever fly
Your own lov'd Court and Masters Progeny ?
Brit: A Colony of French Possess the Court ;
Pimps, Priests, Buffoones i'th privy chamber sport.
Such slimy Monsters ne're approacht a throne
Since Pharoh's Reign nor so Defild a Crown.
I'th sacred ear Tyranick Arts they Croak,
Pervert his mind, his good Intencions Choak,
Tell him of Golden Indies, Fayry Lands,
Leviathans and absolute comands.
Thus Fayry like the King they steal away
And in his place a Lewis Changling lay.
How oft have I him to himself restor'd,
In 's left the scales, in 's right hand plac'd the sword,
Taught him their use, what dangers would ensue
To those that try'd to seperate these two.
The Bloody scottish Chronicle turnd o're
Shew'd him how many Kings in Purple Gore
Were Hurl'd to Hell by Learning Tyrants Lore.
The other day fam'd Spencer I did bring
In Lofty Notes Tudors blest reign to sing,
How Spaines prow'd power her Virgin Armes contrould
And Golden dayes in peacefull order rould,
How, like ripe fruit, she dropt from of the Throne
Full of Gray Hairs, good deeds, endless renown.
As the Jessean Heroe did appease
Sauls stormy rage and Check his black disease,

16 sufferings *B 1, MS, 10, 13, C* : sufferers *M 3, 11, H, SP* 17, 18 *om. 1694* Howard] Lee *or* Leigh *M 3, 11, 13, H, SP* 23 make *C, M 10, 13 ; SP, 1694* : makes *B 1, M 3, 5, 11* 24 Masters *is a correction in B 1 of* martyrs : *all other MSS. and edd. have* martyr's *or* martyr'd 43 blest] best *B 1*

Soe the learn'd Bard with Artfull song represt
The swelling Passions of his Cankred breast,
And in his heart kind influences shed
Of Countryes love (by truth and Justice bred).
Then, to confirm the cure so well begun,
To him I shew'd this Glorious setting sun,
How by her Peoples lookes persued from far
Shee mounted up on a triumphall Car
Outshining Virgo and the Julian Star.
Whilst in truthes Mirror this Glad scene he spy'd,
Entred a Dame bedeckt with spotted pride ;
Faire flower-deluces in an Azure field
Her left Arm bears, the Antient Gallick shield
(By her usurpt), her right a bloudy sword
Inscrib'd *Leviathan the sovereign Lord*,
Her Towry front a fiery Meteor bears
From Exhalation bred of bloud and tears.
Around her Joves lou'd ravenous Currs complain ;
Pale death, lusts, Horrour fill her pompous train.
From th' easie King she truthes bright Mirrour took,
And on the ground in spitefull rage it broak,
And, frowning, thus with proud disdain she spoke.
' Are thred-bare Virtues Ornaments for Kings ?
Such poor pedantick toys teach underlings.
Doe Monarchs rise by vertues or the sword ?
Who e're grew great by keeping of his word ?
Virtues a faint-green-sickness of the souls,
Dastards the hearts and active heat controules.
The Rivall Gods, Monarchs of th' other world,
This Mortall poyson amongst Princes hurld,
Fearing the mighty Projects of the great
Should drive them from their proud Celestiall seat,
If not ore aw'd by new found holy cheat.
These pious frauds (too slight t'ensnare the brave)
Are proper arts, the long-eard rout t'enslave :
Bribe hungry Priests to deify your might,
To teach your will 's the onely rule of right,
To sound damnacion to those dare deny't.

50 Bard *spelt* Barr'd *by B 1* 52, 3 *om. M 13, 1694* bred *spelt* bread *by B 1* 63 *B 1 has the second bracket but omits the first* 64 *Italics are Ed's* 65 a] & *B 1* 69 she *all except B 1, D, which have* the 72–104 *Inverted commas are Ed's* 85 deify] defy *B 1* 86 will's *all except B 1 which has* will

Thus Heavens designs against heavens self youl turn
And they will fear those powers they once did scorn.
When all their Gobling Intrest in Mankind
By hirelings sould to you shall be resign'd
And by imposters God and man betray'd,
The Church and state you safely may invade.
So boundless Lewis in full Glory shines,
Whilst your starv'd power in Legall fetters pines.
Shake of those Baby bonds from your strong Armes,
Henceforth be deaf to that old witches charmes,
Tast the delicious sweets of sovereign power,
'Tis Royall Game whole Kingdomes to deflower.
Three spotless virgins to your bed I bring,
A sacrafice to you, their God and King.
As these grow stale weel Harass humankind,
Rack nature till new pleasures she shall find,
Strong as your Raigne and beauteous as your mind.'

When she had spoke, a confus'd murmur rose
Of French, Scots, Irish (all my mortall foes):
Some English too disguis'd (oh shame) I spy'd
Led up by the wise son-in-law of Hide.
With fury drunke like Backanalls they roar
'Down with that common Magna Charta whore.'
With Joynt consent on helpless me they flew,
And from my Charles to a base Goal me drew,
My reverend head expos'd to scorn and shame,
To Boys, Bawds, whores, and made a Publick game.
Frequent adresses to my Charles I send,
And to his care did my sad state commend.
But his fair soul, transform'd by that French Dame,
Had lost all sense of Honour, Justice, fame;
Like a Tame spinster in 's seraglio sits,
Beseig'd by 's whores, Buffoones, and Bastard Chitts;
Luld in security, rouling in lust,
Resigns his Crown to Angell Carwells trust.
Her Creature Osborn the Revenue steals;
False Finch, Knave Anglesey misguide the seals;
Mack James the Irish Pagod does Adore,
His French and Teagues comand on sea and shoar.

89 scorn *all except B 1 which has* own 104 Raigne] Reins *M 13* 110 *Inverted commas are Ed's* 112 Goal—*the usual spelling* 123, 4 *om. 1694* 125 (the Irish Pagod) *B 1, C, M 5*: Pagods *M 10, 13, D, 1694*: Biggots *M 3, 11, H, SP*

The scotch scabbado of one Court, two Isles,
Fiend Lauderdale, with ordure all defiles.
Thus the state's night-Mard by this Hellish rout
And none are left these furyes to cast out.
Oh Vindex, come, and purge the Poyson'd state ;
Descend, descend, ere the Cures desperate.

Rawl: Once more, great Queen, thy darling try to save ;
Rescue him again from scandall and the Grave.
Present to his thought his long scorn'd Parliament
(The Bassis of his throne and Government) ;
In his deaf ear sound his dead Fathers name ;
Perhaps that spell may his Erring soul reclaim.
Who knows what good effects from thence may spring ;
'Tis god-like-good to save a falling King.

Brit: Rawleigh, noe more ; too long in vain I've try'd
The Stuart from the Tyrant to devide.
As easily learn'd Virtuoso's may
With the Doggs bloud his gentle kind convey
Into the Wolf and make him Guardian turn
To the Bleating Flock by him so lately torn.
If this Imperiall oyl once taint the Blood,
It 's by noe Potent Antidote withstood.
Tyrants like Leprous Kings for publick weal
Must be immur'd, lest their contagion steal
Over the whole : the elect Jessean line
To this firm Law their scepter did resign :
And shall this stinking Scottish brood evade
Eternall Lawes by God for mankind made ?
Noe !
To the serene Venetian state I'le goe
From her sage mouth fam'd Principles to know,
With her the Prudence of the Antients read
To teach my People in their steps to tread.
By those great Patterns such a state I'le frame
Shall darken story, Ingross loudmouthd fame.
Till then, my Rawleigh, teach our noble Youth
To love sobriety and holy truth,
Watch and Preside over their tender age
Least Court corrupcions should their souls engage.

128 Fiend *B 1*, *MS*: Feind *C*: Feign'd *M 3*, *13*: Friend *M 10*, *11* (?): False, *SP* 129 state's] states *B 1* 134 again *om. B 1* 147 oyl] ile *M 11*: isle *D*, *1694*: ill *C*, *H* ; *M 5*, *10*, *13*: Juice *M 3*, *SP* 156 fam'd] faind *B 1*

Tell 'em how arts and Arms in thy young dayes
Imployd the Youth, not Taverns, Stewes and playes :
Tell em the Generous scorn their Rise to owe
To Flattery, Pimping, and a gawdy shew :
Teach 'em to scorn the Carwells, Pembrookes, Nells,
The Cleavelands, Osbornes, Barties, Lauderdales.
Poppea, Tegeline and Acte's name
Yeild to all these in Lewdness, lust, and shame.
Make 'em admire the Sidnies, Talbots, Veres,
Blake, Candish, Drake, (men void of slavish fears)
True sons of Glory, Pillars of the state,
On whose fam'd Deeds all tongues, all writers wait.
When with fierce Ardour their brave souls do burn,
Back to my dearest Country I'le return :
Tarquins just judge and Cesar's Equall Peers
With me I'le bring to dry my peoples tears :
Publicola with healing hand shall power
Balm in their wounds, will fleeting life restore.
Greek arts and Roman armes in her conjoynd
Shall England raise, releive opprest mankind.
As Joves great sunn the infested globe did free
From Noxious Monsters, Hellborn tyranny,
Soe shall my England by a Holy Warr
In Triumph lead chaind tyrants from afarr.
Her true Crusado shall at last pull down
The Turkish Crescent and the Persian sun.
Freed by thy labours, Fortunate blest Isle,
The Earth shall rest, the Heavens shall on thee smile,
And this kind secret for reward shall give :
No Poisonous tyrant on thy ground shall live.

The Statue at CHARING CROSS.

What can be the Mistery why Charing Cross
This five moneths continues still blinded with board ?
Dear Wheeler impart, for wee're all at a loss
Unless Puchinello be to be restor'd.

169, 70 *om. 1694* : *and see notes* 170 Barties] Bartues *B 1*
171 and] And *B 1*
171, 2 Teach them to scorn a mean, tho' Lordly Name
Procur'd by Lust, by Treachery and Shame. *1694*
173 Sidnies] sidnies *B 1* 178, 180 I'le] il'e *B 1* 191 *B 1 reads* Fortunate and blest, *but* and *is underlined signifying erasure as in l. 24*
2 five[two *SP*

'Twere to Scaramuchio too great disrespect
To Limitt his troop to this Theatre small,
Besides the injustice it were to eject
The Mimick so legally seiz'd of Whitehall.

For a Diall the place is too unsecure
Since the privy garden could not it defend,
And soe near to the Court they will never indure
Any monument how their time they mispend.

Were these Deales kept in store for sheathing our fleet
When the King in Armado to Portsmouth should saile,
Or the Bishops and Treasurer did they Agree't
To repair with such riffe raffe our Churches old Pale ?

No, to comfort the hearts of the poor Cavaleer
The late King on Horsback is here to be shown :
What a doe with the Kings and the Statues is here :
Have wee not had enough already of one ?

Does the Treasurer think men so Loyally tame
When their Pensions are stopt to be fool'd with a sight ?
And 'tis fourty to one if he Play the old Game
Hee'l shortly reduce us to fourty and eight.

The Trojan Horse, tho' not of Brass but of wood,
Had within it an Army that burnt up the Town :
However tis ominous if understood,
For the old King on Horseback is but an Halfecrown.

But his brother-in-law's horse had gain'd such repute
That the Treasurer thought prudent to Try it again,
And instead of that markett of herbs and of fruit
He will here keep a market of Parliament men.

But why is the worke then soe long at a stand ?
Such things you should never or Suddainly doe.
As the Parliament twice was prorogued by your hand,
Will you venture soe far to Prorogue the King too ?

Let 's have a King then, be he new be he old ;
Not Viner delayed us so, tho' he was brooken
Tho' the King be of Copper and Danby of Gold,
Shall a Treasurer of Guinny a Prince Grudge of Token ?

10 the privy] a Guard and a *M 3, H, SP* 17 Cavaleer] Cavaleers *B 1* 24 Shortly reduce us *H* : reduce us shortly *B 1*. *There are several minor variants of the line, and M 3, 1698 have* eighty and eight. 36 Prorogue] Progue *B 1*
40 Shall the Treas'rer of Guineas grudg us such a Token ? *SP*
Shall the treasurer of guineas refuse such a token *T*

The Huswifely Treasuress sure is grown nice
That so liberally treated the members at supper.
She thinks not convenient to goe to the price,
And wee've lost both our King, our Hors and our Crupper.

Where for so many Barties there are to provide,
To buy a King is not so wise as to sell,
And however, she said, it could not be denyed
That a Monarch of Gingerbread would doe as well.

But the Treasurer told her he thought she was mad
And his Parliament List withall did produce,
Where he shew'd her that so many voters he had
As would the next tax reimburse them with use.

So the Statue will up after all this delay,
But to turn the face to Whitehall you must Shun ;
Tho of Brass, yet with grief it would melt him away,
To behold every day such a Court, such a son.

A Dialogue between the Two Horses.

Introduction.

Wee read in profane and Sacred records
Of Beasts that have uttered Articulate words :
When Magpyes and Parratts cry ' walke Knave walk ',
It is a clear proofe that birds too may talke ;
Nay Statues without either windpipe or Lungs
Have spoken as plainly as men doe with Tongues :
Livy tells a strang story can hardly be fellow'd
That a sacraficed ox, when his Gutts were out, Bellow'd :
Phalaris had a Bull which grave Authors tell ye
Would roar like a Devill with a man in his belly :
Fryar Bacon had a head that spoke made of Brass,
And Balam the Prophet was reprov'd by his Asse :
At Delphos and Rome Stocks and Stones now and then, sirs,
Have to Questions return'd oracular Answers :
All Popish beleivers think something divine,
When Ima es speak, possesses the shrine :

45 for *om. B 1* Barties *ed.* : Bartu's *MSS.* : parties *SP, T* 2 that] who *B 1 only* 3 *Inverted commas are Ed's* 7 tells] tells us *B 1, M 2* 9 ye *or* yee *B 3, C, M 2, 3, 13, 16* : yea *m* : you *B 1, SP* 16 the] *om. B 1 only*

But they that faith Catholick ne're understood,
When Shrines give Answers, say a knave 's in the Roode ;
Those Idolls ne're speak, but the miracle 's done
By the Devill, a Priest, a Fryar, or Nun.
If the Roman Church, good Christians, oblige yee
To beleive men and beasts have spoke in effigie,
Why should wee not credit the publique discourses
Of a Dialogue lately between the two Horses,
The Horses I mean of Woolchurch and Charing,
Who have told many truths well worth a mans hearing,
Since Viner and Osburn did buy and provide 'um
For the two mighty Monarchs that doe now bestride 'um.
The stately Brass Stallion and the white marble Steed
One night came togeather by all is agreed,
When both the Kings weary of Sitting all day
Were stolne of Incognito each his own way,
And that the two Jades after mutuall Salutes
Not onely discoursed but fell to disputes.

Dialogue.

W. Quoth the marble white Hors : 'twould make a stone speak
To see a Lord Major and a Lumbard Street break,
Thy founder and mine to Cheat one another,
When both knaves agreed to be each others brother.
Ch. Hefe Charing broke silence and thus he went on :
My Brass is provok't as much as thy stone
To see Church and state bow down to a whore
And the King's Chiefe minister holding the doore :
W. To see dei Gratia writ on the Throne,
And the Kings wicked life say God there is none ;
Ch. That he should be styled defender o' th faith,
Who beleives not a word, the word of God saith ;
W. That the Duke should turne Papist and that Church defy
For which his own Father a Martyr did dye.
Ch. Tho he chang'd his Religion I hope hee 's so civill
Not to think his own Father is gone to the Devill.
W. That Bondage and Begery should be brought on the Nacion
By a Curst hous of Commons and a blest Restauracion ;

20 or *B 3, C, M 13, 16, m* : a *B 1* : and *1689* : or a *M 2, 3, H, 1697*
22 spoke *M 13, 16, m, SP* : spoken *B 1, 3, C, M 2, 3* 27 Osburn] osburn *B 1* 29 stately] lately *B 1 only* 36 A *most MSS., SP* : the *B 1* 42 minister] ministers *B 1, B 3, M 13. For 1697 interpolation here see notes* 44 say] sayes *B 1, M 2*

Ch. To see a white staffe make a Beggar a Lord
And scarce a wise man at a long Councell board ;
W. That the bank should be seiz'd yet the Chequer so poor ;
Lord a Mercy and a Cross might be set on the doore ;
Ch. That a Million and half should be his revenue,
Yet the King of his debts pay no man a penny ;
W. That a King should consume three Realms whole Estates
And yet all his Court be as poore as Church Ratts ;
Ch. That of four Seas dominion and Guarding
No token should appear but a poor Copper farthing ;
W. Our worm-eaten Navy be laid up at Chatham,
Not our trade to secure but foes to come at 'um,
Ch. And our few ships abroad become Tripoly's scorn
By pawning for Victualls their Guns at Legorne ;
W. That makeing us slaves by hors and foot Guards
For restoring the King should be our Rewards.
Ch. The basest Ingratitude ever was heard ;
But Tyrants ingratefull are always afeard.
W. On Seventh Harry's head he that placed the Crown
Was after rewarded with losing his own.
Ch. That Parliament men should rail at the Court,
And get good preferment Imediately for't.
W. To the bold talking members if the Bastards you adde,
What a rabble of Rascally Lords have been made.
Ch. That Traitors to their Country in a Brib'd Hous of Commons
Should give away Millions at every Summons.
W. Yet some of those givers such beggerly Villains
As not to be trusted for twice fifty shillings.
Ch. No wonder that Beggers should still be for giving
Who out of what 's given do get a good living.
W. Four Knights and a Knave, who were Publicans made,
For selling their Conscience were Liberally paid.
Ch. Yet baser the souls of those low priced Sinners,
Who vote with the Court for drink and for Dinners.

56 a Cross] Cross *B 1, M 13*: may the people not rest till they find the back doore *B 3* 58 pay] pays *B 1 only* 60 yet] *om. B 1. M 2* 61 four] the four *B 3, C, M 3, 13, 16, m*: the *M 2, H. See note* 65 become] became *B 1 only* 70 ingratefull are] are ingratefull and *B 1 only* afeard *or* affeard *M 3, 13, 16*: appeared *MS. correction in BM copy of 1689*: afraid *B 1, 3, M 2, m, SP*: affraid *C* 72 losing] the loss of *B 1 only* 75 *See notes* 76 been] *om. B 1 only* 82 Who] When *B 1, B 3* do] do a *B 1 only* 85 Yet *B 1*: Soe *B 3*: Then *C, M 2, 13, 16, m, H, 1689*: How *1697* baser *M 16*: more base *M 3*: base are *most MSS., SP*: those *B 1, 3*: the *C, M 2, 3, 13, 16, m, 1689*: such *1697* priced *Ed's spelling: MSS. and SP have* prised *or* prized, *though B 1 spells* priz'ib.

W. 'Tis they who brought on us the Scandalous Yoak
Of Exciseing our Cups and Taxing our Smoak.
Ch. But thanks to the whores who have made the King Dogged
For giving noe more the Rogues are prorogued.
W. That a King shou'd endavour to make a warr cease
Which Augments and secures his own profitt and peace.
Ch. And Plenipotentiaryes send into France
With an Addleheaded Knight and a Lord without Brains.
W. That the King should send for another French whore,
When one already hath made him soe poor.
Ch. Enough, dear Brother, for tho' we have reason,
Yet truth many times being punisht for Treason,
Wee ought to be wary and Bridle our Tongue ;
Bold speaking hath done both man and beast wrong.
When the Asse so bouldly rebuked the Prophet,
Thou knowest what danger was like to come of it ;
Tho' the beast gave his Master ne're an ill word,
Insted of a Cudgell Balam wish't for a Sword.
W. Truth 's as Bold as a Lyon, I am not afraid ;
I'le prove every tittle of what I have said.
Our riders are absent ; who is't that can hear ?
Letts be true to ourselves ; whom then need wee fear ?
Where is thy King gone ?
Ch. To see Bishop Laud.
W. To Cuckold a Scrivener mine's in Masquerade.
On ocasions like these he oft steals away
And returns to remount about break of Day.
In every dark night you are sure to find him
With an Harlot got up on my Crupper behind him.
Ch. Pause, Brother, a while and calmly consider :
What hast thou to say of my Royall Rider ?
W. Thy Priest-ridden King turn'd desperate Fighter
For the Surplice, Lawn-Sleeves, the Cross and the mitre,
Till at last on a Scaffold he was left in the lurch
By Knaves who cry'd themselves up for the Church,
Arch-Bishops and Bishops, Arch-Deacons and Deans
Ch. Thy King will ne're fight unless't be for Queans.

90 For . . . more] And for not giving more *B 1 only* 93 And] Amb *B 1 (again !)* 94 With] *om. M 13, H* a] *om. B 1 only* 97 *See notes* 99 Tongue *B 3, M 16* : Tongues *B 1, C, M 2, 3, 13, m, SP* 104 of a] of *B 1 only* 110 mine 's in] *B 1 has a blank space followed by* in a : in Masquerade] marsking abroad *B 3* 113 every . . . night *B 1, C, M 3, 16* : a very . . . night *M 2, H* : very . . . nights *B 3, M 13, m, SP* you . . . to *B 1, C, M 3, 13* : sometimes you may *B 3, M 2, 16, m, SP*

W. He that dyes for Ceremonies dyes like a fool.
Ch. The King on thy Back is a Lamentable Tool.
W. The Goat and the Lyon I Equally hate,
And Free men alike value life and Estate.
Tho Father and Sonne are different Rodds,
Between the two Scourges wee find little odds.
Both Infamous Stand in three Kingdoms votes,
This for picking our Pocketts, that for cutting our Throats.
Ch. More Tolerable are the Lion Kings Slaughters
Than the Goats making whores of our wives and our Daughters.
The Debauch'd and the Bloody since they Equally Gall us,
I had rather Bare Nero than Sardanapalus.
W. One of the two Tyrants must still be our case
Under all that shall Reign of the false Scottish race.
Ch. De Witt and Cromwell had each a brave soul.
W. I freely declare it, I am for old Noll.
Tho' his Government did a Tyrants resemble,
Hee made England great and it's enemies tremble.
Ch. Thy Ryder puts no man to death in his wrath,
W. But hee 's buryed alive in lust and in sloath.
Ch. What is thy opinion of James Duke of York ?
W. The Same that the Froggs had of Jupiters Stork.
With the Turk in his head and the Pope in his heart
Father Patricks Deciple will make England smart.
If e're he be King I know Brittains Doome ;
Wee must all to the Stake or be Converts to Rome.
A Tudor a Tudor ! wee've had Stuarts enough ;
None ever Reign'd like old Besse in the Ruffe.
Ch. Her Walsingham could dark Councells unriddle,
W. And our Sir Joseph write news-books, and fiddle.
Ch. Troth, Brother, well said, but thats somewhat bitter :
W. His perfum'd predecessor was never much fitter.
Ch. Yet have wee one Secretary honest and wise :
W. For that very reason hee 's never to rise.
Ch. But canst thou Divine when things shall be mended ?
W. When the Reign of the Line of the Stuarts is ended.
Ch. Then, England, Rejoyce, thy Redemption draws nigh ;
Thy oppression togeather with Kingship shall dye.

126 men *B 3, m etc.* : man *B 1, SP* 135, 6 *om. 1689* 145
Turk in] Turk on *B 1 and 1689 only* 151 *Ch.*] *B 1 puts it at 150*
152 news-books *M 2, 13, m, 1689* : news books *C* : Newsbook *M 16* :
new books *B 1, M 3, 1697*. *B 3 om.* 151, 2 159–62 *om. SP*

W. A Commonwealth a Common-wealth wee proclaim to the Nacion;
The Gods have repented the Kings Restoration.

Conclusion.

If Speech from Brute Animals in Romes first age
Prodigious events did surely presage,
That shall come to pass all mankind may swear
Which two inanimate Horses declare.
But I should have told you, before the Jades parted,
Both Gallopt to Whitehall and there Horribly farted,
Which Monarchys downfall portended much more
Than all that the beasts had spoken before.
If the Delphick Sybills oracular speeches,
As learned men say, came out of their breeches,
Why might not our Horses, since words are but wind,
Have the spirit of Prophecy likewise behind?
Tho' Tyrants make Laws which they strictly proclaim
To conceal their own crimes and cover their shame,
Yet the beasts of the field or the stones in the wall
Will publish their faults and prophesy their fall.
When they take from the people the freedome of words,
They teach them the Sooner to fall to their Swords.

Let the Citty drink Coffee and Quietly groan
They that Conquered the Father won't be slaves to the Son:
'Tis wine and Strong drink makes tumults increase;
Chocolet Tea and Coffee are liquors of peace.
No Quarrells or oathes amongst those that drink 'um;
Tis Bacchus and the Brewer swear Dam 'um and sink 'um.
Then, Charles, thy edict against Coffee recall;
Theres ten times more Treason in Brandy and ale.

Scaevola Scoto-Brittannus.

Sharpius exercet dum saevas perfidus iras,
  Et proprii Pastor fit Lupus ipse gregis,
Lenta videbatur coeli vindicta Michello,
  Et fas in talem credidit omne Nefas.
Peccat in insonti sed Praesule missile Plumbum
  (Insons si Praesul quilibet esse potest)

161–end *om. C om. B 3, M 3* 178 prophesy] proclaim *B 1 only* 181–8

Culpa par, at dispar sequitur fortuna Jacobos :
Ocrea torquet idem, mitra beatque scelus.
Quanta ast Percussor crimen virtute piavit,
Judicibusque ipsis quam Reverendus erat !
Quid de se fieret melius Praetore docebat ;
Non poenas illum sed dare jura putes.
Carnificem tremulum jubet abstinuisse sinistra.
Errorem Dextrae dextera sura luat.
Nec mora, feralem Tortore aptante Cothurnum,
Tanquam Sutori commodat usque pedem :
Intima contuso et dum ringitur osse medulla
Calceus urit ubi cernere nemo queat,
Ut vacat ! ut proprii sedet ad spectacula cruris
Immotus, populo commiserante, reus :
Non vultu aut ulla confessus voce dolorem,
Sub cuneo quanquam tibia pressa gemit.
At, ceu mitis herus famulo subridet inepto,
Infractus Lanium frangere membra videt.
Inter lictoris nisus feriatur anheli,
Nec vult supplicii conscius esse sui.
Lassus at interea patitur tormenta minister.
(Qui sentit solus dicitur ille pati)
Scaevola si Thuscum potuit terrere Tyrannum,
Fortius hoc specimen Scotia nostra dedit.
Numina quam temnas, homines ne spernito Sharpi,
Hìc è tercentum Mutius unus erat.

Explosa nequiit quem sternere glande Michellus,
Explodet saevum Scotia Pontificem.
Inter Pontificem quid distat Carnificemque ?
Inter Luciferum Furciferumque quod est.

Advice to a Painter to draw the Duke by.

[*By* HENRY SAVILE].

Spread a large canvass, Painter, to containe
The great assembly and the numerous traine,
Who all in triumph shall about him sitte
Abhoring wisdome and dispising witt,

17 osse *Thompson* : ossa *M 16* 23, 4 *om. Thompson* 33–6 *occur only in M 16, where they are preceded by a short stroke under 32*
2 assembly] assemly *R*

Hateing all justice and resolv'd to fight
To robb their native countrey of its right.

First draw him falling prostrate to the South,
Adoreing Roome, this labell in his mouth.
Most holy Father, being joyned in league
With Father Patricke Darby and with Teage,
Throwne att thy sacred feete I humbly bow,
I and the wise associates of my vow,
A vow that fire and sword shall never end
Till all this nation to thy footstoole bend.
Armed with boold zeale and blessing with thy hands
Ile raise my papist and my Irish bands,
And by a noble well contrived plott,
Manag'd by wise Fitzgerard and by Scott,
Prove to the world Ile have ould England know
That common sense is my eternall foe.
I nere can fight in a more glorious Cause
Then to destroy their liberty and laws,
Theire house of Commons and their house of Lords,
Theire parchment presidents and dull records.
Shall these men dare to contradict my will
And thinke a prince oth blood can ere doe Ill ?
It is our birthright to have Power to kill.
Shall these men dare to thinke, shall these decide
The way to heaven and who shall be my guide ?
Shall they presume to say that bread is bread,
Or that theres not a purgatory for the dead ?
That extreame unction is but common oyle
And not Infallible the Roman Soyle ?
Ile have these villains in our notions rest ;
You and I say itt : therefore its the best.

Next, Painter, draw his Mordant by his side,
Conveying his Religion and his bride :
He who longe since abjured the Royall line
Do 's now in popery with his Master joyne.

Then draw the princesse with her golden locks,
Hastning to be invenom'd with the pox

7 falling] *om. some copies of 1679* 12 associates] associate *R* 18 Fitzgerard] Fitzgererd *R* 22 their] the *R* 30 *Some versions have another line between* 30 *and* 31
If we affirm that it is God indeed
34 our] one *R* 37 bride] pride *R*

And in her youthfull veines receive the wound
That sent Nan Hide before her under ground,
The wound of which now tainted Churchill faids,
Preserv'd in store for the new sett of maids.
Poore princess, borne under a sullen starr
To finde such wellcome when you come soe farr.
Better some jealous neighbour of your owne
Had called you to a sound though petty Throne,
Where twixt a wholsome husband and a page
You might have lingred out a lazy age,
Then in false hopes of being once a Queene
Dy before twenty, or rott before sixteene.

Now, Painter, shew us in the blackest dye
The Counsellors of all this villany.
Clifford, who first appeared in humble guise,
Was thought soe meeke, soe prudent and soe wise :
But when he came to act upon the stage,
He proved the mad Cethegus of his age.
He and his Duke had both to great a minde
To be by justice and by laws confind :
Their boyling heads can hear no other sounds
Then Fleets and Armyes, battles, blood and wounds ;
And to destroy our libertyes they hope
By Irish fools and by a doting pope.

Now Talbott must by his great master stand,
Laden with folly, flesh and Ill got land :
He 's of a size indeed to fill a porch,
But nere can make a piller for a church ;
His sword is all his argument, and his book ;
Although no scholler, yet can act the cooke :
And will cutt throats againe if he bee paid :
I'th Irish shambles he first learn'd the trade.

Then, Painter, shew thy skill and in fitt place
Letts see the nuntio Arundells sweete face ;
Let the behoulder by thy Art descrey
His sense, his soul as squinting as his eye.

Let Belassis Autumnall face be seene,
Rich with the Spoile of a poore Algeryne,

55 the] its *R* 67–74 *om. 1679* 70 book] looke *R* 76 thy Art] the fact *R*

Who trusting in him was by him betray'd,
And soe should wee, were his advice obey'd.
The Hero once gott honour by the sword ;
He gott his wealth by breaking of his word ;
And now hath gott his Daughter gott with Child,
And Pimpt to have his family defil'd.

Next, Painter, draw the Rabble of the plott,
Jermyne, Fitzgerald, Loftus, Porter, Scot.
Are these fitt hands to overturne a State
And change the order of a nation's fate ?
Ten thousand such as these can nere controule
The smalest atome of an English soul.
Old England on its strong foundations stands,
Defying all their heads and all their hands.
Its steady Basis never could bee shooke,
When wiser men its ruine undertooke :
And can her Guardian Angell lett her stoope
At last to fools and mad men and the pope ?
Noe, Painter, noe ; close up this peice and see
This band of traytors hang'd in Effigie.

To the King.

Great Charles, who full of mercy wouldst command
In peace and pleasure this thy native land,
At last take pitty of thy tottering throne,
Shooke by the faults of others, not thine owne.
Let not thy life and crowne togeather end,
Destroyd by a false brother and false friend.
Observe the danger that appeares soe neare,
What all thy subjects doe each minute feare :
A droppe of poisone or a papish knife
Ends all the Joys of England and thy life.
Brothers, its true, by nature should be kinde :
But to a zealous and ambitious minde,
Bribed by a croune on earth and one above,
There is no friendship, tenderness nor love :
See in all ages what examples are
Of Monarchs murthered by the Impatient heir :
Hard fate of princes, who will nere believe,
Till the stroke is struck which they can nere repreive.

92 its] it *R* 94 could] can *R* 97 last] least *R*

An Historicall Poem.

[Author Unknown.]

Of a tall Stature and of sable hue,
Much like the Son of Kish that lofty Jew,
Twelve Yeares compleat he suffer'd in Exile
And kept his Fathers Asses all the while.
At length by wonderfull impulse of Fate
The People call him home to helpe the State,
And what is more they send him Mony too,
And cloath him all from head to foot anew ;
Nor did he such small favours then disdain
But in his thirtieth yeare began to Raigne.
In a slasht doublet then he came to shoare,
And dubd poore Palmer's wife his Royall Whore.
Bishops and Deanes, Peeres, Pimps and Knights he made,
Things highly fitting for a Monarchs trade.
With Women, Wine and Vyands of delight
His jolly Vassalls treat him day and Night.
But the best times have ever some mishap ;
His younger Brother perisht by a clap.
And his Dutch Sister quickly after dy'd,
Soft in her Nature and of wanton pride.
Bold James survives, no dangers make him flinch,
He marry'd Minhier Falmouths pregnant wench.
The pious Mother Queen heareing her Son
Was thus enamour'd with a butterd bun,
And that the Fleet was gone in Pompe and state
To fetch for Charles the floury Lisbon Kate,
She chants Te Deum and so comes away
To wish her hopeful Issue timely Joy.
Her most Uxorious Mate she usd of old ;
Why not with easy Youngsters make as bold ?
From the french Court she haughty Topiks brings,
Deludes their plyant Nature with Vain things,
Her mischiefbreeding breast did so prevaile
The new got flemish Towne was sett to sale.
For those and Germin's sins she founds a Church,
So slips away and leaves us in the lurch.

19, 20 *om. SP* 21–36 *om. 1689 which substitutes*
Bold Y——k survives to be the Nation's Curse,
Resolv'd to Ruine it by Deceit or Force.
25 and *H, SP*: in *M 16* 29 usd] rull'd *SP* 31 she *SP*: the *M 16* 34 sale] saile *M 16* 35 Germin's *SP* : Germin *M 16*

Now the Court Sins did every place defile,
And Plague and Warre fell heavye on our Isle.
Pride nourisht folly, folly a Delight
With the Batavian common Wealth to fight.
But the Dutch fleet fled suddainly with feare ;
Death and the Duke so terrible apeare.
The dreadfull Victor tooke his soft repose,
Scorning the persuit of such recreant foes.
But now Yorkes Genitalls grew over hot
With Denham and Coneig's infected pot,
Which with Religion so enflam'd his ire
He sells the Citty where 'twas sett on fire.
So Philips Son enflamed with a Miss
Burnt downe the Pallace of Persepolis.
Foil'd thus by Venus he Bellona woes,
And with the Dutch a second Warr renews.
But here his french bred Prowes provd in Vain,
De Ruyter claps him in Solbay again.
This Isle was well reform'd and gaind renowne,
Whilst the brave Tudors wore th' Imperial Crowne :
But since the ill gott race of Stewarts came,
It has recoild to Popery and Shame,
Misguided Monarchs rarely wise or just,
Tainted with Pride or with impetuous lust.
Should we the Blackheath Project here relate,
Or count the various blemishes of State ——
Our muse would on the Readers patience grate.
The poore Priapus King led by the Nose
Lookes as one sett up for to scare the Crows.
Yet in the Mimmicks of the Spintrian Sport
Outdoes Tiberius and his Goatish Court :
In Loves delights none did him ere excell
Not Tereus with his Sister Philomel.
As they att Athens, we att Dover meet,
And gentlier farre the Orleans Dutches treat.
What sad events attended on the same
We leave to the report of Common fame.
The Senate which should headstrong Princes stay
Let loose the Raines and give the Realme away :

41 fled suddainly *SP*: soon fled *M 16* 46 pot *MSS.*, *1689*: Plot *1697* sells . . . where *M 16*: left . . . when *H*, *SP* 61 Blackheath] ıckheath *M 16* 67 Tiberius] Tiberias *M 16* 69 Tereus] Tyreas *M 16*

With lavish hands they constant Tributes give
And annual Stypends for their guilt recieve :
Corrupt with Gold they Wives and Daughters bring
To the black Idol for an Offering.
All but religious cheats might justly sweare
He true Vicegerent to old Moloch were.
  Priests were the first deluders of Mankind,
Who with vain Faith made all their Reason blind :
Not Lucifer himselfe more proud then they,
And yet perswade the World they must obey :
'Gainst Avarice and Luxury complaine,
And practise all the Vices they araigne :
Riches and honour they from Lay-men reap,
And with dull Crambo feed the silly sheep.
As Killegrew buffoons his Master, they
Droll on their God but a much duller way :
With hocus pocus and their heavenly slight
They dazle both the Prince and Peasants sight.
Who ever has an over zealous wife
Becomes the Priests Amphitrio dureing Life.
Who would such men Heavens messengers believe,
Who from the sacred Pulpit dare decieve ?
Baals wretched Curates Legerdemain'd it so,
And never durst their tricks above board shew.
When our first Parents Paradice did grace,
The Serpent was the Prelat of the place :
Fond Eve did for this subtle Tempters sake
From the forbidden tree the Pipin take :
His God and Lord this preacher did betray.
To have the weaker Vessell made his prey :
Hence Death and Sin did human Nature blot :
The chiefest blessings Adam's Chaplin got.
Thrice wretched they who natures Lawes detest
To tread the Phantastik Mazes of a Priest,
Till native Reason's basely forct to yield
And hosts of upstart Errours gaine the field.
My Muse presum'd a litle to digress
And touch the holy function with her Verse :
Now to the State she tends againe direct,
And dos on Gyant Lauderdale reflect.

89 Crambo *SP* : Cramb *M 16* 93 As *M 16*. They gayne on tender Consciences ; at night *H*. They gain on tender Consciences at Night *SP* 101 the *H*, *SP* : that *M 16* 107 Adam's] adam's *M 16*

This haughty Monster with his ugly claws
First temper'd Poison to destroy our Lawes,
Declares the Councel Edicts are beyond
The most authentik Statutes of the Land,
Sets up in Scotland alamode de France,
Taxes Excise and Armyes dos advance.
This Saracen his Countryes freedom broke
To bring upon our Necks the heavier yoke :
This is the Savage Pimp without dispute
First brought his Mother for a Prostitute :
Of all the Miscreants ever went to hell
This Villin Rampant bares away the bell.
Now must my Muse deplore the Nations fate,
Like a true Lover for her dying Mate.
The Royal Evil so malignant growes,
Nothing the dire Contagion can opose.
In our weal-publik scarce one thing succeeds—
For one man's weakeness a whole Nation bleeds
Ill luck starts up and thrives like Evil weeds.
Let Cromwells Ghost smile with Contempt to see
Old England truckling under slavery.
His meager Highness now had got astride,
Dos on Brittania as on Churchill ride :
White liverd Danby for his swift Jacall
T'hunt down 's Prey and hope to master all.
Clifford and Hide before had lost the day,
One hang'd himself, the other fled away :
'Twas want of Wit and Courage made them fail,
But Osborn and the Duke must needs prevail.
The Duke now vaunts, with popish Myrmidons ;
Our fleets our Ports our Cittyes and our Townes
Are man'd by him or by his Holiness.
Bold Irish Ruffins to his Court adress :
This is the Colony to plant his knaves :
From hence he picks and calls his murd'ring braves :
Here for an Ensignes or Lieutenants place
They'l kill a Judge or Justice of the Peace.
At his Command Mack will doe any thing,
Hee'l burne a Citty or destroy a King.
From Tybur came the advice boat Monthly home,

120 France] france *M 16* 129 her *H, SP* : a *M 16* 136 truckling *M 16* : strugling *H, SP* 142 hang'd *SP* : hangs *M 16*

And brought new Lessons to the Duke from Rome.
Here with curst precepts and with Councels dire
The Godly-cheat King-wou'd-be did inspire,
Tells him the holy Church demands his aide,
Heaven had him Chieftain of great Britain made,
Bid him be bold all dangers to defye,
His Brother sneaking Heretik should dye,
A Priest should doe it, from whose sacred stroke
All England strait should fall beneath his yoake,
God did renounce him and his Cause disowne
And in his stead had plac'd him on his Throne.
From Saul the Land of Promise thus was rent,
And Jesse's son plac'd in the Government:
The holy Scripture vindicates his Cause,
And Monarchs are above all human Lawes.
Thus said the Scarlet Whore to her gallant,
Who strait design'd his Brother to supplant.
Fiends of Ambition here his Soul possesst,
And thirst of Empire Calentur'd his Breast.
Hence Ruine and Destruction had ensu'd,
And all the People been in blood embru'd,
Had not Almighty Providence drawne neere,
And stopt his Malice in its full Careere.
  Be wise ye Sons of Men tempt God no more
To give you kings in's Wrath to vex you sore:
If a Kings Brother can such mischief bring,
Then how much greater Mischiefe as a King.

157 precepts *H, SP*: practises *M 16* 161, 2, 3 should *H, SP*: shall *M 16* 178 its *H, SP*: his *M* 16

COMMENTARY

GENERAL NOTE ON THE TEXT

I. *Poems published before* 1650.

See notes on individual poems.

The *Elegy on Villiers* (1648) in the Appendix is reprinted for the first time.

II. *Miscellaneous Poems*, 1681.

The volume is a small folio referred to in the notes as *F*.

A minority of copies have the portrait reproduced on p. 6 of the present edition.

The collation of all known copies but two is :

T.-p. and 'To the Reader' (two leaves unsigned and unpaged), B–C^{2} (pp. 1–8), D–Q^{4} (pp. 9–112), R one leaf (pp. 113–14), S one leaf (pp. 115–16), T2, [T3], [T4] (pp. 131–6), U one leaf (pp. 137–8), X one leaf (p. 139, verso blank).

The two exceptions are : (1) British Museum, C 59. i. 8 (formerly in the possession of Mr. G. Thorn-Drury) ; (2) another copy which in 1920 was in the possession of Mr. C. H. Wilkinson of Worcester College, Oxford.

(1) The collation (apart from the first two leaves) is :

B–C^{2} (pp. 1–8), D–U^{4} (pp. 9–144). Pages 115–29 (R2^{r}–T1^{r}) contain *An Horatian Ode* and *The First Anniversary* ; pp. 140–4 (U2^{v}–U4^{v}) contain ll. 1–184 of *A Poem upon the Death of O.C.*

(2) This copy contains *An Horatian Ode* and *The First Anniversary*, but ends like other copies with U one leaf, X one leaf.

In the ordinary copies R2–4, S, T, have been cancelled and a single sheet S substituted. The recto contains only the last six lines of *The Character of Holland*, the signature S and the catchword 'In '. The verso contains *In Legationem Domini Oliveri St. John* and ll. 1–8 of *A Letter to Doctor Ingelo*. At the end of the book U2–4 has been cancelled and X substituted, of which the recto contains the last part of the *Second Song* for the marriage of Fauconberg and Mary Cromwell. It may be conjectured that another half sheet containing ll. 185–324 of *A Poem upon the Death of O.C.* was also cancelled.

A not perfectly accurate reprint of British Museum C 59. i. 8 was published in 1923 by the Nonesuch Press, London.

The text of the present edition is based on British Museum C 59. i. 8, divergences from which (except a few turned letters) are indicated in the foot-notes. The text of ll. 185–324 of *A Poem upon the Death of O.C.* is based on that of Thompson (1776).

F contained six poems which had been printed earlier, viz. :

Dignissimo suo Amico Doctori Wittie
To his worthy Friend Doctor Witty
The Character of Holland (ll. 1–100)
The First Anniversary
On the Victory obtained by Blake
On Mr. Milton's Paradise lost

See notes to the separate poems.

The order of *F* is retained here with the following exceptions:
(1) *Letter to Sir John Trott* (*F*, pp. 67–9) has been removed and printed in vol. ii (*Miscellaneous Letters* 9).
(2) Four prose epitaphs (*F*, pp. 65, 66, 69–71) have been placed at the end (pp. 132–6 of this edition).
(3) Satirical, commendatory and political poems have been collected together and arranged in chronological order (pp. 83–132 of this edition).
(4) *A Dialogue between Thyrsis and Dorinda* (*F*, pp. 109–10 between *The Victory obtained by Blake* and *The Character of Holland*) has been placed next after *Clorinda and Damon*.

III. *Satires of the Reign of Charles II.*

The textual question is a difficult one. The actual basis of most previous editions seems to be the later issues of *Poems on Affairs of State* (1703–7), although some use was made of earlier issues, and Wright (1904) took some readings and additional matter from British Museum MSS. But manuscript copies exist of all the satires except *Last Instructions*, and the extant manuscript copies of many of them are very numerous. In general the manuscript copies agree as against the *State Poems* and present a vastly superior text. This is what should be expected. The majority of such satires circulated in manuscript from the time of their composition until after the Revolution. *Clarindon's House-Warming* (printed 1667, when Clarendon fell) and *Advice to a Painter to draw the Duke* (printed 1679 during the Popish Plot agitation) are exceptions. Private persons copied them into manuscript books in which they made collections of such things. The extant manuscript copies, therefore, though they contain very numerous minor and generally obvious errors, are much earlier than the printed versions of the *State Poems* (1689–1716). Moreover, *State Poems* were carelessly edited and introduced errors of their own. The text they present is heavily punctuated, sometimes so wrongly that the editor had to alter his text to make some sort of sense. He also toned down many passages which might have been offensive to William and Mary, who was, after all, the daughter of the dethroned James II. Attacks on 'monarchy' are changed into attacks on 'tyranny' (*Dialogue between the Two Horses*, l. 169), definitely Republican lines are omitted (*id.*, ll. 161–2), personal abuse of the Stuarts is toned down (*An Historicall Poem*, ll. 21–36). I have, therefore, based my text on manuscript authority.

Where there are numerous manuscript versions of a satire, none of them perfect, another question has had to be decided. I originally made an eclectic text from all the MSS. known to me. But eclectic texts are not satisfactory, and the *apparatus criticus* was of a bulk out of all proportion to the merits of these productions. Moreover, in the process of making the eclectic text I became convinced that *B 1* (see below for list of symbols) presented on the whole a better version of the satires contained in it than any other manuscript. I have, therefore, followed it whenever possible. For satires not included in *B 1* I have followed the only * or the better or (*Advice to a Painter to draw the Duke*) the earliest manuscript known to me. For *The Statue in Stocks-Market* I have retained my eclectic text. The textual notes are confined, as a rule, to indicating divergences from the manuscript chosen as a basis and the authority for those

* Apart from *H* (see next page).

divergences. I have abandoned the bulky and laborious *apparatus criticus* * which I originally made. I have expanded abbreviations in the basic manuscript and have punctuated the text, but have retained the original spelling. This retention of a mere copyist's vagaries and errors is not very satisfactory, but, for an edition of this sort, it is better than complete modernizing.

The following is a list of the MSS. referred to in the notes and the symbols employed :

British Museum.

M 1 is *Harleian* 4659.
M 2 ,, ,, 6947.
M 3 ,, ,, 7315 (a second hand has added ascriptions to some satires).
M 4 ,, ,, 7317 (contains copies from *State Poems*, 1689 and is, therefore, valueless for the text, but has a few annotations).
M 5 is *Sloane* 655.
M 6 ,, ,, 901.
M 7 ,, ,, 2717.
M 8 ,, ,, 3087.
M 9 ,, ,, 3413.
M 10 ,, ,, 3516.
M 11 ,, *Stowe* 758.
M 12 ,, *Addit.* 18220.
M 13 ,, ,, 23722.
M 14 ,, ,, 29921.
M 15 ,, ,, 32096.
M 16 ,, ,, 34362.
M 17 ,, ,, 36270.
M 18 ,, *Burn* 390.

Bodleian.

B 1 is *Douce* 357.
B 2 ,, *Tanner* 395.
B 3 ,, *Add. A.* 48.
B 4 ,, *Rawlinson poet.* 81.
b ,, *Gough MS. London* 14.

Record Office.

R is MS. of *S. P. Dom. Car. II.* 337.

Others.

C is *MS. 116* in the Codrington Library, All Souls College, Oxford.
D ,, the Dowden MS. (see note on text of *Britannia and Rawleigh*).
m ,, a MS. volume in the editor's possession.
H ,, a MS. volume formerly belonging to Sir William Haward, which Mr. Thorn Drury has kindly collated with the proofs of the present edition.

In addition to the above I have also, by the kind permission of Messrs. Dobell, examined one MS. copy of *Britannia and Rawleigh*, one of *A Dialogue between two Horses*, and one of *Advice to a Painter to draw the Duke*. These copies did not provide me with any important fresh readings, but were useful for confirming the text which I had already adopted.

References in the notes to *State Poems* and some similar miscellanies will be made clearer by the following list (1689 are all quarto, the rest octavo). I have, for simplicity, not reproduced italics,

* Here is a specimen of it which illustrates the superiority of *B* 1, the general agreement of the MSS. against the *State Poems*, the politic alterations in the latter and, I hope, the soundness of my decision not to print all of it :—

Britannia and Rawleigh, l 153 stinking Scottish *B* 1, *M* 5, *H*. sinking S. *M* 3, 11, *C* : sitting S. *M* 10 : sinking, sottish *D* : base Tyrannic *SP*

capitals (other than initial), &c. Some of the title-pages are veritable mosaics of different founts.

1689. i. A | Collection | of | The Newest and Most Ingenious | Poems, Songs, Catches, &c. | Against | Popery. | Relating to the Times. | Several of which never before Printed. | [design] | London, Printed in the Year, MDCLXXXIX.*
Collation: Advertisement 1 leaf, T.-p. and Contents 1 leaf, a two leaves (pp. i–iv), A–C⁴ (pp. 1–24).

ii. A Second | Collection | &c. . . . Against | Popery and Tyranny, | . . . . Most of which &c.*
Collation: T.-p. and Contents 1 leaf, A1, 2, B–D⁴ (pp. 5–31).

iii. A Third | Collection | &c. . . . . Most of which, &c.*
Collation: T.-p. and Contents 1 leaf, A1, 2, B1–4, C1–4, D1, C2–4 † (pp. 5–32).
[None of these three contains anything attributed to Marvell. iii., which reprints 'Denham's' *Advices*, professes to include *On Dunkirk House* but does not.]

iv. The | Fourth (and Last) | Collection | of | Poems, Satyrs, Songs, &c. | Containing, | [list of eleven titles]. | Most of which never before Printed. | London, Printed Anno Dom. 1689.*
Collation: T.-p. 1 leaf, B–E⁴ (pp. 1–32), F 1 leaf (pp. 33–4) [Contains *An Historical Poem.*]

v. A | Collection | of | Poems | on | Affairs of State; | Viz. | [list of twelve poems]. | By | A—— M——l, Esq; and other Eminent Wits. | Most whereof never before Printed. | London, Printed in the Year, MDCLXXXIX.*
Collation of three Bodleian copies: A1 (T.-p.), A2–B⁴, D–E⁴, F² (pp. 3–36).
Collation of B.M. copy: A1 (T.-p.), A2–D⁴ (pp. 3–32)—C1 signatured D.
[Contains *Advice to a Painter* (i.e. *to draw the Duke*).
Britain and Raleigh.
The Statue at Stocks-M——.
To the King (detached from *Advice to a Painter*).
Nostradamus Prophecy.]

vi. The | Second Part | of the | Collection | of | Poems | on | Affairs of State, | Viz. | [list of twenty-one poems]. | By A—— M——l and other Eminent Wits. | None whereof ever before Printed. | London, Printed in the Year, 1689.
Collation: A1 (T.p.), A2–D4 (pp. 1–30).
[Contains *Dialogue between the Two Horses.*
On the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, &c. (i.e. *Upon his Majesties being made free of the Citty*).]

vii. The | Third Part | of the | Collection | of | Poems | on Affairs of State. | Containing, | Esquire Marvel's further

* Wood subjoined the following notes to his copies (Bodleian, Wood 382):
i (which lacks the Advertisement). 'published in Lond. in the latter end of Dec. 1688. 6d'
ii. '14 Feb. 1688—6d—Ox.'
iii. 'Bought at Oxō. 12. March 1688.—6d'
iv. 'Bought at Oxon 30. Mar. 1689'
v. 'bought at Oxon 26 Feb. 1688—6d' (in pencil).
† Sic (C2–4 is repeated).

Instructions to | a Painter. | And | The late Lord Rochester's Farewel. | London: Printed in the Year MDCLXXXIX.

Collation: see textual note on *Last Instructions*.

[The above seven quartos form the basis of the subsequent collections of *State Poems*.]

1694. viii. Chorus Poetarum: | Or, | Poems | On | Several Occasions. | By The | [seven names] | And several other Eminent Poets of this Age. | Never before Printed. | London: Printed for Benjamin Bragg, at | the White-Hart, over against Water-Lane in Fleet- | street, MDCLXIXIV. [Sic—British Museum Catalogue dates it 1694.]

Collation: $A1^{v}$ (Announcement), A2 (T.-p.), A3–8 (Epistle Dedicatory), B–M^{8} (pp. 1–176).

[One of Gildon's miscellanies, containing:

To Christina, Queen of Sweden (the eight lines on Cromwell's portrait).

Rawleigh's Ghost in Darkness (i.e. *Britannia and Rawleigh*).

The Loyal Scot.]

1697. ix. Poems | on | Affairs of State: | From | The Time of Oliver Cromwell, to the | Abdication of K. James the Second. | Written by the greatest Wits of the Age. | viz. | [list of ten wits]. | With some miscellany Poems by the same: | Most whereof never before Printed. | Now carefully examined with the Originals, and | Published without any Castration. | Printed in the Year 1697.

Not much of this title-page can express the truth.

Collation: (*a*) First Issue (Bodleian Antiq. e. E. 1697/2, from which, however, the 'Addenda' is missing). A2–8 (T.-p., Preface, Index), B–P^{8} (pp. 1–224), Q1–8 (pp. 245–60), A1–4 (Addenda, pp. 1–8, consisting of *The Perfect Enjoyment* and *Satyr Against Marriage*).

(*b*) Second Issue (British Museum 11603, bbb. 25) is identical, except for A1–8 (Addenda, pp. 1–16, consisting of seven poems, of which *The Perfect Enjoyment* and *Satyr Against Marriage* are the two last).

(*c*) Third Issue (British Museum 1077. e. 26 and Bodleian Antiq. e. E. 80) is more closely printed. A1–4 (T.-p., Preface, Index), B–P^{8} (pp. 1–224), Q1–8 (pp. 245–60), R1–4 (Addenda, pp. 261–7 and Advertisement).

Pages 1–260 contain all the poems of (*b*) including the Addenda, which still come at the end but are not separated either in the index or in the text The new Addenda (pp. 261–7) consists of one poem, *In Opposition to Mr. Dryden's Essay on Satyr, 1680*.

[Contains most of the Marvell satires published in iv–viii and also

On Blood's Stealing the Crown.

Further Instructions to a Painter (i.e. *Further Advice*, &c)

The first three of the seven poems in the Addenda of (*b*) are

Clarendon his House-Warming.

Upon his House.

Royal Resolutions (i.e. *The Kings Vowes*).]

Of the three issues (*a*) and (*b*) are rarely met with, (*c*) is fairly common.

x. Poems | On | Affairs of State, | The Second Part. | Written during the Reign of K. James | the II. against Popery and Slavery, | and his Arbitrary Proceedings. | By the most Eminent Wits viz. | [list of nine names]. | Now Carefully Corrected, and Published | from the Originals. | London, | Printed in the Year 1697. (British Museum 17603. bbb. 26.)

Collation: T.-p. 1 leaf, To the Reader 1 leaf, Contents 2 leaves, B–P⁸ (pp. 1–224—'Finis' at bottom of p. 224), A2 (Contents), A3–8 (pp. 1–12), B, B3, and two more leaves (pp. 13–20).

[Not to be confused with xi. Contains nothing of Marvell's.]

xi. State Poems; | Continued | From the time of O. Cromwel, | to this present Year 1697. | Written | By the Greatest Wits of the Age, viz. | [nine names] | With | Several Poems in Praise of Oliver Cromwel, | in Latin and English, by | [five names]. | Also some Miscellany Poems by the same, | never before Printed. | Now carefully examined with the Originals, and | Published without any Castration. | Printed in the Year MDCXCVII.

[Reprints *The Statue at Stocks-Market*, already published in v.]

This volume is frequently found bound up with ix (*c*), of which it is a continuation.

1698. xii. The | Poetical Remaines | of the | Duke of Buckingham, Sir George Etheridge, Mr. Milton, Mr. Andrew Marvel [&c.].

A reissue of viii with a cancel title-page.

xiii. Poems | on | Affairs of State: | From Oliver Cromwell, | To this present time. Written by the | greatest Wits of the Age, viz. | [a double column of greatest wits—sixteen in all] | Part III. | With other Miscellany Poems; | And a new Session of the present | Poets. The whole never before Printed. | Printed in the year, 1698. (Bodleian Antiq. e. E. 80.)

[Contains *The Statue at Charing-Cross*.]

1699. xiv. A new issue or edition of ix+xi. 'The Third Edition, Corrected and much Enlarged. | Printed in the year 1699.' The second title-page (of 'State-Poems Continued') has 'Printed in the Year MDCXCIX', and 'State-Poems Continued' are enlarged by sixteen pages (pp. 249–64) of 'Additions'.

1702. xv. Another edition of xiv. 'The Fourth Edition, Corrected and much Enlarged. | Printed in the Year, 1702.'

Second title-page: 'Printed in the Year MDCCII.'

1703. xvi. Another edition of the same. 'The Fifth Edition.'

xvii. Poems | on | Affairs of State, | From | The Reign of K. James the First, | To this Present Year 1703. | Written by the greatest Wits of the Age, | viz. | [fifteen names]. | Many of which never before Publish'd | Vol. II. | Printed in the Year 1703.

[Contains nothing of Marvell's.]

1704. xviii. Poems | on | Affairs of State, | From 1640, to this present | Year 1704. | Written by the greatest Wits of the Age, | viz. | [fifteen names]. | Most of which were never before published. | Vol. III. | Printed in the year 1704.

[Reprints *The Statue at Charing Cross*, and contains

a prose parody of Charles II's Speech to Parliament on 13 April 1675, which it attributes to Marvell.]

1705. xix. A new | Collection | of | Poems | Relating to | State Affairs, | From | Oliver Cromwel | To this present Time : | By the Greatest | Wits of the Age : | Wherein, not only those that are Contain'd in | the Three Volumes already Published are | incerted, but also large Additions of chiefest | Note, never before Published. | The whole from their respective Originals, | without Castration. London, | Printed in the Year MDCCV.

A piratical production, containing 591 pages, much resented by the publishers of xvi, xvii, xviii, who insert a three-page *Advertisement* in xx to prove that xix's claim to completeness is ' notoriously false and scandalous '. Neither side was speaking the truth in claiming to reproduce the ' respective Originals '.

1707. xx. Poems | on | Affairs of State, | From 1620 to this present | Year 1707. | Many of them by the most eminent Hands, | viz. | [list of twelve ' Hands ' of which the first is ' Mr. Shakespear ']. | Several of which were never before publish'd. | To which is added, | A Collection of some Satyrical Prints against the | French King, Elector of Bavaria, &c. Curi-| ously ingraven on Copper-Plates. | Vol. IV. | London, Printed in the Year 1707.

[Contains *The First Anniversary*, which it ascribes to Waller.]

1710. xxi. Another edition of xiv—' The Sixth Edition '.

1716. xxii. Another issue of xxi. It is still called ' The Sixth Edition '.

xxiii. Another edition of xvii—' The Second Edition '.

xxiv. Another edition of xviii—' The Second Edition '.

xxv. Another issue or edition of xx. It is not called the second edition. The title-page is identical with that of xx except that, like xxii, xxiii, and xxiv, it has a full imprint—' London ; | Printed for Thomas Tebb and Theoph. Sanders | in Little-Britain, Edw. Symon at the Black Bull in Corn-| hill, and Francis Clay at the Bible without Temple-| Bar. M.DCC.XVI.

IV. *Collected Editions.*

i. 1726. Edited by Thomas Cooke. Two volumes containing a short life of Marvell, the 1681 poems, *State Poems*, *Ad Regem Carolum Parodia*, and *πρὸς Κάρολον τὸν βασιλέα*, and a few letters.

Re-issued in 1772.

ii. 1776. Edited by Captain Edward Thompson. Three volumes containing a life, all the poems and letters of Cooke's edition, some new poems and satires especially the three Cromwell poems (*An Horatian Ode*, *The First Anniversary*, *A Poem upon the Death of O. C.*), the bulk of the *Corporation Letters*, and one or two more private letters.

He may have printed the Cromwell poems from manuscript, but does not say so. All he does is to head them *Addenda* and to say in a foot-note ' The preface to the first volume being so extensive, the editor was obliged to place these original poems at the end of this book '.

The other poems newly included consist of the commendatory lines on Lovelace, and the contents of two MS. books, which Thompson attributed to Marvell wholesale, including the ballad of *William and Margaret* (' 'Twas at the silent midnight hour '), and three hymns which had been published in *The Spectator* (' When all thy mercies, O ! my God ', ' When Israel freed from Pharaoh's hand ', and ' The spacious firmament on high '). This actually raised a stir (see *Gentleman's Magazine* of the time) and, as far as one can make out, Thompson never submitted his MS. books to any one's inspection nor can they now be traced. He may have destroyed them. Besides the contents of the MS. books Thompson was favoured with other ' anecdotes, manuscripts and scarce compositions of our author ' apparently by the executor of Mr. T. Hollis. (Hollis left his property to Thomas Brand, who then took the name of Hollis.) The Cromwell poems may be included in this category.

Thompson's preface is a masterpiece of confusion, but the following particulars of his two MS. books can be disentangled.

(*a*) The first he describes as ' a volume of Mr. Marvell's poems, some written with his own hand, and the rest copied by his order '. He acquired this from Mr. T. Raikes (a Hull name) and it had been for ' many years in the care of Mr. Nettleton '. There were two Robert Nettletons. One was the husband of Marvell's niece, the other was their son. Probably the latter is meant. This volume contained :

The King's Vows.
The Statue in Stocks-market.
The Statue at Charing-Crosse.
' When his masters too rash ' [additional stanzas of *Upon his Majesties being made free of the City*].
' When all thy mercies, O ! my God.'
' When Israel freed from Pharaoh's hand.'
' The spacious firmament on high.'
William and Margaret.
The Despairing Shepherd (' One night when all the village slept ').

This seems to be the order in which these pieces appeared in the MS. book. If it was also the order in which they were entered in it, only the first four could possibly be in Marvell's hand or copied by his order. *The Statue at Charing-Crosse* is the only one which Thompson definitely says is in Marvell's hand. He had transcribed hundreds of Marvell's letters, and ought to have known his hand, but I should not be surprised if he did not. But, of course, even if it was in Marvell's hand, that would not prove his authorship of it.

Thompson next gives as ' a *jeu d'esprit* of Marvell's ' a lampoon called *The Parliament-House To Lett*, which is printed in the *State Poems* (1697 (*c.*) p. 199). Thompson does not say it was in the MS. book (in fact the order in which it comes in his Preface makes that improbable), nor give any reason why he attributes it to Marvell, and no one has ever reprinted it as Marvell's since.

(*b*) The second MS. book arrived, says Thompson, when his ' three volumes were finished in the press '. He was then ' politely complimented by Mr. Matthias with a manuscript volume of poems written by Mr. William Popple, being a collection of his uncle Andrew Marvell's compositions after his decease '. For Popple see the *Miscellaneous Letters*. Mrs Matthias, Thompson says, was lineally descended from Edmund Popple. Both the MS. volumes, therefore, came from relations of Marvell. This volume contained

'those two' 'Denham' satires (see introductory note to *Last Instructions*), which, presumably, means the first two. Thompson, on the strength of this MS. book, ascribed them to Marvell, but did not print them. He does give as Marvell's the following:

The Latin Epigram on Blood's 'Attempt to Steale the Crown'.
Upon the Cutting Sir John Coventry's Nose.
The Checker Inn.
Scaevola Scoto-Britannus.
The Doctor Turn'd Justice.
The Latin lines on Cromwell's picture sent to Queen Christina of Sweden.

Thompson was quite uncritical, and therefore the only possible way to deal with these poems, of which only the last had been previously printed as Marvell's, is to accept them as his only where there is corroborative evidence.

iii. 1872. Edited by the Rev. A. B. Grosart. Four volumes of the *Fuller Worthies Library* containing: vol. i Poems, vol. ii Letters, vol. iii and iv Prose Works.

iv. 1892. Edited by G. A. Aitken. Two volumes of the *Muses' Library*, vol. i Poems, vol. ii Satires.

Second edition, with some additional notes, 1901.

v. 1904. Edited by Edward Wright. Poems and Satires in one volume of Methuen's *Little Library*.

There was also an American edition of 1857, re-issued in 1870 and 1878, and numerous volumes containing selections from Marvell have appeared.

V. *Authenticity of some of the Satires.*

This might more logically have been discussed under III above, but it seemed better to wait until I had given particulars of Thompson's MS. books. Grosart printed as 'Unauthenticated' the following:

Royal Resolutions (i.e. *The Kings Vowes*).
Hodge's Vision from the Monument.
Oceana and Britannia.
Upon the Cutting of Sir John Coventry's Nose.
The Checker Inn.
The Doctor Turn'd Justice.

Aitken followed Grosart and put these six satires in an appendix. Grosart's reasons for rejecting *Royal Resolutions* no longer hold good and I have therefore printed it (see note on it). But I have not printed any of the others in the text, as it seems to me a great mistake to continue to print among Marvell's poems inferior stuff which has long been considered spurious. The five satires fall into two classes:

(i) *Hodge's Vision* and *Oceana and Britannia* are attributed to Marvell in the 1697 *State Poems* though not in those of 1689, but they cannot be his as they contain allusions to events after his death. *Hodge's Vision* (l. 140) refers to Edwards as Lord Mayor, and Edward's mayoralty was 29 October 1678 to 29 October 1679. It also refers (ll. 90–8) to Coleman's execution which took place in December 1678. Further, to give a piece of external evidence, it was pretty clearly just out on 7/17 April 1679, when Algernon Sidney wrote to Henry Savile 'That you may see the good humour we are in, I here enclosed send you, a piece of Poetry given unto me by a Friend of yours; and if you have not seen another, which is the Speech of *Hodge* the *Clown* from the top of the *Pyramid*, I will

endeavour to send it unto you' (*Letters of Algernon Sydney to Henry Savile*, London, 1742). *M 13* dates it '167$\frac{4}{5}$', but it should be noted that this date and the passage in Sidney's letter may only refer to the first 105 lines (ll. 1–100 in Aitken's edition). *M 3*, *M 5*, and *State Poems* 1689—which last omits two short passages out of consideration for Mary II—give only this part of the satire. *M 16* gives the whole, but heads the part beginning at l. 106 'The Second Part'. This does not affect the question of Marvell's authorship of the first part, which the Coleman passage alone is sufficient to disprove.

The date of *Oceana and Britannia* is 1681. It refers (l. 26) to the Oxford Parliament of that year, and has other references to the events of the three years which had passed since Marvell's death on 16 August 1678.

(ii) The other three were written before Marvell's death but there is nothing to corroborate Thompson's ascription of them to him. *Upon the Cutting of Sir John Coventry's Nose* appeared in the *State Poems* of 1704 with the title of *The Haymarket Hectors* but it is not there attributed to Marvell, nor is it attributed to him in any of the three MSS. I have consulted (*M 3*, *M 13*, and *B 1*).

The Checker (or *Chequer*) *Inn* will be found as illustrative matter in the notes to *The Statue at Charing Cross*. It also was printed in the *State Poems* of 1704. It is not attributed to Marvell there nor in *M 3*, the only manuscript version I know.

The Doctor Turn'd Justice appears to have been first printed by Thompson, and I have not come across any manuscript copy of it. It probably belongs to the year 1672 or thereabouts, cf. *Wickham wakened: or, the Quaker's Madrigal in Rhyme dogrel* (1672—one sheet 4°). Grosart obelized it because of lack of corroboration for Thompson's ascription, and there seems no reason external or internal for reversing this decision.

Further I have been able to show that two of the satires which have not hitherto been suspected are certainly spurious, viz. *Advice to a Painter to draw the Duke* and *An Historicall Poem*. I have, of course, had to print them, for they have hitherto been considered genuine. I am quite sure that some of the others are not Marvell's, but I have discussed the authenticity of each separately in the notes.

NOTES

Ad Regem Carolum Parodia. (Page 1.)

This and the following lines Πρὸς Κάρολον τὸν βασιλέα first appeared in Συνωδία | *sive* | *Musarum* | *Cantabrigiensium* | *Concentus Et* | *Congratulatio*, | *Ad* | *Serenissimum Britanniarum Regem* | *Carolum*, | *De quinta sua subole, clarissima Prin-*|*cipe, sibi nuper felicissimè* | *nata*. | [design] | *Ex Academiae* Cantabrigiensis *Typo-*| *grapheo*. Anno Dom. *1637*. a collection of Latin and Greek verses on the birth of the Princess Anne, 17 March 1637. Other contributors were Richard Crashaw of Peterhouse, and Edward King, Fellow of Christ's, whose death later in the same year was the occasion of Milton's *Lycidas*. The *Parodia* is a close adaptation of Horace, *Carmina*, I. ii.

l. 1. *pestis*. The plague was at Cambridge at the end of 1636.

l. 13 et seq. Granta and Cam are alternative names for the Cambridge river; it is formed at the watersmeet of two streams

of about equal size, of which the easterly (right hand) stream is generally called the Granta, the westerly the Cam. The mingled streams are swerving to the left to avoid the *monumenta pestis* on the right (the town and university) bank.

l. 16. *Templáque clausa*, cf. Worthington *Diary*: 'An. 163$\frac{4}{5}$, Jan. 8. Began the Universities Sermons in St. Maries, w^{ch} by reason of y^{e} Plague were prohibited from the beginning of November.'

l. 21. *Turcæ*. A fleet was in preparation to suppress the Turkish pirates of Sallee (*State Papers, Domestic*, 1636–1637), and the danger was brought home to the inhabitants of Cambridge by a levy of ship money.

l. 51. *reparato* (imperative): with much hesitation I keep the reading of 1637. Cooke's emendation *reparare* makes better Latin. The corresponding lines in Horace are:

neu sinas Medos equitare inultos
te duce, Cæsar.

Πρὸς Κάρολον τὸν βασιλέα. (Page 2.)

l. 1. Δυσαριστοτόκος: unhappy mother of a noble child.

Πέντ', ὦ δύσποτμος ἀριθμός. The Princess Anne was the King's fifth child. The number five is stigmatized because of the two attempts on the life of James I, on 5 August 1600 (the Gowrie conspiracy) and 5 November 1605; this is explained by the marginal notes in the volume of 1637. On the occasion of the Gowrie conspiracy the King's life was saved by John Ramsay, who afterwards took his title of Earl of Holdernesse from the district in which Marvell was born.

l. 4. ἀπελύμαινες: didst purify (from the curse).

l. 10. Ἁρμονίην τὴν Διὰ πέντε: a chord consisting of a note and its fifth (cf. diapason: ἁρμονία ἡ διὰ πασῶν, where the interval is an octave).

To his Noble Friend Mr. Richard Lovelace, *upon his Poems.* (Page 3.)

This is one of a large number of commendatory poems which introduced the first edition of Lovelace's *Lucasta* in 1649; the original text is here reprinted. *Lucasta* was licensed on 4 February 164$\frac{7}{8}$, and if ll. 21–32 of Marvell's poem be understood to mean that the book was not yet licensed, we have here a composition written not much more than half way through the interval between *Fleckno* (1645) and *Upon the death of the Lord Hastings* (1649).

l. 12. *Civicke crowne*: a garland of oak leaves anciently bestowed on a man who saved the life of a fellow-citizen in war: cf. *The Garden*, 2.

l. 21. The Printing Ordinance of June 1643 was still in force, in spite of Milton's *Areopagitica* (November 1644).

l. 22. *consistory*: court of presbyters.

l. 24. *Presbytery*: established in England in 1643.

l. 28. *the Houses Priviledge*: 'Privilege of Parliament' includes freedom of speech: wrong = abuse.

l. 30. The famous song is the second in the volume.

l. 31–2. On April 30, 1642, Lovelace had presented to the House a Kentish petition on the King's behalf, although a previous petition had been burnt by the hangman. Lovelace was imprisoned in consequence. See C. H. Wilkinson, *Lovelace*, I. xxiii–xxxvi.

ll. 33–50. Cf. Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses* (ed. Bliss), iii. 460.

'Richard Lovelace . . . became a gent. commoner of Glocester hall in the beginning of the year 1634, and in that of his age 16, being then accounted the most amiable and beautiful person that ever eye beheld, a person also of innate modesty, virtue and courtly deportment, which made him then, but especially after, when he retired to the great city, much admired and adored by the female sex. In 1636, when the king and queen were for some days entertained at Oxon, he was, at the request of a great lady belonging to the queen, made to the archb. of Cant. then chancellor of the university, actually created, among other persons of quality, master of arts, tho'· but of two years standing; at which time his conversation being made public, and consequently his ingenuity and generous soul discovered, he became as much admired by the male, as before by the female, sex.'

Upon the death of the Lord Hastings. (Page 4.)

This poem first appeared in *LACHRYMÆ MUSARUM*; | The Tears of the *MUSES*: | *Exprest in* | *ELEGIES*; | WRITTEN | *By divers persons of Nobility and Worth,* | *Upon the death of the most hopefull,* | Henry *Lord* Hastings, | *Onely Sonn of the Right Honourable* | *FERDINANDO Earl of* Huntingdon | *Heir-generall of the high-born Prince* | *GEORGE Duke of* Clarence | *Brother to* | *King Edward the fourth.* | Collected and set forth by *R. B.* | Dignum laude virum Musæ vetant mori. *Hor.* | London, *Printed by* Tho. Newcomb. *1649.* The title-page is enclosed in a black border a quarter of an inch thick. Other contributors included Herrick, Denham and Dryden. Page 76 bears the note 'Here was the end of the Book intended to have been; and so was it Printed, before these following Papers were written or sent in'; the remaining poems are printed under the title POSTSCRIPT | *ELEGIES,* | Written by | M. *Andrew Marvel* . . .; of these Marvell's is the first and Dryden's the fourth. The text of 1649 is here reprinted.

Henry Lord Hastings died of smallpox on 24 June 1649. He was born 16 January, 1630 (Collins, *Peerage*, which leaves it uncertain whether it is $16\frac{29}{30}$ or $16\frac{30}{31}$). Harmar's elegy in *Lachrymae Musarum*, p. 86, speaks of him as 'undevicesimum . . annum agens'.

l. 12. *remora*: 'the sucking-fish, (*Echeneis remora*), believed by the ancients to have the power of staying the course of any ship to which it attached itself' (*O.E.D.*).

l. 18. *Geometrick year*: an obscure phrase for which I can find no other authority. The antithesis seems to be between the solar year, the year measured *by the sun* (this is the unit of time used 'here' l. 17), and a *geometrick year* or year measured *by the earth*, i.e. by a man's earthly growth or progress.

l. 40. His mother (Lucy, daughter of Sir John Davies) was still alive.

l. 43. *Hymenæus.* Hastings died on the eve of the day fixed for his marriage with the daughter of Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne, physician to the King (see ll. 48 and 52).

l. 49. *Chymist*: alchemist.

l. 50. *leap*: to burst or crack (obs.). Cf. French *sauter*.

Title-Page. (Page 7.)

The book is advertised in *The City Mercury*, no. 264 (20 Jan. 1680–1), and in the *Term Catalogues* of February 1680–1. It is not to be found in the Stationers' Register. A copy in the possession of Sir C. Firth is dated '18 Jan. 1680' in Luttrell's hand.

To the Reader. (Page 8.)

The Prerogative Court of Canterbury granted letters of joint administration to this lady with John Greene, 'Mariæ Marvel relictæ et Joñi Greene creditori'; the entry in the Administration Book under the year 1679 is dated { London / 30 Sept^r / 31 Martii 1680.

Under the year 1678 the Cash Book of the Hull Corporation contains the entry:

Sep 30 By Admiñrs of Mr. Andr: Marvel 50 [i.e. pounds]
Given to his Relacons

This was six weeks after Marvell's death and shows that his relations in Hull (i.e. the Popples) were acting as his administrators there a year before the grant to 'Mary Marvell' and John Greene; there is no mention of a widow, and her title seems to have been denied by the family, for Cooke (1726, vol. i, p. 36, *Life of Marvell*) who had spoken with Marvell's nieces, says that the poems 'were published with no other but a mercenary View, and indeed not all to the Honour of the deceased, by a Woman with whom he lodged, who hoped by this Stratagem, to share in what he left behind him. He was never marryed'.

I have searched parish registers in vain for a record of the marriage. The manuscript book in my possession (*m*) contains *A Love Letter to the Author of the Rehersall Transposed* (*sic*), a scurrilous attack on Marvell in Hudibrastic verse, which suggests that he was incapable of consummating a marriage. Its date is probably 1673; had Marvell been known to be married then the *Love Letter* would have mentioned it. The same attack is made in *The Transproser Rehears'd* (1673), pp. 136 sqq. He may have married quite at the end of his life, but he was a man who was always happiest when alone. I incline to disbelieve in the wife.

A Dialogue, Between The Resolved Soul, and Created Pleasure. (Page 9.)

Throughout the poem the contrast between the Soul and Pleasure is marked by a contrast of metres.

l. 36. *but*: only.

l. 46–7. *fence The Batteries*: ward off the onslaughts.

l. 51–4. Cf. *The Match*, ll. 13–16, and Cowley, *The Mistress* (1647), 'The Soul', l. 17–19:

> If all things that in *Nature* are
> Either soft, or sweet, or fair,
> Are not in Thee so 'Epitomiz'd.

Cowley's poem, like Marvell's, passes in turn through the pleasures of the five senses; the closeness of the parallel supports my emendation 'soft' in l. 51.

l. 71. *Center*: the centre of the earth; cf. Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, IV. ii. 110:

> But the strong base and building of my love
> Is as the very Center of the earth
> Drawing all things to it.

l. 74. *Humility*: i.e. by the degree of humility.

On a Drop of Dew. (Page 12.)

'In the 1681 edition Latin versions of this and . . . *The Garden*, are printed immediately after the English. Neither the Latin nor the English can be accurately described as a translation of the other. But a careful reading suggests that the Latin in each case was written first, and served as a guide rather than a text for the beautiful English verses. The relation of the two versions *On a Drop of Dew* and *Ros* is fairly close, though the Latin is at times clearer than the English; e. g. " Round in its self incloses " (l. 7), means, as the Latin shows, " incloses itself in its own orb " :

Inque sui nitido conclusa voluminis orbe ;

and " So the World excluding round " (l 29) is in Latin

Oppositum mundo claudit ubique latus.

The relation of *The Garden* and *Hortus* is much less close. Portions of the Latin reappear very freely treated, viz. the first three stanzas and the last. Other portions of the Latin are not represented in English, and, on the other hand, stanzas 4–8 read like a happy addition in which the poet has been unfettered by any reference to the Latin. The 1681 editor, indeed, suggests that some of the Latin poem is lost, but this may be an attempt to explain the want of correspondence.

My colleague Professor Oliffe Legh Richmond has read the poems carefully, and the opinion I have adopted was suggested by him.' Professor H. J. C. Grierson, *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford 1921, pp. 239–40.

It may be simplest to regard these poems as experiments on the same themes, made at about the same time, in Latin and English.

ll. 4–5. *For* means ' because of ', cf. *Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-borow*, l. 13. Line 5 gives the reason for l. 6. But I keep the 1681 punctuation with hesitation. Previous editors have changed it in such a way as to make l. 5 give the reason for l. 4, and this is supported by the Latin version.

l. 6. *incloses* : no example of an intransitive use of this verb is given in *O.E.D.*, but cf. *An Horatian Ode*, l. 19. Here ' in-closes ' must mean ' closes in ' and the line may be paraphrased ' closes in on itself all round '. Contrast the use of ' twining in ' for ' entwining ' in *The Coronet*, l. 14.

l. 8. *native element* : heaven, cf. l. 26. The dew ' of heaven ' was ' generit in the sycond regione of the ayr ' (*Complaynt of Scotland* vi. 59 : 1549).

l. 13. Cf. *A Dialogue between the Soul and the Body*, l. 14, and Crashaw, *Wishes to His Supposed Mistress*, l. 51 : ' Be its own tear '.

l. 23. *blossoms green* : cf. *Young Love*, l. 11. ' Green ' is one of Marvell's favourite epithets, occurring twenty-five times in the 1681 volume.

l. 24. *recollecting* : collecting again.

l. 29. Paraphrase ' thus shutting out the world on every side '.

l. 39. Exodus xvi. 21. ' And they gathered it morning by morning, every man according to his eating : and when the sun waxed hot, it melted.'

Ros. (Page 13.)

See Professor Grierson's note on the foregoing poem.

The Coronet. (Page 14.)

l. 7. *Towers*: a very high head-dress worn by women.
l. 14. *twining in*: entwining.
l. 16. *wreaths*: coils.
l. 22. *curious*: elaborately wrought.
frame: the chaplet.

Eyes and Tears. (Page 15.)

The manuscript copy of this poem in the Bodleian (Tanner 306 f. 388), ascribed to Marvell, omits stanza ix, and has a few variant readings which need not be recorded.

ll. 5–6. Cf. *A Poem upon the Death of O. C.*, ll. 269–70.

l. 38. *it*: if not a misprint, this is a very late use. *O. E. D.*'s latest example (outside dialect) is from Wither, 1622.

l. 48. But see *The Nymph complaining for the death of her Faun*, l. 95.

Bermudas. (Page 17.)

In July 1653 Marvell went to Eton as tutor to Cromwell's ward William Dutton (see his letters to Cromwell and Milton, *Miscellaneous Letters*, nos. 1 and 2), and lived with his pupil in the house of John Oxenbridge, Fellow of the College, who had twice visited the Bermudas. Oxenbridge had returned to England *redeunte conscientiarum libertate* with his wife. See *Jancæ Oxenbrigiæ Epitaphium*, and note thereon.

Compare Waller, *Battle of the Summer Islands* (or Bermudas), 1645, i. 6–11:

> That happy island where huge lemons grow,
> And orange trees, which golden fruit do bear,
> The Hesperian garden boasts of none so fair;
> Where shining pearl, coral, and many a pound,
> On the rich shore, of ambergris is found.
> The lofty cedar . . .

and Captain John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England and the Summer Isles*, 1624, possibly a common source.

l. 7. They were discovered by Juan Bermudez in 1515.

ll. 9–10. The 'battle' in Waller's poem is between the Bermudans and two stranded whales.

ll. 13–14. Cf. Captain John Smith, *The Generall Historie*, &c. p. 170: 'There seemes to be a continuall Spring . . . and though the trees shed their leaues, yet they are alwaies full of greene'; and Waller, *Battle of the Summer Islands*, i. 40–1:

> For the kind spring, which but salutes us here,
> Inhabits there, and courts them all the year.

l. 20. *Ormus*: Hormuz, on the Persian Gulf.

ll. 21–2. Cf. *The Garden*, st. v.

ll. 23, 24. *apples*: pineapples, which the colonists introduced into the Bermudas (Captain John Smith). Cf. Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum* (1640), p. 1626: 'This fruite beareth a bush of leaves at the toppe, and some small heads on small branches underneath it, which being taken from it and planted halfe way deepe in the ground will take roote, and beare fruite the next yeare, which is the onely manner of propagating.'

A Dialogue between Thyrsis and Dorinda. (Page 19.)

This poem is printed in the folio between *The Victory obtained by Blake* and *The Character of Holland*; I have put it with the other poems of its kind. The text is more corrupt than that of any other poem in the book. *M 14* contains one complete copy (f. 123) and fragments of another (f. 105). The complete copy, in a late seventeenth-century hand, is under the title *A Pastoral*, and concludes with the note: 'This is in *Marvells* Poems, pag. 109 with some little difference.' Most of f. 105 has been cut out, leaving the top of the leaf, which bears on the recto:

When death shall part us from these kids
Vide 120
A Pastoral Dialogue

and on the verso the last five lines of the poem, with corrections in a different ink; 'even' is deleted from l. 47. *B 4* also contains a copy in a seventeenth-century hand with the same title as *F*. It agrees in general with *M 14* rather than with *F*. With the help of these MSS. I have been able to complete the defective lines and to ascribe ll. 43–4 to *Thyrsis*. I have noted all other verbal differences and adopted some.

This poem stands by itself in being misplaced in *F*, in having the text deficient in several places, and in being found in two MS. books.

l. 1. Here and in other places where *M 14* has two readings, the upper one was probably copied from *F*.

ll. 7–8. Both *F* and *M 14* are defective. Between them a complete couplet could be produced, but *B 4*'s reading is metrically possible, and the naïve question is in keeping with Dorinda's question in l. 5.

l. 25. I suspect *F*'s 'sweetly' to come from l. 27. In any case the line is defective, and it is difficult to account for the MS. reading if it was not part of the original poem.

l. 28. *Antidate*: cf. *Young Love*, l. 23, and Donne, *Poems and Sonets*, Womans Constancy, l. 3:

Wilt thou then Antedate some new made vow?

l. 33. *Consorts*: 'a singing or playing in harmony'; this was the usual spelling.

A Dialogue between the Soul and Body. (Page 20.)

l. 14. 'After he was stretch'd to such an height in his own fancy, that he could not look down from top to toe but his Eyes dazled at the Precipice of his Stature', Marvell, *Rehearsal Transpros'd*, i. 64. (Cf. *On a Drop of Dew*, 13.)

l. 15. *needless*: having no want; cf. *As You Like It*, II. i. 46, 'weeping into the needless stream.'

l. 30. The phrase may be a reminiscence of Crashaw, *Ad Bethesdæ piscinam positus* (1634), though the sense is unconnected, Crashaw's *naufragium* having reference to John v. 4:

Quis novus hic refugis incumbit Tantalus undis,
Quem fallit toties tam fugitiva salus?
Unde hoc naufragium felix? medicæque procellæ?
Vitaque, tempestas quam pretiosa dedit?

The Nymph complaining for the death of her Faun. (Page 22).

Compare Fida's hind in Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, i. 3, 4.

l. 13. *so*: with the murder forgotten by Heaven in accordance with my prayer.

l. 17. *Deodands*: cf. Butler, *Hudibras*, iii, *The Lady's Answer*, 103–4:

> For love shou'd, like a deodand,
> Still fall to th' owner of the land;

where H. G. Bohn explains that 'any moving thing which occasions the death of a man is forfeited to the lord of the manor. It was originally intended that he should dispose of it in acts of charity: hence the name deodand, meaning a thing given, or rather forfeited, to God, for the pacification of his wrath, in case of misadventure, whereby a Christian man cometh to a violent end, without the fault of any reasonable creature'.

l. 70. *four*: a disyllable, cf. note on *Two Horses*, l. 61.

Young Love. (Page 25.)

There seems to be no ground for the suggestion that this refers to Mary Fairfax.

l. 9. *Common beauties*: an expression of which Carew is fond: see *Persuasion to Love*, l. 14.

l. 11. *green* = immature; cf. *On a Drop of Dew*, l. 23.

ll. 17–18. Cf. *The picture of little T. C. in a Prospect of Flowers*, ll. 38–40.

l. 23. *antedate*: cf. *A Dialogue between Thyrsis and Dorinda*, l. 28.

To his Coy Mistress. (Page 26.)

Compare Cowley, *The Mistress* (1647): 'My Dyet', st. 3:

> O'n a *Sigh* of Pity I a year can live,
> One *Tear* will keep me twenty at least,
> Fifty a gentle *Look* will give;
> An hundred years on one *kind word* I'll feast:
> A thousand more will added be,
> If you an Inclination have for me;
> And all beyond is vast *Eternity*.

Other parallels with *The Mistress* are to be found in *A Dialogue, Between the Resolved Soul, and Created Pleasure*, l. 51, note, *Mourning*, l. 3, *Definition of Love*, l. 29, and *The Match*, ll. 19, 23.

l. 24. With modern spelling and pronunciation the threefold long 'ah' sound in this line is lost:

> Desarts of vast Etarnity.

l. 34. *lew*: warmth.

'1591 Sylvester, *Du Bartas*, I. iv. 656. To th' end a fruitfull lew [orig. *chaleur*] May every Climat in his time renew. 1633 Gerard, *Part. Descr. Somerset* (1900) 11. . . . the warmnes, which wee yet call Lewe', *O.E.D.*

'W. Yks. Tha'rt all ov a loo an ās red as a hep! Hartley, *Clock Alm.* (1880) 38', *English Dialect Dictionary*.

The 1681 printer repeated the *g* at the end of *morning*: cf. *The Gallery*, l. 42, note.

This is my by no means confident attempt to solve a well-known crux. Professor H. J. C. Grierson (*Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century*, p. 227) retains Cooke's 'dew' and says

that his ' own view is that if " glew " be the right reading. it stands for " glue " as in " cherry-tree glue ", " plum-tree glue ", and that Marvell thought of the dew as an exhalation :

> And while thy willing Soul transpires
> At every pore with instant Fires.

But " morning dew " is a frequent combination ; and " dew " suggests at once moisture and glow. Compare . . . *Paradise Lost*, iv. 642–5.'

The late Henry Bradley suggested that ' glew ' might be right in the sense of ' glow '. The verb forms ' glew ' and ' glow ' exist side by side, but no parallel is known for a noun ' glew ' in this sense. Even if such a parallel were found, I cannot think that Marvell wrote ' glew '. The word had its modern sense in his day and would therefore be inadmissible in this context.

l. 40. *slow-chapt power* : i. e. the power of his slowly-devouring jaws.

The unfortunate Lover. (Page 27.)

l. 4. *Shadows green* : cf. *The Garden*, l. 48, and Vaughan, *To the River Isca*, l. 22, *To my Ingenuous Friend R. W.*, l. 43.

l. 16. *Cesarian Section* : ' primus Cæsarum a cæso matris utero dictus ' Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VII. ix.

l. 36. *bill* : peck. *O.E.D.* quotes no other instances after 1440.

l. 40. *Amphibium* : cf. *Upon Appleton House*, l. 774.

l. 44. *At sharp* : with sharpened weapons. Cf. North's Plutarch, *Romulus* (ed. 1595), p. 26 :

> A combate of fensers (called *Gladiatores*) fighting at the sharpe.

l. 57. *Banneret* : a knight dubbed on the battlefield. Cf. Lovelace (1649), *Dialogue—Lucasta, Alexis*, ll. 15–16 :

> Love nee're his Standard when his Hoste he sets,
> Creates alone fresh-bleeding Bannerets.

The Gallery. (Page 29.)

l. 11. *Examining* : testing.

l. 42. *These pictures do store* (i.e. stock) *my Gallery*. I follow Cooke's reading *do*, assuming that *dost* (*F*) is due to dittography of the ſt. Grierson here reads *does*.

l. 48. Charles I ' bought the entire cabinet of Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua ' (*Social England*, 1895, iv. 76), and added it to his great collection at Whitehall. *Were*, if read as past tense not as subjunctive, may date the poem or its revision later than their dispersal. Evelyn, *Diary*, 15 February 164⅝, refers to the sale of some of the King's pictures, but the Act completing the sale and dispersal belongs to July 1650.

Mourning. (Page 31.)

l. 3. *Infants* : cf. Cowley, *The Mistress*, Weeping, st. 2 :

> As *stars* reflect on *waters*, so I spy
> In every drop (methinks) her *Eye*.
> The *Baby*, which lives there, and alwayes plays
> In that illustrious *sphære*,
> Like a *Narcissus* does appear,
> Whilst in his *flood* the lovely *Boy* did gaze.

and Marvell, *Rehearsal Transpros'd*, i. 66 : ' only to speculate his own Baby in their Eyes.'

l. 9. *molding*: either a substantive, the tears being mouldings of the eyes; or the participle of an intransitive verb, in which case *of* probably means *off*, as in *First Song at the Marriage of the Lord Fauconberg*, l. 47.

Daphnis and Chloe. (Page 33.)

l. 12. *compriz'd*: carried with it as a condition.

l. 79. *F* is clearly corrupt here; I keep Cooke's emendations, which have become traditional. The reference is to Numbers xi. 33: 'And while the flesh was yet between their teeth, ere it was chewed, the wrath of the Lord was kindled against the people, and the Lord smote the people with a very great plague.'

l. 82. The reproduction of ferns not being understood they were believed to have an invisible seed. Cf. Browne, *Poems*, vi. 3, 4:

> Since my affection ever secret tried
> Blooms like the fern, and seeds still unespied.

Gathered with due rites at midsummer-midnight it would make the bearer invisible; cf. 1 *Henry IV*, II. i. 96: 'We have the receit o' Fern-seede, we walke invisible.'

The Definition of Love. (Page 36.)

l. 24. *Planisphere*: cf. Blundevil *Exerc.* vi. (ed. 1636), 598: 'Astrolabe . . . is called of some a Planisphere, because it is both flat and round, representing the Globe or Spheare, having both his Poles clapt flat together.'

ll. 29–32. Cf. Cowley, *The Mistress*, 'Impossibilities,' st. 3

> As *stars* (not powerful else) when they *conjoin*,
> Change, as they please, the Worlds estate;
> So thy *Heart* in *Conjunction* with mine,
> Shall our own fortunes regulate;
> And to our *Stars themselves* prescribe a *Fate*.

The Picture of Little T. C. *in a Prospect of Flowers.* (Page 38.)

'Little T. C.' was possibly Theophila Cornewall; see my article in the *Modern Language Review*, October 1922.

l. 10. *Darling of the Gods*: Carew uses this phrase, *Upon the King's Sickness*, 37.

l. 22. *but* = only.

The Match. (Page 39.)

ll. 13–16. Cf. *A Dialogue Between The Resolved Soul, and Created Pleasure*, l. 51–4, and note.

l. 19–24. Cf. *Appleton House*, l. 340; Cowley, *The Mistress*, 'The given Heart', l. 12, and 'The Monopoly', l. 1:

> What *Mines* of *Sulphur* in my breast do ly.

The Mower against Gardens. (Page 40.)

For the metre, a reminiscence of the classical elegiac, compare Jonson, *The Forest*, iii.

l. 1. *Luxurious* in the seventeenth century meant voluptuous or lecherous.

l. 15. *Onion root*: cf. *The Herball* . . by John Gerarde . . . enlarged . . . by Thomas Johnson (1633), p. 1: 'Bulbous or Onion-rooted Plants.'

During the tulip mania (at its height 1634–7) the bulbs were sold in Holland by weight like precious stones: a bulb of 10 grammes is recorded to have fetched 5,500 florins, i.e. 550 times the value of a sheep (see W. S. Murray in the *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, 1909, p. 29).

l. 18. *Marvel of Peru*: *Mirabilis Jalapa.* cf. Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris* (1629), p. 365, '*Mirabilia Peruviana.* The Mervaile of Peru. . . . These plants grow naturally in the West Indies'; it was also called *Admirabilis planta.*

l. 30. Like Grosart 'I do not know the garden-process to which this refers'.

Damon the Mower. (Page 41.)

l. 2. *Juliana*: Gillian.

ll. 12–13. *hamstring'd*: rendered inert by the heat.

l. 48. *cowslip-water*: 'Of the juice or water of the flowers of Cowslips, divers Gentlewomen know how to clense the skin from spots or discolourings therein, as also to take away the wrinckles thereof, and cause the skinne to become smooth and faire.' Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum*, p. 538.

l. 83. *Shepherds-purse* (*Capsella Bursa-pastoris*). 'Shepheards purse stayeth bleeding in any part of the body, whether the iuyce or the decoction thereof be drunke, or whether it be used pultesse-wise, or any other way else.' Gerarde, *Herball*, 1633, p. 276.

Clowns-all-heal (*Stachys palustris*). 'Of Clownes Wound wort or All-heale. . . . The leaves hereof stamped with *Axungia* or hogs grease, and applied unto greene wounds in manner of a pultesse, healeth them in short time, and in such absolute manner, that it is hard for any that have not had the experience thereof to beleeve: for being in Kent about a Patient, it chanced that a poore man in mowing of Peason did cut his leg with a sithe, wherein he made a wound to the bones, and withall very large and wide, and also with great effusion of bloud; the poore man crept unto this herbe, which he bruised with his hands, and tied a great quantity of it unto the wound with a piece of his shirt, which presently stanched the bleeding, and ceased the paine, insomuch that the poore man presently went to his dayes work againe, and so did from day to day, without resting one day untill he was perfectly whole, which was accomplished in a few dayes. . . . I saw the wound, and offered to heale the same for charitie; which he refused, saying that I could not heale it so well as himselfe: a clownish answer I confesse, without any thankes for my good will; whereupon I have named it Clownes Wound-wort, as aforesaid.' Gerarde, *Herball*, 1633, pp. 1004–5.

The Mower to the Glo-worms. (Page 44.)

l. 9. *officious*: zealous, attentive.

The Mower's Song. (Page 45.)

This is the only use of a refrain in Marvell's poetry; the rhythm suggests the long regular sweep of the scythe.

l. 1. *survey*: metaphor from a written survey of an estate.

l. 26. Cf. *The Garden*, l. 48.

Musicks Empire. (Page 47.)

l. 5. *Jubal*: 'He was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ,' Gen. iv. 21.

l. 22. *Conqueror*: A comparison of the next line with *Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-borow*, ll. 75–6:

> But Peace (if you his favour prize)
> That Courage its own Praises flies.

suggests that this passage too may refer to Fairfax.

The Garden. (Page 48.)

For the relation of this poem with *Hortus* see note to *On a Drop of Dew.*

l. 2. *Oke*: the civic crown (cf. *To his Noble Friend Mr. Richard Lovelace*, note on l. 12). *Bayes*: for poetry.

l. 15. *but*: only.

l. 36. Cf. *Bermudas*, l. 21.

l. 37. *curious*: exquisite.

ll. 43–4. Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, III. xxiv, discusses the Vulgar Error 'That all Animals of the Land, are in their kind in the Sea'.

ll. 47–8. *Annihilating . . . Thought* may be taken as meaning either 'reducing the whole material world to nothing material, i.e. to a green thought', or 'considering the whole material world as of no value compared to a green thought'. For the latter cf. *A Collection of Several Passages concerning his late Highnesse Oliver Cromwell, In the time of his Sickness* (1659), p. 12, 'hee spake some exceeding self-debasing words, annihilating and judging himself', and for 'to' = 'compared to' see l. 16 of this poem.

The second interpretation harmonizes better with *transcending these* of l. 45, and cf. Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound*, i. 743–9:

> He will watch from dawn to gloom
> The lake-reflected sun illume
> The yellow bees in the ivy-bloom,
> Nor heed nor see, what things they be;
> But from these create he can
> Forms more real than living man,
> Nurslings of immortality!

green Thought: cf. *The Mower's Song*, l. 26, and *King Edward III.* II. i. 63–4.

> Since green our thoughts, green be the conventicle
> Where we will ease us by disburdening 'em.

l. 54. *whets*: figuratively for 'preens'.

Hortus. (Page 50.)

See above, p. 219.

l. 2. *Herbæ*: 'summum apud antiquos signum victoriae erat herbam porrigere victos.' Pliny, *N. H.* xxii. 4.

l. 19. Cf. *Appleton House*, l. 671 (p. 79).

l. 20. *suspendit*: as in Horace, *Ep.* II. i. 97: 'Suspendit picta voltum mentemque tabella.'

l. 21. *vincentem*. *F* reads *vincentum*, but the sense requires Cooke's emendation.

l. 35. *exporrectus*: outstretched. *F* reads *experrectus*, awaked.

To a Gentleman that only upon the sight of the Author's writing, had given a Character of his Person and Judgment of his Fortune. (Page 52.)

Lanceloto Josepho de Maniban. Cooke, vol. i, pp. 6–7: 'This was wrote by Mr. *Marvell* when he was in *France*. The Person to whom he writes was an Abbot, who was famous for entering into the Qualitys of those he never saw, and for prognosticating their good or bad Fortune, from an Inspection of their Handwriting. This piece Mr. *Philips* takes Notice of in his *Freethinker* Number 253. In which he gives a short Account of that Abbot.' The passage in Ambrose Philips, *Freethinker*, ccliii (22 Aug. 1722), is as follows:

'There are, and have been, Persons of a very particular Turn of Head in their Observations upon the Tempers, Inclinations, Fortunes, and Professions of Men. Not many Years since, there was an *Abbot* in *France*, who was famous for entering into the prevailing Qualities and Dispositions of Persons, he never saw, as well as for prognosticating their good or ill Fortune, from the bare inspection of their Hand writing, though in a Language unknown to him. A Gentleman, who travelled when this Abbot was in great Reputation for his Skill, told me; That he tried him with a couple of *English* Letters from Two of his Acquaintance; and that this Diviner's Characters and Predictions of them proved very just. *Andrew Marvell*, who was likewise in *France* much about the same Time, was so pleased with the Novelty and Singularity of this Art, that he writ a *Latin* Copy of Verses to the Professor of it; which is printed in the Posthumous Collection of his Poems.'

But M. Pierre Legouis* informs me that the Maniban family, of Pyrenean origin, settled at Toulouse and at Bordeaux in the seventeenth century, and I am inclined to identify Maniban with the *abbé* of *Miscellaneous Letter* 26, written to William Popple at Bordeaux. If so, Marvell did not write the poem during his foreign tour, but in England about 1676.

l. 7. *Iliad*, vi. 168.

l. 8. Cf. *Aeneid*, vi. 726: 'Spiritus intus alit.'

l. 14. *voces*: the words. Marvell's letter was probably in English.

l. 15. Cf. Juvenal, vi. 550–1:

haruspex
pectora pullorum rimatur et exta catelli.

fibras: the technical word for entrails when inspected for purposes of prognostication.

l. 28. *Genitura*: natal star, horoscope. A technical term in astrology, often used by Suetonius.

l. 29. *cæli . . . nostræ*: i.e. pagina coeli respondet (paginae) nostrae.

l. 42. *Palamedes*, prince of Nauplia, rivalled Odysseus in subtlety. He was supposed to have added the letter Y to the alphabet after seeing cranes in flight ('Palamedis aves', Martial).

Inscribenda Luparæ. (Page 53.)

There were so many additions to the fabric of the Louvre during Marvell's lifetime that no certain date can be assigned to these epigrams. But if they were written duting his foreign travels, they cannot be later than 1643, the year in which Louis XIII died and was succeeded by the five-year-old Louis XIV, to whom the second epigram in particular is inappropriate.

* For the results of M. Legouis' researches into this family see *Review of English Studies*, July 1926.

In the French translation of Lucan, by Monsieur De Brebeuf are these Verses. (Page 54.)

Georges* de Brebeuf published his translation of Lucan in 1655. The passage of which Marvell supplies a Latin version is in *La Pharsale*, Book III, ll. 395–8 ; *luy* is the *Phenicien* (l. 393). The original lines in Lucan (*Pharsalia*, iii. 220–1), amplified by Brebeuf, are as follows :

> Phoenices primi, famae si creditur, ausi
> mansuram rudibus vocem signasse figuris.

Some misprints of the folio have been corrected in the French ; and in l. 1 of the translation it seems necessary to read *pluma* for *plumas*.

Senec. Traged. ex Thyeste Chor. 2. (Page 54.)

A copy of this translation appears on an earlier page of the manuscript book (B.M. Add. MS. 29921), which contains the copy of *A Dialogue between Thyrsis and Dorinda* (see note on p. 221) ; the copies are by different hands. The hand which copied *A Dialogue between Thyrsis and Dorinda* has added ' A. Marvell ' at the end of this translation, which, apart from spelling and punctuation, is the version of the folio.

The passage translated (Seneca, *Thyestes*, Act II, end) is the following :

> Stet, quicumque volet, potens
> aulae culmine lubrico :
> me dulcis saturet quies ;
> obscuro positus loco,
> leni perfruar otio ;
> nullis nota Quiritibus
> aetas per tacitum fluat.
> sic cum transierint mei
> nullo cum strepitu dies,
> plebeius moriar senex.
> Illi mors gravis incubat,
> qui, notus nimis omnibus,
> ignotus moritur sibi.

Cowley's translation of the same passage appears in *Several Discourses by way of Essays, in Verse and Prose*, 3, ' Of Obscurity ' (1668), and Sir Matthew Hale's in *Contemplations, Moral and Divine* (1676).

An Epitaph upon ——. (Page 55.)

l. 10. Cf. *Edmundi Trotii Epitaphium*, l. 21.

Epigramma in Duos montes Amosclivum Et Bilboreum. (Page 55.)

Almscliff and Bilbrough. Almscliff overlooks Weeton, some five miles south of Harrogate (' the famous crags of Amescliff, in some old writings called Aylmoys *ut dicitur*,' Thoresby, *Diary*, 31 August 1702). Bilbrough stands about twenty miles east of Almscliff, five miles north-west of the Fairfax property at Nun Appleton (see note on *Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-borow*, l. 29). The manor and rectory of Bilbrough were bought by Sir William Fairfax in 1546 ; the great Lord Fairfax and his wife were afterwards buried in Bilbrough Church.

Almscliff is not visible from Bilbrough itself ; but the observer

* This, not Guillaume, appears to be correct.

appears to be stationed at some point nearer to Bilbrough (hic) than to Almscliff (ille).

Marvell's employment in the Fairfax household was an important episode in his literary life; but the only external evidence relating to it is contained in Milton's letter to Bradshaw, 21 February, 1652/3. Marvell, he writes, 'comes now lately out of the house of the Lord Fairfax, who was a Generall, where he was entrusted to give some instructions in the languages to the Lady, his daughter.' The origin of Marvell's acquaintance with Fairfax is unknown, but both were Yorkshiremen. The dates of the tutorship can only be roughly fixed by the internal evidence of the poems, and it is always possible that those not published till 1681 may have been retouched. *Tom May's Death* (q.v. and note) cannot have been written before November 1650, and is not the sort of poem Marvell would have written under Fairfax's roof. But the Caelia mentioned in the lines *To his worthy Friend Doctor Witty* (published 1651) as learning 'the tongues of *France* and *Italy*' can hardly be other than his pupil, and *Appleton House*, l. 456, has a reference to *Gondibert*, also published in 1651.

Early in 1651 is, therefore, the most probable date for Marvell's arrival, and in that case his tutorship lasted almost exactly two years.

Mary Fairfax, Marvell's pupil, was born in 1638. On 15 September 1657 she married George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, whose forfeited estates had been granted to Fairfax. Mary died in 1704, seventeen years after her husband, who left no legitimate issue.

l. 4. *huic*: disyllabic here and *Letter to Doctor Ingelo*, l. 38. So *cui* is disyllabic in *Letter to Doctor Ingelo*, ll. 106, 125.

l. 13. *salebrosus*: *salebra*=a rut.

l. 24. *cupiant*: the folio reading, which is just possible. Aitken reads *cupiunt*.

An allusion to the two peaks of Parnassus.

Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-borow. (Page 56.)

l. 13. *For*: on account of.

l. 29. Bilbrough Hill is only 145 feet high, and, in spite of the flatness of the country, it is difficult to believe that it has served as a landmark to ships making for the Humber as editors declare. But see Drake's *York*, 1736, p. 391:

'The town [Bilbrough] standeth upon a rising Ground, or small hill to look at, yet, a plump of trees upon it may be seen at forty miles distance; and, one way, if I am rightly informed, was before the old trees was cut down, the *land-mark* for the entrance of ships into the *Humber*.'

Drake's statement may have its source in this poem of Marvell's.

l. 34. *Plump*: see the passage quoted in the preceding note, and cf. the phrase 'plump of spears'.

l. 43. *Vera*: Anne (d. 1665), daughter of Sir Horace Vere and wife of the great Lord Fairfax.

l. 56. *this*: sc. Lord.

l. 67. *Groves of Pikes*. Waller uses this phrase, *Battle of the Summer Islands*, iii. 54. 'Forets de lances (de piques)' is a stock phrase in French poetry.

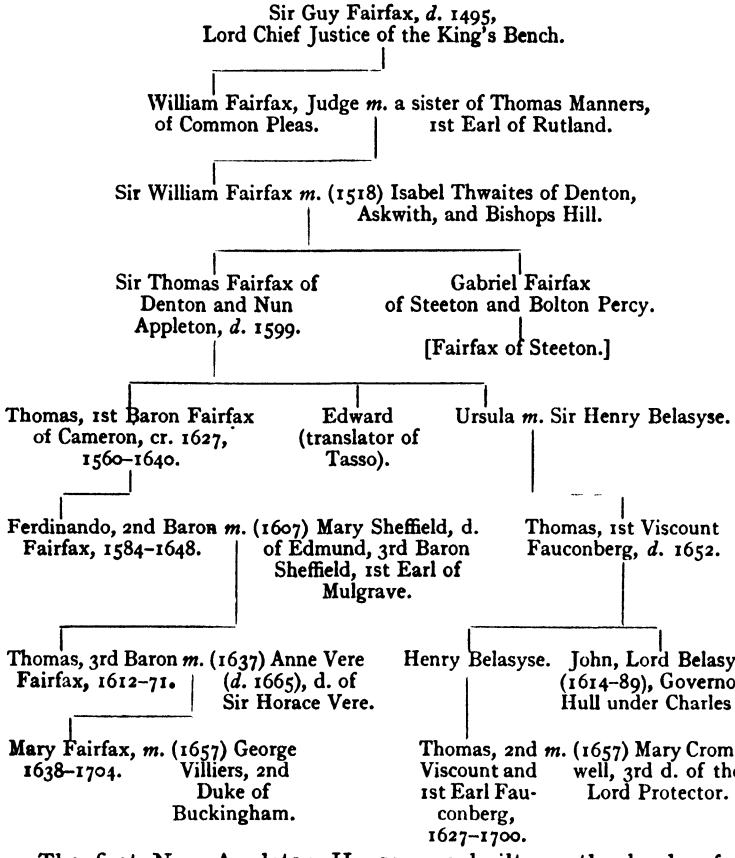
l. 73. *ye* (F *the*): the MS. symbol for *th* and *y* were identical in the seventeenth century.

l. 74. *Oak*: i. e. at Dodona.

l. 76. Cf. *Musicks Empire*, l. 22 and note.

Upon Appleton House. (Page 59.)

The following table, compiled from Markham, *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax* (Macmillans, 1870), and *D.N.B.*, is not complete, but may serve to illustrate the poems:



The first Nun Appleton House was built on the lands of the Cistercian priory of Appleton (founded *c.* 1150), which passed to the Fairfaxes on its dissolution in 1542. A second was begun by the first Lord Fairfax in 1637 or 1638, which, though delayed by the war, was finished at about the time of the General's retirement in 1650 (see note on l. 71). ' It was a picturesque brick mansion with stone copings and a high steep roof, and consisted of a centre and two wings at right angles, forming three sides of a square facing to the north. . . . The central part of the house was surmounted by a cupola, and clustering chimneys rose over the two wings. A noble park, with splendid oak trees, and containing 300 head of deer, stretched away to the north; while on the south side were the ruins of the old nunnery, the flower garden and the low meadows called *ings*,

* His son was Sir Henry Belasyse (see p. 324).

extending to the banks of the Wharfe' (Markham, *Life of the Great Lord Fairfax*, p. 365, and see the picture on p. 363). Ralph Thoresby, the antiquarian (*Diary*, 16 October 1712), records that he 'rode all alone over the Moors to Nun-Appleton, but got well thither, blessed be God! Was in company of old Robert Taite, who has seen the chapel and some remains of the nunnery; saw the old house pulled down, and a stately new one erected by Thomas Lord Fairfax, the General, and now the most of that pulled down, and a much more convenient (though not quite so large an one) erected by Mr. Milner; he remembers the first Thomas Lord Fairfax and his son Ferdinando; was servant to the third Lord, the General; the Lord Henry and last Lord Thomas were also survived by him, who now lives in the sixth Lord Fairfax's time, five of whom he has seen.' The Milner family pulled down the wings; the central part, which still stands, was being extended towards the west in 1921. The gardens show no trace of their earlier plan

In the just figure of a Fort (l. 286).

The meadows are still liable to flood, and the river still the resort of anglers (ll. 647–8). Some ruins of the nunnery still lie in the grounds south-east of the house, and the park, much thinner than in Marvell's day, still exists.

l. 6. *vault.* The bulk of the unborn scheme stretches the architect's brain till his skull serves for a model.

l. 22. *Mote.* I am uncertain which emendation of the folio reading should be adopted. *Mote of dust* suggests itself naturally, or the mole (as a builder) may be intended. Grosart explained *mole* as 'an unformed mass', but *moles* generally carries the sense of bulk, which is here incongruous.

l. 30. *loop*: as in loop-hole.

l. 36. *Vere.* Fairfax married in 1637 Anne, daughter of Sir Horace Vere, under whom he had served in the Low Countries.

l. 40. *Romulus his Bee-like Cell.* The traditional *casa Romuli*, a thatched hut (here compared with a beehive), was in antiquity preserved on the Palatine. Cf. Ovid, *Fast.* III. 183–4:

Quae fueris nostri, si quaeris, regia nati,
aspice de canna straminibusque domum.

l. 52. The roof of the hall was 'spherical'. Cf. the cupola in the quotation from Markham, supra.

l. 65. *Frontispice*: decorated entrance.

l. 68. *Furniture of Friends*: cf. *Fleckno, an English Priest at Rome*, l. 83 and note; and Carew (published 1640), *To my Friend G. N., from Wrest*, ll. 33–4;

Instead of statues to adorn their wall,
They throng with living men their merry hall.

and the passage which precedes them.

l. 70. *Mark of Grace*: token of favour.

l. 71. *Inn.* Fairfax wrote the following lines, of which his own MS. is in the Bodleian (MS. Fairfax 40), *Upon the New-built House att Apleton*:

Thinke not ô Man that dwells herein
This House 's a stay but as an Inne
Wch for Convenience fittly stands
In way to one nott made wth hands
But if a time here thou take Rest
Yett thinke Eternity 's the Best.

l. 73. *Bishops-Hill*: within the walls of York, on the right bank of

the Ouse. The house of Bishop's Hill, where Mary Fairfax was born and Buckingham lived after his retirement, came into the family with Denton and Askwith as part of the inheritance of Isabel Thwaites.

Denton (cf. l. 466) lies on the left bank of the Wharfe about thirty miles above *Nun Appleton*.

l. 74. *Bilbrough*: see note on *Epigramma in Duos montes*.

l. 84. The heiress Isabel Thwaites, being wooed by William Fairfax of Steeton, was shut up by her guardian the Lady Anna Langton, Prioress of Nun Appleton; but an appeal was made to higher authority, she was released by force, and Fairfax married her in 1518. It was to their sons that the house was surrendered, it is said by the same Prioress, at its dissolution in 1542.

l. 105. The Cistercian habit is white.

l. 132. *Yet thus*: even as you are.

l. 141. *Crown*: perhaps of angels, cf. Chapman, *Iliad*, xv. 7, 'With a crown of princes compassed,' but more probably of lilies, the emblem of virginity, cf. the crown of lilies given to St. Cecilia by an angel (Chaucer, *Seconde Nonnes Tale*, and Caxton, *Golden Legend*).

l. 157. *far in Age*: but she ruled for another twenty-four years, if Markham is right.

ll. 179–80. i. e. we lay up ambergris for the altar-cloths.

l. 181. *griv'd*: hurt in body.

ll. 197–9. i. e. Now claim her plighted word, from which religion (which she henceforward doth begin) has released her.

l. 221. *state*: estate (property).

l. 232. *Judge . . . Souldier*: his father was Judge of Common Pleas, and his mother daughter of George Manners, 12th Lord Roos, a distinguished soldier who died at the siege of Tournay in 1513.

ll. 241–4. Sir Thomas Fairfax (son of Sir William Fairfax and Isabel Thwaites) fought in Italy and Germany; his son Thomas, first Lord Fairfax, was knighted for gallantry before Rouen. Two sons of the first Lord Fairfax fell at Frankenthal in Germany, one died at Scanderoon in Turkey, and one after an affray with French soldiers in Paris. The Great Lord himself fought at Bois-le-Duc; he applied for leave to join the forces of Gustavus Adolphus (see his letter of February 22, 1631/2, *Fairfax Correspondence*, i. 163), but does not appear to have done so.

l. 245. *one*: I cannot trace this prophecy. But cf. *Letter to Doctor Ingelo*, l. 97. Grosart refers to a prophecy of 'Thomas the Rymer or other', relating to James I.

l. 253. *disjointed*: distracted.

ll. 281–8. See note on ll. 241–4. These lines would naturally refer to Sir Thomas Fairfax, son of this marriage. Wright applied it to his son, the first Lord Fairfax; Markham, Grosart, and Aitken think the Great Lord is meant, and Grosart quotes Milton's sonnet:

> Fairfax, whose name in arms through Europe rings . . .

ll. 283–4. Cf. *An Horatian Ode*, ll. 9, 10.

l. 288. Cf. *A Dialogue, Between the Resolved Soul, and Created Pleasure*, in which Pleasure's attack, first described under warlike metaphors, is made on each of the five senses in turn.

l. 292. *Dian*: reveillé. Cf. Urquhart, *Works*, p. 180 (1834 ed.): 'I warn them with the first sound of the trumpet . . . but if, after this Dian sounding.'

l. 295. *Pan*: the part of the musket-lock which held the priming.

l. 296. *Flask*: powder-flask.

l. 303. *think . . . compare*: imperatives addressed to the flowers (*compare* meaning to challenge comparison with). Alternatively *compare* may stand for compeer (noun).

l. 323. *four seas*: cf. *Last Instructions*, l. 762, and for scansion see note on *Two Horses*, l. 61.

l. 336. The Swiss Guard at the Vatican still wears the uniform with black, yellow, and red stripes, of which the tulips reminded the poet.

l. 349. *Cinque Ports*. Fairfax was not Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, though as commander-in-chief he had been responsible for their defence, e.g. during the Royalist rising in 1648. But the Cinque Ports are introduced here chiefly to contrast with the *five imaginary Forts*. There may also be a return to the idea of l. 288: the phrase is used for the five senses by Rogers (1633) and Hubbard (1676) (see *O.E.D.* s.v. *Cinque Ports*); and cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Garden of Cyrus*, v, ''tis time to close the five ports of knowledge.'

l. 351. *spann'd*: limited.

ll. 357–8. i. e. the sensitive plant, 'Herba mimosa or the Mocking herbe' (Johnson, *Gerarde's Herbal*, 1633), of which at least one variety is prickly.

l. 363. *Cawood*: on the Ouse, two miles SE. from Nun Appleton, a seat of the Archbishop of York, who fled from it in 1642.

l. 364. *quarrell'd*: transitive use, to find fault with. Cf. Ben Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, II. i. 113–14: 'I had quarrelled My brother purposely.'

l. 380. i. e. whether he is going downwards or forwards.

l. 385. *Scene*: i e. stage, as in *An Horatian Ode*, l. 58. The masques at the courts of James I and Charles I were performed with elaborate scenic effects.

l. 392. i e. to crowd to either side to form a lane.

l. 395. *Rail*: landrail or corncrake.

l. 416. *Sourdine*: 'a kind of hoarse or low-sounding Trumpet,' Cotgrave.

l. 426. *Hay*: also the name of a country dance (cf. *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. i. 166).

l. 428. 'I remember I read also in the commentaries of Aristoxenus that his skin had a marvellous good savour, and that his breath was very sweete: insomuch that his body had so sweete a smell of it selfe, that all the apparell he wore next unto his body took thereof a passing delightful savour, as it had been perfumed.' North's Plutarch, *Alexander*.

l. 439. *Roman Camps*: now 'British' camps and tumuli.

l. 444. *Lilly* (so spelt by Pepys). Sir Peter Lely, who came to England in 1641; the cloth is his canvas. Cooke annotated 'An eminent Cloth Dyer', a note which succeeding editors have faithfully copied.

l. 446. *rase*: i.e. *tabula rasa*.

l. 447. *Toril*. The word now means the place where the bulls are shut up before they are brought out for the bullfight. Marvell uses it for the space cleared for the bullfight. Marvell had visited Spain (cf. *Miscellaneous Letters* 16, and Milton's Letter to Bradshaw of 21 February 1652/3).

l. 448. *Madril*: a common English spelling of the time. Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Fair Maid of the Inn*, IV. ii: 'I would have you go to Madrill,' and French 'madrilène' (cf Madrid).

ll. 455–6. Davenant, *Gondibert*, II. vi, describes a painting ('the painted world') of the Six Days of Creation; on the sixth day (60, l. 1).

. . . strait an universal Herd appears . . .

Marvell's introduction of the Universal Heard carries on the figure begun at ll. 445–6:

> The World when first created sure
> Was such a Table rase and pure.

ll. 457–8. The reflection in the mirror appears to the eye to be smaller than the landscape.

ll. 461–2. Fleas under glass preparatory to inspection by a microscope appear mere dots on a wide surface, until looked at through the microscope (*ere they approach the Eye*).

l. 466. *Cataracts*: see first note (*ad finem*) and note on l. 73.

ll. 474–6. The usual story is that eels are bred from horses' hairs that have fallen into water. Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. ii. 190. But for leeches cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Notes on Certain Fishes found in Norfolk*. 'Beside horseleaches and periwinkles in plashes and standing waters we have met with vermes setacei or hardwormes butt could never convert horsehayres into them by laying them in water.'

Topsell, *Book of Serpents*, writes at length about the trouble caused to cattle and horses by leeches which live in the ponds where they water.

l. 490. *Union* I take to be subject: the two woods are joined at one point, just as the Vere and Fairfax pedigrees are joined.

l. 491. *Pedigrees*: i. e. genealogical trees, often shown by a drawing of a branching tree.

l. 493. Some of the trees may have been felled for purposes connected with the war.

l. 499. *Neighbourhood*: nearness.

l. 535. *Stork-like*: 'The Dutch held the belief that the stork, in leaving a house where she had been encouraged to build, left one of her young ones behind for the owner' (Phipson, *Animal-Lore of Shakespeare's Time*, p. 272).

ll. 537–8. *Hewel*: the green woodpecker. *Holt-felsters*: holt-fellers, i.e. woodcutters. *O.E.D.* gives no other example of the use of the word.

l. 580. *Mexique Paintings*: cf. *Last Instructions*, l. 14, and Thomas Powell's *Humane Industry* (1661), pp. 99–101, De Plumificiis. *An Appendix of the Plumary Art.*

'In *Florida*, and other places of the *West Indies*, the Inhabitants make garments of Feathers with marvellous Art and Curiosity; as also rare and exquisite pictures; . . .

'Their manner is to strip the Feathers from the Quills with neat pincers, and then to joyn them together with paste, mingling variety of colours in such a rare medley, that they make a very glorious shew. *Ferdinando Cortes* the Spaniard found abundance of these curious works in the Palace of *Motezuma*, the wealthy Emperor of the *Mexicans*, . . .

'If this art be lost in the old world . . . it is preserved (it seems) in the new, and that in the highest perfection, insomuch that it puts down not only the admired pieces of *Zeuxes* and *Apelles* of old, but also those of *Michael Angelo*, and *Raphael Urbin* of later times' . . .

l. 586. *Could . . . hit*, i. e. could provide me with a masquing habit suitable to my studies.

l. 599. *shed*: separate, part, especially and frequently of the hair (now dialectal); the meaning is 'Zephyrs, who blow through my hair and my thoughts'.

l. 610. Cf. Milton, *Lycidas*, l. 40 (published at Cambridge, 1638, when Marvell was there):

With wild thyme and the gadding vine o'ergrown.

l. 636. *slick*: sleek.

l. 642. Cf. *Lycidas*, l. 104, 'his bonnet sedge.'

l. 645. *sliding Foot*: Cf. *The Garden*, l. 49.

l. 649. *Quills*: floats, cf. *The Complete Angler*, Part I. x (1676), and Wotton, *On a Bank*, l. 8,

There stood my friend, with patient skill
Attending of his trembling quill . . .

l. 660. *Bonne*: scanned in two syllables, as in French.

l. 668. *Shuts*: shutters, as in Cotgrave, 1611, '*Volet* . . . also a shut, or woodden window to shut over a glasse one.'

l. 671. Cf. *Hortus*, l. 19, Horroresque trahunt muti . . .

l. 673. *She*: the halcyon

l. 679. *assist*: stand by; cf. Crashaw, *Sospetto d'Herode*, ix:

Three rigorous virgins, waiting still behind,
Assist the throne of th' iron-sceptred King.

l. 686. *exhale*: Cf. *Julius Caesar*, II. i. 44: 'The exhalations whizzing in the air' . . .

l. 708. Cf. *To his worthy Friend Doctor Witty*, ll. 17–26 and note.

l. 714. *Trains*: *sc.* of artillery.

ll. 733–4. i. e. it will be still your own face mocking the efforts which have in fact spoiled your complexion. *Black-bag*: mask, cf. *Wits Recreations*, Epigram 150. *To Gentlewomen with black bags.*

ll. 755–6. *Aranjuez*: on the Tagus, thirty miles from Madrid. The lovely and famous gardens included the Jardin de la Isla, laid out for Philip II, who also planted the country with English elms.

Bel-Retiro: Buen Retiro, another royal residence near Madrid.

l. 761 ff. i.e. the world is no longer the world; since you created a new standard, it becomes by comparison a rude heap.

l. 771. *Antipodes in Shoes*: 'The Antipodes wear their shoes on their heads' (Cleveland, *Square Cap*, l. 19).

l. 774. *Amphibii*: cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, i. 34, 'man that great and true amphibium.'

Fleckno, an English Priest at Rome. (Page 83.)

This poem bears a certain resemblance to Donne's *Satyres*; cf. also Horace, *Satires*, i. 9.

Richard Flecknoe celebrated by Dryden as being 'Through all the Realms of Nonsense, Absolute', was in Rome 1645–7: see his *Relation | Of ten Years | Travells | In | Europe, Asia, Affrique, | and America*, which is in the form of letters. In letter xvi, addressed from Rome to the Princess Hoghzollern, he complains that in her absence he lived 'so melancholy a life, my Lute being silenc't and I never appearing in the *Park* but like a walking ghost, or a body without a soul'.

For dates at which Flecknoe visited the English College in Rome during 1645–6, and also for the suggestion that Marvell's foreign travels were undertaken as tutor to Edward Skinner, see my letter in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 5 June 1924. The incidents, but not necessarily the composition, of this satire belong to the spring of 1645 or 1646 (cf. 'Lent', l. 46).

l. 4. *my Lord Brooke*: the nature, real or imaginary, of Flecknoe's connexion with Lord Brooke is unknown. He dedicated to Lady Nevill Brooke in 1640 *The Affections of a Pious Soule, unto our Saviour-Christ.*

l. 12. *Seeling . . . Sheet.* The passage is punning on the properties of the coffin and of the room. *Seeling* can mean wall-hangings ; black hangings were used at funerals (cf. *The First Anniversary*, l. 331) ; and it means a wainscot. *Sheet* stands for a bed-sheet and a winding-sheet.

l. 18. *Stanza* : in Italian, a room. *Appartement* : suite of rooms.

l. 21. *exercise* : for this spelling of exorcize see *The Loyall Scot*, l. 139.

ll. 27–8. Cf. Milton, *Lycidas*, ll. 70–1.

l. 65. *stich* : grimace (of pain in getting through anything so narrow) ; also stitch (as in sewing).

l. 74. *Sotana* : cassock.

l. 83. *disfurnish* : i.e. of its occupants. Cf. *Upon Appleton House*, l. 68.

l. 98. *Delightful* : delighted.

l. 99. *penetration* : cf. *An Horatian Ode*, l. 42 and note.

l. 123. *black box* : cf. R. Godfrey *Inj. & Ab. Physic* (1674), p. 71 : 'She had been in the black Box (meaning the Coffin) e're now.'

l. 126. *Nero's Poem* : Suetonius, *Nero*, 23, ' cantante eo ne necessaria quidem causa excedere theatro licitum est.'

l. 133. *pilled* : peeled.

l. 152. *Perillus* : the contriver of the Brazen Bull of Phalaris and its first victim.

ll. 153–4. *That . . . contrary* : said by the man who had been reading.

l. 156. *is no lie* : is not to give you the lie ; (i. e. it is no occasion for a challenge).

l. 170. Compare the end of Horace, *Odes*, i. 5.

An Horatian Ode upon Cromwel's Return from Ireland. (Page 87.)

Reprinted from the unique copy of the 1681 folio in the British Museum (c 59. i. 8). The poem was cancelled from all other known copies but one, and first republished, but with some errors, by Thompson, in the 4to of 1776. Thompson may have printed his version from a manuscript.

Cromwell returned from Ireland at the end of May 1650, to take part in the Scottish campaign. Fairfax was appointed commander-in-chief on 12 June 1650, with Cromwell as his lieutenant-general ; Fairfax resigned the appointment, as unwilling to lead an attack on Scotland unless provoked by an invasion ; on 26 June Cromwell was made captain-general and commander-in-chief of the Parliamentary forces, and he entered Scotland on 22 July 1650. This poem, therefore, written ' upon *Cromwel's* Return from *Ireland* ' and looking forward to a Scottish campaign, may be dated early in the summer of 1650. It has been suggested that it represents the attitude of Fairfax ; but evidence is lacking that the poet's acquaintance with Fairfax had begun at the time of the General's retirement. He had not yet taken up his tutorship at Nun Appleton (see note on *Epigramma in Duos montes*). The ode is the utterance of a constitutional monarchist, whose sympathies have been with the King, but who yet believes more in men than in parties or principles, and whose hopes are fixed now on Cromwell, seeing in him both the civic ideal of a ruler without personal ambition, and the man of destiny moved by and yet himself driving (l. 12) a power which is above justice (see l. 37). The detachment of Marvell's judgement is well seen here ; it is also free, in that age remarkably, from any bias of religious politics. The same independence of himself and other people appears throughout his life, in his brief connexion with the Jesuits, and later with the household of

John Oxenbridge, his praise of Lovelace and of Cromwell, his satires on Tom May and on Charles II, his employment as colleague of Milton and as an embassy secretary after the Restoration. Towards the end of his life, indeed, he incurred such personal risk by the vigour of his political pamphlets, particularly by *The Growth of Popery*, 1677, that a rumour of poisoning followed his death.

'Better than anything else in our language this poem gives an idea of a grand Horatian measure, as well as of the diction and spirit of an Horatian ode' (Goldwin Smith in Ward's *English Poets*, ii. 383). The metre is Marvell's own invention, but he used it for no other extant poem.

A correspondent in *The Times Literary Supplement* (29 January 1920) compares with ll. 9–16 of this Ode Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 144 *et seq.*:

> sed nescia virtus
> stare loco : solusque pudor non vincere bello.
> acer et indomitus, quo spes quove ira vocasset
> ferre manum et nunquam temerando parcere ferro :
> successus urgere suos . . .
> qualiter expressum ventis per nubila fulmen . . .
> in sua templa furit ; nullaque exire vetante
> materia magnamque cadens magnamque revertens
> dat stragem late . . .

Marvell perhaps had in mind both the Latin (cf. successus urgere suos and 'Urg'd his active Star') and Tom May's translation, which here reads as follows (2nd edition, 1631):

> But restlesse valour, and in warre a shame
> Not to be Conquerour ; fierce, not curb'd at all,
> Ready to fight, where hope, or anger call,
> His forward Sword ; confident of successe,
> And bold the favour of the gods to presse :
> Orethrowing all that his ambition stay,
> And loves that ruine should enforce his way ;
> As lightning by the winde forc'd from a cloude
> Breakes through the wounded aire with thunder loud,
> Disturbes the Day, the people terrifyes,
> And by a light oblique dazels our eyes,
> Not *Joves* owne Temple spares it ; when no force,
> No barre can hinder his prevailing course,
> Great waste, as foorth it sallyes and retires,
> It makes and gathers his dispersed fires.

Note the verbal resemblances, 'restlesse valour' and 'industrious Valour', 'forward Sword' and 'The forward Youth', 'lightning . . . from a cloude Breakes' and 'Lightning . . . Breaking the Clouds'. Further I suggest with diffidence that the striking phrase 'active Star' owes something to the chance neighbourhood of the two words in another passage in the same book of May's translation (*Pharsalia*, i. 229–32):

> . . . the active Generall
> Swifter than Parthian back-shot shaft, or stone
> From Balearick Slinger, marches on
> T'invade Ariminum ; when every star
> Fled from th'approaching Sunne but Lucifer . . .

Caesar is up betimes, marching when only the morning star is in the sky : Cromwell urges *his* 'active star'.

Sir Edward Ridley, carrying on the correspondence in *The Times Literary Supplement* (5 February 1920), points out further a likeness between Marvell's account of the death of Charles I and *Pharsalia*, viii. 613–17 (the death of Pompey):

> ut vidit comminus ensem
> involvit vultus atque indignatus apertum
> fortunae praestare caput, tunc lumina pressit
> continuitque animam, ne quas effundere voces
> posset et aeternam fletu corrumpere famam,

continuing: 'if only Lucan had left it there! Silence was golden, as Marvell knew and Lucan knew also. But the latter found it necessary to express in the poem the thoughts which Pompey did not utter; and the result is, for those who read the following passage (lines 622–34), a speech which in a school of declamation might meet with applause, but which destroys the dignity of the hero and gives the superiority to the English poet.'

l. 2. *now*. The war for about a year before the probable date of the poem had been confined to Ireland. The call may be to the new war in the north, following the proclamation of Charles II and the raising of the Highlands by Montrose. These lines, however, suggesting as they do a longer period of peace, are possibly a fragment of earlier composition; or they may be read as an exhortation from the poet to himself (like many others he had taken no part in the fighting): or *now* may merely mean 'in these troublous days'.

ll. 6–8 describe what went on throughout the country in 1642.

l. 15. *thorough*, Thompson's spelling, is probably right. But it serves as a monosyllable in similar positions in ll. 11 and 23.

Side: (1) party. Cromwell's emergence from among the other Parliamentary leaders became marked at and after Marston Moor (1644). (2) The lightning is conceived as tearing through the side of its own body the cloud.

ll. 19–20. To shut in and cramp a man of high courage is worse (less tolerable for him) than to oppose him. That is why Cromwell burst through his own party.

l. 24. It was believed that laurels were proof against lightning.

l. 26. *force*, the folio reading, was conjectured by the American editor of 1857.

ll. 27–32. Cf. *The First Anniversary*, ll. 221 ff. (p. 108). *Bergamot*: a fine kind of pear. Many new varieties of fruit-trees were introduced in the first half of the seventeenth century.

l. 38. *antient Rights*: cf. *Tom May's Death*, l. 69, *Character of Holland*, l. 107.

l. 42. *penetration* (cf. *Fleckno*, l. 99). 'Penetration of dimensions' in natural philosophy was 'used for a supposed or conceived occupation of the same space by two bodies at the same time' (*O.E.D.*).

ll. 47–52. Charles I fled from Hampton Court 11 November 1647 to Carisbrooke, where he stayed till he was transferred to Hurst Castle, 1 December 1648.

'Contemporary pamphleteers and memoir writers often put forward the theory that Cromwell frightened the King into his flight from Hampton Court in order to forward his own ambitious designs. . . . There is no evidence in support of this theory. In the long run, the King's flight was one of the causes of his dethronement and execution, and so of Cromwell's elevation to supreme power. At the moment, it increased Cromwell's difficulties, and added to the

dangers which beset the Government' (Sir Charles Firth, *Cromwell*, p. 185).

l. 49. *subtile*. The original sense is *finely woven* as of a net.

ll. 50–2. The construction seems to be 'a net of such a scope as might chase Charles himself.' . . . (such that=such as : see *O.E.D.* s.v. *such*, B. ii. 12).

case : plight ; with the alternative or additional sense of a cage (cf. cased lion, *King John*, III. i. 259 ; the fox ere we case him, *All 's Well that Ends Well*, III. vi. 111, where however the word is generally taken to mean flay). 'Lilburn calls Carisbrooke the mousetrap into which Cromwell had lured Charles' (Aitken).

ll. 53–8. *Royal Actor* : the figure of the theatre is heightened by *Scaffold* . . . *Scene*, which were both in use to denote 'stage', and by *clap* (l. 56). Cf. also a contemporary account *Tragicum Theatrum Actorum & Casuum Tragicorum Londini* (Amsterdam, 1649).

l. 60. *try* ; put to the test. Is there a reminiscence of the two meanings of the Latin *acies*, eyesight and blade ?

l. 64. Cf. *Moderate Intelligencer* Numb. 202 'The block a little piece of wood flat at bottom, about a foot & half long'.

l. 66. *forced* : gained and maintained by force (see ll. 119–20).

ll. 67–72. Cum in Tarpeio fodientes delubro fundamenta caput humanum invenissent, . . . Etruriae celeberrimus vates Olenus Calenus, praeclarum id fortunatumque cernens. . . . (Pliny, *Nat Hist.* xxviii. 2. (4)) and Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, v. 41 : Capitolium dictum, quod hic, cum fundamenta foderentur aedis Iovis, caput humanum dicitur inventum.

l. 74. *one Year* : Cromwell landed at Dublin on 15 August 1649.

l. 78. *confest* : Irish testimony in favour of Cromwell at this moment is highly improbable. Possibly there is a reference to the voluntary submission of part of Munster with its English colony.

l. 85. *Commons* : I retain Thompson's reading, in order to supply an antecedent for *theirs* (l. 88) ; the folio reads *Common Feet*.

l. 90. *Publick's* : as in Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks* (II. i, III. iii. 63), 'a civil State or Publick.'

l. 104. *Clymacterick* : critical, marking an epoch.

l. 106. *Party-coloured* : For the same pun on the derivation of Pict from *pingere* see Cleveland, *The Rebel Scot* : 'You Picts in gentry and devotion'.

Dryden's 'treacherous Scotland, to no interest true' represented a strong body of English opinion on recent Scottish history.

l. 107. *Sad* : steadfast.

l. 110. *mistake* : because of his protective colouring.

ll. 117–18. The cross-hilt of the sword would avert the *Spirits of the shady Night*.

Tom May's Death. (Page 90.)

Thomas May, 1595–1650, playwright, poet, historian, and translator of Lucan, made his reputation at the court of Charles I, and later attached himself to the Parliamentary cause, holding employment under the House of Commons. It appears that he had hoped to succeed Ben Jonson as poet laureate in 1637, and it was to chagrin at the appointment of Davenant that his enemies attributed the change in his political position. He died 13 November 1650. His body was removed from Westminster Abbey by warrant dated 9 September 1661 (J. L. Chester, *Registers of Westminster Abbey*), and his monument taken down.

Biographia Britannica (s.n. May) dates this satire after the Restoration on the ground that ll. 85–90 refer to the exhumation; otherwise 1650 (the year of May's death) would be the natural date for a poem of this improvised quality. The question remains whether ll. 15–18:

> Sounding of ancient Heroes, such as were
> The Subjects Safety, and the Rebel's Fear.
> But how a double headed Vulture Eats
> *Brutus* and *Cassius* the Peoples cheats . . .

and the phrase 'Chronicler to Spartacus' (l. 74) as applied to 'the historian of the Common-wealth' (l. 23) could proceed from Marvell in 1650, the year of the *Horatian Ode*. The answer is that Marvell, although he was coming to admire and fix his hopes on Cromwell, was still a royalist in the first place, cf. *To his Noble Friend Mr. Richard Lovelace, An Horatian Ode*, ll. 37–8, 53–64, and *Elegy on Lord Francis Villiers* (see Appendix to this volume). Doubtless he also had some reason for a personal dislike of May.

There is no trace of publication before 1681, and the text may represent a topical adaptation in 1661 of an earlier manuscript.

l. 1. *drunk*: Aubrey says that May 'came of his death after drinking with his chin tyed with his cap (being fatt); suffocated'.

Packet-boat: maintained first to carry the state packet of letters, especially to Ireland. The word appears as 'paquebouc' in Cleirac's *Termes de Marine* as early as 1634, having been borrowed by the French.

ll 6–7. *Stevens ally*: Aubrey (MS. 8, fol. 42^{v}) says that May 'lodged in the little [court ?] by Canon-rowe, as you go through the alley'. Canon Row or St. Stephen's Alley, Westminster (cf. Stow, *Survey of London*, 1603, p. 476), lay in the neighbourhood of King Street and Tothill Street; it was a well-known street of taverns.

Popes head . . . Mitre. These were common signs, besides providing a convenient innuendo for the satirist. Pepys mentions three Popes Head taverns and four Mitres in London; Ogilby's map of London (1677) shows two Popeshead Alleys, a Popeshead Court, and three Mitre Courts.

l. 10. *Ares*: perhaps the keeper of a tavern frequented by May (Ayres ?).

l. 11. Cf. Ben Jonson, *Underwoods*, vii, 'My Picture, Left in Scotland,' l. 17: 'My mountain belly, and my rocky face' . . .

ll. 13–14. Cf. Henry Vaughan, *To my ingenuous friend, R. W.*

> First in the shade of his own bays,
> Great Ben they'll see, whose sacred lays
> The learnèd ghosts admire, and throng
> To catch the subject of his song.

l. 14. *laid*: lay. Cf. *Upon the Death of O. C.*, ll. 155, 258, and *Character of Holland*, l. 65.

ll. 17–18. No doubt derived from the last canto of Dante's *Inferno*, where Satan is seen as a three-headed winged monster:

> .Da ogni bocca dirompea coi denti
> Un peccatore . . .

(viz. Judas, Brutus, and Cassius).

ll. 21–4. May's translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia* begins:

> Warres more than civill on Æmathian plaines
> We sing; rage licensd; where great Rome distaines
> In her owne bowels her victorious swords; . . .

l. 26. *whom*: Death. *translated* is a jocular allusion to the translator of Lucan.

l. 27. Clarendon (*Life*, i, § 32, 1857) says that May suffered from 'an imperfection in his speech, which was a great mortification to him'.

l. 29. *friend*: Ben Jonson addresses *Underwoods*, xxi, 'To my chosen friend, the learned Translator of Lucan, Thomas May, Esquire.'

l. 38. 'On *Monday* after *Candlemas-day*, the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court performed their Masque at Court. . . . They were well used at Court by the King and Queen, no Disgust given them, only this one Accident fell, Mr. *May* of *Gray's Inn*, a fine Poet, he who translated *Lucan*, came athwart my Lord Chamberlain in the Banquetting House, and he broke his Staff over his Shoulders, not knowing who he was, the King present, who knew him, for he calls him his Poet, and told the Chamberlain of it, who sent for him the next Morning, and fairly excused himself to him, and gave him fifty Pounds in Pieces. I believe he was the more indulgent for his names sake' (Letter dated 27 February 1633/4 from G. Garrard to Strafford (*Letters and Despatches of Thomas Earl of Strafforde*, 1740, i. 207)). The Lord Chamberlain was Philip Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke (1584–1650).

l. 41. *Polydore*: Polydore Virgil (d. 1555), who wrote an *Historia Anglica* and was subsequently imprisoned for an attack on Henry VIII and Wolsey.

Allan: one of the Alani, a Scythian people mentioned in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, viii. 223, where May's translation is 'Vnquiet Alans' Their reputation was like that of the Vandals and Goths.

l. 48. May's *History of the Parliament of England* contains numerous classical parallels. See the Duchess of Newcastle's criticism (quoted in *D. N. B.*, s.n. May).

l. 50. *As Bethlem's House did to Loretto walk*. The Santa Casa of Loreto is venerated as the house of the Virgin, miraculously conveyed from Nazareth (not from Bethlehem) to Illyria in 1291, and finally to its present site.

l. 54. May produced a *Continuation of Lucan's Historicall Poem till the death of Julius Caesar*.

l. 56. See biographical note. Aubrey supports this view; 'he stood candidate for the laurell after B. Jonson; but Sir William Davenant caried it—

manet alta mente repostum

perhaps.' (MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 27). Cf. *Session of the Poets* and *Great Assizes holden on Parnassus*.

l. 57. *weares*: D'Avenant was imprisoned in the Tower as a Royalist 1650–2, and again in 1659; he held office again as laureate after the Restoration, but as it does not appear that he had been superseded this line supplies no evidence of date as between 1650 and 1660.

l. 60. *Gazet*: appears as a term of contempt (*passim*) in the first part of *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*.

l. 62. *Basket*: perhaps alludes to the *borsa* or bag which received the votes in Florentine elections, the scene of frequent fighting between Guelphs and Ghibellines.

l. 74. *Spartacus*: leader of the slaves who revolted against the Romans (73–1 B.C.). May's *History of the Parliament of England which began Nov. 3. 1640* (1647) 'is first heard of in the newspapers as a History of the Earl of Essex . . . After praising Essex in the history of the Long Parliament, May went over to the Independents, and

in the *Breviary of the History of the Parliament of England* lauded Fairfax, Cromwell, the New Model Army, and the Independent party. (See Guizot's *Monk's Contemporaries*.) Spartacus may refer to either Essex or Fairfax' (Aitken).

l. 76. May's *Breviary of the History of the Parliament of England* (1650) ends thus :

'But by what means, or what degrees, it came at last so far, as that the king was brought to trial, condemned, and beheaded : because the full search and narration of so great a business would make an History by itself, it cannot well be brought into this BREVIARY ; which having passed over so long a time, shall here conclude.'

l. 82. The Council of State voted £100 to cover the expenses of May's burial in Westminster Abbey.

l. 85. Cf. Jonson, *To the Memory of my beloved Master William Shakespeare*, ll. 19–20 :

I will not lodge thee by | Chaucer, or Spenser . . .

l. 88. The feathers of eagles were supposed to have a corrosive power ; cf. Du Bartas, Sylvester's translation (1633), p. 96 :

And so the princely eagles ravening plumes
The feathers of all other fowls consumes.

l. 91. Cf. Landor, *Imaginary Conversations* (works, 1846, ii. 48) : ' the tiger gnashed the fox . . .'

Dignissimo suo Amico Doctori Wittie. De Translatione Vulgi Errorum *D. Primrosii.* (Page 93.)

This and the following poem appeared in 1651 as commendatory verses to a work bearing the following title-page :

Popular Errours. | Or The | Errours of the People | In Physick, | First written in Latine by the lear- | ned Physitian James Primrose | Doctor in Physick. | *Divided into four Bookes.* | *viz.* 1. The first treating concerning Physicians. | 2. The second of the Errours about some diseases, | and the knowledge of them. | 3. The third of the Errours about the diet, as well | of the sound as of the sick. | 4. The fourth of the Errours of the people about | the use of remedies. | *Profitable and necessary to be read of all.* To which is added by the same Authour | his verdict concerning the Antimo- | niall Cuppe. | Translated into English by Robert | Wittie Doctor in Physick London, | Printed by *W. Wilson* for *Nicholas Bourne*, | at the South-entrance of the Royall | Exchange. 1651.

The Latin original, *De Vulgi in Medicinâ Erroribus Libri quatuor*, was published in 1638. The author was a physician practising in Hull ; Witty was another Hull physician, who had held the post of usher in the Grammar School 1636–42. See note on *Trinity House Letter* 69 for the letter written by Witty at the time of Marvell's death.

Of both poems the text here reprinted is that of 1681 ; there are a few variants from 1651, all recorded in the foot-notes. I have put them before the other poems ascribed to 1651 because the *Popular Errours* seems to belong to the early part of the year. The dedication is dated 30 November 1650, and the address to the reader ' From my house at Hull, Decemb. 2, 1650 '. Some hand has written ' May 3 ' against the imprint in the British Museum copy.

l. 1. *Sic* : apparently scanned short.

l. 2. *Saepia* : the inkfish.

l. 3. *prœli* for *preli*: *prelum* means a press, formerly a wine or oil press, but taken over in general use for the printing-press.

l. 5. *Anticyra* was the name of three different towns in Greece, each famous for growing hellebore, which the ancients believed to be a cure for madness.

l. 7. *India*: the West Indies.

l. 11. *libris*: the leaves of books are used as spills for lighting pipes. The learned ought to like the smell (l. 12).

l. 14. *tuus . . . Doctor*: Primrose.

l. 16. *Siticen*: musician at a funeral.

tuas: i.e. the paper's.

To his worthy Friend Doctor Witty *upon his Translation of the Popular Errors.* (Page 93.)

See note on the previous poem.

ll. 1–2. i. e. the translation has to make way for the commendatory verses.

l. 4. *Cypress*: Cypress lawn.

ll. 4–16. One of the few scraps of Marvell's literary criticism: cf. *On Mr. Milton's Paradise Lost*, and *Miscellaneous Letters*, no. 8.

l. 17. *Cælia*: probably Mary Fairfax; cf. *Upon Appleton House*, l. 708. If so, this is additional evidence that Marvell's residence in the Fairfax household dates from the winter of 1650–1.

l. 30. *Cawdles*: gruels. *Almond-milk*: a preparation of sweet almonds and water, used as an emollient.

ll. 37–8. note '*right*' rhymed with '*write*'.

In Legationem Domini *Oliveri St. John* ad Provincias Fœderatas. (Page 95.)

Oliver St. John (1598(?)–1673), Hampden's counsel over the question of ship-money, and in 1648 Chief Justice of Common Pleas, was chosen on 14 February 1651, with Walter Strickland, to negotiate an alliance with the Dutch; he reached The Hague on March 17. The embassy was unsuccessful, and St. John returned in June. By his first and second marriages he was connected with Cromwell; his third wife was a sister of John Oxenbridge (see p. 220).

l. 1. *Ingeniosa*: apt.

l. 14. *Scytale*: a form of code. It was a staff round which a strip of parchment was wound and inscribed; the message could be read only when wound round a staff of the same shape and size. The device was used by the Spartans for transmitting secret intelligence.

l. 16. Cf. Marvell's *Mr. Smirke*, p. 20: '*Popilius the* Roman *Embassador, made a Circle with his wand about Antiochus, and bid him give him a determinate answer before he went out of it.*' Marvell makes considerable play with this in *Mr. Smirke*.

The Character of Holland. (Page 95.)

Deane, Monk, and Blake held office together as Generals at sea from 26 November 1652 till Deane's death in action on 3 June 1653. It would appear from l. 150:

'Steel'd with those piercing Heads, *Dean, Monck and Blake*'

that the *Character of Holland* was written during that time, probably (see ll. 137–8) after the English victory over the Dutch fleet off Portland, 18–20 February 1653.

The satire was first published whole in the folio of 1681. But ll. 1–100 are to be found in the *Harleian Miscellany*, v. 613 headed :

'The Character of Holland.

London, Printed by T. Mabb for Robert Horn, at the Angel in Pope's-Head Alley, 1665.

[Folio : containing eight pages.]'

At l. 100 follows an eight-line conclusion suitable to the circumstances of the Dutch War of 1665–7 :

Vainly did this slap-dragon fury hope
With sober English valour e'er to cope ;
Not though they prim'd their barb'rous morning's draught
With powder, and with pipes of brandy fraught ;
Yet Rupert, Sandwich, and, of all, the Duke,
The Duke has made their sea-sick courage puke ;
Like the three comets sent from heaven down
With fiery flails, to swinge th' ungrateful clown.

There is no more reason to suppose that Marvell was responsible for the publication of 1665 than that he was author of these lines. The pamphlet was entered on the Stationers' Register on 13 June 1665, ten days after the English victory under the Duke of York at Solebay. No copy of this pamphlet is known, but it was republished in quarto by Horn in 1672, for the Dutch War of that year. Aitken (Marvell, ii. 124–5) had seen a copy of this edition, then in the possession of Mr. Buxton Forman.

The text of 1681 is here reprinted, except for one letter in l. 88, where I follow the Harleian Miscellany. The text in the Harleian Miscellany is in good order ; the only other discrepancies to be noted are in l. 15, *piles* for *pills*, l. 51, which reads *State . . . looks* for *States . . . look*, and l. 61, *to be* instead of *for their*.

l. 5. *alluvion* : legal term for the formation of new land by the water's action.

l. 26. *Mare Liberum* : the title of a book by Grotius published in 1609. It was written against the Portuguese claim to private possession of Eastern waters ; the doctrine gained importance later in the disputes between England and Holland about the English Channel. Selden in *Mare Clausum* (1632) set out to refute Grotius's doctrine of the freedom of the seas. The Commonwealth Government claimed the Channel as British, and required foreign ships to salute the English flag.

l. 28. *Level-coyl* (lever le cul) : a boisterous game, in which each player was unseated in turn and succeeded by another.

l. 32. *Cabillau* : Dutch kabeljauw (Fr., cabillaud), cod-fish.

l. 36. *Duck and Drake* : a game of making flat stones skim along the surface of the water.

l. 37. Possibly an allusion to Hobbes's recently published *Leviathan* (1651).

l. 39. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, i. 574–5 :

. . . that small infantry
Warred on by cranes.

l. 43. Perhaps a vague reminiscence of Herodotus, iii. 84–7, where the kingdom was assigned to the candidate whose horse first whinnied ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι.

l. 45. *leak* : leaky. The latest use of this form of the adjective recorded in *O.E.D.*

l. 49. *Dyke-grave*: officer in charge of the sea-walls in Holland. Cf. Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Elianae*, i. 5: 'the chief Dyke-grave here is one of the greatest officers of trust in all the province.'

l. 53. *Half-anders*: not Holl-anders.

l. 61. *Herring* repeats the pun of l. 34.

l. 62. *Poor-John*: dried hake, as in *Tempest*, II. ii. 28, 'a kind of not of the newest Poor-John'.

l. 65. Cf. Evelyn's *Diary* for 1 September 1641: 'I now rode out of town [The Hague] to see the monument of the woman, pretended to have been a countess of Holland, reputed to have had as many children at one birth, as there are days in the year. The basins were hung up in which they were baptized, together with a large description of the matter-of-fact in a frame of carved work, in the Church of Lyrdun.'

l. 66. *Hans-in-Kelder* (Jack-in-the-cellar): child in the womb. Cf. Lovelace, *Being Treated*, l. 78.

Hans-Town: Hanse town, member of the League.

l. 78. *Village*. Owing to the jealousy of the towns entitled to vote in the assembly of the States, The Hague was denied a voice in that body, and therefore continued to be 'the largest village in Europe', until Louis Bonaparte, when king of Holland, conferred on it the privileges of a town (Baedeker, 1910).

l. 80. *Hogs*: Hoog-mogenden, high and mighty; the official title of the States-General. *Bores*: Boers.

l. 82. *Civilis*: leader of the Batavi against the Romans, A.D. 69.

l. 85. *Fish*: perhaps cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, II. iv. 42, 'O flesh, flesh, how art thou fishified.'

l. 86. I am told that stoves are still carried to church in Holland, but not used to sit on!

l. 90. Marryat comments on a contemporary American euphemism, the use of 'Western' for back; but the point here may be merely that the congregation faces east.

l. 93. *Skipper*: Dutch *schipper*, a shipmaster.

l. 94. *Butter-Coloss*: the nickname Butter-box (butter-bag, butter-mouth) denoted a Dutchman (1600–1811, *O.E.D.*).

l. 95. *Towns of Beer*: several Dutch towns begin with Beer- or Bier-, e.g. Biervliet.

l. 96. *Snick and Sneer*: a variant of snick and snee (thrust and cut). The phrase came from the Dutch *steken and snijen*, and was probably still felt to be Dutch.

ll. 97–8. Deinocrates the sculptor proposed to carve Mount Athos into an effigy of Alexander (Strabo, xiv. 641).

ll. 107–17. *vail*: salute by lowering colours. 'Driven by stress of weather, as the Dutch afterwards explained, or from some whim of his own, he [Van Tromp] did appear, on the 19th of May [1652], in the Downs, off Dover. By good luck or ill luck, Blake had contrived to be thereabouts too; and, though he had but twenty-three ships [to Van Tromp's forty-two], he put himself sturdily in Van Tromp's way. A point of naval etiquette included in the English claims was that foreign ships in the narrow seas should lower their flags to the English, and Blake signalled to Van Tromp for this courtesy. Van Tromp positively declined; and, as Blake dogged him and persisted, he veered round, and sent a broadside into Blake's flagship. "Not very civil in Brother Tromp to break my windows," said Blake, and opened back, with all his might, on the Dutchman.... The States General, however, hastened to repair Van Tromp's blunder,

by immediately despatching to London a fourth Ambassador Extraordinary to offer apologies and explanations, and to assist the other three in pushing on the Treaty' (Masson, *Life of Milton*, iv. 372–3).

l. 113. Grotius, *De jure belli et pacis*, was published in 1625.

l. 114. *Burgomaster of the Sea*: Van Tromp.

l. 115. *Gun-powder*. It 'was not uncommon for the older sea-dogs to drink "spirits" strengthened, as they supposed, with gunpowder' (Grosart).

Brand wine: Dutch *brandewijn* (burnt wine), brandy.

l. 118. Gen. xxxiv. 25.

l. 120. *Case-shot*: canister shot, 'a collection of small projectiles put up in cases to fire from a cannon'. Van Tromp sees no more result than if he had used butter for case-shot and cheese for bullets.

l. 123. *kindly*: in accordance with her nature.

l. 124 'With but thirty-seven ships he [Blake] engaged Van Tromp's fleet of seventy-three in the Channel, on the 29th of November [1652], and fought with it the whole day, his own ship always in the thickest fire, from forenoon till night. Not successfully, however. Two of the English ships had been taken; Blake's ship, brought off a mere hull after having been twice boarded, had to seek shelter in English harbours with the rest of his battered ships and Van Tromp, in signal that he now swept the Channel, cruised about it with a broom at his mast-head.* Some of Blake's captains had behaved with much "baseness of spirit" in the affair, and others not so well as he had expected; and the modest man, while complaining of this in letters to the Council of State, and suggesting that there should be a searching inquiry into the facts, begged that he himself might be discharged from an "employment far too great" for him. There *was* an inquiry, followed by arrests and discharges of some of Blake's officers, including a younger brother of his own; but Blake was retained in command with honour' (Masson, *Life of Milton*, iv. 376).

l. 130. *Halcyon*. According to the ancients a fortnight's calm was created at about the winter solstice while the halcyon brooded on her floating nest.

l. 134. An allusion to the inquiry: see note on l. 124.

l. 135. *Bucentore*: Bucentaur, Italian *bucintoro*, from Venetian dialect *bucio int' oro*, golden galley (see Zingarelli, *Vocabolario della Lingua Italiana*, 1922), the State barge of the Venetian Republic, from which the *Sposalizio del Mar* was celebrated yearly on Ascension Day.

l. 136. *their*: perhaps for 'our' (by confusion of the abbreviations o^r and y^r in the MS.).

ll. 137–8. 'Hercules of old strangled snakes in his infancy, but destroyed the Hydra in his full strength. Our Hercules in his infancy strangles the Hydra.' The allusion is probably to the English victory off Portland Bill, 18–20 February 1653: 'Seventeen or eighteen Dutch ships of war taken with their crews, thirty merchantmen taken, besides what had been destroyed—such was the measure of this great victory . . . the news of which sent London and all England into a commotion of joy, not ended even on the 12th of April, when there was a solemn thanksgiving by order of Parliament' (Masson, op. cit., 376–7). *The Character of Holland* may have been suggested by this public thanksgiving.

l. 139. After all, the Dutch hydra was only a tortoise; its one neck has been cut by Blake.

* The broom story is discredited by Gardiner.

A Letter to Doctor Ingelo, then with my Lord Whitlock, Ambassador from the Protector to the Queen of Sweden. (Page 99.)

Bulstrode Whitlocke was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the court of Sweden in September 1653, his mission being an attempt to convert the neutrality of Sweden into open friendship with the English Government then at war with Holland (1652–4). He sailed in November 1653; on the establishment of the Protectorate in December his credentials were renewed, and a treaty was signed at Upsala, 28 April 1654, establishing a political alliance and free commerce between England and Sweden. Whitlocke left Sweden before Queen Christina's abdication (16 June 1654), and was in London early in July.

Nathaniel Ingelo (1621 ?–83) went with him as chaplain and *rector chori*. Ingelo had been elected to a Fellowship at Eton in 1650; and Marvell's residence there (see p. 220), which began in July 1653, was perhaps the occasion of their meeting; l. 2 (*serò cognite, rapte citò*) shows their acquaintance to have been short.

Ingelo received the degree of D.D. at Oxford in 1658. He was, therefore, 'Doctor' at the time of the publication but not at that of the composition of the poem.

Masson, *Life of Milton*, quotes as a parallel to this poem Milton's prose eulogy on Christina in the *Defensio Secunda*. 'Though, in form, a poem of private friendship, inquiring how Dr. Ingelo, Chaplain to the Swedish Embassy, is faring in the cold Swedish climate, it is really a political poem, celebrating the Protector's alliance with Sweden.'

The title of the poem stands in English as above in 1681; a Latin version of the title appears in Cooke and subsequent editions.

l. 32. *Nympha*: Callisto, one of Diana's nymphs, also called *Parrhasis* (Arcadian), who became the constellation of the Great Bear. See Ovid, *Metam.* ii.

l. 34. *Parrhasis*: sc. Ursa: the Great Bear.

l. 36. *Delia*: Diana (born in Delos).

l. 37. *Triviae*: Diana's.

l. 38. *acu*: hairpin. Marvell is still describing the portrait.

Note that *huic* is a disyllable, as is *cui* in l. 106.

ll. 43–44. Cf. *Aeneid*, i. 498–501:

> Qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi
> exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae
> hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa pharetram
> fert umero, gradiensque deas supereminet omnes

l. 48. *fovet*. A certain emendation; in the picture presumably she wears fur on her shoulders.

l. 58. *nec spoliata*: without undressing.

l. 61. Christina's passion for study and business, at the expense of sleep and recreation, had been remarkable from her babyhood; she was under the discipline of men from her accession at the age of six. She gathered at her court a brilliant group of philosophers and scholars, including Descartes.

l. 82. *Salam*: Sala, about forty miles from Upsala. Silver, but not gold, is still mined there.

l. 83 After the opening line of the *Pollio* (Virg. Ecl. iv),

> Sicelides Musae, paulo maiora canamus.

ll. 85–6. Cf. Rev. vii. 3. and ii. 17.

ll. 87–8. Cf. Exod. xxviii. 29: 'And Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgement, upon his heart, when he goeth in unto the holy place, for a memorial before the Lord continually.'

l. 92. Saint Christina, drowned in the lake of Bolsena A.D. 278.

l. 97. *ille* (*illa* 1681). I print *ille* in agreement with the masculine *acer*, which however is sometimes found with feminine nouns in early Latin. *ille*: Cromwell.

ll. 98–100. He pursues not the flock (pecoris spolium . . . inerme) but demands pursuit of the eagle and she-wolf who prey upon the flock.

Aquilam: the Holy Roman Empire.

Lupam: the Church of Rome, as being: (1) the wolf of John x. 12 (cf. Milton's 'grim wolf', *Lycidas*, 128); (2) the she-wolf of the Palatine; (3) the Whore, cf. *The First Anniversary*, l. 113.

l. 102. *Lustra*: lairs. *Plagis*: hunting-nets.

ll. 103–6. *Godfredus*: Godfrey of Bulloigne. Cf. *Gerusalemme Liberata*, xi. 21–3 (*Godfrey of Bulloigne or the* Recoverie of *Ierusalem*, trs. Edward Fairfax, 1600); Raimond speaks to Godfrey on the eve of battle:

> Where is (quoth he) your sure and trusty shield ?
> Your helme, your hawberke strong ? where all the rest ?
> Why be you half disarm'd ? Why to the field
> Approach you in those weake defences drest ?
> . . . . . .
> To this he answered thus. You know (he sade)
> In Clarimont by mighty *Vrbans* hand
> When I was girded with this noble blade,
> For Christs true faith to fight in every land,
> To God ev'n then a secret vow I made,
> Not as a Captaine here this day to stand
> And give directions, but with shield and sword
> To fight, to winne or die for Christ my Lord.

Oliver, however (l. 103), lays down his armour only after winning the battle.

l. 106. 'Selon que leur conscience les iugoit & à la verité, & en generalle assemblee devant tous nommerent le preux & noble Godeffroy de Buillon Roy de Hierusalem, dont tout le peuple eut merveilleusement grand ioye & liesse au coeur; car il estoit tant benin & plein de bon affaire qu'il avoit la grace d'un chacun. Parquoy le rapport faict commencerent tous ensemble à crier vive Godeffroy de Buillon Roy de Hierusalem, & alors fut prins & eslevé le preux Godeffroy & porté en l'Eglise du sainct sepulchre . . . mais quand on le voulut couronner d'une couronne d'or bien enrichie de pierres precieuses qu'on luy avoit preparé, il renonça & refusa du tout à la porter en disant estre indigne un homme chrestien & mortel à porter triomphante couronne regiale & Dyademe d'or & de Pierres precieuses au lieu ou le sauveur & redempteur du monde & le puissant Roy des Roys Iesus Crist avoit pour la redemption humaine porté une si aspre & dure couronne d'espines, parquoy le devot Godeffroy Roy de Hierusalem & Duc de Lorraine, voulut à son couronnement porter une simple & humble couronne d'espines à l'exemple & imitation de nostre sauveur & redempteur Jesus-Christ, & il reçeut l'honneur treshumblement, puisqu' ainsi estoit le vouloir de Dieu' (*La Genealogie et Noble Faitz d'Armes du trespreux & renommé prince*

Godeffroy de Buillon: 1580. Chapter LIII). Cromwell, like Godfrey, refuses a royal crown, cf. *The First Anniversary*, ll. 388 sqq.

l. 107. *Lappos . . . Finnos.* The tribute paid by the Lapps was a subject of dispute between Sweden and Denmark; it was claimed by Christian IV of Denmark but collected by the Swedes.

Finland owed its Constitution to Gustavus Adolphus, and Christina carried on his work of founding schools and the introduction of printing.

l. 112. *Hesperiis*: Hesperia more often means Italy in classical Latin; in this context Spain is, perhaps, more probable (as in Horace's Odes, I. xxxvi. 4, and Lucan, iv. 14).

l. 122. *Danos* (with a reminiscence of Danaos ?). Whitlock's 'instructions authorised him . . . to come to an agreement with Sweden for securing the freedom of the Sound against Denmark and the united provinces' (*D.N.B.*).

l. 123. *mutatis Foedera rebus*: a mutual pact.

l. 129. *Thamisis.* Marvell writes from Eton.

l. 132. *Rogerio*: Benjamin Rogers (1614–98) the musician, born at Windsor and at this time living in the neighbourhood. Ingelo presented some of his music to Christina, and it was performed by her Italian musicians 'to her great content'.

'In 1658 his great favourer and encourager of his profession Dr. Nathaniel Ingelo Fellow of Eaton, conducted him to Cambridge, got the degree of batch. of music to be confer'd on him, as a member of Qu. Coll (that doctor having been sometime fellow thereof, and at that time a proceeder in divinity) and giving great content by his song of several parts (which was his exercise) performed in the commencement that year by several voices, he gained the reputation there of a most admirable musician, and had the greater part of his fees and entertainment defray'd by that noble and generous doctor' (Wood, *Fasti*, ed. Bliss, ii. 306).

In eandem Reginæ Sueciæ transmissam. (Page 103.)

Cromwell's portrait was sent to the Queen of Sweden on the conclusion of the Treaty of April 1654. These lines have been attributed to Milton, who was Latin secretary at the time, but there is no reason to doubt that they are Marvell's. They were first printed as his (1681), and they 'are closely connected, in subject and expression, with the lines to Ingelo and those on Cromwell's portrait, of which the authorship has never been questioned' (Masson, *op. cit.*, iv. 624). Manuscript copies of the poem are found in *M 15* and *M 16*.

l. 7 *Umbra*: representation, picture, as in *In Effigiem Oliveri Cromwell*, l. 1.

The First Anniversary of the Government under O.C. (Page 103.)

First published in 1655, in quarto, pp. 1–22 (A2–C4), with the following title-page:

The First | Anniversary | Of The | Government | Under | *His Highness* | The | Lord Protector. | *London*, | Printed by *Thomas Newcomb*, and are to be sold by | *Samuel Gellibrand* at the Golden Ball in *Pauls* | Church-yard, near the West-end, | *Anno Dom:* 1655.

It was reprinted with practically no variation in the folio of 1681,

from which, together with the *Horatian Ode* and the *Poem on the Death of O. C.*, it was afterwards cancelled. The present reprint is from the unique copy in the British Museum (C. 59. i. 8) with a few corrections from the quarto.

The poem was reprinted again, perhaps from the anonymous quarto, and ascribed to Waller, both in *Poems on Affairs of State*, vol. iv, 1707, and in *Poems on Several Occasions*, 1717. The attribution to Waller was perhaps suggested by his also having published in 1655 *A Panegyrick on Oliver Cromwell*. The author of the preface to the *Poems on Several Occasions* (1717) maintains that 'The *Anniversary* on the Government of CROMWELL has too much the peculiar Air, and Features of the Great Man it challenges for its Parent, to leave any Room to question its being Legitimate; and whoever was formerly acquainted with Mr. WALLER, will easily recollect him at Sight.' It is ascribed to Marvell by his enemy Parker (*History of His Own Time*, 1728, p. 215).

Thompson (1776) included this and the other cancelled pieces in the Addenda to his third volume (' the preface to the first volume being so extensive, the editor was obliged to place these original poems at the end of this book.') His source is not stated. All variations of any importance in Thompson's version are recorded in the critical notes.

A manuscript copy of this poem is in M 18; in some minor corruptions it follows the version of 1707 (*Poems on Affairs of State*, vol. iv), and here too it is ascribed to Waller.

Cromwell was made Protector on 16 December 1653; this poem, written for December 1654, was published, as we have seen, in the following year. Marvell was still, so far as we know, at Eton in the capacity of tutor to Cromwell's protégé William Dutton.

l. 12. *the Jewel of the yearly Ring*: Cromwell's crest was ' a demi-lion rampant argent holding in the dexter paw a gem ring or '. It has been suggested to me that, as the sun was the tutelar planet of the lion, there is here ' a twist of heraldic and astrological figures '.

l. 15–16. *heavy*: the metal associated with the unpropitious planet Saturn is lead. *Longer*: the Saturnian was the longest known year before the discovery of Uranus and Neptune.

ll. 17–18. *Platonique years*: cf. *Timaeus*, 39 D. 'The perfect number of time completes the perfect year when all the eight revolutions . . . are accomplished together and again meet at their original point of departure ' (Jowett). Opinions varied about the duration of the Platonic Great Year (26,000 to 36,000 Solar years), but it was held by some writers that, the heavenly bodies controlling the course of events, each cycle would see an exact repetition of human history.

ll. 19–20. Cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1646), ii. 5. § 7:

' We are not thorowly resolved concerning Porcellane or Chyna dishes, that according to common beliefe they are made of earth, which lyeth in preparation about an hundred years under ground, for the relations thereof are not onely divers, but contrary, and authors agree not herein. Guido Pancirollus will have them made of Egge shells, Lobster shells, and Gypsum layd up in the earth the space of 80. yeeres: of the same affirmation is Scaliger, and the common opinion of most. . . . But Gonzales *de Mendoza*, a man employed into Chyna, and with an honourable present, sent from Phillip the second King of Spain, hath upon ocular experience, delivered a way different

from al these. For enquiring into the artifice thereof, hee found they were made of a Chalky earth, which beaten and steeped in water, affoordeth a cream or fatnesse on the top, and a grosse subsidence at the bottome; out of the cream or superfluitance, the finest dishes, saith he, are made; out of the residence thereof the courser; which being formed, they gild or paint, and not after an hundred yeares, but presently commit unto the furnace . . .'

l. 23. *some* (singular). Cf. Lodge, *Reply to Gosson's School of Abuse* (ed. Shaks. Soc.), 23: 'I feare me some will blushe that readeth this, if he be bitten.'

l. 27. *wrong*: verb.

ll. 33–4. 1 Chron. xxviii.

ll. 41–2. *Image-like*: i.e. like the clock-figures striking the hour on a bell.

l. 44. *wooden Heads*. Cf. *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 600–2.

ll. 47–8. See Plato, *Timaeus*, 47 B and C, *Republic*, vii. 530 D, and x. 617 B; and Burnet, *Shakespeare and Greek Philosophy* (*A Book of Homage to Shakespeare*, 1916): 'The sun, the moon, and the five planets, along with the heaven of the fixed stars, were believed to form . . . an octave scale, the intervals of which were determined by the distances between the planetary orbits. That octave has its counterpart in the immortal soul of each one of us. . . . Were it not for the earthly and perishable nature of the body, our souls would therefore sound in perfect unison with the grander music of the Cosmos. As it is, there is a corporeal barrier between the Soul of Man and the Soul of the World. The function of Music is to overcome this barrier, and it can do so because it is able to reach the soul, while its scales reproduce the intervals of the celestial diapason.'

Cromwell, like Marvell, was a lover of music.

l. 50. *the God*: Hermes.

l. 51. Cromwell himself, at the opening of Parliament, 4 September, 1654, had said 'You will be enabled to put the topstone to the work.'

l. 68. *Instrument*. Cromwell's Protectorate was established by the Instrument of Government, 1653: 'Because there can be no Superstructure without a Basis, an *Instrument* was framed, to be the foundation of this present Government' (Henry Fletcher, *The Perfect Politician*, 1660, p. 250).

l. 69. *hack*. *O.E.D.* s.v. *Hack* vb.[1] (†6 and †7) quotes (obsolete) senses, to break (a note in music), or to mangle (words); cf. Marvell, *Mr. Smirke* 6: 'Having avowed that he had scann'd the Book thorow, this hacking and vain repetition being just like it. . . .'

ll. 69–70 refer to the attempts made between 1649 and 1653 to frame a satisfactory Constitution.

l. 87. The Declaration 'shewing the Reasons' why the Long Parliament was dissolved (April 1653) announces the decision 'that the Supreme Government should be by the Parliament devolved upon known persons . . . as the most hopeful way to countenance all Gods people . . .' (Fletcher, *Perfect Politician*, 1660, p. 223).

ll. 89–90. *Contignation*: (1) a framework, (2) a (timber) floor.

The existence of an opposition contributes to the union of the state just as a framework is held together by the cross-pieces, or (ll. 95–6) as an arch is maintained by two opposing pressures.

ll. 91–2. The walls. *this* (subject) *one* (object).

l. 98. *the roofs Protecting weight*: the weight of the Protector's authority.

ll. 99–100. Archimedes said that, given a πῶν στῶ, he could move the earth.

ll. 105–8. Ps. ii. 10–12. *numbred*: by the *holy Oracles*.

The whole of the passage which follows (to l. 158) takes its colour from the apocalyptic prophecies of Dan. vii–viii, Rev. xii–xx. Cromwell's government is greeted as a preparation for the final fulfilment of the *holy Oracles* (l. 108). After the fall of the four great kingdoms was to follow a Fifth Monarchy, and the reign of the Saints (Dan. vii. 18) with Christ for a thousand years (Rev. xx. 4). This is preceded in the Apocalypse by the fall of the Great Whore (l. 113), and in both accounts by the destruction of the Beast (ll. 124, 128–30). The reign of God was to be preceded by the in-gathering of the nations (l. 115) and in particular of the Jews. It may be noted that during the winter of 1655–6 proposals were discussed for re-admitting the Jews into England, Cromwell ' alleadging ', a year later than this poem, ' that since there is a promise of their Conversion, means must be used to that end, which is the preaching of the Gospel; and that cannot be had, except they be permitted to reside where the Gospel is preached ' (Fletcher, *The Perfect Politician*, p. 291). Cromwell's tacit consent to their return was confirmed at the Restoration.

l. 125. *hollow*: Marvell uses this word in its technical hunting sense in *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, *passim*.

ll. 151–2. Rev. xii. 3–4; and Milton, *Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, ll. 168–72:

> The old Dragon . . .
> Swinges the scaly horror of his folded tail.

l. 153. *suspend*: at the Flood.

l. 157. Contrast *A Dialogue between the Soul and Body*, ll. 29–30.

l. 161. Elizabeth Cromwell died 16 November 1654, in her 94th year.

ll. 171–2. The Protectorate was attacked by several conspiracies of Levellers and other extremists, besides those of the King's party. John Gerard, an agent of Charles II, was beheaded in July 1654 on a charge of plotting to murder Cromwell as he rode to Hampton Court. ' As to the Fifth Monarchy men, he had neerly pried into that danger, and seized and took the chief of that party, among whom was *Venner* the *Wine-Cooper*, being engaged somewhat after in a Plot, in a house in *Shorditch*, where some Arms were taken, and an Ensign with a *Lyon couchant* of the Tribe of *Judah* painted in it, having this Motto, *Who shall raise him up?* (*Flagellum*: *Or The Life and Death . . . of Oliver Cromwell the late Usurper*, 1663, p. 186). Cf. note on ll. 293 and ff.

l. 173. *Thee*: the sense has been spoilt in some editions by printing ' The ' and reading ' proof ' as a noun.

l. 175. *How near*: i. e. by what a narrow margin.

l. 177. *Our brutish fury*. Cromwell driving a team of ' six great German Horses, sent him as a present by the Count of *Oldenburg* ', upset his own coach in Hyde Park, 29 September 1654 (see Thurloe, *State Papers* and Carlyle's *Cromwell*). His escape was celebrated by Denham (*The Jolt*) and Wither (*Vaticinium Causuale*). Wither attributes the mishap to Cromwell's preoccupation with public affairs.

l. 182. *yearly*: i.e. celebrating the events of the year.

l. 184. *purling*: embroidering.

l. 203. *Panique*: properly derived from Pan, the god of *Natures self* (l. 204), and falsely from πᾶν (*all about*).

ll. 205–6. *Center*. Cf. *A Dialogue, between the Resolved Soul, and Created Pleasure*, l. 72, and ll. 363–4 below. Here the earth is the centre of the universe and the sun in the fourth sphere, to which Ptolemaic astronomy assigned it.

ll. 215–24. Cf. 2 Kings ii. 11–13; l. 220, 'and he [Elisha] took hold of his own clothes, and rent them in two pieces'; l. 224, 'and he cried, My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof': see also Plato, *Republic*, viii. 566: 'And he, the protector of whom we spake, . . . is to be seen standing up in the chariot of State with the reins in his hand' (Jowett's translation). l. 218 echoes Milton, *Lycidas*, l. 177. The whole passage recalls the *Horatian Ode*, ll. 27–32. Cromwell addressed Parliament (3 September 1654) 'as one that was resolved to be their fellow-servant in this great Affair'.

ll. 233–8. 1 Kings xviii, 44–6.

though forewarn'd: 'and he said, Go up, say unto Ahab, Prepare thy chariot and get thee down, that the rain stop thee not.'

l. 239. *since*: i. e. since 1649.

l. 244. The Cromwell family mottoes were *Pax quaeritur bello* and *Mors meta laborum*.

ll. 249–64. The parallel is in Judges viii and ix. Gideon, returning from the conquest of Zeba and Zalmunna, the two kings of Midian, to Succoth, which had refused to supply his army with bread, 'took the elders of the city, and thorns of the wilderness and briers, and with them he taught the men of Succoth. And he beat down the tower of Penuel' . . . Invited to rule, he refused the headship for himself and his sons: 'The Lord shall rule over you.' The parallel is continued at l. 257 by way of the parable of Jotham, Gideon's son, Judges ix. 8–15:

> ll. 258–60. *thine olive* (i. e. Oliver's): 'But the olive tree said unto them, Should I leave my fatness, . . . and go to be promoted over the trees?'
>
> ll. 260–2. 'And the bramble said unto the trees, If in truth ye anoint me king over you, then come and put your trust in my shadow: and if not, let fire come out of the bramble, and devour the cedars of Lebanon.'

Levell'd: the shrubs or brambles represent the Levellers.

l. 269. *balefull Tritons*: cf. J. Childrey, *Brit. Baconica* (1661), 102, 'A Triton or Man-Fish was taken on the shore of Portugal.'

l. 270. *Corposants*. Thompson, himself a sailor, explains 'Marine meteors, which Portuguese mariners call the bodies of the saints. Corpos santos'. Cf. Eden, *Arte Navig.* II. xx. 51b: 'Shining exhalations that appeare in tempestes which the Mariners call *saint-elmo* or *Corpus sancti*.'

l. 275. *artless*: unskilful.

l. 283. *eight*. Of Cromwell's family his wife and two sons and four daughters were living at the end of the Civil War.

ll. 286–92. Cf. Gen. ix. 20–22.

l. 293. *Chammish*: like Ham (Vulgate, Cham). The passage which follows (to l. 320) satirizes, probably without professing much accuracy, the religious anomalies of the middle of the seventeenth century, of which the multiplication of sects (l. 300) was one of the expressions. l. 297 refers to the Fifth Monarchy Men (see note on l. 110), who had been preaching sedition against Cromwell:

Christopher Feake and Sydrach Simpson, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, were both imprisoned for this offence in 1654 (see Whitelock's *Memorials*, vol. iv (1853), 26 and 30 January 1653/4); and Feake seems to have attacked the Quakers also. l. 298 glances at the Quakers, whose influence was overspreading the country between the years 1648 and 1655; their early experiences, like much of the religious excitement of the time, often assumed abnormal and morbid forms (ll. 301–10); *fall* (l. 302) as in falling sickness, or epilepsy, the *morbus divus*, which was reputed to have accompanied Mahomet's revelations, (l. 303). *Their new king* (l. 297) may mean the still looked-for Fifth Monarch, or some particular leader, like James Nayler, who made a messianic entry into Bristol in 1656, and was convicted thereafter of blasphemy.

l. 300. If one heresy could count as ten men, they would have a large army.

l. 307. *Rant*: see note on ll. 313–16.

l. 308. *Tulipant*: the early and more accurate form of *turban*. The Quakers refused (among other 'ceremonies') to doff their hats in salute.

l. 310. An English translation of the Koran was published in 1649.

ll. 311–12. Rev. ix. 2, 3, 11: and cf. 'the *Quakers* appeared like *Locusts*, and overspread the whole kingdome' (*Flagellum*, 1663, p. 183).

ll. 313–16. 'The third Sect were the *Ranters*. . . . But withal, they enjoyned a Cursed Doctrine of *Libertinism*, which brought them to all abominable filthiness of Life. They taught as the *Familists*, that God regardeth not the Actions of the Outward Man, but of the Heart; and that to the Pure all things are Pure. (even things forbidden).' Baxter, *Reliquiae*, p. 76. See also Masson, *Life of Milton*, v. 16–27.

Munser's rest: the dregs of Münster, (probably not Thomas Münzer, 1490–1525, a founder of the Anabaptists, but) the city in Westphalia of which the Anabaptists took charge in 1534; they proclaimed there the New Jerusalem, abolished law, including the laws of marriage and of private property, and 'murder, polygamy and crime ran riot.' It was captured 24 June 1535 by a combined force of Catholics and Lutherans.

points: for fastening hose (cf. *On Mr. Milton's Paradise lost*, l. 49).

l. 319. Adamites of the seventeenth century, like those of the third, abandoned clothing in the course of their return to nature

l. 331. *blacks*: hangings of black cloth used at funerals.

ll. 345–72. 'Time, with great industry and vast sums of money, having at last produced two mighty Fleets, one of them was commanded by General *Blake*, who (being fitted onely for the Sea) sailed away to the Straights: about two months after, the other Fleet put out to Sea, commanded by General *Pen*, who took aboard him a Land-Army, under Conduct of General *Venables* . . . *Decemb.* the 19th 1654 this Fleet set sail from *Portsmouth* for the *Barbadoes*' (see ll. 345–60), Fletcher, *Perfect Politician*, 1660, pp. 274–5. This force captured Jamaica after having been repulsed at San Domingo. Blake's was a successful expedition against Barbary pirates and others

l. 350. *both wars*: the Civil War and the war with Holland 1652–4.

l. 352. *their*: 1655, 1681 and Thompson read *our*. But the difference between o^{r} (= our) and y^{r} (= their) is not great.

ll. 355–6. Hector Boethius (*Hist. Scot.*) held that the leaves of a certain tree falling into water became solan geese: cf. Cleveland, *Rebel Scot*:

> A *Scot*, when from the Gallows-Tree got loose,
> Drops into Stix, and turns a Soland Goose.

Butler, *Hudibras*, III. ii. 655-6 gives another version :

As barnacles turn soland geese
In th' islands of the Orcades

l. 358. Cf. Milton, *Lycidas*, l. 94 : 'That blows from off each beaked promontory.'

l. 362. 'Their advantage lay firstly in the superior build of their ships . . . but also . . . in the bronze cannon which they carried, which were of longer range than the Dutch guns' (Ranke, *Hist. Eng.*, 1875. iii. 70)

ll. 363–4. Cf. l. 205, and note.

l. 366. *Leaguers* : besieging forces.

l. 371. As at the division of earth, air, and water between the sons of Cronos.

l. 374. Horace, *Odes*, I. iii. 9. Illi robur et aes triplex . . .

l. 381. *inchas'd*, worked in together.

l. 384. The man who loosed the Gordian knot was to be master of the world.

ll. 401–2. John v. 4. *yearly*: Cromwell had dissolved the Barebones Parliament in December 1653 and accepted the office of Protector. The succeeding Parliament was to be dissolved with a high hand in January 1655 ; and the first anniversary of the Protectorate (the occasion of this poem) occurred during the events which led directly to that dissolution.

On the Victory obtained by Blake over the Spaniards, in the Bay of Sanctacruze, in the Island of Teneriff. 1657. (Page 113.)

Though Cromwell's name is not mentioned in this poem, there can be no doubt that it is addressed to him, cf. especially ll. 145–8.

It was first published in A New | Collection | of | Poems and Songs. | Written by several Persons. | Never Printed before. | W [design of Pegasus] C | London : | Printed by *J. C.* for *William Crook*, at the | Green Dragon without Temple-Bar, 1674 (advertised on 9 February 167$\frac{3}{4}$: Arber's *Term Catalogues*). It occurs on pp. 109–16. The same collection was issued again four years later without any variation except a cancel title-page, as Melpomene : | Or, the | Muses Delight.| Being New | Poems | And | Songs. | Written by several of the great Wits of our | present Age. as *I. D. T. F. S. W. T. S.* | *C. O. I. B. &c.* Collected together, and | now Printed. | London, | Printed for *H. Rogers* at the Bible in *West-* | *minster-Hall*, against the *Court* of | *Common Pleas*, 1678. Here also, of course, it occurs on pp. 109–16.

In this version Cromwell is not addressed. 'You' 'your' are altered either to 'we' 'our' or to 'England' 'English', and ll. 39–52 are omitted. All differences of reading whatever are given in the *apparatus criticus*, but the folio version has been printed throughout (except for obvious misprints in ll. 9, 104, 129, 139), there being no doubt that, as addressed to Cromwell, it is the original version.

Blake was engaged from May 1655 to August 1657 in blockading the Spanish coast and waiting to intercept treasure ships from America. On 8 September 1656 Stayner, one of his subordinates, with three ships captured or destroyed almost the whole Plate fleet of eight vessels, and on 20 April 1657 Blake destroyed a fleet of sixteen treasure ships at Teneriffe. This was a very remarkable action. The bay of Santa Cruz is deep and narrow-mouthed, and it was flanked by batteries on shore armed with heavy guns. In spite of this Blake was completely successful, and did not lose one of his own ships. There was a public thanksgiving in London on 3 June.

Later in the year the fleet, which had been at sea for over two years, was ordered home, but Blake died on 7 August two hours before reaching Plymouth. Marvell's poem was clearly written before this.

l. 4. *Guilt*, the usual pun. Cf. l. 64.

l. 28. *Trees . . . supply*, i. e. as growing high up on Teneriffe: or there may be an allusion to Pliny's description of the Fortunate Islands, *Nat. Hist.* vi. 32 (37) 'arborum ibi proceritatem ad CXL pedes adulescere.' (Later in the same chapter he says one of the islands 'Canariam vocari a multitudine canum ingentis magnitudinis').

Cf. too the following passage in North's Plutarch, *Sertorius*:

'There certaine saylers met with him that were newly arrived from the Iles of the Ocean Atlanticum, which the auncients called, the fortunate Ilands. These two Ilandes are not farre one from an other, being but a little arme of the sea betwene them, and are from the coast of Africke only tenne thowsand furlongs. They have raine there very seldom, howbeit a gentle winde commonly that bloweth in a little silver dew, which moisteth the earth so finely, that it maketh it fertile and lustie, not onely to bring forth all that is set or sowen upon it; but of it selfe without mans hand it beareth so good frute, as sufficiently maintaineth the inhabitants dwelling apon it, living idlely, and taking no paines. The weather is fayre and pleasaunt continually, and never hurteth the body, the climate and seasons of the yeare are so temperate, and the ayer never extreame: bicause the windes that blow apon that land from the other side of the coast opposite to it, as the North and Easterly winde comming from the Maine, what with their longe comming, and then by dispersing them selves into a wonderfull large ayer and great sea, their strength is in manner spent and gone before their comming thither. And for the windes that blow from the sea (as the South and Westerly) they sometime bring litle showers with them which commonly doe but moisten the ground a litle, and make the earth bring forth all thinges very trimmely: insomuch as the very barbarous people them selves doe faithfully beleve, that these are the Elysian fields, thabode of blessed creatures; which Homer hath so much spoken of.'

White, *Natural History of Selborne* (letter to Barrington of 7 February 1776) describes the way in which, in some of the West Indies, the place of rain is taken by moisture dripping from "tall trees . . . in the bosom of a mountain".

l. 47. England and Spain had been at peace, since the treaty of 1630.

l. 64. *Guilty*, cf. l. 4.

ll. 65–6. Cf. Waller, *The Battle of the Summer Islands*, I, ll. 73–4 (the end of the first canto):

> But while I do these pleasing dreams indite,
> I am diverted from the promised fight.

your present, sc. conquests. These lines are smoothed out in the 1674 version.

l. 98. Hepworth Dixon, *Robert Blake*, p. 348, relates that the captain of a Dutch merchant ship, learning of Blake's approach, asked for leave to depart. The Spanish admiral granted it after protesting his strength, and concluded, 'Well, go, if you will: and let Blake come if he dare.'

l. 117. *Stainer*, v. introductory note. Waller wrote a poem on Stayner's exploit in 1656 without mentioning his name. In the Muses' Library edition it is entitled *Of a war with Spain, and a fight at sea.*

l. 132. *its*, i. e. the fire's.

ll. 151–60. Cf. Waller, *Of a war with Spain, and a fight at sea*, ll. 65-74:

Some, we made prize; while others, burned and rent,
With their rich lading to the bottom went;
Down sinks at once (so Fortune with us sports!)
The pay of armies, and the pride of courts.
Vain man! whose rage buries as low that store,
As avarice had digged for it before;
What earth, in her dark bowels, could not keep
From greedy hands, lies safer in the deep,
Where Thetis kindly does from mortals hide
Those seeds of luxury, debate, and pride.

Two Songs at the Marriage of the Lord Fauconberg and the Lady Mary Cromwell. (Page 119.)

Thomas Belasyse (1627–1700), second Viscount Fauconberg, a kinsman of the great Lord Fairfax (see genealogy on p. 230), married Mary Cromwell (1637–1712), third daughter of the Protector, Thursday, 19 November 1657, at Hampton Court (Thurloe, *State Papers*, vi. 628). He became Privy Councillor and Ambassador of Charles II after the Restoration, and, having joined in the invitation to the Prince of Orange at the Revolution, received an earldom in 1689.

ll. 30–2. *Anchises*: Robert Rich, grandson and heir of the Earl of Warwick, who married 11 November 1657 (one week before the marriage for which Marvell wrote these songs) Frances, Cromwell's fourth daughter, originally intended for William Dutton.

A Poem upon the Death of O. C. (Page 123.)

Cancelled, together with *An Horatian Ode* and *The First Anniversary*, from all known copies of the folio except the one copy in the British Museum, from which I reprint ll. 1–184. The rest of the poem is missing from that copy, and I have printed Thompson's text, the earliest extant. I follow Thompson's edition with the more confidence because where the two texts can be compared his version shows little variation from 1681.

Cromwell died 3 September 1658.

l. 16. *angry Heaven*: cf. *An Horatian Ode*, 26.

l. 21. i. e. Love and Grief were appointed his executioners.

l. 22. Cf. *Lycidas*, l. 71 and *Fleckno*, ll. 27–8.

l. 30. *Eliza*. 'Aug 6 [1658] The most illustrious Lady the Lady *Elizabeth* second Daughter of his Highness, departed this life, to the great grief of her Lord and Husband, their Highnesses and the whole Court' (*Portraiture of his late Highness*, 1659). She married John Claypole in 1646. She had frequently interceded with Cromwell on behalf of Royalist prisoners, and at the Restoration her tomb in Henry VII's Chapel was probably left undisturbed. (J. L. Chester, *Westminster Abbey Registers*).

45. *not knowing*: i. e. not by knowing.

l. 49. *Children*: there were four, Cromwell, Henry, Oliver, and

Martha. Oliver died in June 1658, thereby aggravating his mother's illness.

ll. 53–4. Magic against an enemy was sometimes practised by melting a wax figure in his likeness; Cromwell suffers in the suffering of his likeness Elizabeth.

Limbs of Wax: cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, I. iii. 76–7. 'Why, he's a man of wax . . . Verona's summer hath not such a flower.'

l. 62. *feigns*: dissimulates. But in l. 259 below it means to conjure up or imagine.

ll. 65–6. *by . . . on*. prepositions which would be used with 'sword' rather than 'grief'.

l. 67. *purple locks*: apparently an inexact allusion to the story of Scylla the daughter of Nisus King of Megara, who, for love of Minos, cut off from her father's head the lock of purple hair on which his life depended: see Ovid, *Met* viii. 6–151. There may possibly be also a reminiscence of Atropos, as in *Lycidas*, ll. 75–6.

l. 69. *flyes*: Scylla was transformed into a bird. Cf. Virgil, *Georgics*, i. 409.

ll. 73–6. Cf. *King Lear*, v. iii. 262–4:

> Lend me a looking-glass;
> If that her breath will mist or stain the stone,
> Why then she lives.

l. 106. *hollow Seas*: cf. *Bermudas*, l. 27.

l. 112. Cf. Butler, *Hudibras*, III. ii. 215–16.

> Toss'd in a furious hurricane,
> Did Oliver give up his reign . . .

'He dyed on *Fryday* the said 3d. of *September* at 3. of the clock in the afternoon, though divers rumours were spread, that he was carried away in the Tempest the day before' (*Flagellum* &c., 1663, p. 206.) See also '*Salt upon Salt*: | Made out of certain | INGENIOUS VERSES | Upon the Late | STORM | and the Death of His HIGHNESS | Ensuing. | By GEO. WITHER, Esquire | . . . 1659.'

l. 121. The emendation *lead* (for *dead*) is supported as a rhyme by *Appleton House*, ll. 163–4.

l. 123. cf. *Salt upon Salt*, p. 23: 'Our ablest *Horse* . . . Die suddenly' etc.

l. 127. Days of national humiliation were decreed in May 1658 on account of the prevalent low fever (*State Papers Domestic*). and cf Evelyn, *Diary*, 15 May 1658.

l. 130. Cf. *Julius Caesar*, v. v. 73–5.

ll. 131–2. *Air*: i. e. one of the elements. *Universe*: the folio reading is certainly right. Thompson's *The world with throes* imposes a different meaning upon *labour'd*.

l. 133. Nature would compete with him in natural affection. Cf *Hamlet*, I. v. 81: 'If thou hast nature in thee, bear it not' . . . and *Pericles*, III. i. 24–6: 'We . . . therein may . . . Vie honour with you.'

l. 137. Judges v. 20: 'They fought from heaven; the stars in their courses fought against Sisera.' Cf. *An Horatian Ode*, l. 12.

l. 139. *Cast*: in the astrological sense, to calculate.

l. 144. Twice, at Dunbar, 3 September 1650, and at Worcester 3 September 1651.

l. 146. At the battle of Worcester: 'Cromwell threw a bridge of boats across the Severn . . ., and fell on the flank of the Scots. (Firth, *Cromwell*).

l. 154. On $\frac{4}{13}$ September 1658 a Spanish force under the Prince de Ligne was defeated in Flanders by a French army with an English contingent (*Clarke Papers*, iii. 163).

l. 156. *Lawrel*: of victory.

l. 162. Deut. xxxiv. 6.

ll. 167–8. Perhaps cf. *Lycidas*, ll. 132–4.

ll. 173–4. The capture of Dunkirk from the Spaniards (1658) and of Jamaica (1655).

l. 176. *Worthy's*: King Arthur was one of the Nine Worthies.

l. 180. *man'd*: 'made a man of.'

l. 187. Cromwell defeated the Scotch under Hamilton near Preston 17 August 1648.

l. 188. *impregnable Clonmell*: because attacked unsuccessfully by Cromwell; but the Irish subsequently evacuated it (May 1650) This was the last incident in Cromwell's Irish campaign.

l. 189. At the battle of the Dunes $\frac{4}{14}$ June 1658, which preceded the occupation of Dunkirk, Lieut.-Col. Roger Fenwick was mortally wounded in storming a sand-hill. The day was a day of public prayer (l. 190).

ll. 191–2. Joshua x. 12–14. 'And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the LORD harkened unto the voice of a man' (v. 14).

l. 194. See Gen. xxxii. 24–9.

ll. 201–2. The Protector's branch of the Cromwell family was founded by his great-grandfather Richard Williams, nephew on his mother's side of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex. His friendship with his uncle resulted in his being knighted and in his adoption of the surname Cromwell.

ll. 203–4. But while friendship attaches to one object, Cromwell's 'tendernesse extended unto all'.

l. 215. *cast*: calculated, cf. l. 139: or perhaps 'diagnosed'.

l. 226. Aitken paraphrases 'And that to govern you is a task Heaven only could accomplish.' The meaning may be 'And you (dare to think that) to govern (is) the task of Heaven alone.'

l. 242. 2 Sam. vi. 14–22.

l. 245. *Francisca*: Cromwell's youngest daughter Frances, married to Robert Rich in 1657. She afterwards married Sir John Russell, and died in 1721.

l. 259. *faigne*: see note on l. 62.

l. 264. *wreaths*: cf. *The Garden*, l. 2 and note.

l. 305. Richard Cromwell (1626–1712) was proclaimed Protector on the day of his father's death, but resigned the title in April 1659.

l. 317. *inchas'd*: cf. *The First Anniversary* 381.

l. 321. *calm Peace succeeds to War*: Baxter's address announcing his adhesion to Richard Cromwell's government contained the following passage:

'I observe that the nation generally rejoices in your peaceable entrance upon the Government. Many are persuaded that you have been strangely kept from participating in any of our late bloody contentions, that God might make you the healer of our breaches, and employ you in that Temple work which David himself might not be honoured with, though it was in his mind, because he shed blood abundantly and made great wars.'

l. 324. Cf. *The First Aniversary*, ll. 236–7.

On Mr. Milton's Paradise lost. (Page 131.)

The second edition (1674) of *Paradise Lost* is introduced by two poems, one in Latin by S[amuel] B[arrow], M.D., and these lines by Marvell (signed A. M.) which immediately precede Milton's foreword on ' The Verse '. The title-page is as follows :

Paradise Lost. | A | Poem | In | Twelve Books. | The Author | John Milton. | The Second Edition | Revised and Augmented by the | same Author. | London, | Printed by S. Simmons next door to the | Golden Lion in Aldersgate-street, 1674.

The text of the folio is here reprinted, except for the correction of two obvious misprints at ll. 33 and 45. All variants between the texts of 1674 and 1681 are recorded in the *apparatus criticus*, but there are none of importance.

Paradise Lost was first published in 1667 Marvell wrote a prose defence of Milton in the Second Part of *The Rehearsall Transpros'd* (1673), pp. 377–80. His poem was reprinted in the third edition of *Paradise Lost* (1678), omitted from the fourth (1688), but re-inserted in several of the later editions.

l. 3. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, xi. 46–7.

l. 9. *Sampson* : Judges xvi. 29–30. *Samson Agonistes* had first appeared with *Paradise Regained*, in 1671.

l. 17. *spann'd*: cf. *Appleton House*, l. 351, and Milton, *Church Government* : ' . . . span in his thoughts all the various effects that passion . . . can work in man's nature.' . . .

l. 18. *some less skilful hand* : Aubrey, *s.n.* Milton, says that ' his familiar learned acquaintance were Mr. Andrew Marvell . . . John Dreyden, esq., Poet Laureate, who very much admires him, and went to him to have leave to putt his Paradise Lost into a drama in rhymne. Mr. Milton recieved him civilly, and told him he would give him leave to tagge his verses ' (cf. l. 50).

Dryden's ' Heroick Opera ', *The Fall of Angels and Man in Innocence* was licensed 17 April 1674, but publication was delayed till 1677, when it appeared under the title *The State of Innocence, and Fall of Man : An Opera* ; but I cannot find that it was ever performed. In the ' Author's Apology ' which prefaces this work Dryden claims Paradise Lost to be ' undoubtedly, one of the greatest, most noble, and most sublime POEMS, which either this Age or Nation has produc'd '.

The second edition of *Paradise Lost* is entered in the Term Catalogues under date 6 July 1674. Lines 25, 6 suggest that Dryden, after obtaining his licence in April, but before the appearance of Marvell's poem, had decided against the publication or performance of his opera. The ' Author's Apology ' (quoted above) gives an account of his reason for printing at last in 1677, ' many hundred Copies of it being dispers'd, abroad without my knowledge or consent : so that every one gathering new faults, it became at length a Libel against me ; and I saw, with some disdain, more nonsence than either I, or as bad a Poet, could have cram'd into it, at a Months warning, in which time 'twas wholly Written, and not since Revis'd '.

In accounting for the rough handling to which this poem subjects Dryden, it may be remembered that, like Marvell, he had taken Government service under the Protector, whose eulogy indeed he had written ; but that the Restoration had turned him into a courtier, while Marvell maintained in altered circumstances his habitual

independence of mind. Dryden retaliates by writing (in the preface to the *Religio Laici*, 1682) of ' Martin Mar-prelate, The Marvel of those times, . . . the first Presbyterian scribbler who sanctified libels and scurrility to the use of the good old cause '

l. 24. *i.e.* his fear of the success (ll. 12–16).

l. 30. *detect*: expose.

l. 37. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, i. 13–14 :

> . . . my adventurous song
> That with no middle flight intends to soar. . . .

l. 39. *Bird nam'd from that Paradise*: Birds of Paradise were ' so named by the Dutch voyagers in allusion to the brilliancy of their plumage, and to the current belief that, possessing neither wings nor feet, they passed their lives in the air, sustained on their ample plumes, resting only at long intervals suspended from the branches of lofty trees by the wire-like feathers of the tail, and drawing their food " from the dews of heaven and the nectar of flowers ". Such stories obtained credence from the fact that so late as the year 1760, when Linnaeus named the principal species *apoda*, or " footless ", no perfect specimen had been seen in Europe, the natives who sold the skins to coast traders invariably depriving them of feet and wings ' (*Encyclopaedia Brit.*, 11th edition). Marvell, however, here gives them wings.

ll. 43–4. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, iii. 33–6 :

> Those other two equal'd with me in fate,
> So were I equal'd with them in renown,
> Blind *Thamyris* and blind *Maeonides*,
> And *Tiresias* and *Phineus*, Prophets old . . .

l. 47. *Town-Bays*: Dryden appears in Buckingham's *Rehearsal* (1672) in the character of Bayes. ' Milton is said to have called Dryden a great rhymer, but no poet ' (Aitken).

spells: I suggest that this means ' does things by spells or stages '. each rhymed unit being a spell ; but I cannot support it.

ll. 49–50. *points*: for fastening hose. They were tasselled (' bushy ') or tagged (like modern shoelaces). The ' bushy ' fancies are crushed into the tag and lose their quality and character.

l. 51. *Mode*: ' we for fashion ' use rhyme, so that where I would say ' praise ' I must say only ' commend '.

Janae Oxenbrigiae Epitaphium. (Page 132.)

See note on *Bermudas* (p. 220), and Marvell's letter to Cromwell, 28 July 1653. This was Jane (Butler), first wife of John Oxenbridge, (1608–74), who studied at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and Magdalen Hall, Oxford, where he was afterwards tutor until deprived by Laud in 1634. He then married and made two voyages to the Bermudas (see Lefroy, *Memorials of the . . . Bermudas*, 1877, i. 617, 706, &c.). In 1641 he returned to England and is recorded as preaching ' very enthusiastically '. He was appointed to a fellowship at Eton in October 1652, and during his residence there Marvell lodged in his house. He lost his fellowship at the Restoration, settled in Massachusetts, and died while preaching at Boston.

Le Neve (*Monumenta Anglicana*, 1718, the volume covering the years 1650–79) states that the epitaph was ' on a black Marble near Lupton's Chapel ' in Eton College Chapel ; it was painted over at the Restoration (which may account for the uncertainty of the text)

and eventually removed. It is here reprinted from the folio, which states that Jane Oxenbridge died on 23 April 1658, aged 37. This date, supported by the record in the Eton parish register of her burial on 28 April 1658, may be accepted against the statements of Wood that she died on 22 April 1655, and of Le Neve, that she died on 23 April 1653, aged 77. Le Neve's date is difficult to reconcile with the fact that Oxenbridge had a wife living when Marvell wrote to Cromwell on 28 July 1653, though we know from Wood that Oxenbridge remarried 'before he had remained a widower an year' (*Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, 1817, III. 1027–8). His second wife was Frances, 'only daughter of Hezekiah Woodward the schismatical vicar of Bray near Windsor,' and he afterwards married a third.

l. 1. *breve Mortalitatis speculum* : a short conspectus of her mortal life.

l. 3. Jane Oxenbridge was daughter of 'Thomas Butler of Newcastle, merchant, by Elizabeth Clavering, of Callaley, his wife', according to Hunter's note upon the passage quoted above from Wood.

Johannis Trottii Epitaphium and Edmundi Trotii Epitaphium. (Page 133.)

The tablets to John and Edmund Trott, bearing these epitaphs, are set in the north wall of the chancel of the old church at Laverstoke in Hampshire (now a mortuary chapel of the Portal family). In the chancel are monuments of three generations of that branch which the death of Sir John Trott, following that of his sons who died without issue, brought to an end in 1672. By the kindness of Sir William Portal I have been able to correct in some particulars the text of 1681 (see the foot-notes, where *Lav.* refers to the inscriptions at Laverstoke), and also to print the epitaphs of Sir John Trott and his parents, of authorship unknown, but (Sir John Trott's at least) not impossibly also Marvell's. They are as follows :

1. In the north wall on a large tablet containing two oval frames :

(*a*) If the Just are praised when they are onely named how am I surprised with a Panegyricke whilst I am telling the reader that here lyes the body of John Trott of Laverstock in the County of Southampton Esq. who had onely one sonne both [*sic*] surviveing and 4 daughters which haveing seene sent to Eternity he himselfe followed Oct: 24. 1658 Being the 75 year of his age leaving his family (whereof the poore in his esteeme were a part) to lament his absence

(*b*) Katharine the wife of John Trott Esquire departed out of this life the 17th day of January Anno Domini 1661 and of her age seventy one all her freinds lamenting and the poore weeping and shewing the coates and garments which shee had made.

(*c*) (appended to both the above)

He wrongs the dead whoe thinks this marble frame
Was built to be the Guardian of his name
Whereas twas for his ages onely meant
His name was sett to guard the monument.

2. In the south wall :

Memoriae sacrum viri amplissimi Johannis Trott Baronetti principi suo fidelissimi ingenii acumine perspicacis, morum comitate eximii, senatoris prudentissimi, Religionis vere Christianae atque legum patriarum cultoris pariter et vindicis acerrimi, mariti denique

et parentis praestantissimi, pietatis gratia Elizabetha coniunx superstes

Hoc posuit

Ex Qua filios quatuor, filiamque unicam suscepit, quorum duo incunabulis, duoque optimae spei Adolescentes nuper mortem obierunt. Hanc autem Hugoni Stewkleio Baronetto, viro genere Clarissimo nuptam reliquit. Ipse vita inculpatè transacta fama integerrima pridie idus Julianas Anno a Christo nato 1672 ab exilio terreno ad patriam Coelestem demigravit

Ab omnibus desideratus.

See also note on the letter to Sir John Trott (*Miscellaneous Letters*, 9) in which the ' Elogie ' on his son Edmund was enclosed.

Johannis Trottii Epitaphium.

l. 13. *Wintoniensi.* The records for the years 1653–68 are missing from the Winchester Long Rolls.

l. 22. *affabre* : skilfully.

l. 27. *vespillones* ; corpse-bearers.

Edmundi Trotii Epitaphium.

l. 5. *Figuli*: potters; *substructores*: layers of foundations.

ll. 20–1. cf. *An Epitaph upon* ——, p. 55, ll. 10–12.

l. 38. This line was omitted by Cooke, Thompson, and Grosart

Clarindon's House-Warming. (Page 137.)

TEXT. First printed in 1667 with ' Denham's ' *Directions to a Painter.* (For the full title-page see introductory note to *Last Instructions*, p. 269.) It was reprinted in the *State Poems* of 1697.

Manuscript copies are to be found in *M 3, M 13, B 1, D.* Further, the copy of the 1667 edition bound up in Gough MS. London 14 in the Bodleian has important contemporary manuscript corrections both in this satire and in all the ' Denham ' satires. Besides being obviously right, these corrections are supported in general by the four manuscripts mentioned above. I have, therefore, printed the 1667 version as corrected in the Bodleian copy (Gough MS. London 14).

The lines *Upon his House* are not found in the manuscripts, but they are corrected in the Gough copy.

The lines *Upon his Grand-Children* are to be found in *M 13, M 16,* and *M 18,* as well as in the 1667 edition, which is here reprinted. But they were not reprinted in 1697 nor subsequently till they were included in Grosart's edition.

AUTHENTICITY. There is no trace of any attribution to Marvell until Cooke included them in his edition in 1726. Cooke did not find the lines *Upon his Grand-Children* in the *State Poems*, and they were first printed as Marvell's by Grosart.

There is no inherent improbability that they are Marvell's, and the wealth of classical allusion rather supports the attribution.

DATE. Parliament was summoned by proclamation dated 25 June 1667 to meet on St. James's Day ; see the last line of the satire, the composition of which thus falls between those two dates.

Upon his House. Cf. Pepys, 14 June 1667 : ' Mr Hater tells me at noon that some rude people have been, as he hears, at my Lord Chancellor's, where they have cut down the trees before his house and broke his windows ; and a gibbet either set up or painted upon his gate, and these three words writ : " Three sights to be seen ; Dunkirk, Tangier, and a barren Queen." '

Upon his Grand-Children must have been written between Kendal's death, 22 May 1667, and that of Cambridge, 20 June 1667.

NOTES l. 3. *three Deluges* sent by Mars, Apollo, and Vulcan : war, plague, and fire.

l. 4. The great house near St. James's, the subject of this satire, was begun in 1664. Evelyn went to see it building 15 October of that year. ' He intended a good ordinary house ', says Burnet, ' but, not understanding those matters himself, he put the managing of that into the hands of others; who run him into a vast charge of about 50,000*l*., three times as much as he had designed to lay out upon it. During the war, and in the plague year, he had about three hundred men at work, which he thought would have been an acceptable thing, when so many men were kept at work, and so much money, as was duly paid, did circulate about. But it had a contrary effect. It raised a great outcry against him ' (Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, 249, where the Earl of Dartmouth adds a note that on leaving the country (29 November 1667) Clarendon charged his son Rochester ' to tell all his friends, that if they could excuse the vanity and folly of the great house, he would undertake to answer for all the rest of his actions himself ').

See Evelyn's letter reporting progress to Lord Cornbury, Clarendon's eldest son, 20 January 1666, and his note thereon : ' Clarendon House, built by Mr. Pratt; since quite demolished by Sir Thomas Bond, &c., who purchased it to build a street of tenements to his undoing.' On 28 November 1666 Evelyn describes it as ' almost finished ', and on 26 April 1667 Clarendon showed Evelyn ' all his newly finished and furnished palace and library '; and finally on the eve of Clarendon's flight Evelyn ' found him in his garden at his new-built palace, sitting in his gout wheel-chair, and seeing the gates setting up towards the north and the fields. He looked and spoke very disconsolately. . . . Next morning I heard he was gone.'

As early as 20 February 1665 Pepys records that people nicknamed it Dunkirk House. Clarendon (*Continuation*, p. 512) confesses that the enterprise ' had infinitely discomposed his whole Affairs and broken his Estate '.

l. 6. *Flanders* : see *Last Instructions*, l. 368 and note.

l. 7. Cf. note on *Character of Holland*, l. 130; and Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, III. x : ' About the brumal Solstice . . . the Sea is calm, and the winds do cease ' : the kingfisher then built its nest and brooded on the waves. The building of Clarendon House was no more checked by winter than by war, plague, or fire.

ll. 13–16. *Rhodope*, properly Rhodōpis, which I expect Marvell wrote, was a celebrated Egyptian courtesan of Thracian origin. She was often credited in antiquity with the Pyramid of Mycerinus. Herodotus in his account of her (ii. 134–5), gives reasons for disbelieving the Pyramid story.

ll. 17, 18. Cf. *First Anniversary*, ll. 49–74.

l. 20 : *Jews-trump* : jew's-harp. A hit at Clarendon's accumulation of wealth may be intended.

l. 21. *President* : precedent. *Virgil* : *Aeneid*, i. 367.

l. 22. *Poultney* is Sir William Poultney or Pulteney, grandfather of the well-known eighteenth-century statesman. He was one of the original proprietors of the land granted to Clarendon on 13 June 1664 (*S. P. Dom.* of that date, and full text of the grant in Lister's *Life of Clarendon*, iii. 525). The *African Poultney* from whom Dido obtained

the grant of as much land as she could enclose with a *hide*, was King Iarbas.

l. 25. *Gouty*: cf. *Last Instructions*, ll. 340 and 472.

l. 26. *Brickbat*: bricks.

l. 27. Sir John Denham was mad for a short time in 1666. According to this line his madness was attributed to a brick falling on to his head (he was surveyor-general of works).

l. 28. See note to *Last Instructions*, l. 65.

l. 30. *Thong*, i.e. of bull's hide—another allusion to Dido.

ll. 35–6. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 13–26. Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh except that of the priests, which was held on a special tenure.

l. 41. *Scotch forts*: Cromwell had built four forts at Ayr, Leith, Perth, and Inverness. Lauderdale was instrumental in getting them dismantled. 'The materials and ground whereupon they were built, were bestowed in this manner: Air was disposed to the Earl of Eglintoun, who thereafter employed the same to the manufactory of cloth, newly erected there: Perth, to the magistrates of the town; Inverness, to the Earl of Murray; and Leith to the Earl of Lauderdale, with the privilege of erecting it in a burgh of regality; which he did, to force the magistrates of Edinburgh to buy it from him; for he boasted to settle a trade there which would break their's: to prevent which, Sir Andrew Ramsay, provost of Edinburgh, did thereafter induce the town to buy it at the rate of 5,000 *lib* sterling' (Mackenzie, *Memoirs*, 1821, pp. 24, 25).

Dunkirk was sold to France in 1662 for 500,000 pistoles.

l. 43. *Tangier* was part of Catharine of Braganza's dowry. The building of the Mole was begun soon after its acquisition by England. (Pepys was a member of the Tangier commission: see his diary, *passim*.)

mold: mole.

l. 44. The old cathedral was not burnt down till Clarendon House was nearly finished. Cooke annotates: 'There was then a Design of repairing *St. Paul's*, which was afterwards layed aside, and the Stones, intended for that, were bought by the *Lord Clarendon* to build his House with.'

ll. 49–52. *Allens*: Sir Allen Apsley and Sir Allen Brodrick, see note on *Last Instructions*, l. 212.

l. 57. Before his own house was ready Clarendon lived in Worcester House in the Strand and paid £500 a year for it to the Marquis of Worcester. Evelyn dined with him there on 15 October 1664.

l. 60. *by hook and by crook*: see Cicero, *Academica*, ii. 38, 121: 'qui asperis et levibus et hamatis uncinatisque corporibus concreta haec esse dicat,' and Lucretius, *De Rerum Nat.*, ii. 394, &c. According to Epicurean physical science the atoms clung together as by means of hooks.

The atomic theory had been rehandled by Boyle, *Sceptical Chymist*, 1661, and *Origine of Formes and Qualities according to the Corpuscular Philosophy*, 1666.

l. 63. The reference is to the story told in Livy, i. 11. The daughter of Sp. Tarpeius, who was in charge of the citadel, betrayed it to the Sabines. She had bargained to receive what they had on their left hands, meaning their rings, but they overwhelmed her beneath their shields.

l. 65. *Bishops, true sons of the Seal*: Clarendon was keeper of the Great Seal and no one had done more than he to restore episcopacy.

l. 66. *Farmers*: i. e. tax-farmers.

Banquers: cf. *Last Instructions*, ll. 493–8.

Patentees: see ll. 74–6 below.

l. 67. i. e. They contributed at once an amount equal to the bribes and contributions, which the Chancellor would normally receive throughout the year.

l. 68. The Cheddar Cheese industry dates from the seventeenth century.

ll. 69, 70. The names are obviously all those of underlings of Hyde's who might be supposed to be employed in counting the contributions. Bulteale was one of the company at dinner at Captain Cocke's on 22 August 1667 (Pepys). Other guests, besides Pepys, were 'Matt. Wren' and 'Sir Allen Apsly'.

'John Bulteel was secretary to Edward, earl of Clarendon, was created M.A. of Oxford, 9 Sept. 1661, was elected M.P. for Lostwithiel in 1661, and died a bachelor in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields in 1669' (*D. N. B.*).

Morley: (*sic*, not 'Morley's'). Grosart and subsequent editors identify him with Colonel Morley mentioned by Pepys and Evelyn. A more plausible identification would be with George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, a great friend and supporter of the Chancellor. But some one of less importance is probably meant.

Wren: one of Clarendon's secretaries. See note on *Last Instructions*, l. 180.

Clutterbuck: this is the 'Mr Clutterbooke' who on 15 April 1669 was 'hereby appointed' by Laurence Hyde to pay Clarendon's debts. See Lister's *Life of Clarendon*, iii. 540.

Eager is probably Mr. Agar or Ager mentioned by Pepys 28 November 1661 in close connection with Kipps and 14 April 1665 in close connection with Wren. For pronunciation cf. *Last Instructions*, l. 885.

Kips: was Clarendon's seal-bearer (Pepys, 25 June 1660; see also 13 July 1660 and 28 Nov. 1661).

l. 71. *Act of Oblivion*: the Act of Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion passed at the Restoration.

l. 72. *Benevolence* is used in the technical sense of a voluntary tax.

Snips: perquisites, cf. quotation from *Flagellum Parliamentarium* in note to *Further Advice to a Painter*, l. 56.

l. 73. *Chimny-Contractors*, collectors of the Chimney Money.

smoakd: made uncomfortable. *O.E.D.* gives examples of this figurative use throughout the seventeenth century.

ll. 74–6. See note on *Last Instructions*, l. 258.

l. 78. *Bristol*: see note on *Last Instructions*, l. 933. After his unsuccessful attempt to impeach Clarendon in 1663 Bristol had to go into hiding for two years to avoid arrest.

l. 79. *St. John*: see note on *Further Advice to a Painter*, l. 55.

l. 80. *with the Trowel*: i. e. as a variation on the way in which this punishment was usually inflicted, as, for example, on the Puritan Stubbs under Elizabeth.

l. 81. *Prat*: see Evelyn's note quoted in note to l. 4 above.

l. 82. *Worstenholm*: Sir John Wolstenholme, a farmer of the customs.

l. 88. *Lesly's Folly*: 'The reference is to Dr. John Leslie, Bishop of Orkney, who, upon his translation to Raphoe in 1633, built a palace so strongly fortified that it long resisted Cromwell's arms' (Aitken).

l. 89. *Tarras*: terrace.

l. 94. Cf. Browne, *Religio Medici*, I. 48 'experience, which can

from the Ashes of a Plant revive the plant, and from its cinders recal it into its stalk and leaves again'. For a full discussion of 'palingenesis' see notes on this passage in Bohn's edition of *Religio Medici*.

l. 100. See note on *Last Instructions*, l. 357.

l. 106. Clarendon's House was very near the south-east corner of Hyde Park.

l. 108. *Tybourn* was at the north-east corner of Hyde Park near the present Marble Arch. The western boundary of the land granted to Clarendon was 'a little brooke'. I conjecture that this joined the stream which gave its name to Tyburn, and that this is the point of *land*.

l. 112. *St. James's Fair*: i. e. at the meeting of Parliament fixed for the same day. Cf. Pepys, 26 June 1667: 'The Parliament is ordered to meet the 25th of July, being, as they say, St. James's day.'

Upon his House. (Page 140.)

l. 2. See note on *Clarindon's House-Warming*, l. 44.

l. 5. *Debenter* was chiefly used at this time either for a voucher given by the Ordnance Office acknowledging indebtedness for stores supplied, or for a voucher given to a soldier certifying the arrears of pay due to him. The point here is that the walls of Clarendon House were built with the money due on such vouchers.

l. 9. Cf. *Clarindon's House-Warming*, l. 97.

Upon his Grand-Children. (Page 140.)

Kendai: Anne Hyde's third son, Charles, Duke of Kendal, born 4 July 1666, died 22 May 1667.

Cambridge: Anne Hyde's second son, James, Duke of Cambridge, born 12 July 1663, died 20 June 1667.

Denham: Lady Denham (see note on *Last Instructions*, l. 65).

The Last Instructions To A Painter. (Page 141.)

TEXT. First published in The | Third Part | Of The | Collection | Of | Poems | On | Affairs of State. | Containing, | Esquire *Marvel's* further Instructions to | a Painter. | And | The late Lord *Rochester's* Farewel. | London: | Printed in the Year MDCLXXXIX. 4°.

The collation is A, C, D, E in fours and the following pages are mis-numbered: 15 (as 22), 18 (as 19), 19 (as 18), and 22 (as 15). Marvell's satire (pp. 1–25) begins on $A2^r$ and ends on $E2^r$. It was reprinted in the *State Poems* of 1697, etc.. This version exhibits numerous variations from the text of 1689, mostly slight, but nearly all for the worse. No manuscript survives—the satire is perhaps too long to have invited copying; nor is there evidence or likelihood that it was published before 1689. It may be conjectured, therefore, that the edition of 1697 was set up carelessly from 1689, with some alterations made intentionally. Of these the most important are the omission of ll. 649–96, which form the nucleus of *The Loyall Scot* (q.v.) and the substitution of names for the initial and final letters with a dash between which appear in 1689.

I have here printed names in full from the text of 1697 and from the manuscript insertions in the B.M. copy of 1689 (1077. h. 32); otherwise this text is that of 1689, except as recorded in the foot-notes.

AUTHENTICITY. The satire is ascribed to Marvell in all editions of the *State Poems*. If Marvell also wrote *The Loyall Scot*, the attribution is supported by the fact noted above (that *The Loyall Scot* includes ll. 649–96 of the first printed edition of the *Last Instructions*

to a Painter). Internal evidence shows that it was written by a member of the country party in the House of Commons. Of all the satires attributed to Marvell there is none of which one can feel less doubt.

DATE. It was probably completed at some time after 30 August 1667, when Clarendon resigned the seals, and before 29 November 1667, when he fled to France (it contains no reference to his flight).

NOTES. In 1666 Waller had published *Instructions To A Painter, For the Drawing of the Posture and Progress of His Maties Forces at Sea, Under the command of His Highness Royal. Together with The Battel and Victory obtained over the* Dutch, June. 3. 1665.

This was a serious panegyric on the Duke of York for his naval victory, but it was followed by a satirical *Second Advice To A Painter, For Drawing the History of our Navall Business; In Imitation of Mr. Waller.* Pepys, who calls it the ' Mock Advice ' received a copy of it from Sir H. Cholmley on 14 December 1666. It describes the same battle as Waller's poem, though in a very different spirit, and, like Waller's, it ends with lines ' To the King '. It is not clear from Pepys whether the copy he received was in print or manuscript.

The author of this satire, whoever he was, soon followed it up with another. On 20 January 1667 Pepys was lent by Mr. Brisband *The Third Advice to a Painter.* ' I took it home with me ', he says, ' and will copy it, having the former.' This, too, is followed by lines ' To the King '.

These two satires are referred to in *S.P. Dom. Car. II*, 1666–7, p. 430 (the date is given as ? 1666) :

' Questions to be put to the Master and Wardens [of the Stationers' Company] relative to their late searches for unlicensed books ; their seizure of other printers and presses, as well as Milburn's and Darby's; sale of a tract on the firing of the city, and of " Second and third Advice to a Painter ", offered by Fras. Smith.'

Further, under 26 July 1667, *S.P. Dom.* give the following ' Declaration of Wm. Burden. Fras. Smith of the Elephant and Castle, Strand, asked him to let Johnson, a printer living in his house, print two or three sheets of verses, called " The Second and Third Advice to a Painter ". Asked if they reflected on Government, and Smith confessed that they reflected on the Lord Chancellor, Duchess of Albemarle, and others of the Court ; refused either to allow it to be printed at his house, or to help him to a printer. Told Royston, a warden of the Stationers' Company of this business, and advised him to look after it.'

Then on 16 September 1667 at Mrs. Pierce's (where he had ' the nastiest poor dinner that made me sick ') Pepys ' met with a *Fourth Advice to the Painter* upon the coming in of the Dutch to the River and end of the war, that made my heart ache to read, it being too sharp, and so true '. This *Fourth Advice* is not followed by lines ' To the King ', nor is the fifth, which Pepys does not mention ; but each of these last closes with a four-line epigram about the king ; the epigram which ends the *Fifth Advice* is in Latin, the four lines usually ascribed to Rochester :

Quae sequuntur, in limine Thalami Regii, a nescio quo nebulone scripta, reperibantur.

Bella fugis, Bellas sequeris, Belloque repugnas
Et Bellatori, sunt tibi Bella Thori.
Imbelles Imbellis amas, Audaxque videris
Mars ad opus Veneris, Martis ad Arma Venus.

The second and third *Advices* at least had been printed separately; but all four were issued together, with other anti-Clarendon verses, in a book with the title:

Directions | To A | Painter. | For | Describing our Naval Business :| In Imitation of Mr. *Waller*. | Being | The Last Works | of | Sir John Denham | Whereunto is annexed, | *Clarindons* House-Warming. | By an Unknown Author. | Printed in the Year 1667.

Denham's authorship has always been suspect.* The mere fact that his name was put on the title-page of an unlicensed production looks as if a liberty was being taken with it. Perhaps the *Advices* were first ascribed to Denham as a safe blind during his temporary madness. It is possible that the ascription to Denham rests upon no more solid evidence than the line near the end of the *Second Advice*, 'Denham says thus; though always Waller so. . . .' Whatever this line may mean, Denham was very mad if this was his manner of signing the satire.

The four *Advices* were reprinted and ascribed to Denham in *A Third Collection . . . against Popery and Tyranny* (1689), and were again reprinted in the *State Poems* of 1697, where they are 'said to be written by Sir *John Denham*, but believed to be writ by Mr. *Milton*'. This is evidence that Denham's authorship was then doubted; it is also incidentally worth noting, as showing the editor (or editors) of the *State Poems*, once and for all, to have been devoid of literary sense. But if Milton's claim may be dismissed, Marvell's must be considered. Aubrey (*Brief Lives*, s.n. *Andrew Marvel*), says: 'The verses called *The Advice to the Painter* were of his making.' This probably refers to 'Denham's' *Advices* (see in this connexion a letter from Aubrey to Wood, December 1692: Bodleian, Tanner MSS. 456.) Wood (*Athenae Oxonienses*, s.n. *Denham*) describes the volume containing the *Directions* and *Clarindon's House-Warming*, and continues: 'To which *Directions*, tho' sir John Denham's name is set, yet they were thought by many to have been written by Andr. Marvell, esq. The printer that printed them, being discover'd, stood in the pillory for the same.' Further, there is a copy of the book in the Bodleian (Gough MS. London 14), on the title-page of which the words 'supposed to be written by Andrew Marvell', have been added in manuscript below Denham's name. Finally, Thompson declared, on the authority of the Popple MS. book, that the 'two' satires ascribed to Denham were by Marvell. But he did not print them. It may be noted that, apart from Thompson, Aubrey's is the only categorical statement, while the other two may well derive their information from Aubrey. Thompson's evidence is independent. But there was a general tendency (see note on *Advice to a Painter to draw the Duke*) to attribute all Painter poems to Marvell; this may be the cause or may equally well be the result of the attribution to his authorship of the earliest satires in this form. The fact that the title-page of the four *Advices* published in 1667 clearly intends to assign the *Advices* to a named author and *Clarindon's House-Warming* to an unnamed author hardly ranks as evidence.

Assuming that Marvell was the author of the *Last Instructions* (which, indeed, has never been questioned), it is quite certain that he did not write the fourth and fifth *Advices* (i. e. the third and fourth of those attributed to Denham—the two which do not conclude with lines addressed 'To the King'); for they cover the

* It is discussed and decided against by T. H. Banks in *Modern Language Notes*, December 1926.

same ground as *Last Instructions* without repeating its thought or its phrasing; a thing impossible if the author were the same, as they were all written in the same year. Marvell could have written only the second and third *Advices*; and it is probable that his *Last Instructions* was begun after the appearance of the third and before that of the fourth *Advice*, for the 'two sittings' (l. 1) most naturally refer to the second and third *Advices*.

It seems, therefore, that, without violating the probabilities, two of 'Denham's' *Advices* might be attributed to Marvell, but not the four; does the internal evidence suggest that the four were the work of more than one hand? Internal evidence drawn from work of this quality is unlikely to be of much value: it should be noted, however, (1) that the *Fourth Advice* reads as a natural sequel to the *Third*, and (2) that a generally consistent level of style and intelligence is maintained throughout the *Second*, *Third*, *Fourth*, and *Fifth Advices*. On the other hand, *Last Instructions* is, to my judgement, more 'conceited' and more the work of a learned man than any of them. Finally, *Last Instructions* is the work of a House of Commons man, whereas the *Advices* show no sign of such origin: they would be more naturally assigned to some writer who took part in the naval actions. The name of Henry Savile, six years later the author of *Advice to a Painter to draw the Duke*, would suggest itself; but he did not go to sea till August 1666.

Cooke (1726) considered the question of Marvell's authorship of 'Denham's' *Advices* and decided against it. I consider the probability much too slight to justify me in printing any of them as his and thereby adding to the body of satires of doubtful authenticity which already pass under his name.

ll. 1–2. For three sittings as the usual number for 'limning a portrait see Browne, *Ars Pictoria* (1669), p. 88

l. 6. *without a Fleet*: the fleet was laid up in May 1667.

l. 7. *Sign-post*: of an inn.

ll. 9–12. *antique*: for *antic* (another form of the same word), a word originally applied to grotesque art. See *O.E.D.* and especially quotation from Evelyn, *Mem.* (1857), i. 146, 'The walls and roofs are painted, not with antiques and grotesques, like our Bodleian'.

Aly roof: of the inn (l. 7).

l. 14. Cf. *Upon Appleton House*, l. 580 and note. Feather-pictures must be on a large scale.

l. 15. *score out*: sketch in outline. *compendious*: minute

ll. 16–18. A reference to R. Hooke's *Micrographia: Or Some* Physiological Descriptions *Of Minute Bodies Made By Magnifying Glasses. With Observations and Inquiries thereupon* (1665). Hooke was Fellow of the Royal Society. Among the diagrams or 'Schemes', Schem. xxxv shows a louse on its back climbing along a single human hair. The original drawing, which is about two feet long, gives a lively impression of a 'tall louse' brandishing a 'white Staff'. The 'new Controller' (of the Household) was Clifford, who held the office from November 1666 till 1668; on Southampton's death in May 1667 he took his place on the Treasury Commission. The Comptroller of the Household bore a white staff (*Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 256), which was better known as the emblem of office of the Lord High Treasurer.

Clifford and Marvell were old enemies, as is shown by the following extracts from the *Journal of the House of Commons*:

'Mar. 18. 166½. *Ordered*, That the Difference between Mr. *Marvell* and Mr. *Clifford*, Two Members of this House, be referred to Mr.

Speaker, to examine; and, to that end, to hear Mr. *Scott*, another Member of this House, who was present when this Difference did happen; and to mediate and reconcile the same between them if he can; or else to report it to the House, with his Opinion therein.

'Mar. 20. 1662 (N.S.) Mr. Speaker reports, That he had examined the Matter of Difference between Mr. *Marvell* and Mr. *Clifford*; and found, that Mr. *Marvell* had given the first Provocation, that begot the Difference; And that his Opinion was that Mr *Marvell* should declare his Sorrow for being the First Occasion of this Difference; and then Mr. *Clifford* to declare, that he was sorry for the Consequence of it: And that Mr. *Clifford* was willing to yield to this Determination, but that Mr. *Marvell* refused.

'And the House thereupon directing the said Mr. *Marvell* and Mr. *Clifford* to withdraw; and taking the Matter into Debate;

'*Resolved*, That the said Mr. *Marvell* and Mr. *Clifford* be called into their Places: And that each of them shall have a Reprehension from Mr. Speaker, for Breach of the Peace and Privilege of the House, and, according to Mr. Speaker's Report, be enjoined to declare their Sorrow for it; and to crave the Pardon of the House.

'And the said Mr. *Marvell* and Mr. *Clifford* being accordingly called in to their Places; and having received a grave Reprehension from Mr. Speaker; and Mr. *Marvell* declaring, that he was sorry, that he should give the first Provocation of the Difference; and Mr. *Clifford* acknowledging, that he was sorry for what ensued; and both of them engaged to keep the Peace and Privilege of the House for the future; and not to renew this Difference, but to have the same Correspondence they had before it did happen: With which the House was well satisfied; and did remit the Breach of Privilege.'

l. 21. *Painter*: Protogenes. Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 10 (36): 'palmam habet tabularum eius Ialysus, qui est Romae dicatus in templo Pacis . . . est in ea canis mire factus, ut quem pariter et casus pinxerit. non iudicabat se in eo exprimere spumam anhelantis, cum in reliqua parte omni, quod difficillimum erat, sibi ipse satisfecisset. displicebat autem ars ipsa: nec minui poterat et videbatur nimia ac longius a veritate discedere, spumaque pingi, non ex ore nasci. anxio animi cruciatu, cum in pictura verum esse, non verisimile vellet, absterserat saepius mutaveratque penicillum, nullo modo sibi adprobans. postremo iratus arti, quod intellegeretur, spongeam inpegit inviso loco tabulae. et illa reposuit ablatos colores qualiter cura optaverat, fecitque in pictura fortuna naturam.'

l. 23. *Pencil*: brush, the regular meaning of the word: cf. 'penicillum' in the extract from Pliny above. But Pliny says that Protogenes threw his sponge, not his brush.

l. 26. *grinn*: cf. Ps. lix. 6.

l. 29. *St. Albans*: Henry Jermyn, Master of the Horse to Henrietta Maria in 1639 and at her request created Earl of St. Albans in 1660, was ambassador at the French Court at the beginning of Charles II's reign. He was Cowley's patron and uncle to the younger Henry Jermyn (l. 102). The rumour of his marriage with the Queen Mother during the exile is unsupported (cf. Pepys, 22 Nov. 1662). He was sent to Paris in January 1667 'under the pretext that he was summoned by the Queen's affairs, and took up his abode with her' (von Ranke, *History of England*, iii. 442), in order to negotiate the Peace of Breda. His written instructions on this occasion from Clarendon, of which a draft survives in the Bodleian (see Lister, *Life of Clarendon*, iii. 443), answer the innuendo of l. 39. He had

previously effected the reconciliation between the Chancellor and the Queen Mother, and was employed again as Ambassador Extraordinary in 1669 to prepare the way for the Treaty of Dover. He obtained in 1664 ' a grant of land in Pall Mall, planned St. James's Square, and built St. Albans (afterwards known as St. James's) Market ' (*D.N.B.*) : cf. l. 41.

Evelyn was to meet him on 18 September 1683 : ' He has lived a most easy life, in plenty even abroad, whilst his majesty was a sufferer ; he has lost immense sums at play, which yet, at about 80 years old, he continues, having one that sits by him to name the spots on the cards. He ate and drank with extraordinary appetite. He is a prudent old courtier, and much enriched since his majesty's return ' (cf. ll. 29 and 38).

l. 32. *salt* : salacious, cf. *Measure for Measure*, v. i. 406.

l. 40. Cf. ll. 123–4.

l. 46. *German* : Jermyn.

l. 49. *Her Highness* : Anne Hyde, Duchess of York. The more revolting charges may be safely rejected : see *D.N.B.*, and J. B. Beresford, *Gossip of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 1923, *Anne Hyde*.

l. 50. *Newcastle's Wife* : Margaret, wife of the royalist general, William Cavendish, Marquis and subsequently Duke of Newcastle, was author of several works on natural philosophy published 1653–68.

l. 51. *Archimedes* : see Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, ix. praef. 9–12. Hiero, suspecting the presence of silver alloy in a golden votive crown, applied to Archimedes for an opinion. Archimedes was at a loss for a test, until one day as he stepped into the bath he deduced the principle of displacement ; he ran home naked from the baths crying εὕρηκα εὕρηκα. By comparing the displacement effected by the crown and by an equal weight of gold he was able to detect the fraud.

put down : out do. The Duke of York's marriage with Anne Hyde was regarded by its opponents, including her father the Chancellor, as an indignity to the royal house ; the Queen Mother ' sent the King Word, " that She was on the Way to *England*, to prevent, with her Authority, so great a Stain and Dishonour to the Crown " ' *Continuation of the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon*, p. 32 (1759). The ' Experiment upon the *Crown* ' bears the further meaning of an attempt to secure the crown, Charles II being without lawful heir : cf. *Royal Heirs* (l. 55).

l. 53. *Engine* : device, cf. *Paradise Lost*, i. 750. Archimedes was an inventor, after ' many assays ', of ' engines ' of a mechanical kind. Charles, Duke of Cambridge, son of the Duke of York and Anne (Hyde), was born 22 October 1660. ' It is beyond question that he (the Duke of York) and Anne were " contracted " in marriage—such a contract in those days being to all intents and purposes as good as a marriage—on Nov. 24, 1659, at Breda, and that a secret marriage service was performed at Worcester House on September 3, 1660 ' (Beresford, *Anne Hyde* in *Gossip of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, p. 117). See also Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, 168–70. The intrigue organized by Sir Charles Berkeley in the hope of preventing the recognition of the marriage by allegations against the Duchess's honour was discredited, and Berkeley withdrew the charges.

l. 57. *Crowder* : The marriage of 3 September 1660 was performed at midnight by Dr. Joseph Crowther, the Duke's chaplain.

l. 58. The Duke of York was a Fellow of the Royal Society. He signed the Charter Book on Jan. 1, 166$\frac{4}{5}$.

l. 60. *Dildoes* may be correct. *Dukes* would refer to the short-lived

children of this marriage, Charles, Duke of Cambridge (1660–1), James, Duke of Cambridge (1663–7), and Charles, Duke of Kendal (1666–7). Cf. *Upon his Grand-children*. For *glassen* and *malleable* as antitheses cf. Webster, *White Devil*, III. i. 144 and Grafton, *Chron.* i. 123 (1568).

I conjecture, but cannot verify, an allusion to some experiment or discussion of the Royal Society.

l. 61. Anne Hyde's portrait by Lely at Hampton Court shows a wide mouth with compressed ('Oyster'?) lips: or the meaning may be 'with the lips of an oyster-wife', cf. Heywood, *Rape of Lucrece*, II. v. 23, 'Unto the Mouth the oyster-wife.' *Fame*: i. e. as personified by the artists, blowing a trumpet with distended cheeks.

l. 62. i. e. the mouth of a street-seller of asparagus.

l. 65. 'Surely the properties must be verified, which by Scaliger and others are ascribed to China dishes That they admit no poyson, That they strike fire, . . . For such as passe amongst us, and under the name of the finest, will onely strike fire, but not discover Aconite Mercury, nor Arsenick. . . .' Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1646), ii. 5, § 7.

Lady Denham, said to be the Duke of York's mistress, died 6 January 1666–7, 'poisoned, as she said herself, in a cup of chocolate' (see *Rawdon Papers*, 1819, p. 227, and Pepys, 10 and 12 Nov. 1666). Her husband was accused, also the Countess of Rochester, and (by Marvell and perhaps Henry Newcome) the Duchess of York; but a post-mortem examination revealed no trace of poison (Orrery, *State Papers*, 1742, p. 219).

l. 71. A poetic licence, if the crime took place in January.

l. 72. *Fawns*: in obsolete use, the young of any animal.

l. 75. *Sidney*: Henry Sidney (1641–1704), Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke and Master of the Horse to the Duchess of York. The Duke dismissed him in an attack of jealousy. See Pepys 9 January and 15 October 1666 for the talk about him and the Duchess.

l. 79. *Castlemaine*: Barbara Villiers (1641–1709), Countess of Castlemaine, in 1670 created Duchess of Cleveland, mistress to Charles II till 1671.

l. 101. *Porter's Den*: the Porter's lodge, the usual whipping-place for servants.

l. 102. *Jermyn*: Henry Jermyn (1636–1708), nephew to St. Albans; cf. Pepys, 29 July 1667: 'she is fallen in love with young Jermyn, who hath of late been with her oftener than the king.'

l. 104. i. e. and give this Campaspe to thee, Apelles (the 'Painter' of l. 103): cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 10.

l. 105. *Pair of Tables*: a folding board for backgammon and chess.

l. 109. *Trick track*: a variety of backgammon, so called from the clattering sound made by the pieces ('the Men', l. 106).

l. 114. *Turnor*: Sir Edward Turnor or Turner, Speaker of the House of Commons, 1661–73, was enriched after the Restoration with various rewards of loyalty. He became Attorney-General to the Duke of York in 1660, and received free gifts from the Treasury of £2,000 in December 1663, and £5,000 in July 1664.

l. 116. *strike the Die*: 'to throw in some particular fraudulent manner' (*O.E.D.*).

l. 120. *recreate*: i. e. refresh (by a change of occupation). Rubens was several times employed on diplomatic missions; he was in England 1629–30 as envoy of Philip IV.

l. 121. *Cabal*: the 'Committee for Foreign Affairs', a committee of the Privy Council. Cf. Pepys, 14 October 1665, 'It being read before the King, Duke, and the Caball.

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l. 125. Parliament met 21 September 1666. The sum fixed was £1,800,000.

l. 126. *Goodrick*: Sir John Goodrick, M.P. for the County of York, who several times acted as teller for the court party during this session.

Paston: Sir Robert Paston, M.P. for Castle Rising (created Viscount Yarmouth, 1673). He had proposed a grant of two-and-a-half million in the session of 1664–5.

l. 129. *Hyde*: the Lord Chancellor Clarendon (1609–74).

Bennet: Henry, Baron Arlington, Earl of Arlington, 1672.

l. 131. *Excise*: first imposed by the Long Parliament. A proposal was made at this time to increase it (see note on l. 151). Marvell shared Dr. Johnson's view of 'a hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the common judges of property, but wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid'. See *Corporation Letters*, especially those of 1661, 1666, 1670, 1671.

l. 136. *Casawar*: the omnivorous cassowary.

l. 138. *indented*: the farmers of excise would hold indentures.

ll. 142–6. Cf. the origin of Sin and Death, *Paradise Lost*, II. 747–802 (published in 1667).

l. 143. *Birch*: John Birch (1616–91), excise official under the Protectorate, and auditor after the Restoration. See *Flagellum Parliamentarium*: 'An old Rumper, who formerly bought nails at Bristol, where they were cheap, and carried them into the West to sell at Exeter and other places; but marrying a rich widow, got into the House, and is now a Commissioner in all Excises, and is one of the Council of Trade.'

ll. 151–306. The *Journals of the House of Commons* contain no record of a division on excise in the latter part of 1666. The debate probably took place in Committee of the whole House, following the ordinary procedure at this time for the discussion of supply. See the *Journals of the House of Commons* for 2 November 1666:

'The House then resolved into a Committee of the whole House, to proceed in the Consideration of his Majesty's Supply.

Mr. Speaker left the Chair.

Mr. *Millward* took the Chair of the Committee.

Mr. Speaker resumed the Chair.

Mr. *Millward* reports, That the Committee of the whole House had proceeded in the Consideration of an Imposition on the Consumption of Commodities, in order to his Majesty's Supply; and had debated an Imposition on some Foreign Commodities; but came to no Resolution therein.'

The last sentence, appearing to refer to the foreign commodities only, suggests that the first proposal, i. e. for an excise, had been defeated, or at least shelved. There is no further reference to it in the *Journals*, but see Marvell's letters to Hull, 6 November, 13 November, and 15 December 1666. The letter of 6 November reports 'Forain excise, home excise . . . have been all more or lesse disputed with different approbation'. That of 13 November reports divisions on 8 November (recorded in the *Journals*) in favour of a land-tax, a poll bill, an imposition on sealed paper and on foreign commodities; the last mentioned 'is likely to be by way of Excise' —the writer has in mind the defeat on 8 November of an amendment to add the words 'at the Custom House' to the motion for an impost on foreign commodities.

This 'foreign excise', however, cannot be the subject of the debate

here mock-epically described, because it was passed, not thrown out, on 8 November, and failed to take effect only because it was decided to raise the money another way.

l. 154. *Denham*: see note on l. 65.

l. 156. *Ashburnham*: John Ashburnham (1603–71); cf. Pepys, 2 September 1667. He had been Groom of the Bedchamber in 1628, and member for Hastings in the Parliament of 1628 and in the Long Parliament till 1644, when he was ' discharged and disabled '. With Sir John Berkeley he arranged the King's flight to the Isle of Wight, and one of them (it has been proved since to have been Berkeley, but was for long in dispute) betrayed the plan to the Governor of the Island. Ashburnham sat in Parliament for Sussex, 1661–November 1667, when he was expelled for taking a bribe from French merchants; see *Corporation Letter* of 23 November 1667.

l. 160. Steward: see *Journals of the House of Commons*, 1666. On 19 November Mr. Millward had leave to go into the country; and thereafter Mr. Steward acted as chairman of Committee. Probably Robert Steward, Master in Chancery, and member for Castle Rising, 1661–73.

l. 162. *Wood*: Sir Henry Wood (1597–1671), Clerk of the Spicery to Charles I, was created baronet during the exile; he represented Hythe in Parliament, 1661–71. As Clerk of the Board of the Green Cloth, a department of the Household under the Lord Steward, he was responsible for maintaining order in the palace and for examining the accounts. As to his appearance Evelyn (17 Nov. 1651) calls him ' that odd person ', and Pepys (26 Oct. 1663) quotes the Queen's remark that ' she never saw such a man as this Sir H. Wood in her life '. Pepys again (19 Sept. 1666), heard with other examples of the violence of his tongue, ' many profane stories of Sir Henry Wood damning the parsons for so much spending the wine at the sacrament . . . ' (l. 161).

l. 167. *St. Denis*: Denis, first Bishop of Paris, was beheaded and is usually represented as carrying his head in his hands.

l. 169. *as us'd*: because of Wood's office.

l. 170. *Fox*: Sir Stephen (1627–1716), grandfather of Charles James Fox. He was member for Salisbury and Paymaster-General (l. 172). He came of a modest Wiltshire family, and after an early training in book-keeping was employed first by the Percys; in 1654 he took charge of Charles II's household. He made a large fortune, ' honestly got and unenvied ', computed at £200,000 (Evelyn, 6 Sept. 1680). He was an opponent of Clarendon's impeachment.

l. 173. *Progers*: Edward Progers, Member of Parliament for Brecon: ' Progers of the Bedchamber ' (Pepys, 6 March 1668): ' the confidant of his [i. e. the King's] intrigues ' (*Grammont Memoirs*).

l. 175. *Bronkard*: Henry Brouncker, afterwards 3rd Viscount; Cofferer to Charles II and Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York. He was dismissed from court August 1667, and expelled from Parliament April 1668: see Grey's *Debates*, and Marvell's letters of that date.

l. 178. Grosart quotes *The Old Man's Wish*:

> ' A dish of roast mutton, not venison nor teal ';

they are ' mere gross gluttons '. Bulteale is named with Wren in *Clarindon's House-Warming*, l. 69 (see note)

l. 180. *Wren*: Matthew (1629–72), an original member of the Council of the Royal Society, and cousin of Sir Christopher Wren.

Member of Parliament for St. Michael, secretary to Clarendon, 1660–7, and to the Duke of York 1667–72.

l. 181. *C——n*: 1697 supplied *Charleton*, Sir Job Charlton (1614–97), Serjeant-at-Law; *Coife* would then be the white cap of that office. He was member for Ludlow. But I can find nothing about him which could have been construed into his having authority over bishops, and I suspect 1697 of having filled in the blank wrongly. I suggest *Compton*. Sir Francis Compton, member for Warwick, was 'Captain of a Troop of Horse in the Lord Oxford's Regiment' since 1661. *Coife . . . Miter . . . Beaver cock'd of Bishop's brim* will then be jokes on his military headgear. Note also *march'd* (l. 183).

l. 186. *Finch*: Heneage Finch (1621–82), Solicitor-General and baronet, 1660. He represented Oxford University in this Parliament, and supported the oppressive measures against the Dissenters. He was afterwards Lord Chancellor and Earl of Nottingham; cf. *Britannia and Rawleigh*, l. 124, and note on *Nostradamus's Prophecy*, l. 35.

Thurland: Sir Edward (1606–83), member for Reigate and Solicitor to the Duke of York. Trenchard (see critical note) did not enter Parliament till 1679.

l. 188. *Trelawny*: Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bart. (1624–85), father of Trelawney, Bishop of Bristol; he was ruined by the sequestration of his property by Parliament. He was member for Cornwall and was employed in the Prize-Office.

l. 190. i. e. nor would any one engage further than these would.

l. 193. *for Chimney's sake*: cf. *Dialogue between Two Horses*, l. 88 The Hearth Tax (Chimney-money), first levied in 1662, was a tax of *2s.* for every hearth in all houses, excepting cottages. It was repealed at the Revolution, having been very unpopular. Proposals to commute it had followed the Great Fire in 1666. See Marvell's letters, especially those for 1666–71.

Sir Pool: Sir Courtenay Pool, member for Honiton, 'first Mover for Chimney Money' (*Flagellum Parliamentarium*). See *The Chequer Inn*, ll. 127–32.

l. 194. *lay'd*: assessed.

l. 197. *Higgins*: Sir Thomas Higgins or Higgons (1624–91), member for New Windsor; he married the widow of the Earl of Essex, and at her funeral (16 Sept. 1656) delivered an oration which he printed. In the winter session, 1666–7, he introduced a bill for the recovery of £4,500: see *Journals of the House of Commons*, 11 January 1667, and *Corporation Letter* of 12 January 1667.

l. 199. *Sir Frederick and Sir Salomon*: usually identified as Sir Frederick Hyde (member for Haverfordwest) and Sir Salomon Swale (Aldborough). Both come under the *Flagellum Parliamentarium*.

l. 200. *Politicks*: politicians.

l. 203. *Carteret*: cf. l. 343. Sir George Carteret (d. 1680); he was a Jerseyman (nephew of the Governor) who is said to have served in the Navy as a boy (see Pepys 4 July 1663 on his want of education); Comptroller of the Navy 1639, a Vice-Admiral during the Civil War, and after the Restoration Treasurer of the Navy; member for Portsmouth in the Parliament of 1661. In June 1667, the Dutch being then in the Medway, he effected an exchange of his office for that of Deputy-Treasurer for Ireland.

He told Pepys (12 April 1667) that he was worth £65,000; it is stated on his own authority that he borrowed enough money on his private credit (£280,000) to keep the fleet abroad during the great

Plague. He was an original proprietor of Carolina, and owned half of New Jersey which was named in his honour.

l. 206. *Talbot*: there were three Talbots in the Commons at this time. This is perhaps Sir Gilbert Talbot, previously envoy of Charles I to the Venetian Republic, now member for Plymouth.

l. 207. *Duncombe*: Sir John Duncombe, Commissioner of the Ordnance (does *Projectors* pun on 'projectiles'?); cf. ll. 605, 794, *Further Advice*, l. 19, and note on *Nostradamus's Prophecy*, l. 30.

l. 208. *Fitz-Harding*: Sir Charles Berkeley (1600–68), 2nd Viscount Fitz-Hardinge in the peerage of Ireland, Treasurer of the Household: member for Heytesbury. His younger brother was Sir John Berkeley (see note on l. 156), and his second son Charles (see note on l. 53), killed in action 3 June 1665, was created (1663) Viscount Fitz-Hardinge with special remainder to his father, and (1664) Earl of Falmouth.

Eaters Beef: presumably the Yeomen of the Guard, and apparently the earliest literary use of the nickname, which has been ascribed to the invention of Cosimo, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in 1669. The Beef-eaters were part of the Household.

l. 212. *Apsley*: Sir Allen (1616–83), Treasurer of the Duke of York's household and member for Thetford.

Brotherick: Sir Allen Broderick, elected in 1661 member for both Orford and Callington (Cornwall). See *Clarindon's House-Warming*, l. 50, and Pepys, 19 December 1666: 'Sir Allen Brodericke and Sir Allen Apsley did come drunk the other day into the House, and did both speak for half an hour together, and could not be either laughed, or pulled, or bid to sit down and hold their peace, to the great contempt of the king's servants and cause; which I am grieved at with all my heart.'

l. 213. *Powell*: Sir Richard Powle, 'Gentleman of the Horse to the Duchess of York' (*Flagellum Parliamentarium*), and member for Berkshire.

l. 214. *French*: as in l. 168.

l. 218. *Cornbury*: Henry Hyde, Lord Cornbury (1638–1709), Clarendon's eldest son and member for Wiltshire, 1661–74. He was the Queen's Chamberlain (see *Corporation Letter* of 6 Feb. 1668).

l. 220. *Tuttle-field*: Tothill Fields (Westminster), used for drilling.

ll. 221–2. *Albemarle*: George Monck (1608–70), Duke of Albemarle, General-at-Sea, 1666–7.

Cock-horse (cf. *Hobby-horse* of the 'Lords Sons', l. 218): a toy war-horse. Perhaps Cocke, the naval contractor (see Pepys, 1666) is glanced at.

Cork: cf. T. Brown, *Saints in Uproar*, 1687: 'Swimming girdles and cork-shoes . . . were not then in fashion. . . .' The 'cork-heeled shoon' marked the gallant.

Sea-Cod: (cf. *Character of Holland*, l. 32), the Dutch?

l. 223. *Feather-men*: cf. l. 597, and perhaps Davenport, *City Night-Cap*, ii (1624): 'She must have a Feather in her head and a cork in her heel.'

Tomkins: cf. ll. 841 and 852: Sir Thomas Tomkins, who, at the first meeting of Parliament for the abortive session of 25–9 July 1667, spoke forcibly against 'this new-raised standing army' (see Pepys for a full account of the debate). The King replied in his speech of 29 July that he had no intention of not disbanding the army.

l. 225. *the two Coventrys*: Henry (1619–86) and Sir William

Coventry (1628 ?–86), who ' practically led the house ' (*D.N.B.*). They were sons of the 1st Lord Coventry, uncles to Sir John Coventry and to George and Henry Savile, brothers-in-law to Shaftesbury. Henry Coventry (member for Droitwich) was Ambassador of Charles II to Sweden (1664–6 and 1671) and Holland (1667) where with Holles he negotiated the Treaty of Breda (see ll. 369, 450, 820, 823, *Dialogue between Two Horses*, l. 155). Sir William Coventry (member for Great Yarmouth), Commissioner of the Treasury and of the Navy (see Pepys, *passim*) left the service of the Duke of York, whose secretary he was, 2 September 1667, after helping to lead the attack on Clarendon and thereby incurring the Duke's displeasure. See ll. 928, 934 below ; and note on *Nostradamus's Prophecy*, l. 30.

l. 226. Henry ' had nought to lose ', having concluded his Swedish embassy and not yet received another appointment.

l. 228. Henry Coventry was ' a man of wit and heat, of spirit and candour ' (Burnet) ; William, that ' wise and witty gentleman ' (Evelyn) admitted himself to be a Trimmer (letter to Thomas Thynne ; see *D.N.B.*).

ll. 233–4. At the moment when the Dutch entered the Medway (June 1667) a great part of the English fleet was out of commission (cf. ll. 317–24), for want of money, and in expectation of peace. Holles and Henry Coventry had actually set out some weeks before to open the negotiations at Breda (Clarendon, *Continuation*, p. 411).

l. 245. *Strangeways* : Colonel Strangeways : Pepys found him (17 March 1663) ' at my Lord Mayor's . . . in the cellar drinking ' with other ' Parliament-men ' and joined them there. He acts as teller against the Government in several divisions on finance during this session (*Commons Journal*) ; and see Parker, *History of His Own Time*, 1728, p. 206. He is probably Sir John Strangeways, member for Weymouth, whose son Sir Giles is unfavourably mentioned by Marvell in *Miscellaneous Letters*, 23.

ll. 255–6. *Temple* : Sir Richard Temple, member for Buckingham and a leader of the country party at this time. Temple and three other members (Seymour, Garraway, and Howard) in 1666 ' made themselves remarkable by opposing all Things which were proposed in that House for the King's Service, or which were likely to be grateful to him ' (Clarendon, *Continuation*, p. 369). But cf. *Miscellaneous Letters*, 12 and *Further Advice*, ll. 49–64.

Conqueror Of Irish-Cattel and Sollicitor : (*Conqueror* : like Ajax ?). The act against the importation of Irish cattle was passed January 1667 (see *Corporation Letters*) ; Temple is first on the list of those appointed by the House (2 Jan. 1667) to ' manage ' the conference with the Lords on this measure.

ll. 257–8. *Seymour* : Edward, member for Totnes (see *Accounts and Papers*, lxii) ; Speaker in 1673 (see the last note). See *Commons Journals* for 29 October 1666, when Seymour reported from a Committee that the Canary Patent (Charter of Incorporation granted to certain merchants trading to the Canaries) ' was an illegal Patent, a Monopoly, and a grievance to the Subject '. The Committee had been formed (1 October 1666) in consequence of resentful petitions against the Patent. See also *Corporation Letters*.

l. 259. *Whorwood* : Brome, member for Oxford City ; for him see *D.N.B.* under his wife, Jane Whorwood. He was one of the members appointed 18 December 1666 to draw up the impeachment against Lord Mordaunt.

l. 260. *Mordant* : John, Viscount Mordaunt (1627–75), brother

of Henry, second Earl of Peterborough (*Advice to a Painter to draw the Duke*, l. 37). His impeachment (3 Jan. 1667) was the result of a petition read in the House 2 November 1666 from one William Tayleur. Tayleur alleged that he had been illegally dispossessed and arbitrarily imprisoned by Mordaunt, who was Constable of the Castle of Windsor, because his daughter would not prostitute herself to Mordaunt. For a full account see *Parliamentary History*, iv. 347–54. The impeachment was dropped on the prorogation of Parliament 8 February 1667.

l. 261. A Committee to examine the public accounts was appointed 26 September 1666; and the inquiry continued through the session, but I cannot trace anyone named Williams in this connexion. The members for Brecon and Monmouth both bore the name.

l. 262. *Lovelace*: John (1638 ?–93), member for Berkshire, succeeded as 3rd Baron Lovelace in 1670.

Of chimney-men the Cane: i. e. an opponent of the Hearth-tax.

ll. 263–4. *Waller*: Edmund, b. 1606, member for Hastings. He had written a panegyric on the Duke of York on the occasion of his victory, 3 June 1665 (see introductory note), but was in favour of toleration and opposed to arbitrary government. Later he took part in the proceedings against Clarendon.

ll. 265–6. *How'rd*: Sir Robert Howard (1626–98), collaborator and brother-in-law of Dryden; see note on ll. 255–6.

Montezumes: hero of *The Indian Queen* (1665) by Howard and Dryden.

ll. 275–6. See *Orlando Furioso*, ix. 68–9 (62–3 in Harington's translation) for Orlando spitting six enemies on one lance.

l. 284. Cf. *Upon Appleton House*, l. 336.

l. 287. '. . . all the country gentlemen are publicly jealous of the courtiers in the Parliament, and that they do doubt everything that they propose; and that the true reason why the country gentlemen are for a land-tax and against a general excise is, because they are fearful that if the latter be granted they shall never get it down again; whereas the land-tax will be but for so much, and, when the war ceases, there will be no ground got by the Court to keep it up' (Pepys, 5 Nov. 1666).

l. 295. *Battel*: main body.

l. 298. *Garrway* (Garway, Garraway, or Garroway): William, member for Chichester; he examined Pepys's accounts, 3 October 1666 (see note on l. 261 above); and Pepys (6 October 1666) records Sir William Coventry's opinion: 'He did discourse about some of these discontented Parliament-men, and says that Birch is a false rogue; but that Garraway is a man that hath not been well used by the Court, though very stout to death, and hath suffered all that is possible for the King from the beginning. But, discontented as he is, yet he never knew a session of Parliament but that he hath done some good deed for the King before it rose.' See *Britannia and Rawleigh* note on l. 17; and Pepys, 10 October 1666, 1 May 1667, and 25 July 1667, when Garraway seconded Tomkins's motion (see l. 223 above).

Littleton: Sir Thomas Lyttelton, 2nd Bart., member for Great Wenlock (Pepys, 18 July 1666 and thereafter frequently). The Codrington Library at All Souls College, Oxford, possesses a seventeenth-century MS. headed 'The Alarme', which is ascribed by the transcriber to Marvell. It attacks Clifford, Ashley, Arlington, and Littleton. I should not accept the ascription unless it received strong external corroboration. Another copy of the paper is in the

Public Record Office, *Dom. Car. II*, 266, no. 152, without the ascription to Marvell.

l. 299. *Lee*: Sir Thomas, member for Aylesbury. Lee and Littleton were among the members whom Pepys thought 'professed enemies to us and everybody else' on 5 March 1668, when he was examined at the bar of the House. See note on *Britannia and Rawleigh*, l. 17.

l. 301. *Sands*: Colonel Samuel Sandys, member for Worcestershire.

l. 311. If I have dated the debate correctly St. Albans was not, officially at any rate, in France. But he was very often in Paris.

ll. 313–24. *Seamens Clamour*: see Pepys, 19 December 1666: Thence home, and upon Tower Hill saw about 300 or 400 seamen get together; and one, standing upon a pile of bricks, made his sign, with his handkercher, upon his stick, and called all the rest to him, and several shouts they gave. This made me afraid; so I got home as fast as I could. But by and by Sir W. Batten and Sir R. Ford do tell me, that the seamen have been at some prisons to release some seamen, and the Duke of Albemarle is in arms, and all the Guards at the other end of the town; and the Duke of Albemarle is gone with some forces to Wapping, to quell the seamen; which is a thing of infinite disgrace to us'; and 31 December 1666: 'Seamen discouraged for want of pay, and are become not to be governed; nor, as matters are now, can any fleet go out next year. Our enemies, French and Dutch, great, and grow more by our poverty.' The navy was paid by a system of tickets (Pepys, *passim*).

l. 328. The King spoke forcibly to the House on his necessities, 18 January 1667, at the passing of the Poll Bill.

l. 331. See note on l. 151, extract from the *Commons Journals* for 2 November 1666; the next entry in the *Journals* is a resolution 'That the Committee of the whole House do, in the next Place, take into Consideration a Land Tax, in order to his Majesty's Supply'. The Land Tax or Eleven Months' Assessment passed the Commons 8 November, the details being discussed during the remainder of the session. See *Corporation Letters* of the time, *passim*.

l. 332. See note on l. 125.

l. 336. *Prorogu'd*: on 8 February 1667, when the Land Tax bill received the royal assent.

ll. 337–9. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, vii.

ll. 345–6. *sad Tree*: *Nyctanthes Arbor-tristis*, Night-Jasmine of India. During the day it loses its brightness.

l. 349. See note on ll. 259–60.

ll. 351–2. See note on l. 256, and *Miscellaneous Letters* 8.

l. 353. See note on ll. 257–8.

l. 355. See *Clarindon's House-Warming*, note.

ll. 357–8. Buckingham had been chief supporter of the Irish Cattle Bill in the House of Lords, 1666–7, Clarendon opposing. His arrest was ordered 25 February 1667 for treasonable practices, one charge being that he had obtained a cast of the King's horoscope. After some months in hiding he gave himself up and was sent to the Tower (see *Miscellaneous Letters*, 8, and Pepys).

ll. 359–60. Twelve of the eighteen Commissioners for the Public Accounts appointed 21 March 1667 were members of the House of Commons.

l. 368. The French aimed at a peace with England in order to be free to carry out their designs on Flanders.

l. 369. See note on ll. 233–4.

l. 375. On 10 June 1667, Pepys, hearing that the Dutch had ' come up as high as the Nore ', went down to Deptford, Greenwich, and Gravesend ; he found Greenwich Stairs ' full of people, there being a great riding there today for a man, the constable of the town, whose wife beat him '. This was the ' Skimmington Ride '; cf. *Hudibras*, and Hardy, *Mayor of Casterbridge*.

where Intelligence they hold : the point is that the Court had not arranged for intelligence of the Dutch fleet's movements.

l. 391. *quick* : living.

effigy : cf. pronunciation in *Dialogue between Two Horses* (l. 22 and note).

feign (*fingo*) : i. e. fashion, make *effigies*.

ll. 396–7. *ride* : *i. e.* impersonating the pair who are being ridiculed (*ride Skimmington*, hold a procession of this kind, *O.E.D.*). France and Flanders are the neighbours, while Holland is the masterful wife and England the beaten husband.

l. 397. *designment* : of seeing the show at Greenwich.

l. 398. *Candy* : Canvey Island, on the Essex coast (facing the right bank between Gravesend and Sheerness), which was plundered at this time. By the time Pepys reached Gravesend he found the Dutch already, ' fallen down from the Hope and Shell-haven [this is above Canvey] as low as Sheerness, and we do plainly at this time hear the guns play ' (10 June 1667).

l. 399. *Bab May* : Baptist May, keeper of the Privy Purse.

Arlington : see note on l. 129.

l. 400. *so far off* : as Candia (Crete), which the Venetians had been defending against the Turks since 1645. The English record, on the other hand, was that : (1) in 1665 the navy failed to follow up the advantage of 3 June (l. 403) ; for the inquiry which followed this ' Miscarriage ' see *Corporation Letters* of 11, 18, and 25 April 1668 ; (2) 1666, the fleet was divided between Albemarle and Rupert, Rupert arriving only just in time to save his partner on the last day of the Battle of the North Foreland (1–4 June) ; and (3) 1667, the greater part was out of commission.

l. 406. *Palmer* : Roger (Earl of Castlemaine), husband of the king's mistress. He was a Roman Catholic (see l. 408). When his wife deserted him, he travelled in France and Italy, and in 1664 he went with the squadron of the Venetian admiral Andrea Cornaro to the Levant.

l. 408. *Pasiphae* : of Crete, mother by a bull of the Minotaur. Palmer weeps on the tomb of the only woman who would have loved such a horned animal as he is.

l. 409. *Morrice* : Sir William, joint Secretary of State with Arlington. Though a learned man, he was criticized as ignorant of languages and foreign affairs.

the Post : i. e. from his knowledge of postal matters he demonstrates to the Postmaster-General, Arlington, that this Candy is in Essex.

l. 416. Cf. Pepys, 13, 14, 15 June 1667 : he could get no gold pieces on 13 June, ' all being bought up last night that were to be had, and sold for 24*s*. and 25*s*. apiece '.

ll. 419–20. ' The gates of the Court were shut up upon the first coming of the Dutch to us ' (Pepys, 17 June 1667 : see also 23 June 1667).

l. 422. *Mordant* : Constable of the Castle of Windsor, see note on l. 260.

new oblig'd : by the recent dropping of proceedings against him.

l. 424. *so* : Grosart's silent emendation. But ' to ' (1681) possibly represents ' too '

l. 425. Sir Thomas Bloodworth or Bludworth, Lord Mayor in the year of the Great Fire; see Pepys, who met him 1 December 1666: 'a very weak man he seems to be.' During the Fire (Pepys, 1 and 7 September 1666) he seems to have hustled to little purpose, incurring general blame, and the Chancellor's conduct in this crisis is compared with his.

l. 431. *Doleman's disobedient*: Colonel Thomas Dolman was an Englishman commanding the Dutch land troops in the invading fleet (see Ludlow, *Memoirs*, iii. 197–8, and *S.P.Dom.* 17 June 1667). An act had been passed (31 Oct. 1665) attainting him and others if they failed to give themselves up by a certain day: see *Corporation Letters* 41.

l. 435. *prove*: attempt.

l. 440. *undutiful*: i.e. as a nephew (see note on l. 29).

l. 442. *Character*: status.

l. 446. Cf. Pepys, 26 June 1667: St. Albans wrote reporting 'that the King of France did lately fall out with him, giving him ill names, saying that he had belied him to our King . . . and so made him go out of his sight in great displeasure'.

l. 450. *Harry*: Henry Coventry.

l. 464. *Eleventh Commandment*: ll. 453–4.

ll. 467–8. In the negotiations preceding the Portuguese marriage Clarendon may well have dictated the King's 'sharp replies' to the Spanish Ambassador's 'insolent expressions' (Clarendon, *Continuation*).

l. 469. Clarendon objected to the summoning of Parliament by proclamation of 25 June 1667, nominally on the ground that it had been prorogued to a later date; see the *Continuation*, and Pepys, 25 June 1667: he argued 'that Queen Elizabeth did do all her business in eighty-eight without calling a Parliament'.

ll. 481–91. See Pepys, 11 June 1667, and Clarendon, *Continuation*, for a full account of the assembling of the train-bands, and Clarendon's advice to the king for their maintenance, by raising contributions in money or supplies.

l. 493. On 18 June 1667 a proclamation designed to buoy up credit was issued. See Pepys *Diary*, 23 June 1667.

l. 496. *Sacramental*: obscure to me. Grosart sees a reference to *Genesis* xxiv. 2.

l. 497. *circling*: in mutual suction. See next line.

l. 499. On the farming of the taxes see *Further Advice*, note on l. 55.

l. 502. *confiscate* is an adjective.

l. 510. When Pepys reached Gravesend on 10 June, he found that Albemarle had just come.

Here the tale of the actual invasion is resumed from l. 410.

l. 512. 'Denham's' *Third Advice* (last line but four), calls Albemarle 'Gen'ral at Land, at Plague, at Sea, at Fire'.

l. 513. *Ashen-wood*: cf. *Faerie Queene*, I.i.9: 'the ash for nothing ill.'

l. 514. *Herb-John*: properly St. John's-wort, but also denoting 'some tasteless herb of neutral qualities; hence applied, in proverbial phrases, to something inert or indifferent' (*O.E.D.*).

l. 521. I think *Independent Troops* means the projected standing army, especially, perhaps, the non-regimented troops of horse. See *S.P.Dom.* 13 June 1667 for lists of officers for twelve infantry regiments and many troops of horse. The point may be that, with Monck's death, the obstacles to the consolidation of a standing army under Clarendon's control would disappear.

l. 532. *old*: De Ruyter was now sixty.

l. 543. Cf. *S.P. Dom.* of 11 June (from a letter to Williamson): 'it

is expected they [the Dutch fleet] will attempt something to-morrow noon, when the tide will give them an advantage'; and Pepys, 14 June 'the easterly gale and spring-tides [favoured them] for coming up both rivers, and enabling them to break the chain'.

l. 550. (Cf. note on l. 398.) On 10 June the Dutch sailed up the Thames to a point above Canvey Island and then returned to Sheppey, where, in the evening, they bombarded Sheerness for two or three hours and, having compelled the garrison to evacuate it, they landed and occupied the island.

On Tuesday, 11 June, they did little, but on 12 June they sailed up the Medway, breaking the chain.

l. 561. *Sprag*: Sir Edward Spragge, Vice-Admiral of the Blue, then commanding at Sheerness.

l. 564. *not tenantable*: because of its bad state of repair: cf. Clarendon, ii. 388.

l. 579. I have not altered the punctuation but the comma is really wanted after, not before, *so*.

Forests dread: i.e. terror of the forest.

ll. 583–4. Cf. note on ll. 313–24 and Pepys, 13 June: 'he himself . . . did hear many Englishmen on board the Dutch ships speaking to one another in English; and that they did cry and say, "We did heretofore fight for tickets; now we fight for dollars!" and did ask how such and such a one did, and would commend themselves to them.'

l. 586. Cf. Pepys, 12 June: 'the Duke of Albemarle writes that all is safe as to the great ships against any assault, the boom and chain being so fortified . . . ill news is come to Court of the Dutch breaking the chain at Chatham.'

l. 588. *Flea*: i.e. a performing flea.

l. 589. *Skipper*: cf. *Character of Holland*, l. 93 and note.

l. 597. *feather'd Gallants*: cf. l. 223 and note. When Pepys reached Gravesend on 10 June he found not only Albemarle but also 'a great many idle lords and gentlemen, with their pistols and fooleries'.

l. 600. *Cornbry*: see note on l. 218.

l. 605. *Duncombe*: see note on l. 207.

Legg: William Legge, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance.

l. 607. *Upnor-Castle* is about two miles below Chatham and should have been able to defend the ships which lay above it. Pepys learnt on 13 June that 'others, about the King, cry out that the office of the Ordnance hath been so backward as no powder to have been at Chatham nor Upnor Castle till such a time, and the carriages [i.e. gun-carriages] all broken'. At Chatham on 30 June he noted—'I do not see that Upnor Castle hath received any hurt by them, though they played long against it; and they themselves [i.e. the garrison] shot till they had hardly a gun left upon the carriages, so badly provided they were'.

l. 614. The *Royal Charles* (formerly the *Naseby*) brought the King to Dover in 1660.

l. 615. *Admiral*: i.e. flag-ship.

l. 620. The *Royal Charles* was taken, not burnt. Pepys (14 June) was told that some of the English sailors in the Dutch service (see note on l. 583) took part in the seizure and 'when they took the *Royal Charles*, they said that they had their tickets signed, and showed some, and that now they came to have them paid, and would have them paid before they packd'.

l. 629. *Guards* : i. e. the regiments of Guards.

l. 631. *Daniel* is probably Sir Thomas Daniel who commanded a company in Colonel John Russell's regiment of Foot Guards.

I presume that his company was expected to keep the enemy off either the *Loyal London* or the *Royal James*, as Douglas's was responsible for the *Royal Oak*.

l. 636. *Lack* : i. e. Crimson Lake.

ll. 649–96. The nucleus of *The Loyall Scot*, q.v.

l. 649. *Douglas* : Archibald Douglas, who commanded a company of Lord George Douglas's Scottish regiment (*S.P.Dom.*, 5 July 1666). This regiment, which had been in the French service, naturally returned to England when, in 1666, the French joined the Dutch against England. It returned to France after the Treaty of Breda. The regiment (later the First Foot and now the Royal Scots) should include Captain Douglas's achievement among the memories of which it is proud. The following account is given in Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals* (second ed., 1750, ii. 280) :

' As they came back, they burnt *The Royal Oak*, a very fine ship, and in her captain *Douglass*, whose behaviour ought to perpetuate his memory. He had received orders to defend his ship, which he did with the utmost resolution ; but, having none to retire, he chose to burn with her, rather than live to be reproached with having deserted his command.'

In this account the fallacy that Douglas was a naval officer has already appeared.

l. 664. *lest Heav'n fall* : The Gauls said this was the only thing they feared. See Camille Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, I. 360. He refers to Strabo, vii. 3. 8. (The Celts told Alexander they feared nothing *εἰ ἆρα μὴ ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέσοι*).

l. 673. Cf. Sir William Temple's letter to Lord Lisle, dated ' Brussels, Aug. 1667 ' (*Memoirs of . . . Temple*, 1836, i. 251) : ' I would have been glad to have seen Mr. Cowley, before he died, celebrate Captain Douglas's death, who stood and burnt in one of our ships at Chatham, when his soldiers left him, because it should never be said, a Douglas quitted his post without order.'

l. 678. Douglas, however, left a widow named Frances, who petitioned for a prize ship as compensation (*S.P. Dom.*, 1667, p. 430) and was granted £100 on 18 October 1667 (*D.N.B.*). She was the daughter of Andrew, 7th Baron Gray, who died in 1663, having previously suffered in the royalist cause. In 1661, before her marriage (*S.P. Dom.*), she had been arrested on her way to France ; we may conjecture that she eventually got through and married Douglas there. She subsequently married a Captain Mackenzie, son of the Bishop of Orkney.

ll. 693–6. Cf. *Aeneid*, ix. 446–7 (of Nisus and Euryalus) :

> Fortunati ambo, siquid mea carmina possunt,
> nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo.

l. 693. Cf. *The Loyall Scot*, l. 59. The alteration in the text, whether by Marvell or not, was doubtless intentional. Here *Pencil* is suitable as the poem consists of instructions to a painter, but in *The Loyall Scot* it would be quite out of place.

Several differences will be noticed between the texts of *Last Instructions*, ll. 649–96 and *The Loyall Scot*, ll. 15–62. We may take it that they were made for *The Loyall Scot* and were intentional.

l. 695. Hercules was voluntarily *burnt* on Mount Oeta.

l. 697. The *London* man-of-war was blown up March 1665. Then

the loyal city of London was burnt by the Great Fire. Now the *Loyal London* is burnt. Cf. Evelyn, 28 June: 'the London (now the third time burnt).'

l. 702. Cf. *S.P. Dom.* 15 June 1667, where John Rushworth writes that the burning of the men-of-war 'compelled the sinking of all the other great ships near Chatham dock, not leaving one above water, but it is hoped these will be recovered in time'.

l. 712. Ships were sunk below Woolwich in order to prevent the Dutch sailing up to London. See Pepys, 14 June 1667.

l. 715. *Howl* is a north-country form of 'hollow' and may well be what Marvell wrote. But editor or printer of 1697 altered it to 'hole', and perhaps he was right.

l. 735. *Samson Agonistes* was not published till 1671

l. 747. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, IV. xi.

l. 754. I do not know the allusion.

l. 762. Frances Stewart 'La Belle Stuart' whom the Duke of Richmond married 1667 (*Miscellaneous Letters*, 8) figured as Britannia on several medals and coins. *Farthing* and *Rules the four Seas*: see note on *Dialogue between the Two Horses*, l. 62.

l. 764. *those*: the four seas.

l. 766. *by Punishment*: 'by way of punishment'; so in both 1689 and 1697. Later editions without authority have emended 'by Parliament'.

l. 767. *Pett* is Peter Pett for whom see *D.N.B.* and Pepys, *passim*. He was Commissioner of the Navy at Chatham, i. e. Superintendent of the Dockyard. On 18 June 1667 Henry Savile wrote to his brother George from London: 'Commissioner Pett was sent for from Chatham, and sent the last night to the Tower. He is most undoubtedly to be sacrificed; all that are greater lay the fault upon him in hopes that he is to bear all the blame; the town has no mind to be so satisfy'd.'

l. 771. On 3 June 1665. It was the Duke of York who 'would not follow'; see note on l. 400.

l. 772. In August 1665 a convoy of Dutch ships returning from the East took refuge in the neutral harbour of Bergen. Sandwich negotiated with the Danes instead of attacking at once, with the result that the Dutch escaped. See Pepys and 'Denham's' *Second Advice*.

ll. 773–4 See Pepys, 14 September and 12 October 1665 and 'Denham's' *Second Advice*.

ll. 775–6. *prevented*: anticipated. In 1666, the fleet was divided under Albemarle and Rupert. False news was received that a French fleet was approaching and Rupert sailed west to meet it. Meanwhile the Dutch attacked Albemarle in the Downs. There was unaccountable delay in sending a message to Rupert, and he arrived only in time for the last day of the battle of 1–4 June. See Pepys and *Third Advice*.

l. 777. See notes on ll. 314 and 583.

l. 782. Landguard Fort is at Harwich. The Dutch attacked there in June 1667 at the same time as they sailed up the Thames.

l. 783. Pett was especially blamed that the *Royal Charles* was not moored higher up the Medway.

l. 784. *Phanatick*: Pett's office dated from the Commonwealth.

l. 785. Pett and his father Phineas Pett were originally shipbuilders, and one of his chief duties as Commissioner was to supervise shipbuilding.

l. 786. *slips*: disasters. *Slip* was in use at this time to mean a landing-slope at the waterside, but not for a place where ships are built.

l. 788. *Paradise Lost* was published at the end of August 1667, while this was being written.

l. 789. Cf. Pepys, 19 June 1667: 'Then was Peter Pett called in, with the Lieutenant of the Tower. He is in his old clothes, and looked most sillily. His charge was chiefly the not carrying up of the great ships, and the using of the boats in carrying away his goods'; and 30 June, when Pepys went to have a look at Chatham, 'Commissioner Pett's house was all unfurnished, he having carried away all his goods.'

l. 793. *Southampton*, the Lord High Treasurer, died on 16 May 1667. The Treasury was put in commission between Albemarle, Ashley, Sir W. Coventry, Sir John Duncombe, and Sir Thomas Clifford. As Pepys knew this on 22 May, Duncombe received his 'reward' (for failing to provide ammunition; see ll. 207 and 605) three weeks before the Dutch attack.

l. 795. Cf. Pepys, 31 May 1667, 'I saw Duncomb look as big, and take as much state on him, as if he had been born a lord.'

l. 797. *Peeter*: saltpetre, i. e. gunpowder.

l. 799. *corn* is a technical word for a grain of gunpowder.

ll. 801–2. Duncombe's lack of wealth and of political experience are the butt of these lines. Cf. Clarendon, *Continuation*, ii. 386: 'The Chancellor said . . . that it would be very incongruous to bring Sir John Duncombe, who was a private country gentleman, and utterly unacquainted with business of that nature, to sit in equal authority with Privy Counsellors.' The king replied that he could make Duncombe a Privy Counsellor.

l. 805. *May*: see note on l. 399.

l. 811. *Shelden* had been archbishop since 1663. Scandal about him was evidently rife at this time. See Pepys, 29 July 1667, and cf. *The Loyall Scot*, l. 219.

l. 813. *Boynton* and *Middleton* were Court beauties who figure in the *Grammont Memoirs*. 'The languishing Boynton' eventually married Richard Talbot. 'Mrs.' Jane Middleton also languished, but she was too cautious for the tastes of the Chevalier de Grammont.

l. 817. If 1689 is right *Thames* must be treated as a disyllable. 1697 fills out with 'de Ruyter', which I print, but Marvell calls him simply 'Ruyter' elsewhere in the poem.

laid is a participle, and the construction is absolute.

l. 819. *Dispatch*: i. e. from Breda.

l. 820. *Harry*: Henry Coventry. On 8 July Pepys wrote: 'Mr. Coventry is come from Breda, as was expected; but, contrary to expectation, brings with him two or three articles which do not please the King.'

l. 826. The House met on 25 July and was dismissed on 29 July.

l. 828. *Vest*: the story of the garment designed by Charles II to make English clothes independent of Paris is one of the funniest things in the Restoration age. See Pepys 15 October 1666: 'This day the King begins to put on his vest, and I did see several persons of the House of Lords and Commons too, great courtiers, who are in it; being a long cassock close to the body, of black cloth, and pinked with white silk under it, and a coat over it, and the legs ruffled with black ribbon like a pigeon's leg; and, upon the whole, I wish the King may keep it, for it is a very fine and handsome garment.' Pepys had his vest ready to wear on Sunday 4 November and was afraid of catching cold in it. He heard on 22 November that the King of France had retaliated by adopting the 'vest' for his footmen.

l. 837. *Turner*: the Speaker. See note on l. 114. Pepys, 25 and 29 July gives a full account of the proceedings in Parliament.

ll. 839–40. 'The Speaker told them, as soon as they were sat, that he was ordered by the King . . . to move that they would adjourn themselves till Monday next' (Pepys, 25 July). 'Monday next' was the 29th.

ll. 841–4. See note on l. 223.

l. 846. *Hereford*: Thomas Tomkins of Mornington, Hereford, was knighted on 2 January 1662.

ll. 851–2. 'The Speaker . . . was kept from coming in the morning to the House on purpose, till after the King was come to the House of Lords, for fear they should be doing anything in the House of Commons to the further dissatisfaction of the King and his courtiers (Pepys, 29 July).

l 855. *Eaton* is obviously Black Rod, who was at hand to summon the Commons the moment the Speaker appeared. His name is more commonly spelt Ayton—Sir John Ayton.

ll. 870–1. The Speaker drew a large part of his remuneration from fees on the passage of private bills. Hence, during their progress, he was hot and agitated like a cook superintending the preparation of a big dinner.

smoaking: in two senses: (1) to steam (with heat); (2) to smell out or suspect.

l. 872. Part of the £1,800,000 voted in the session of 1666–7 was raised by a Poll Bill. See *Corporation Letters* of the time, *passim*.

l. 874. 'He distinguished himself chiefly by the courtly style of his addresses to the throne' (*D.N.B.*).

l. 876. *Court-mushrumps*: upstarts.

l. 882. *Norfolk*: James Norfolk, Serjeant-at-Arms of the House of Commons 1660–75.

l. 884. Cf. *Further Advice to a Painter*, l. 16. The *Serjeant* is Norfolk.

Partelott: Dame Partlet, wife of Chanticleer.

l. 889. *calm horrour*: cf. *Upon Appleton House*, l. 671. The next forty lines argue that the interests of England, the example and influence of France, and the fears of Charles himself all combined to bring about Clarendon's disgrace.

l. 918. *Grandsire Harry*: Henry IV of France, father of Henrietta Maria. He was assassinated by Ravaillac in 1610.

l. 927–8. 'As Clarendon was going away [from his interview with the King at Whitehall on the night of 26 Aug.] through the private garden, it was full of people, he says, and he saw Lady Castlemaine, Lord Arlington, and Mr. Baptist May, keeper of the privy purse, "looking together out of her open window with great gaiety and triumph." Pepys tells the same story, with the difference that Lady Castlemaine was in bed when the Chancellor left the palace, though it was twelve o'clock, but "ran out in her smock into her aviary looking into Whitehall Garden", where, her woman having brought her a dressing-gown, she "stood blessing herself at the old man's going away", and chatting with the gallants that came up' (Masson, *Life of Milton*, vi. 271).

Coventry: Sir William; see note on l. 225.

l. 933. *Bristol*: George Digby, Earl of Bristol, a Roman Catholic 'of the Church of Rome, but not of the Court of Rome', had attempted to impeach Clarendon in 1663 and renewed his attack on him in Parliament on 29 July 1667.

Arlington: Bennet had been in the employ of Bristol (then Lord Digby) as early as 1643. When in Flanders, they quarrelled on

the advisability of Charles II declaring his conversion to Roman Catholicism (*D. N. B.*).

l. 935. Perhaps an allusion to Coventry's resignation of the post of secretary to the Duke of York. See Pepys 2 September 1667.

l. 982. Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 29: 'M. Varro auctor est a cuniculis suffossum in Hispania oppidum.'

l. 984–6. I print the lines from the version of 1697. Whatever its authority it improves on the version of 1689, which stood as follows:

> Whom neither flatt'ry binds, nor want to stealth;
> Whose Conscience and whose Courage high
> With Counsels their large Souls supply;

l. 990. Cf. *Dialogue between the Two Horses*, l. 67.

The Kings Vowes. (Page 165.)

TEXT. First * published in the *State Poems* of 1697. Manuscript copies exist in *M 12* and *M 16*; Thompson added verses from one of his manuscript books. The text here printed is based on M 16, which is the fullest version extant and good except in the last four verses. It has some sporadic punctuation, to which I have added.

M 12 gives the introductory verse followed by those here numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 9, 6, 7, 11, 13, 16.

1697 after the introductory verse prints those here numbered 1, 2, 10, 4, 7, 6, 17, 18, 19, 11, 12, 13, 20, 16, but the text has been considerably altered; see note on authenticity.

Thompson printed verses 3, 5, 8, 9, 14, 15 from manuscript.

AUTHENTICITY. In 1697 lines 16–18 (of my order) run as follows:

> My insolent Brother shall bear all the Sway,
> If Parliament murmur, I'll send him away,
> And call him again as soon as I may.

Grosart rightly understood this to refer to events subsequent to Marvell's death, and, therefore, placed the poem among the 'Unauthenticated'. I should be well pleased to leave it there, but unfortunately Grosart's reason falls to the ground when the manuscript versions are consulted and (see below) the satire can be assigned without any doubt to the early part of 1670. The question of its authenticity must, therefore, be considered anew. It is ascribed to Marvell in the 1697 *State Poems*, but in neither manuscript: in fact 'Anonymus' appears at the end of M 12. Of the poems ascribed to Marvell in *State Poems* three at least can be proved not to be his; there is, therefore, no strong reason for attributing it to him.

DATE. *M 12* (which gives 39 lines only) was compiled by a certain Watson who (in this part of his manuscript book) accompanied his entries with notes of date and source. 'The Kings Vowes' was 'Communicat: a fr: T. W. May. 20. 1670'. The verses omitted by *M 12* may be later additions, as v. 12 must be, and 1697 certainly represents a version brought up to date in the light of later events.

* Since I wrote this I have examined a single-sheet issue of the satire, which is in the possession of Mr. Thorn Drury. It is dated in MS. '2 Feb. 168⅞' and is entitled *A | Prophetick Lampoon, Made Anno 1659. | By his Grace George Duke of Buckingham: | Relating to what would happen to the Government | under King Charles II. | To the Tune* Which no body can deny.

The single-sheet contains the introductory stanza and eleven others (1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 9, 6, 7, 11, 13, 16 of my text, with numerous but comparatively unimportant variations from it) and concludes with the word *Finis*.

NOTES. ll. 25–7. Cf. Pepys, 16 September 1668: 'the Duke of Monmouth to take his command this day of the King's Life-Guard, by surrender of my Lord Gerard.'

ll. 29–30. Cf. note on *Dialogue between the Two Horses*, ll. 73–4.

l. 31. *Privy-purse*: see note on *Last Instructions*, l. 399.

l. 36. There were two Secretaries of State from 1660 onwards.

l. 38. *Alce Pierce* (or Alice Perrers) was mistress of Edward III, and *Jane Shore* of Edward IV.

ll. 40–2. See *Miscellaneous Letters* 14. A reference to events of December 1670, and so an addition to the original satire. See significant critical note.

l. 43. *Minister Premier*: Buckingham. Cf. *Nostradamus's Prophecy*, l. 17.

l. 47. *on Exhibition*: on a fixed maintenance allowance.

l. 48. The Treasury actually was in commission in 1670, cf. notes on *Further Advice to a Painter*, l 18 and on *Last Instructions*, l. 793.

l. 49. See note on *Last Instructions*, l. 828,

ll. 52–4. Cf. Pepys 16 March 1662, and Evelyn 29 March 1665.

decoy: a pond out of which run narrow arms covered with network.

ll. 55–63. These three verses (probably all additional to the original satire) are aimed at Danby. There was an abortive attempt to impeach him in 1675.

Further Advice to a Painter. (Page 168.)

TEXT. First printed in *State Poems*, 1697. I have used MSS. *B 1*, *B 3*, *C*, *H* and *M 13*, which last has some explanatory glosses. *B 1* is my only authority for ll. 25–6, and ll. 59–64 are found in *B 1* and *C* only. I print the text of *B 1*, except for the expansion of a few abbreviations, for a few readings (see foot-notes), for the addition of some capitals at the beginning of certain lines, also *Olimpia* (l. 47) and *Positive* (l. 55), and the punctuation, which I submit without being too well satisfied with it (*B 1* has none).

AUTHENTICITY. First ascribed to Marvell in *State Poems*, 1697. But the passage about the five members (ll. 48 ff.) should be compared with Marvell's letter to Popple, 28 November 1670.

DATE. Assigned by internal evidence to the middle of the session 24 October 1670–22 April 1671 (the assault on Sir John Coventry, l. 38 and ff., was under discussion in January 1671). In *State Poems* the satire is dated 1670 (O.S.); *H* dates it 1670; *M 13* dates it 1674, which is impossible. Note that a newsletter (*Hist. MSS. Commission*, XII. vii. 76) reports that on 15 March 1671 Palmer the bookseller was fined and pilloried for circulating the manuscript of a pamphlet called *Advice to a Painter*, in which their Majesties and many of the nobility were maligned.

NOTES. l. 3. Charles I and Marcus Aurelius, possibly suggesting the two famous equestrian statues in Whitehall and on the Capitol.

ll. 4–10. Charles II and Commodus. *fencers*: Commodus used to compete in the arena. *Mascarade*: see *Statue in Stocks-Market*, l. 38, note. *Player*: Nell Gwynne.

l. 13. *Sir Edward* Turnor, Speaker; see *Last Instructions*, l. 114, note.

l. 16. See *Last Instructions*, l. 884 and note.

l. 18. *Circean*: debasing. *Clifford*: see *Last Instructions*, l. 17 note. Clifford, Duncombe, and Ashley Cooper, the Cerberus of *Nostradamus's Prophecy*, l. 30, were left alone on the Treasury Commission after the death of Albemarle and retirement of Sir William Coventry.

l. 19. *Duncomb*: see note on *Last Instructions*, l. 207. The reference is probably not at this date to the Treaty of Dover, in which no part has been assigned to Duncombe; but he may have acted in the Dover Pier business (see *Trinity House Letters*, 21, 22, *Corporation Letters*, 155, 158, 159, 161, 163).

l. 20. Presumably Ashley Cooper, the third head of Cerberus. He was in no sense an attorney, and his later appointment as Lord Chancellor was accordingly unexpected. Finch was Attorney-General.

l. 23. 1 *Henry IV*, ii. 2.

l. 28. *Seymour*: see *Last Instructions*, l. 257. He was at this time not Speaker but Chairman of the Committee of Supply of the whole House (*Commons Journals*).

l. 31. *Arlington*: see *Last Instructions*, l. 129. He had been Secretary of State since 1662.

l. 36. Louis XIV occupied Lorraine in September 1670.

ll. 38–46. *nose*: Sir John Coventry's; see *Miscellaneous Letters* 14, and Grey's Debates for January 1671. The *Champion* (l. 40) is presumably Sir Thomas Sands (cf. l. 46), lieutenant of the guard. *Obryan*, son of Lord Inchequin, took part in the assault.

l. 47. *Olimpia*: Donna Olimpia Maidalchini was the notorious sister-in-law of Innocent X (1644–55) and controller of his policy. The King's sister-in-law, the Duchess of York, is intended; cf. *Flagellum Parliamentarium* (Aungervyle Society's reprint), which describes Seymour as 'the Duchess's convert, who by agreement, lost £1,500 at cards to him, and promised if he would vote for Taxes for her he should be a rich man. He had several sums given him.'

l. 48. *Tool of State*: *M 13* glosses 'Ld. Hollis'; but (Denzil) Lord Holles was now in the House of Lords, so the Hollis who was one of 'the five recanters of the Hous' (of Commons; see *Miscellaneous Letter* 12 of 28 November 1670) was another, either Gervase Hollis or Holles (the antiquary) or his son Sir Frescheville, both members for Grimsby. Cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.* XIV. App. ii, vol. 3, p. 317 (Conway writing to Sir E. Harley on 15 November 1670): 'I met Sir Robert Howard, Ned Seymour, and Sir Fretchevile Hollis in the Gallery at Whitehall'. Both Sir Frescheville and his father come under the *Flagellum Parliamentarium*.

The 'five recanters' from the Country Party in the House of Commons were Sir Robert Howard, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Richard Temple, Sir Robert Car, and 'Hollis'.

l. 52. Denzil Holles was one of the original 'five members' (January 1642).

l. 54. The Committee of Derby House (so called from the place where it met) succeeded the Committee of Both Kingdoms in January 1648 as the governing council of the nation. Its activities led up to the establishment of the Republic; 'Darby Hous designes' will mean 'republican designs'.

Derby House itself was burnt down in the Great Fire. Its rebuilding was completed in 1683; it is now the Heralds' College (in Queen Victoria Street).

l. 55. *Positive . . . Woodcock*: *M 13* annotates respectively 'Sir Robt. Howard' and 'ld St. Johns'. Both identifications are borne out by Pepys (5 and 6 May 1668). Sir Positive-at-all in Shadwell's play *The Sullen Lovers* is a character who thinks himself the only source of information in every conceivable subject; Woodcock, in the same play, is described in the list of characters as 'A familiar loving coxcomb, that embraces and kisses all men; so

used to his familiar endearing expressions that he cannot forbear them in the midst of his anger.'

For Howard see note on *Last Instructions*, l. 265. St. John, member for Hampshire, was Charles Paulet, Lord St. John of Basing, son and heir of the Marquis of Winchester, whom he succeeded on 5 March 1675; later created Duke of Bolton. He seems to have got himself into trouble on several occasions, see Pepys for 29 November 1666 and Marvell's letter to Sir Henry Thompson of January 1675. He is the Marquis of Winchester of *Corporation Letters* 182. The makers of indexes to Pepys and to the Calendar of State Papers tend to confuse him with Oliver St. John.

St. John, Howard, Sir William Bucknall, and others formed a group which contracted for the farming of the customs. See *Corporation Letters* 133: 'Those that took the Customs &c: at 600,000ll are now struck of again and Sir R: Howard Bucknall and the Brewers have them as formerly *projected*' (note this word and 'Projects' in the next line of the satire). St. John's connexion with the group is established by *Hist. MSS. Commission*, XII. vii. 73 (where in a letter dated 6 Dec. 1670 it is stated that Lord St. John, Howard, Sir W. Bucknall, and others are to have the contract) and by *S.P. Dom.*, 8 December 1670.

walks . . . in the dark: does this mean that Howard was 'running' St. John, or 'leading him by the nose'? Perhaps there is a sort of pun on the phrase 'to walk a (game) cock'. See *O.E.D.*

l. 56. *Brewers Clerk*: M 13 annotates 'Bucknall', who was the leading member of a syndicate of London brewers which had for some years farmed the liquor taxes in London and the neighbouring counties. See *S.P. Dom.*, 1665–70. He was knighted 20 September 1670 and is described as of Oxey, Herts.

He was one of the Lancashire members and is described in *Flagellum Parliamentarium* as 'Once a poor Factor to buy malt for the Brewers, now a Farmer of the Revenues of England and Ireland, on the account of the Duchess of Cleveland, who goes snip with him, to whom he has given £20,000'.

l. 58. *Temple*: see note on *Last Instructions*, l. 255. His defection must have been a serious blow to the Country Party, but I cannot elucidate the allusions in this and the following lines.

Bludius et Corona. (Page 170)

TEXT. First printed by Thompson (1776) from his second manuscript volume. Manuscript copies exist now in *M 9* and *B 1*. There are no verbal differences between the three texts except those recorded in the footnotes.

AUTHENTICITY. It was ascribed to Marvell by Thompson, and *M 9* bears this out (see below). Also Marvell probably wrote the English lines (*The Loyall Scot*, ll. 178–85) of which this is either a translation or the original. It may be considered as certainly genuine.

DATE. Not earlier than Blood's attempt of 9 May 1671.

NOTES. The title is from Grosart, *M 9* heads:

Marvelli carmen

In audacissimè quidem, sed improsperè à Bloodio tentatum regii Diadematis furtum.

B 1's heading runs:

In Bludium habitu Sacerdotali Indutum cum Coronam caperet ffanatici cuiusdem (*sic*) Carmen.

For a full account of Colonel Thomas Blood see *D.N.B.* He was deprived of some lands in Ireland at the Restoration and, in return, attempted to steal the crown, sceptre, and globe from the Tower on 9 May 1671. The attempt had been carefully prepared for three weeks beforehand. Blood in clerical dress of 'cassock, surcingle and gown' had made friends with the keeper, Edwards. When the attempt was made, Edwards was bound and stabbed but not mortally. Blood and his three accomplices were disturbed by the unexpected return of Edwards's son, but it is possible that they would have got away with the regalia if they had killed Edwards and so prevented him from giving information to their pursuers.

Blood was examined by the king in person, was pardoned and had his lands restored. He died a natural death (contrary to all expectation) in 1680.

See *The Statue in Stocks-Market*, l. 37.

Nostradamus's Prophecy. (Page 170.)

TEXT. First published in the *State Poems* of 1689 and reprinte with some minor corrections in 1697. Manuscript copies exist in (*H* and *M 16*, and the last is plainly superior to the printed versio. It contains lines not in the *State Poems*, it is divided into two parts and phrases inconsistent with the settlement of 1688–9 have not be edited away. I have therefore printed *M 16*, making use, howeve of the *State Poems* and of *C* and *H*, where defective lines show *M 16* be at fault or where there is a consensus of authority against it. Ther are very few stops in *M 16*; most of the punctuation here is my own.

The evidence of other satires, where there are numerous manuscri copies, show that *M 16* is a fairly satisfactory authority with ' peculiarity of writing out in full words like ' the ' and ' is ' when metre requires an elision.

AUTHENTICITY. Both 1689 and 1697 *State Poems* ascribe it Marvell but the manuscripts do not. The comparative lack of w the clumsy half-repetitions (e.g. ll. 14 and 22) and the poverty of th metre are all against Marvell being the author. But, the concludin lines show that it was written by a Harringtonian, perhaps by the author of *Britannia and Rawleigh* and *Oceana and Britannia*.

DATE. *M 16*'s heading is 'An Ancient Prophecy written originally in ffrench by Nosterdam, & now done into English 6 Jan. 1671' (i.e. 1671–2). *H* dates it 'Januar 167½'. I see no reason to reject a date so precisely fixed, with which nothing in the Satire is in certain disagreement.

NOTES. Michel de Notredame (Nostradamus) was a French physician who in 1555 published *Centuries*, a collection of rhymed prophecies. The fulfilment of some of them led to his being made physician to Charles IX. Some of his prophecies which seemed applicable to the great fire were remembered shortly after it. Cf. a manuscript copy of a letter written from the Middle Temple on 3 October 1666, preserved in the Bodleian (Gough MS. London 14), in which the following passage occurs :

' We have now (as tis usual in all extraordinary Accidents) several Prophecies started up : none more remarkable than that of Nostredame a Frenchman who wrote a Book of Prophecies above an hundred years since, & therin exactly predicted (cent. 9. st. 49) the Parliament putting our King to death & in his book (Cent. 2d, Stanza 51) hath this

Le Sang du Just a Londres fera faute
Brusle par foudres de vignt trois les six.
La Dome Antique cherra de place haute
De mesme sect plusieurs serront occis.'

It is on these lines that the opening of the present satire is based, not on the translation of Nostradamus which appeared in the summer of 1672 (Arber's *Term Catalogues*, Trinity Term, 1672) with the following title-page:

The True | Prophecies | Of | Michael Nostradamus, | Physician | To | Henry II. Francis II. and Charles IX. | Kings of France, | And one of the best | *Astronomers* that ever were. | A | Work full of Curiosity and Learning. | Translated and Commented by Theophilus de | Garencieres, Doctor in Physick *Colleg. Lond.* | London, | Printed by *Thomas Ratcliffe*, and *Nathaniel Thompson*, and are to be | sold by *John Martin*, at the *Bell* in St. *Pauls Church-yard*, *Henry Mortlack* at the | *White Hart* in *Westminster-Hall*, *Thomas Collins*, at the *Middle-Temple Gate*, *Ed-* | *ward Thomas*, at the *Adam* and *Eve* in *Little Britain*, *Samuel Lowndes* over against | *Exeter-House* in the *Strand*, *Rob. Bolter*, against the South door of the *Exchange*, *Jon. Edwin*, | at the *Three Roses* in *Ludgate street*, *Moses Pits* at the *White Hart* in *Little Britain*, 1672.

It is a folio in fours.

In this book the French text is given as well as the translation, and the stanza quoted above appears in the same form except for one or two differences in spelling and the substitution of *feu* for *foudres* in the second line.

Marvell once refers to Nostradamus in his *Essay on General Councils*.

l. 1. The original prophecy of Nostradamus makes it certain that this is the right reading. *SP* read 'For Faults and Follies London's Doom shall fix', where the first word is presumably to be taken as a conjunction. *C*, which gives the same arrangement and approximately the same text as *SP*, reads 'Her Faults' &c. The 1672 edition interprets *The Blood of the Just* as referring to Charles I, but it could also be applied to the regicides who suffered at the Restoration.

l. 3. *Fireballs* seems to me conclusive that this satire was based on a version of the French which read *foudres* (see above).

l. 91 *Whitehall*: as the Roman Catholics were accused of firing the city, the charge was naturally fastened later on the Duke of York, when it became known that he was one of them. Cf. the 'Neronian flames' of *Oceana and Britannia*, l. 25.

The fire began in Pudding Lane.

l. 9. A reference to the five deserters from the Country Party in the last session of Parliament (24 Oct. 1670 to 22 April 1671). See notes on *Further Advice to a Painter*, ll. 48 foll.

l. 12. *and*: there is much force in this word, which is all lost by *SP*'s substitution of 'by'.

l. 14. For the closing of the Exchequer on 1 January 1671–2 see von Ranke, *Hist. Eng.* (1875), iii. 526–7:

'The greatest excitement was caused by a measure which was adopted in the Treasury. The bills for the repayment of advances made by the bankers upon the revenues of the year 1672, were not to be honoured in the course of that year, but the total sums that came in from the taxes were to be used solely for the necessities of the war. The Treasury was closed against the creditors of the state. This was excused, on the ground that the King paid as much as twelve per cent interest, and it was computed that on the whole, by

these transactions, he was deprived of the fifth part of his revenue; in future only six per cent. was to be paid, and an entire change in the management of the state debts in general was contemplated, somewhat in the way of the French administration. But now, not only the banks which had provided the advances, but also the private persons who had placed their money in them, amongst whom were many who possessed nothing besides, were most seriously affected. Against their claims, which might be pursued at law, the bankers demanded security; that the Lord Keeper Bridgeman refused to put the seal to a declaration for this purpose was the reason of his fall. It is a disputed point which of the two, Clifford or Ashley Cooper, had the greater share in the measure; both were impelled by personal ambition as well; Clifford, who arranged it, was raised to be treasurer; Ashley, Earl of Shaftesbury, for he appears now with this title, to be chancellor of the kingdom.'

Allusions are frequent; see *A Dialogue between the Two Horses*, ll. 35–44 and *The Statue in Stocks-Market*, ll. 1–4.

l. 15. Cf. *Further Advice to a Painter*, l. 10, and *Britannia and Rawleigh*, l. 169.

l. 17. *Premier Minister*: George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. The same charge was brought against him at a later date; see *The Narrative of Col. Tho. Blood* (1680).

l. 23. If I am right in accepting 6 January 1671–2 as the date of the satire there can be no reference here to the Declaration of Indulgence of 15 March 1672. But Charles II was fond of 'Declarations' (e. g. Breda 1660, Indulgence 1662), and the reference may well be quite generally to the King's protestations of good intentions, for example, at his opening of parliamentary sessions.

l. 25. The two kings of Brentford are characters in Buckingham's *Rehearsal*, first acted on 7 December 1671.

l. 28. *blowne up*: ruined; cf. *Parliamentary History*, iv. 146: 'Sir Heneage Finch said, That he could not think any thing more dangerous than the writing this Book at such a time; that it blew up this parliament totally' (17 Nov. 1660). Perhaps suggested here by the expedient of blowing-up houses during the Great Fire.

l. 29. Alluding to the French influence which had, since the previous autumn, been personified in Louise de Querouallle.*

l. 30. *Cerberus* (see note on *Further Advice to a Painter*, l. 18) ceased to be Treasurer in November 1672, when Cooper received the seals and Clifford became Lord High Treasurer with Duncombe as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

l. 32. *Alexander*: perhaps the allusion is to Pope Alexander VII (1655–67) whose nepotism was notorious. But the parallel l. 50 may indicate that Alexander the Great is meant.

ll. 33–4. The parallel couplet at the end of the *Second Part* suggests a definitely republican meaning for these lines. If so, are they consistent with what we gather of Marvell's attitude at this time from other sources, e. g. the two parts of the *Rehearsal Transpros'd*?

Crane: i.e. King Stork of the fable. Cf. *Two Horses*, l. 144.

Second Part.

l. 35. The British Museum copy (1077, h. 32) of the 1689 *State Poems* annotate 'Finch' here. If that is correct, this second part

* Cf. Haslerig's speech in Parliament 8 March 165$\frac{8}{9}$—'If this should pass, we shall next vote canvass breeches and wooden shoes for the free people of England' (Burton, *Diary*, iv. 79).

cannot have been written earlier than the end of 1673 when Finch succeeded Shaftesbury as Lord Keeper. But there is an initial improbability that the two parts were written at different times; and while ll. 35–8 do not suit Finch, they are applicable to Lord Keeper Sir Orlando Bridgeman, who held the seals from 1667 till be handed them over to Shaftesbury on 17 November 1672. Roger North in his Life of Lord Keeper Guildford (1742) describes Bridgeman as a failure, and says further that 'his family was ill qualified for that place, his lady being a most violent intriguess in business'; and *Flagellum Parliamentarium* refers to 'the Lord Keeper, whose wife takes Bribes'. As Bridgeman fits the dating of January 1671–2, we may take it that he is meant here.

l. 39. Lauderdale.

ll. 41–2. Referring to the general policy of the bishops, but perhaps more especially to the Conventicle Act of April 1670. See *Corporation Letters* for March and April of that year.

l. 43. The British Museum copy annotates 'Ld Clifford'. It is true that he was not Lord High Treasurer till 28 November 1672, but as one of the three Commissioners of the Treasury he had given the advice to close the Exchequer. For his personal appearance see *Last Instructions*, l. 18 and note.

l. 53. *Bellydes*: Belides or Danaïdes, compelled in Hades to pour water perpetually into vessels full of holes.

l. 55. *Belgium*: i. e. the Dutch Republic. This supports the early date of the second part, as it implies a date anterior to the fall of the De Witts and the restoration of the House of Orange in the summer of 1672.

l. 56. *Venetian Libertye*: see Harrington's *Oceana* passim.

The Loyall Scot. (Page 171.)

TEXT. The full text is found in three MSS., *B* 1, *M* 5, and *m*, which excepting minor errors agree fairly together. My text is based on *B* 1; I have supplied some capitals at the beginning of lines, and the punctuation; other divergences are recorded in the foot-notes.

Lines 1–62, 65–72, 75–88, 236–85 were printed in Gildon's *Chorus Poetarum*, 1694, headed *The Loyal* SCOT, *by* Cleveland's *Ghost* | Being a Recantation of his former *Satyr*: Intitled, | *The Rebel Scot.* | *By* Andrew, Marvel, Esq. This reappeared, with the addition of ll. 63–4, 89–103, and the omission of ll. 73–4, in the *State Poems* of 1697, headed The Loyal Scot. | *By* Cleaveland's *Ghost, upon the Death of Captain* | Douglas *burnt on his Ship at* Chatham. |

Lines 15–62 were originally part of *Last Instructions* (ll. 649–96) and so printed in the *State Poems* of 1689, but omitted from the *State Poems* of 1697.

Lines 178–85 (on Blood's stealing the crown, the English version of *Bludius et Corona*, p. 170, q.v.) were printed in the *State Poems* of 1697 as a separate epigram, of which manuscript copies occur in *B* 1, *M* 3, and *M* 9.

The text was first printed whole (except for some errors and intentional omissions) in Wright's edition of Marvell's poems (1904); Wright knew only one MS. (*M* 5).

The problem of the text is complicated further by the fact that the editions of 1694 and 1697 print two passages not found in the MSS. These are six lines following l. 80 in 1694 and 1697, eight lines following l. 97 in 1697, four lines following l. 97 in 1694. I print these passages in the notes, as interpolations

DATE and AUTHENTICITY. The whole poem is ascribed to Marvell

in MS. *m* and, as far as they go, in the printed versions of 1694 and 1697. The lines on Blood (ll. 178–85) are ascribed to Marvell in MSS. *M 3* and *B 1* (which assumes them to be ' Englisht ' from the Latin) and in *State Poems*, 1697. *State Poems*, 1689, assigns ll. 15–62 to Marvell, with the rest of *Last Instructions*, in which it prints them.

Three strata are evident in the poem :

(1) lines 15–62, the death of Douglas, originally part of *Last Instructions*, and, therefore, written in 1667.

(2) Lines 1–14 and 274–85, the Cleveland framework, and ll. 63–86 and 236–73, which assert the essential unity of England and Scotland. The most probable date for the composition of these portions is 1669–70, when the question of a Parliamentary union between England and Scotland was mooted. Cf. Burnet, 279–84 ' Lord Tweedale . . . set on foot a proposition, that came to nothing, but made . . . much noise . . . for the union of both Kingdoms. . . . The [Scottish] Parliament was opened in November [1669]. . . . All that was done relating to [the union] was, that an act passed for a treaty about it : and in the following summer, in a subsequent session, commissioners were named, who went up to treat about it. But they made no progress about it.' An act passed also in the English Parliament for the same purpose, 22nd of Charles II, chap. 9. Cf. *Corporation Letters* 115 &c.

(3) Lines 87–235, an anti-Prelatical tirade, including (ll. 178–85) an English version of *Bludius et Corona*. Blood's attempt took place 9 May 1671. Other passages bearing on the date are l. 94 (see note), ll. 160–5 referring to Sheldon (d. 1677) as still living, and l. 147, a possible reference to Hobbes's *Behemoth*, which was written some time before its publication in 1679 and withheld in deference to the King's wish. Line 94 may indicate a date earlier than Burnet's restoration, and we may perhaps assign this part of the poem to 1672–3.

It cannot be doubted that Marvell wrote (1) and (2), and he probably wrote the lines on Blood, for the Latin version of which he was certainly responsible. They are anti-Prelatical but otherwise do not connect very well with their present context. I am inclined to attribute (3) to an inferior hand, the ground of my suspicion being the virulent tone of the satire, its destruction of the balance of the *Loyall Scot* proper, its lack of connexion with it, its lack of lucidity in thought and structure, and its lower level of wit and intelligence in general. Even where the wit is real, it strikes me as unlike Marvell's. In the text I have accordingly printed (3) in smaller type. Against its rejection should be set the following considerations :

(i) The author of (3) undoubtedly had his Cleveland in mind (see notes on ll. 106, 108, 116), and this implies that his work was written to go with the original *Loyall Scot*.

(ii) No MS. is known which gives my hypothetical text of *The Loyall Scot* without (3).

On the other hand 1694 gives only two lines of (3).

NOTES. *Title.* The titles of the printed versions are given above. The MSS. headings are approximately the same as that of the *State Poems* of 1697. The title alludes to Cleveland's *Rebel Scot*, and is, perhaps, particularly appropriate because Douglas was not only a Scot, but one of the ' Scotch Regiment ' (see note on *Last Instructions*, l. 649).

l. 11. *soft Airs* : of Elysium.

l. 14. Cleveland's *Rebel Scot* ends :

> A *Scot* when from the Gallows-tree got loose
> Drops into *Styx*, and turns a Soland Goose.

His recantation takes it up at that point, 'disguising art', and goes straight on,

Not so brave Douglas . . .

ll. 15–62. See the notes on *Last Instructions*, ll. 649–96. A comparison of the two versions reveals some small variations.

ll. 63–4. Omitted by the editor of 1694, probably as unintelligible. *Skip Sadles* (or *Skip saddle*) seems the best reading, suggesting the metaphor of a rider who changes horses, unsaddling one to saddle the other. 1697 punctuates

Skip Saddles Pegasus, thou needst not brag,

The Galloway nags were a famous breed in the seventeenth century; the Galloway outstrips Pegasus because Douglas outstrips Hercules.

l. 67. *Such*: (cf. *Last Instructions*, ll. 249, 275, 559) a characteristic turn of phrase suggesting Marvell's hand.

Curtius patriotically leapt into the breach which had appeared in the forum.

ll 71–4. *Corinthian Mettall*: bronze, of which the Colossus was cast. The Colossus, according to legend, stood with one foot on either side of the entrance to the port of Rhodes. Possibly there is here an allusion to the story (see Holland's *Pliny* quoted in *O. E. D.*) that the 'mixture happened by meere chance' at the burning of Corinth.

l. 80. The following lines are inserted after l. 80 in 1697 and, with certain variations which I record, in 1694:

Will you the *Tweed* that sullen Bounder call
Of Soyl, of Wit, of Manners, and of all?
Why draw you not as well the thrifty Line
From *Thames*, from *Humber*, or at least the *Tine*?
So may we the State Corpulence redress,
And little *England*, when we please make less.

1 sullen] sudden *1694* 3 you] we *1694* 4 from Humber] Trent, Humber *1694*.

They are mere puerile trifling with rivers and may be rejected as spurious. Grosart sees a jibe at the Scotch in 'thrifty'; if he is right, its unsuitability in a pro-Union poem is a further argument against the genuineness of the lines.

l. 86. *Influence*: astrological.

l. 88. *Holy Island*: Lindisfarne.

l. 93. *Sales*: St. François de Sales (canonized 1665), Bishop of Geneva, who recovered large numbers of the inhabitants of his diocese to Catholicism. He was not born till three years after Calvin's death. The meaning is probably that Calvin will never be pardoned, since 'Sales' angrily denounced him.

l. 94. Alexander *Burnet*: an advanced Laudian, Archbishop of Glasgow 1664–9, when Lauderdale following a policy of toleration compelled him to resign (24 Dec. 1669). Lauderdale's persecution of the Covenanters began in 1673 and Burnet was restored to his Province in September 1674.

l. 95. Thomas à Becket is said to have cursed the men of Strood (near Rochester) for cutting off his horse's tail; their children thenceforth were to be born with horse-tails.

l. 96. *pacifie*: reconcile. *prayers*: the Book of Common Prayer.

l. 97. The Scottish congregations sat on joint-stools (one of which Jenny Geddes made famous); cf. Evelyn's account of his visit to the French Calvinist church at Charenton, 6 March 1644: 'the rest of the congregation on forms and low stools; but none in pews, as

in our churches, to their great disgrace, as nothing so orderly, as here the stools and other cumber are removed when the assembly rises.'

Chairs: either: (1) chairs in pews, or (2) episcopal thrones.

After l. 97, these lines follow in 1697:

> Though Kingdoms joyn, yet Church will Kirk oppose,
> The Mitre still divides, the Crown does close;
> As in *Rogation Week* they whip us round,
> To keep in mind the *Scotch* and *English* Bound.
> What the Ocean binds, is by the Bishops rent,
> Then Sees make Islands in our Continent.
> Nature in vain us in one Land compiles,
> If the Cathedral still shall have its Isles.

1694 prints the first four of these lines, reading 'M——res still divide' for 'Mitre still divides' in l. 2.

I am tempted to accept this passage as genuine, but cannot do so in default of a manuscript authority. Note that six lines lower comes the great omission in the printed versions of 130 lines about the Bishops. We may conjecture that the eight lines above were interpolated in compensation.

l. 98. *Sands*: Lands (*M 5, m*; the *Landes*?) may be the right reading, as the more difficult.

l. 101. *Inhabitable*: uninhabitable.

zone: geographical zone (and a girdle or surcingle).

l. 104. *tear the moon*: cf. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam* (s.v. MOON):

The LIV[th] Sūrah of the Qur'ān, which is entitled the *Sūratu 'l-Qamar*, begins with a reference to the splitting of the moon, which is a matter of controversy. It reads: 'The hour draws nigh and the moon is split asunder. But if they see a sign, they turn aside and say magic continues.'

Al-Baizāwī refers it to a miracle and says the unbelievers having asked Muhammed for a sign, the moon appeared to be cloven in twain.

l. 106. *hocus*: a juggler; cf. *An Historicall Poem*, l. 92, and Cleveland, *Rebel Scot*, l. 26. Tillotson's derivation (which *O.E.D.* discredits) of hocus-pocus from *hoc est corpus* may have been already current.

ll. 108–9. A weak imitation of Cleveland, *Rebel Scot*, ll. 63–4:

> Had *Cain* been *Scot*, God would have chang'd his doom,
> Not forc'd him wander, but confin'd him home.

l. 115. *Rennett*: see *O.E.D.* for the figurative use.

ll. 116–19. Cf. Cleveland, *Rebel Scot*, ll. 101–4:

> Lord! what a godly thing is want of shirts!
> How a Scotch stomach, and no meat, converts!
> They wanted food and rayment; so they took
> Religion for their Seamstress, and their Cook.

l. 131. *their Curates Text*: i.e. the curates do the preaching. *Walk Knaves, Walk* (see note on *Dialogue between the Two Horses*, l. 3) contains a mock sermon in which the text is divided, i. e. dissected.

ll. 132–3. 'No Bishop, no King' was James I's well-known remark.

l. 135. Moses, holding the temporal power, checks the mischief done by Aaron, the high priest.

l. 138. Construe 'only the power that ties the spell can loose it'.

l. 139. *Exercise*: exorcize.

l. 140. *treated*: for this use see note (*ad fin.*) on *Corporation Letters* 294.

l. 141. *Ambigue*: a banquet at which various courses appear on the table together.

l. 143. *in Commendum* (the spelling of the MSS.), properly *in Commendam*. *Commenda* in med. Lat. = *depositum*; *dare in commendam*, to give in trust, especially of a benefice given to a bishop to hold with his own preferment. The Bishop himself would become *in commendam* when the Princes had ' fallen to ' him.

l. 145. *Templar Lords*: presumably Lords Spiritual (of temples).

Templar Knights: cf. the expression ' to drink like a Templar '.

l. 146. *A Baron Bishop* is a Lord Bishop, with a pun on a baron (of beef), which consists of two sirloins (' Leviathan and Behemoth ' !) not separated at the backbone.

l. 147. *Leviathan*: cf. *Britannia and Rawleigh*, l. 32.

Behemoth: see note on the date of *The Loyall Scot*, above. But the allusion may be not to Hobbs' book, but the out-Leviathaning *Leviathan* of some of the clergy. Cf. *Rehearsal Transpros'd* II. 153.

l. 151. *Mytre*: was still in use in the seventeenth century to denote an oriental head-dress. Probably alludes to some eastern story in which ' the cap fitted ' four different heads; i.e.' our Flamen ' might be credited with four different forms of religion.

ll. 154–5. Probably an allusion to Sharp: see note on *Scaevola Scoto-Britannus*, l. 1.

l. 158. *Seth's Pillars*: cf. Josephus, *Antiquities*, I. iii (Whiston's translation): ' They [Seth's children] also were the inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom which is concerned with the heavenly bodies, and their order. And that their inventions might not be lost before they were sufficiently known, upon Adam's prediction that the world was to be destroyed at one time by the force of fire, and at another time by the violence and quantity of water, they made two pillars, the one of brick, the other of stone: they inscribed their discoveries on them both, that in case the pillar of brick should be destroyed by the flood, the pillar of stone might remain, and exhibit those discoveries to mankind; and also inform them that there was another pillar of brick erected by them.' *Seth* here is doubtless Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, a bitter persecutor of dissenters.

l. 164. *Abbot one Buck*: in 1621 Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, when hunting, aimed at a buck and killed Peter Hawkins a keeper.

l. 165. *Snow*: perhaps Ralph Snow, whom Antony à Wood met at Lambeth 9 February 1671–2 (*Life* prefixed to Bliss's edition of *Ath. Ox.*, p. lxxi). See Pepys 29 July 1667 for scandal about Sheldon, which appears to have been entirely baseless.

l. 169. *Theatre*: the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, opened 9 July 1669.

l. 170. *Congruous Dress*: i.e. black and white (pye bald, l. 172).

l. 171. *Smutty*: (*a*) dark-coloured; (*b*) indecent (so used by Pepys 1668 and Barrow 1677). *Story* is used by Evelyn and others for a work of sculpture. See *O.E.D.* on both words. The statue is wrapped in ' Pure Linnen ' either in the studio, where the clay is covered with wet cloths, or before unveiling (cf. *Statue in Stocks-Market*, l. 35: ' With canvas and deals you e'er since do him cloud ')

l. 174. Mr. Percy Simpson supplies the following note:

' The owner of a warehouse plagued with rats once told me how he cleared it. He caught a number, starved the male rats, then killed the does and offered them as food to the males, who at first refused to touch the bodies and finally were driven to eating them. He repeated the process, till the males acquired a taste for this diet. Then he let them loose in the warehouse. They soon cleared it.'

ll. 176–7. ' Now the Babylonians had an idol, called Bel, and there

were spent upon him every day twelve great measures of fine flour, and forty sheep, and six vessels of wine. . . . Then said the King unto him [Daniel], Thinkest thou not that Bel is a living God ? seest thou not how much he eateth and drinketh every day ? ' (*Bel and the Dragon*, vv. 3, 6, &c.).

Cf. Topsell's *History of Serpents* (1608), p. 156: ' It was wont to be said, because dragons are the greatest serpents, that except a Serpent eate a serpent, he shall never be a dragon ' (which Topsell refers to Aelianus). The Greek proverb is ὄφις ἦν μὴ φάγῃ ὄφιν δράκων οὐ γενήσεται.

ll. 178–85. See note above (on the authenticity of this poem in general), and notes on *Bludius et Corona*.

l. 186. Cf. Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie's *Chronicles of Scotland* (1814 edition), i. 246–7 (reign of James IV) :

' In this meane tyme was ane marvell seine in Scotland. Ane bairne was borne rekoned to be ane man chyld, who from the waist up was tuo fair personages, with all memberis and portratours perteaning to tuo bodies ; and the back of one was fast to the other, but fra the wast doun they war bot on persone. The king caused tak great cair upoun the upbringing of thir bodies in on personage, and caused learne thame to sing and play upoun instrumentis, who within schort quhill became verie ingenious and cunning in the airt of musick, that they could play upoun any instrument, the one the tenor, and the other the tryble, verie melodiouslie. . . .'

For other accounts, substantially the same with slight variations, see Buchanan's *History of Scotland*, ii. 4, 5 (English translation, 1690) and Drummond of Hawthornden's *History of Scotland* (1655), i. 134.

l. 194. *on Parnassus* : because of its two peaks.

l. 202. *Moot* : argue (a word with a legal connotation).

l. 209. *Transfuse* : cause to be permeated, amalgamate, as the chemist must amalgamate something else with mercury to ' fix ' or deliquefy the latter.

l. 216. *rebabel* : build as high as Babel. Sheldon was very active in giving and collecting money for rebuilding St. Paul's.

l. 219. See *Last Instructions*, l. 811 and note.

ll. 234–5. Metaphors from the game of bowls.

ll. 246–7. Judges, xii. 6.

l. 250. *female spite* : cf. *To . . . Richard Lovelace*, l. 43.

l. 255. *Picts wall* : the Roman wall against the Picts.

l. 257. *Perverted* : sc. *men's words*.

l. 261. *Crosse and Pile* : head and tail, the two sides of a coin.

l. 264. *atone* : reconcile.

ll. 265–73. These lines, if they are Marvell's, are the last example we have of his poetry properly so-called.

l. 269. *Comb case* : a hive containing comb but no honey (*O.E.D.*).

l. 276. *former satyr* : *The Rebel Scot*.

l. 277. Proverbial, to set off one thing against another (see *O.E.D.*).

l. 280. *differing Crime* : crime of creating differences ?

The Statue in Stocks-Market. (Page 179.)

TEXT. First printed in *State Poems*, 1689; reprinted in 1697 and subsequent editions. Thompson (1776) printed from one of his manuscript books. There are four copies extant in MS. (*M 3*, *M 5*, *M 13*, *m*), and Thompson's version (with allowance made for misreadings and inaccurate printing) represents a fifth.

There is no manuscript version markedly better than the rest. I have adopted the readings which have the greatest amount of support.

AUTHENTICITY. Not ascribed to Marvell in *State Poems* or the MSS.; omitted by Cooke (1726). Thompson (1776), who also credits his author with two of Addison's hymns and *The Ballad of William and Margaret*, is the only authority for the attribution.

On the other hand it forms one of a group with *The Statue at Charing Cross* and the *Dialogue between the Two Horses*, three satires in the same metre and style, and presumably by the same author. In spite of the want of evidence I am inclined to think them Marvell's.

DATE. There is a prima facie case for 1675, the date of *The Statue at Charing Cross* and *The Dialogue between the Two Horses* (cf. l. 38 with *The Dialogue*, l. 110, references to the same scandal, probably of an ephemeral nature; but I cannot supply its date).

The statue at Stocks-Market, however, was unveiled 29 May 1672. The MS. titles (see below, particularly *m*) assume that this was the occasion of the satire. But I suggest that the statue may have been covered up again for alterations (see ll. 35 and 54); this suggestion is borne out by l. 57, '*restore* us our King': 'reform' (l. 54) can hardly mean the sculptor's activity in converting John Sobieski into Charles II, an operation which would not have been performed in the Stocks-Market.

NOTES. *Title.* The MS. titles are as follows:

M 3: Upon S^{r} Robert Viners Setting up the Kings Statue.

M 13: Upon S^{r} Robert Viners Setting up the Kings Statue in Woolchurch Market

M 5: none.

m: A Copie of verses made upon Sir Robert Vinner Erecting the Kings Statue in white Marble on Horse back at Woolchurch and his keeping of it Covered and not exposeing it to Publick view till on the Kings Birth day.

In *State Poems* it is headed 'On the Statue at Stocks-Market' and by Thompson 'The Statue at Woolchurch'.

Stocks-Market (or Woolchurch Market) was situated where the Mansion House now stands.

l. 3. *advanced*: erected. See *The London Gazette* for 29 May 1672:

'This day being the great Anniversary of His Majesties Birth, as well as of His Glorious Restauration, has been Celebrated in this City with all imaginable Demonstrations of publick Joy, and to add to the solemnity of the day, a new Conduit of a Noble and Beautiful structure was opened in the *Stocks-Market-place* near *Lumbard street*, plentifully running Claret for divers hours, adorned with an excellent Figure of His present Majesty on Horseback, having a Turk or Enemy under foot; the Figures all of the best white Genoua Marble, and bigger then the Life: the whole erected at the sole Charge of Sir *Robert Viner*, from whom His Majesty was pleased to accept it some years since, although but now finished, as a mark of the particular Devotion that worthy person is used to express on all occasions, for the Honour of His Majesties Royal Person and Government.'

The account by James Ralph (*A Critical Review of the Publick Buildings*, &c. of London (1734), p. 12) explains the non-committal 'Turk or Enemy':

'''Tis impossible to quit this place [i.e. Stocks-Market] without taking notice of the equestrian statue rais'd here in honour of *Charles II*: a thing in itself so exceedingly ridiculous and absurd, that 'tis not in one's power to look upon it without reflecting on the taste of those who set it up: but, when we enquire into the history of it, the farce improves upon our hands, and what was before

contemptible grows entertaining. This statue was originally made for *John Sobieski*, King of *Poland*, but, by some accident, was left upon the workman's hands: about the same time, the city was loyal enough to pay their devoirs to King *Charles*, immediately upon his restoration; and, finding this statue ready made to their hands, resolv'd to do it the cheapest way, and convert the *Polander* into a *Briton*, and the *Turk*, underneath his horse, into *Oliver Cromwell*, to make their compliment compleat. In this very manner it appears at present, and the turbant upon the last mentioned figure is yet an undeniable proof of the truth of the story.'

The Stocks-Market statue was taken down in 1736 in clearing the site for the Mansion House. After lying long neglected in a builder's shed, it was set up by an innkeeper in his back-yard, and in 1779 the Corporation presented it to Robert Viner, a descendant of the donor, who 'removed it to decorate his country seat' (Chaffers, *Gilda Aurifabrorum*, 1883). It is now at Newby Hall, Ripon.

l. 4. See note on *Nostradamus's Prophecy*, l. 14. *M 13* comments here 'The Bankers being almost ruind upon the shutting up of the Exchequer'.

ll. 7–8. Viner was badly hit by the closing of the Exchequer: see *Corporation Letters* 174.

l. 17. *Herbwomen*: cf. *The Statue at Charing Cross*, l. 31, and the last lines of a satire written on the removal of statue and market in the eighteenth century:

> Now the herbs and the greens are all carried away,
> I must trot unto those who will find me in hay.

l. 20. *Sir William Peake*: alderman of London, knighted at Whitehall 1 October 1663, Sheriff 1660, Lord Mayor 1667. He and his brother Robert succeeded their father, Sir Robert Peake (d. 1667), in a famous print-selling business in Snow Hill, Holborn.

l. 22. For bribery and farming of taxes see *Flagellum Parliamentarium, passim*, and *Further Advice to a Painter*. *M 13* annotates, however, 'The K^{g} haveing sold the Duchy Land in Cornwall & other Countyes.'

l. 24. This suggests a surmise of the true nature of the Treaty of Dover.

l. 26. See *Parliamentary History*, iv. 500. In the King's Declaration of War against the Dutch, 17 March 1672, among other allegations 'some abusive pictures are mentioned, and represented as a ground of quarrel. The Dutch were long at a loss what to make of this article; till it was discovered, that a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the pensionary, painted by order of certain magistrates of Dort, and hung up in a chamber of the town-house, had given occasion to the complaint. In the perspective of this portrait, the painter had drawn some ships on fire in a harbour. This was construed to be Chatham, where de Wit had really distinguished himself, and had acquired honour; but little did he imagine, that, while the insult itself, committed in open war, had so long been forgiven, the picture of it should draw such severe vengeance upon his country.' Cf. also *Growth of Popery* (4° 1677), pp. 31, 36.

l. 32. Sir Robert Viner was a goldsmith.

l. 34. *scaffold*: the pedestal of the statue was eighteen feet high.

l. 37. See note on *Bludius et Corona*, p. 291.

l. 38. See *Dialogue between the Two Horses*, l. 110. Sir Robert Clayton, originally a poor boy apprenticed to 'one Mr. Abbot, his uncle . . . a scrivener,' was one of the richest citizens of London; Evelyn dined with him 26 September 1672 in his new house in Old Jewry, which he had built to keep his shrievalty in that year, and

again 18 November 1679 when he was Lord Mayor, and notes that he 'married a free-hearted woman, who became his hospitable disposition'.

masquerade: cf. *Further Advice to a Painter*, l. 6; and see Burnet, *History of his Own Times*, i. 262: 'At this time [1668] the Court fell into much extravagance in masquerading; both king and queen, and all the court, went about masked, and came into houses unknown, and danced there with a great deal of wild frolic. In all this people were so disguised, that without being on the secret none could distinguish them.'

l. 40. *Compter*: debtors' prison. On the closing of the Exchequer the King's debt to Viner was £416,724.

l. 41. *scene*: stage.

equipage: without bearing any exact theatrical connotation seems to have been used variously in connexion with the stage (see *O.E.D.*).

l. 42 *Jack-pudding*: buffoon, especially in attendance on a mountebank.

ll. 47–8. Probably an allusion to the battle of Southwold Bay, 28 May 1672, when the *Royal James* blew up with Sandwich on board. The *London Gazette* recorded the battle and the following day's unveiling and other birthday celebrations in the same number.

l. 50. *spankers*: gold coins.

l. 51. In March 1672, before the declaration of war, a squadron under Sir Robert Holmes made a piratical descent off the Isle of Wight on the Dutch Smyrna fleet then on its way up-channel. See Marvell, *An Account of the Growth of Popery*, pp. 32–3: 'the Merchant Men themselves, and their little Convoy did so bestir them, that Sir *Robert*, although he shifted his Ship, fell foul on his best Friends, and did all that was possible, unless he could have multiplied himself, and been everywhere, was forced to give it over, and all the Prize that was gotten, sufficed not to pay the Chirurgeons and Carpenters'. The fleet was estimated at a million and a half in value, and the enterprise was aimed at nothing but the acquisition of treasure; Marvell is inclined to suggest that the failure of the other squadron to support Holmes 'proceeded partly from that Jealousy (which is usuall to martial spirits, like *Sr*: *Roberts*) of admitting a Companion to share with him in the Spoile of Honour or Profit'.

Upon his Majesties being made free of the Citty. (Page 181.)

TEXT. Printed in the *State Poems* of 1689 (Part ii), 1697, and subsequent issues. MSS. versions exist in *M 3* and *H*. I base my text on *M 3*, from which all variations are recorded in the foot-notes; much of the punctuation, especially towards the end, is mine. *M 3* and *H* contain four stanzas (nos. 7, 17, 18, 21) omitted by the *State Poems*; Thompson knew of these but inadvertently omitted 18. He printed 7, 17, and 21 in his preface, but Grosart overlooked them. *H* omits 14.

AUTHENTICITY. Not ascribed to Marvell in the MSS. or the first printed edition; the attribution dates from 1697 *State Poems*, but is supported by no evidence.

DATE. The *London Gazette*, 17–21 December 1674, gives the circumstances:

'*Whitehall*, Decemb. 19. His Majesty having been pleased at His Entertainment at *Guildhall* the 29th of *October* last, the day when the Right Honourable Sir *Robert Viner* Knight and Baronet took his Oath as Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, most graciously and freely to condescend to the acceptance of the Freedom of *London* in

the Chamberlains Office, from the hands of Sir *Thomas Player* Chamberlain; the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons, in Common-Council unanimously agreed to testifie their deepest sense of so unparalleld a Favour and Honour done to the City, beyond the Example of all His Progenitors: And accordingly the Lord Mayor having first obtained His Majesties leave, did with the Aldermen and Common-Council attend His Majesty yesterday morning in the Banquetting-house, where the said Lord Mayor Sir *Robert Viner*, with the Chamberlain kneeling by him, in the name of the City of *London*, did present his Majesty with the Copy of the Freedom of the City curiously written on Vellom, and adorned with Gilding after the best manner, in a large square Box of massy Gold, the Seal of the said Freedom hanging at it enclosed in a Box of Gold set all over with large Diamonds, to a considerable value; which his Majesty was pleased graciously to accept, with many Expressions of great kindness to the City; At which time also, the following Address in writing was presented to His Majesty. . . .'

See also *Miscellaneous Letters* 20, where Marvell values the gold box at £1,000, and says that the Duke, who had already received the Freedom at the banquet on 29 October, would later be treated ' proportionably ' (to a smaller gold box; see ll. 85–90).

NOTES. The King and a distinguished company often witnessed the Lord Mayor's Show (on 29 Oct., i. e. 9 Nov. present style), and attended the ensuing Guild Hall Banquet, as in 1672, 1673, and 1674. The satirist has reproduced the doggerel stanza used in the songs ' sung at the Lord Mayor's Table ' in 1673 (see the printed description of that year's festivities, entitled *London in its Splendor, &c.*) and 1674 (see *The Goldsmiths Jubile*: or, *London's Triumphs, &c.*), of which Thomas Jordan the City Poet (predecessor of the notorious Elkanah Settle) was author. The song sung in 1673 begins:

> Joy in the Gates,
> And Peace to the States
> Of this City, which so debonair is:
> Let the King's Health go round,
> The Queen's and the Duke's Health be crown'd.
> With my Lord's and the Lady Mayoress

l. 3. *Box*: see note on l. 81.

Maggot: whimsy (a maggot in the brain).

ll. 7, 8, 9 *your* (*the, their*): a good example of the common confusion of abbreviated monosyllables beginning with ' y ' or ' th ' (y^r, y^e, y^r).

l. 11. *both Rocks*: see *O.E.D.*, and Littré s.v. *roche* (of precious stones of two qualities, quarried from *la vieille roche* and *la nouvelle roche*).

l. 47. *broken*. See note on *Nostradamus's Prophecy*, l. 14.

l. 49. *bound to the Peace*: possibly alluding to the Triple Alliance and the treaties which ended the two Dutch wars. The King is compared throughout with an unruly London apprentice.

l. 55. *thrice*: perhaps the Treaty of Dover (1670), the Declaration of Indulgence (1672) and the supposed Blackheath army project (1673) were in the writer's mind.

l. 62. Shaftesbury's unwillingness to support the King's policy led to his dismissal 9 November 1673. *State Poems* read ' Ashley '.

l. 65. *Trumpetts*: trumpeters.

l. 72. *Chamber*: Chamber of London, the Corporation Treasury, under the charge of the Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Player.

l. 77. *two Prentiships*: i.e. twice seven years, 1660–74.

l. 81. *Spices*: cf. Rochester, *History of Insipids*, stanza 20:

By the Lord Mayor and his grave Coxcombs,
Free-man of *London Charles* is made;
Then to *Whitehall* a rich Gold Box comes,
Which was bestow'd on the *French* Jade.
But wonder not it should be so, Sirs,
When Monarchs rank themselves with Grocers.

l. 90. *Starling*: sterling. But the editor of *State Poems* or his source thought the bird was meant; hence the corruption 'Gristle' (in the sense of 'young' as in Lyly, *Endimion*, V. ii) for 'Carriage'. The box (it hardly looks as if the Duke were treated 'proportionably') was big enough for a pill-box (l. 91) but not to contain coin. *M 3* annotates 'Ld Maior', i. e. presumably Sir Samuel Starling (Lord Mayor, 1669–70).

106. *Ballating*, a Harringtonian touch.

l. 117. 'To colour strangers' goods': 'to enter a foreign merchant's goods at the custom-house under a freeman's name for the purpose of evading additional duties (Obsolete)' (*O.E.D.*). 'Cull out' of *State Poems* is a good example of the corruptions in which they abound.

l. 121. Old maids were doomed to lead apes in Hell.

l. 126. *Crosse with the Dagger*: the arms of the City of London.

Britannia and Rawleigh. (Page 184.)

TEXT. First printed in *State Poems*, 1689; reprinted in Gildon's *Chorus Poetarum* (MDCLXIXIV—1694), *State Poems*, 1697 and subsequent issues, and in Gildon's *Poetical Remains of the Duke of Buckingham*, &c. (1698).

Manuscript versions are found in *B1*, *C*, *M 3*, *M 4*, *M 5*, *M 10*, *M 11*, *M 13*, *H*. A MS. of the late Professor Dowden contained a copy; I have consulted the readings from it given in *The Academy*, 10 August 1895 (*D*).

I base my text on that of *B 1*, which is shown by a collation of all the texts to be thoroughly sound, except for some obvious slips in transcription. All divergences from *B 1* are recorded in the footnotes, except in the matter of punctuation, which I have supplied (*B 1* has practically none), and some capitals at the beginning of lines.

AUTHENTICITY. Attributed to Marvell in all the printed editions, and also by the second hand in *M 3*—the hand which uniquely and correctly attributes *Advice to a Painter to draw the Duke* to Savile and, therefore, carries authority.

The satire was apparently written by an adherent of Harrington (see l. 156, note). Marvell (Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, s.n. Harrington) was a friend of Harrington, and wrote an epitaph on his death in 1677; he had attended the meetings of the Rota (Oct. 1659–Feb. 1660). On the other hand the tone and style are unlike Marvell's, and I am inclined to assign *Britannia and Rawleigh* to the unknown author of *Oceana and Britannia* (1681).

DATE. Not before 17 December 1674, when Henriette de Quéroualle, younger sister of the Duchess of Portsmouth, married Philip Herbert seventh Earl of Pembroke (see l. 169). 'Long scorned Parliament' (l. 135) suggests some long period of prorogation, for instance that of February 1674–April 1675. A possible date is the early part of 1675, but it may be later. See note on l. 42.

NOTES *Title.* Headed in most versions ' Britannia and Rawleigh ', ' A dialogue between Britannia and Sir W. Raleigh ', or the like. In Gildon's two miscellanies the title is ' Rawleigh's Ghost in Darkness; Or Truth cover'd with a Veil '. ' Rawleigh ' is the usual spelling; ' Raleigh ' also occurs.

l. 3. Raleigh appears presumably as an opponent of the succession of James I; his condemnation in 1603 was for complicity in the Main Plot, the chief agent in which was Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, who had intrigued with the Spanish ambassador to kill ' the old fox and his cubs ' and to put Arabella Stuart on the throne. In political thought, further, he had certain affinities with Harrington; see Russell Smith, *Harrington and his Oceana* (1914).

l. 4. The ' spurious ' (l. 6) Princes of the Blood in 1675 included James, created Duke of Monmouth 1663, son of Lucy Walters or Barlow; Charles Fitzroy, Earl of Southampton in his mother's right since 1670, and Henry Fitzroy, created Earl of Euston 1672 (afterwards Duke of Grafton), both sons of the Duchess of Cleveland; Charles Lennox, son of the Duchess of Portsmouth, created Duke of Richmond in August 1675.

l. 7. Raleigh's ghost is evoked as a listener; he gets a word in only three times.

l. 10. *unsemly*: certainly the right reading, as the next line shows. Most versions read *untimely*, a natural but rather comic corruption.

l. 14. Cf. *Nostradamus's Prophecy*, l. 4 and note. Marvell was added on 10 November 1666 to the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the causes of the Great Fire (*House of Commons Journals*). The Committee's report, presented 22 January 1667 and printed in that year, is reprinted in *Somers's Tracts*, Fourth Collection, vol. ii (1751), pp. 1–23. ' Mr. Jolliff and Mr. Marvel ' examined a witness 20 December 1666 (p. 10): ' Mrs. *Rebecca Eves* of Enfield, . . . before the Fire, receiving a Visit . . . from Mrs. *St. George* . . . Mrs. *St. George* ask'd her . . . *if she heard of any that were to be called in Question before the Parliament?* Mrs. *Eves* said, about what? Mrs. *St. George* said, *about a Plot*, Mrs. *Eves* asked what Plot? Mrs. *St. George* answered, *about firing the City*. . . . Mr. *St. George*, his Wife and Family have since left *Enfield*. They are all great Papists, and there are many more in the Neighbourhood.'

The Committee (not unjustifiably), p. 22, ' thought fit to give no Opinion upon these Informations, but leave the Matter of Fact to your Judgements '.

See *Corporation Letters* 57 (22 Jan. 1667) on ' the report of the Fire of London, full of manifest testimonys that it was by a wicked designe '.

ll. 15–16. Cf. *Dialogue between the Two Horses*, ll. 69–82.

l. 17. *Howard*: has the best manuscript support. He was one of the ' five recanters ' (see *Further Advice to a Painter*, l. 48, note).

Garway or Garroway (see *Last Instructions*, l. 298, note); a name often coupled with Lee's, which explains the reading *Lee* for *Howard* by several versions here. Burnet (quoted in Grey's *Debates*, ii. 9) wrote of the opening of the first session of 1673: ' The Court desired at least 1,200,000 l. for that sum was necessary to the carrying on of the war. The great body of those who opposed the Court had resolved to give only 600,000 l. which was enough to procure a peace, but not continue the war. *Garroway* and *Lee* had led the opposition to the Court all this Session in the House of Commons. So they were thought the properest to name the sum. Above eighty of the chief

of that party had met over night, and had agreed to name 600,000 l. But *Garroway* named 1,200,000 l. and was seconded in it by *Lee*; so this surprize gained that great sum, which enabled the Court to carry on the war. They had good reward from the Court, and yet continued acting on the other side.' This was on 7 February 1673.

l. 18. *Golden Osborn* : i.e. dispenser of bribes. Thomas Osborne, who succeeded Clifford as Lord High Treasurer 19 June 1673; created Earl of Danby 1674, Duke of Leeds 1694. It is in connexion with his policy of bribery that the famous story of his attempt on Marvell's integrity is told. The earliest form (Cooke's *Life*, pp. 11–13, 1726) is as follows :

'He made himself obnoxious to the Government, both in his Actions and Writings; and, notwithstanding his Proceedings were all contrary to his private Interest, Nothing could ever shake his Resolution. He having one Night been entertained by the King, who had been often delighted in his Company, his Majesty the next Day sent the Lord Treasurer *Danby* to find out his Lodging. Mr. *Marvell*, who then lodged up two Pair of Stairs in a little Court in the *Strand*, was writing when the Lord Treasurer opened the Door abruptly upon him. Surprized at the Sight of so unexpected a Visiter, he told him he believed he had mistook his Way. The Lord *Danby* replyed, not now I have found Mr. *Marvell*, telling him that he came with a Message from his Majesty, which was to know what he could do to serve him. His Answer was, in his usual facetious Manner, that it was not in his Majesty's Power to serve him. But coming to a serious Explanation of his Meaning, he told the Lord Treasurer he knew the Nature of Courts full well, he had been in many; that whoever is distinguished by a Prince's Favours is certainly expected to vote in his Interest. The Lord *Danby* told him, his Majesty had only a just Sense of his Merits, in Regard to which alone he desired to know whether there was any Place at Court he could be pleased with. These Offers had no Effect on him, tho urged with the greatest Earnestness. He told the Lord Treasurer he could not accept them with Honour, for he must be either ingrateful to the King in voting against him, or false to his Country in giving into the Measures of the Court; therefore the only Favour he beged of his Majesty was, that he would esteem him as dutyful a Subject as any he had, and more in his proper Interest in refusing his Offers, than if he had embraced them. The Lord *Danby*, finding no Arguments could prevail, told him the King his Master had ordered a thousand Pounds for him, which he hoped he would receive, till he could think what farther to ask of his Majesty. This last Offer was rejected with the same Stedfastness of Mind, as was the first; tho, as soon as the Lord Treasurer was gone, he was forced to send to a Friend to borrow a Guinea.'

cheating : perhaps a reference to the affair of Viner's stepdaughter; cf. *Miscellaneous Letters* 21, note.

l. 19. *Atheist* : Lauderdale, originally a Covenanter, turned his coat at the Restoration. In 1663 he declared himself ready to take a cart-load of oaths and to turn Turk to keep his place (*D.N.B.*)

l. 20. See *Further Advice*, ll. 38–46, notes.

l. 21. *Kate* : the Queen, Catharine of Braganza.

l. 24. *Masters Progeny* : cf. ll. 3–4. I adopt the correction from B 1 (*Masters* for *martyrs*) with hesitation. *Martyrs* : cf. *Dialogue between the Two Horses* l. 48 and *Oceana and Britannia*, l. 29.

l. 25. Louise de Quéroualle was then in power.

ll. 27–8. Exod. viii. 3 and Ps. cv. 30 : ' Their land brought forth frogs : yea, even in their king's chambers.'

l. 32. *Leviathans.* Charles II had been Hobbes's pupil in Paris in 1646. *Leviathan* was first published 1651. There was a recognized antipathy between the systems of Hobbes and of Harrington.

ll. 39–41. The first four Jameses all died violent deaths, James I and James III at the hand of rebellious subjects.

l. 42. I can trace no masque, play, poem, or satire to which these lines might allude. But the third folio edition of Spenser's works appeared at the end of 1678 (*Term Catalogues*, 6 Dec. 1678). If that is referred to here, the poem must be dated after Marvell's death, though before Danby's fall in 1679.

l. 44. Cf. *Dialogue between the Two Horses*, l. 149.

l. 48. *Jessean* : (cf. l. 151) 1 Sam. xvi. 23.

l. 51. *his* : Charles II's.

l. 58. *Julian Star* : the comet which appeared at the time of Caesar's assassination.

l. 60. France.

l. 63. *usurpt* : the king of England was still *rex Angliae et Franciae* and quartered the lilies with the leopards.

l. 78. *Rivall* : jealous.

l. 90. *their* : of hireling priests. Cf. Milton, *To Cromwell*, l. 14.

l. 97. *witches* : i.e. Britannia's, ll. 35 ff.

l. 100. *B 1*, *C*, and *M 5* explain *Three spotless virgins* as England, Scotland, and Ireland ; in Harringtonian language they are Oceana, Marpesia, and Panopea.

l. 108. James Duke of York.

l. 115. Here, as in ll. 35–8, Britannia assumes the form of Parliament : note the technical word ' adresses '.

l. 119. *spinster* : Grosart compares Sidney's *Arcadia* : ' And this effeminate love of a woman doth so womanize a man, that if he yield to it, it will not only make him an Amazon, but a launder, a distaff, a spinner, or whatsoever vile occupation their idle heads can imagine, and their weak hands perform.'

l. 120. *Buffoones* : cf. l. 26. Nell Gwynne was an actress in comedy.

l. 122. *Carwell* : the English rendering of Quéroualle.

ll. 123–4. *Osborne* : see note on l. 18. *Finch* (*Last Instructions*, l. 186, note) became Lord Keeper 9 November 1673, and *Anglesey* Lord Privy Seal 22 April 1673.

l. 125. *Mack James* : i.e. Irish James, cf. *An Historicall Poem*, l. 151, and *Advice to a Painter to draw the Duke.* James's reliance on Irish support was notorious.

the Irish Pagod : or idol. There is good manuscript authority for bracketing these words, reading ' Mack James the Irish Pagod ' as subject of the verb ' adore ' used absolutely. I prefer ' Irish Pagod ' as direct object.

l. 126. *French and Teagues* (Irish) : Schomberg and Fitzgerald ; cf. Marvell's *Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government* : ' Monsieur Schomberg, a French Protestant, had been made general, and Colonel Fitzgerald, an Irish Papist, major general, as more proper for the secret ; the first of advancing the French government, the second of promoting the Irish religion. And therefore the dark hovering of that army so long at Black Heath might not improbably seem the gatherings of a storm to fall upon London ; but the ill

successes which our fleet met withall this year [1673], also at sea, were sufficient, had there been any such design at home, to have quasht it: for such gallantries are not to be attempted, but in the highest raptures of fortune.' This was *on shoar*. *On sea* Rupert had succeeded James as admiral on his refusal to take the test. See Burnet, *Own Time* 352: 'Prince Rupert was sent to command the fleet. But the captains were the duke's creatures; so they crossed him all they could, and complained of every thing he did.' After the engagement of 11 August 1673 Rupert complained of the inertia of the French admirals, to which he attributed the failure of the English and French fleets to crush the Dutch.

l. 127. *scabbado*: the pox.

l. 130. Cf. l. 135; both lines suggest a long prorogation of Parliament.

l. 131. Vindex governor of Gaul started the revolt against Nero which led to his overthrow; cf. the Neronian allusions in l. 171. But as Vindex himself failed and committed suicide, *Vindex* here probably stands for the Avenger in general.

l. 137. To appeal to his affections or his fears? cf. *Last Instructions*, ll. 921–3.

ll. 143–6. Cf. Donne, *The Progresse of the Soul*, with which Marvell makes considerable play in *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, part ii (p. 56). The migrant soul inhabits a wolf, which harasses Abel's flock, and finally engenders offspring on the bitch which guards it; this offspring (l. 443–5):

> Being of two kindes thus made,
> He, as his dam, from sheepe drove wolves away,
> And as his Sire, he made them his owne prey.

l. 147. *oyl*: of consecration as king.

ll. 149–52. 2 Chron. xxvi. 21: 'And Uzziah the king was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a several house, being a leper; for he was cut off from the house of the Lord: and Jotham his son was over the king's house, judging the people of the land.' Cf. Milton, *Defensio* (Bohn I 45, translation 'Uzzias . . . ceased to be a king . . . It seems there are laws against a leprous king, but none against a tyrant'.

l. 155. Cf. the end of *Nostradamus's Prophecy*. *serene*: the official epithet of the Venetian Republic. The writer now declares for the Harringtonian commonwealth, based in *Oceana* upon the 'Prudence of the Ancients' and (principally) upon the institutions of Venice.

l. 161. An allusion to Sir Walter Raleigh's *Instructions to his Sonne*: *and to Posteritie*, of which a new edition appeared in 1656, the year of the publication of *Oceana*.

l. 168. 'No man is esteemed for gay Garments, but by Fools and Women': Raleigh's *Instructions*, ch. viii.

l. 169. *Pembrookes*: see note on the date above. This important reading cannot be doubted; it is found in all the MSS. and in some copies of *State Poems*, 1689. Other copies of the latter print 'P——s', which in one copy in the British Museum (1077. h. 32) an unknown hand has completed as 'Portsmouths'; *State Poems*, 1697, print *Portsmouths*. But Portsmouth and Carwell were the same person.

l. 170. *Barties*: or Berties. Danby married Lady Bridget Bertie; her brother Peregrine comes under the *Flagellum Parliamentarium*; her eldest brother Charles (afterwards Earl of Lindsay) was one of Danby's correspondents (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, XIV. ix).

l. 171. *Poppea*: at first mistress and afterwards wife of Nero.

Tegeline: Tigellinus, the notorious commander of Nero's Praetorian Guard. *H* reads 'Messaline'.

Acte: one of Nero's mistresses. *H* reads 'Cleopatra's'.

l. 173. *Talbots*: the Earls of Shrewsbury.

Veres: Sir Francis and Sir Horace Vere, distinguished in Elizabeth's wars in the Low Countries.

l. 174. *Candish*: Thomas Cavendish, who circumnavigated the globe.

l. 177. *their*: i. e. the 'youth' of l. 161.

l. 179. *Tarquin's just judge*: Lucius Junius Brutus.

Cesar's Equall Peers: Brutus and Cassius. Cf. *Tom May's Death*, ll. 17–18. These references to antiquity are quite in the Harringtonian manner.

l. 181. *Publicola*: Publius Valerius, Consul in the first year of the Republic, who earned the cognomen Publicola by his respect for the people. Harrington names him with Moses, Theseus, Solon, Lycurgus, and Brutus in support of his generalization that 'if any man has founded a commonwealth, he was first a gentleman' (*Oceana*); and the title of one of Harrington's pamphlets is *Valerius and Publicola: Or, The true Form of a Popular Commonwealth Extracted E puris Naturalibus* (1659).

l. 183. *her*: refers of course to *England* in the next line. But the annotator of the British Museum copy of *State Poems*, 1689, apparently took it to mean Publicola, whom he supposed to be a lady and glossed 'Princess of Orange —a person very prominent in 1689, but bearing a title which between 1660 and 1677 did not exist.

l. 185. Hercules.

ll. 187–90. It is difficult to ascribe these extravagant hopes to Marvell, whose prose pamphlets of this period are sensible, moderate, and witty. None of these qualities adorn *Britannia and Rawleigh.*

The Statue at Charing Cross. (Page 189.)

TEXT. First printed in *State Poems* 1698; reissued in *State Poems* 1704. MS. copies are in *B 1*, *M 3* (which is here very poor), *M 16*, *H*; and Thompson printed from a manuscript. I follow the excellent text of *B 1*, supplying my own punctuation.

AUTHENTICITY. Ascribed to Marvell in *State Poems* 1698 but, oddly, not in the edition of 1704; it was therefore omitted by Cooke. Thompson seems to assert more definitely here than elsewhere that he prints from Marvell's autograph; but see General Note on the Text (p. 213).

It appears to be certain that this satire, *The Statue in Stocks-Market*, and *The Dialogue between the Two Horses* are by one author whom I believe to be Marvell, but definite proof is lacking.

DATE. Probably July 1675: see *Miscellaneous Letters*, 22, 23.

NOTES. *Title.* The title of *B 1* is 'Upon the Statue of Brass of King Charles the first on Horsback to be set up at Charing Cross'; I have adopted Thompson's as more concise.

The bronze equestrian statue of Charles I, which still stands in Charing Cross, was cast by Le Sueur in 1633, but the Civil War broke out before its erection. Parliament sold it to a brazier named Rivet, from whom after the king's execution devoted royalists bought bronze-handled knives and forks which they believed to be cast from this bronze. Rivet, however, had kept the statue intact, and produced it when Charles II was safely established on the throne. Danby bought it, and in 1675 was erecting it at his own expense.

James Ralph (*A Critical Review of the Publick Buildings*, &c.

[of London] 1734; cf. *The Statue in Stocks-Market*, note on l. 3) observed that 'The statue at Charing-Cross has the advantage of being well plac'd; the pedestal is finely elevated, and the horse full of fire and spirit; but the man is ill design'd, and as tamely executed; there is nothing of expression in the face, nor character in the figure, and tho' it may be vulgarly admir'd, it ought to be generally condemn'd.'

l. 3. *Wheeler*: *B* 1 annotates 'Sr Charles', i. e. Sir Charles Wheler, M.P. for Cambridge University, formerly Governor of St. Kitt's, described in *The Chequer Inn* as sitting next to Lady Danby, and in *Flagellum Parliamentarium* as 'a Privy Chamber man'.

l. 4. *Punchinello . . . restor'd.* The Overseers' Books of St. Martin's-in-the-fields records a receipt on 29 March 1666: 'of Punchinello, the Italian popet-player, for his booth at Chareing Cross £2–12–6'. This would be a pitch licensed for puppet-plays; but in 1675 the Italian *commedia dell' arte*, in which Punchinello and Scaramuccio are important characters, was being performed by living actors at Whitehall; hence the next stanza. See *Miscellaneous Letters* 23 and notes.

l. 8. *Mimick*: comic actor.

ll. 9, 10. See *Laing MSS.* i. 405 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*), a news-letter written to Scotland 26 June 1675 reporting that 'My Lord Rochester in a frolick after a rant did yesterday beat doune the dyill which stood in the middle of the Privie [Gard]ing, which was esteemed the rarest in Europ'.

ll. 13, 14. The King sailed from Gravesend to Portsmouth and back in very bad weather; he was back in London on Sunday evening 4 July 1675. See *Miscellaneous Letters* 22.

ll. 15, 16. In the Session of Parliament ending 9 June 1675 the Bishops had supported Danby (the Treasurer) in promoting the bill for a Non-resistance test. They were actually also still engaged in pastoral visitations of which one practical object was the repair of church property, fencing of churchyards &c., where these things had suffered during the Commonwealth; and cf. *Corporation Letters* 171, 'A Bill for repaire of Churches'. 'The pale of the Church' was of course a known phrase.

l. 17. *Dialogue between the Two Horses*, l. 74 note.

l. 19. *a doe*: i. e. ado.

l. 20. *one*: Viner's statue in Stocks-Market.

l. 22. The closing of the Exchequer in January 1672 had caused heavy losses to private persons; cf. *Hatton Correspondence*, i. 74 (13 January 167½): 'The account of the Treasury and the banquiers you will best understand by the King's declaration. Sir Steph. Fox is dipt 70,000 li deepe in that concerne . . . I am sorry my Lady Thannet is so much concerned; and I heare my Lady Anne's pention was in the banquiers hands.' There were subsequent stoppages: see the fourth article of Danby's impeachment (27 April 1675): 'That the said Earl hath violated the rights and properties of the people, by stopping, without authority, their legal payments in the Exchequer' (Grey's *Debates*). In the debate of 3 May 1675, Sir Thomas Littleton said that 'at *Christmas* last this stopping of the Exchequer was made by Proclamation for a time. And then a second proclamation was made by order of the Council, and then a third, *sine die*, parallel to the second. They only differ that the second stop was done upon the Treasurer's own head, though, possibly, he might have some pocket-order for it.'

On 8 July 1675 Henry Savile wrote to his brother: 'There is no formal stopping of the Exchequer, but all the officers are gone out of town, so that there is not a farthing to be had.'

l. 24. *fourty and eight*: the execution of Charles I was on 30 January 1648 [o. s.]

l. 28. Perhaps at this date the half-crown was the only coin of Charles I still circulating extensively which represented him on horseback; there had been several, including the crown.

l. 29. The term 'Brothers-in-law' was sometimes applied (humorously according to *O.E.D.*) to the fathers of a young husband and wife; cf. *Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 720. The allusion is to the affair of Viner's stepdaughter and Danby's son, who were not actually married till 1682; see note on *Miscellaneous Letters* 21, and cf. *Two Horses*, l. 38.

l. 31. See *The Statue in Stocks-Market*, l. 17.

l. 35. Actually between June 1673, when Danby became Treasurer, and July 1675 there were three prorogations, 4 November 1673 (after an eight-days' session), 24 February 1674, and 9 June 1675.

l. 37. It was an old statue (see note *ad init.*), but newly erected. It might also be called the new statue of the old king.

l. 39. *Copper*: as an ingredient of brass. *Gold*: cf. *Britannia and Rawleigh*, l. 18.

l. 40. *Guinny*: guinea-gold (22-carat gold).

Token: i. e. copper, of which the tokens were made which were in common circulation at this time; there was an attempt to supersede them by an authorized copper coinage in 1672.

The meaning of this clumsy line (which Thompson and the editor of *State Poems* tried to emend) is 'Shall "golden Osborne" grudge a copper [statue of his] Prince?'

ll. 41–2. *Treasuress*: formerly Lady Bridget Bertie (see note on *Britannia and Rawleigh*, l. 170) She 'was reported to encourage' Danby 'in his love of money, and soon drove, with "his participation and concurrence", a private trade in offices' (*D.N.B.*) I cannot identify the supper; but cf. *A Dialogue between the two Horses*, l. 86, and *The Chequer Inn* quoted below.

l. 45. 'Bartu' is the spelling of MSS. here and in *Britannia and Rawleigh*, l. 170.

l. 46. *buy*: from Rivet the brazier; *sell*: cf. *The Statue at Stocks-Market*, l. 24.

l. 48. A 'Huswifely' sentiment.

The following parody of Suckling's *Ballad of a Wedding* dates from 1675 and describes the 'supper' of l. 42 above. It was printed in *State Poems* 1704; Thompson printed from a manuscript and ascribed it to Marvell; Grosart included it among the 'unauthenticated' poems, and there is no need to go back on his decision. I print from *M* 3.

A Ballad call'd the Chequer Inn.

I

I'll tell thee Dick where I have beene
Where I the Parli'ment have seene
  The Choyce of Ale and Beere
But such a Choyce as ne're was found
In any Age on English ground
  In Burrough or in Shire.

1 thee] the *M* 3.

2

At Chareing Crosse hard by the way
Where all the Berties make their Hay
  There stands a House new Painted
Where I cou'd see 'em Crowding in
But sure they often there had beene
  They seem'd so well acquainted

3

The Host, that dwells in that same House
Is now a Man that was a Mouse
  Till he was Burgesse chosen
And for his Countrey first began
But quickly turn'd Catt i'th' Pan
  The way they all have rosen.

4

And ever since he did so wex
That now he Money tells by Pecks
  And heapes up all our Treasure
Thou'lt ken him out by a white Wand
He dandles always in his Hand
  With which he strikes the Measure.

5

And tho' he now do looke so bigg
And beare himself on such a Twigg
  'Twill faile him in a yeare
Then oh how cou'd I claw him off
For all his slender Quarter Staffe
  And have him here and there :

6

He is as stiff as any Stake
And leaner Dick then any Rake
  Envy is not so pale ;
And tho' by selling of Us all
Has wrought himself into Whitehall
  And looks like Bird of Goale

7

And where he might e're now have laid
Had not the Members most been made
  For some had been Indicted
For whosoe're that Peach him durst
To cleare him wou'd have been the first
  Had they too beene requitted

8

But he had Men enough to spare
Besides a good Freind in the Chair
  Tho' all Men blusht that heard it
Therefore I needs must speake my Mind
They all deserv'd to have been fin'd
  For such a shamefull Verdict.

47 fin'd *T*: kind *M 3, 1704.*

9

And now they march't all Tagg and Ragg
Each of his Handyworke to bragg
  Over a Gallant Supper
On backside of their Letter some
For surenesse Cited were to come
  The rest were bid by Cooper.

10

They stood (when enter'd in the Hall)
Mannerly rear'd against the Wall
  Till to sit downe were desir'd
And simper'd (justly to compare)
Like Maidens at a Statute Fair,
  None went away unhir'd.

11

The Lady drest like any Bride
Her Forehead Cloath had laid aside
  And smileing through did Saile
Tho they had dirted so the Roome
That she was forc't to call for Groome
  To carry up her Taile.

12

Wheeler at Board, then next her set,
And if it had beene nearer yet
  She might it well afford
For ev'n at Bed the time has beene
When noe one could see Sun betweene
  His Lady and her Lord

13

This Knight was sent t'America
And was as soone sent for away
  Tho' not for his good Deeds :
But was it seems with that intent
To Plant with Us his Government
  From thence he brought his Seeds.

14

And next him sate George Mountague
The Foreman of the Brittish Crew
  (His Cup he never failes)
Mansell and Morgan and the rest
All of 'em of the Grand Inquest
  A Jury right of Wales.

15

Wild with his Tongue did all outrun
And popping like an Elder Gun
  Both words and meate did utter
The Pelletts which his Choppes did dart
Did feed his Neighbour over-thwart
  That gap'd to heare him sputter

16

But King (God save him) tho' so cram'd
The Cheere into his Breeches ram'd
  Which Buttry were and Larder
And of more Provant to dispose
Had sowd on too his double Hose
  For tymes thou know'st grew harder.

17

Holt out of Linnen (as for Land)
Had Mortgag'd of his Two, one Band
  To have the other wash't
And tho' his Sweate the while he eate
With his owne Gravy fill'd his Plate
  That Band with Sawce too dasht.

18

His Braine and Face Tredenham wrung
For words not to be said but sung
  His Neck it turn'd on Wyer
And Berkenhead of all the Rout
There was but one cou'd be chose out
  That was a greater Lyar.

19

Old Hobbs's Brother, Cheney there
Throgmorton, Nevill, Doleman were
  And Lawley Knight of Shropshire
Nay Portman tho' all men cry'd shame
And Cholmley of Vale Royall came
  For something more then Chop Cheere.

20

The Westerne Glory, Harry Ford
The Landlord Bailes, out eate, out roar'd
  And did his Trencher lick
What pitty 'tis a Witt so greate
Should live to sell himself for Meate
  But who can helpe it Dick.

21

Yet wot'st thou he was none of those
But wou'd as well as Meate have Cloaths
  Before he'd sell the Nation,
And wisely lodging at next Doore
Was oftner serv'd then the Poor
  With his whole Generation

22

Sir Courtney Poole and he contend
Which shoud the other most commend
  For what that Day they spoke
The Man that gave a woefull Tax
And sweeping all our Chimney Stacks
  Excise Us for our Smoake.

109 Hobbs's] Hoby's (i.e. Peregrine Hoby's) *SP*.

23

The Hanmers, Herberts, Sandys, Musgraves
Fathers and Sons like Coupl'd Slaves
They were not to be sunder'd
The tale of all that there did sup
On Chequer Tally was scor'd up
And made above a Hundred.

24

Our greatest Barne cou'd not have held
The Belly Timber that they fell'd
But Messe was Rickt on Messe
Twas such a Feast that I'm afraid
The Reck'ning never will be paid
Without another Sesse.

25

They talkt about and made such Din
That scarce the Lady cou'd edge in
The Papist and the Frenches
On them she was allowed to raile
But (and thereby doth hange a Tale)
Not one word of the Wenches.

26

The Host that sate at Lower end
The Healths in Order did up send
Nor of his owne took care
But downe the Visick Bottle threw
And tooke his Wine when it was due
In spight of Pothecare.

27

They drunke, I know not who had most
Till King both Hostesse kist and Host
And clap't 'em on the Back
And prithee why so pale ? then swore
Shou'd they Indite him o're and o're
He'd bring him off l' fack.

28

They all said I who had said noe
And now (who wou'd) twas tyme to goe
For Grace they did not stay
And for to save the Serving Men,
The paines of comeing in agen
The Guests tooke all away

29

Candlesticks, Forkes, Saltes Plates Spoones Knives
Like Sweat Meates, for their Girles and Wives
And Table Linnen went
I saw no more but hither ran
Lest some shou'd take me for the Man
And I for them be shent.

The Answer.

Curse on such Representatives
They sell us all our Barnes and Wives
  Quoth Dick with Indignation
They are but Engines to raise Tax
And the whole business of their Acts
  Is to undoe the Nation

Just like our Rotten Pump at home
Wee poure in Water when it won't come
  And that way get more out
Soe when mine Host doth Money lack
He Money gives amongst this Pack
  And then it runs full spout

By wise Volke, I have oft been told
Parli'ments grow nought as they grow old
  Wee groan'd under the Rump
But sure this is a heavier Curse
That suck and draine thus ev'ry Purse
  By this old Whitehall Pump.

A Dialogue between the Two Horses. (Page 191.)

TEXT. Printed in *State Poems* 1689 (Part ii), 1697, and later issues. The nine manuscript copies I have collated, viz. *B1*, *B 3*, *C*, *M 2*, *M 3*, *M 13*, *M 16*, *H* and *m*, form a group in the matter of text which is markedly better than the group of the printed versions. Here, as elsewhere, B 1 reads like a careless transcript of a good authority, giving evidence in only one or two places of defects in its original. I base my text on B 1, recording variants and supplying the punctuation.

1697 prints eighteen lines (see notes on ll. 42, 74, and 96) which appear in no other version and may be rejected. It may be noted that the eight lines following l. 74 strike an incongruous note, besides interrupting the sense and upsetting the balance of dialogue.

AUTHENTICITY. Ascribed to Marvell in all issues of *State Poems* but in none of the manuscripts. It is probably Marvell's; but the question depends in a degree upon the authenticity of *The Statue in Stocks-Market* and *The Statue at Charing Cross*, q. v.

DATE. Wood (*Life and Times*, ed. Clark, ii. 330) records the appearance at the end of November 1675 of a 'Dialogue between the horse with king Charles II on the back of it in Stocks Market and that at Charing Cross with Charles I on it: therein the Charles II is much lashed',—clearly this satire. The statue in Stocks Market attracted other lampoons; Wood continues 'One morn betimes was a pillion fastened on that horse['s] back behind King Charles II, with this written on the hors:

"Hast, post-hast, for a midwife".'

He probably refers to a lampoon suggesting that the King was going to live in France with the Duchess of Portsmouth (*S.P. Dom.*, 6 and 8 Dec. 1675).

The last eight lines of the *Dialogue*, however, may be assigned with certainty to the ten days between 29 December 1675, when a Royal Proclamation was issued for the suppression of Coffee-Houses from 10 January following, and 8 January 167$\frac{5}{6}$, when an Additional

175–92 *om. T.* 175 Representatives *1704*: Representation *M 3*.

Proclamation sanctioned their continuance subject to an undertaking by the licensee to allow no anti-Government propaganda (see the *London Gazette* for the text of both proclamations and the form of recognizance). This passage may be presumed to have been added as an afterthought, which explains its absence from *B 3* and *M 3*.

NOTES. *Title.* The MS. titles are various; *B 1* has none. 'A Dialogue between the Two Horses, Woolchurch and Charing', (*M 2*), is found with variations in most of the other MSS. The heading of *m* is the following:

'A Dialogue between the two horses on which stands the Lait Kings and this Kings Effigies the one in Brass the other in Marble, that of Marble the new Kings and stands at Woolchurch. set up by Sir Robert Vinner. the other of Brass the Lait Kings and stands at Charing Cross set up by Sir Thomas Osbourn, Supposeing the two riders in a dark night on their severall occasions to bee absent The while the two horses make a visset to each other and discourse and dispute with each other as followeth.'

The lady* who compiled *m* has probably misunderstood l. 113.

Cf. Rochester, *History of Insipids*, stanzas 18, 19 (*State Poems*, 1697).

l. 3. Cf. Lyly, *Midas*, I. ii. 44–5:

Licio. . . . euerie hour she wil crie ' walk knaue, walke '.
Pet. Then will I mutter, ' a rope for Parrat, a rope.'

R. W. Bond annotates ' phrases taught to parrots '; and *Hudibras*, i, ll. 549–552:

Could tell what subtlest parrots mean,
That speak and think contrary clean;
What member 'tis of whom they talk,
When they cry Rope, and Walk, Knave, walk.

See also *Comedy of Errors*, IV. iv.

Walk Knaues, Walk was the title of a burlesque sermon by Edmund Gayton, published 1659. Perhaps the phrase was commonly addressed to a person being whipped at the cart-tail. Sir Charles Firth suggests an allusion to rope-making.

l. 8. Bos locutus est often enough in Livy, but this improvement on the usual story I cannot trace.

l. 22. *effigie* probably still a Latin word (see *O.E.D.*); here it still bears the Latin stress-accent, so rhyming with *oblige* [obleege] *ye*.

ll. 36–7. See note on *The Statue at Charing-Cross*, l. 22. Viner was Lord Mayor 1674–5.

l. 38. *brother*: see note on *The Statue at Charing Cross*, l. 29 and on *Miscellaneous Letters* 20. Viner cheated Danby over the marriage of Miss Hide and Dunblane.

l. 41. The Duchess of Portsmouth.

l. 42. Cf. *Britannia and Rawleigh*, l. 123; In 1697 here follow two lines (which may be noticed to upset the balance of the two horses' speeches).

The Mony of Widows and Orphans imploy'd,
And the Bankers quite broke to maintain the Whores Pride.

l. 53. *white staffe*: borne by Danby as Lord High Treasurer.

l. 56. The usual signs that plague was within.

l. 57. Cf. Grey's *Debates*, 24 April 1675: Mr. Sacheverell said

* The song ' I am a senseless thing ' occurs twice in *m*. On p. 184 she heads it ' A Song it is wrot before but this is w^th^ addittion pray censure not tho writt w^th^ a womans hand, w^ch^ Modesty will not alow, I doe it only to shew the illness and wickedness of the Court and times w^ch^ pray God mend '.

'The excise and customs are to the King worth 1,300,000 *l.* and cost the people 1,500,000 *l. per ann.* together with the first fruits and chimney money', and 3 May 1675, 'the standing revenue, which is 1,500,000 *l. per ann.*'

l. 61. Cf. *Upon Appleton House*, l. 323, 'four seas', where *four* is a disyllable as here, and *Nymph and Faun*, l. 70.

l. 62. cf. *The Statue at Charing Cross*, l. 40, note. The farthings of Charles II bore the legend *Quatuor maria vindico*.

l. 63–4. See parliamentary debates on the Navy in the Autumn session of 1675. In case of war a repetition of the disgrace of 1667 is hinted.

l. 65. England was at war with Tripoli from April 1675 to the beginning of 1676. In January 1676 Sir John Narbrough sent ships' boats into Tripoli harbour and burnt the enemy fleet.

l. 66. I have not traced this incident.

l. 67. Horse and Foot Guards both date from the reign of Charles II. By 1675 there were three troops of Horse Guards, His Majesty's, the Queen's, and the Duke of York's, and two regiments of foot, the Grenadier and Coldstream Guards.

ll. 71–2. Thomas Stanley picked up the crown on Bosworth Field and put it on Henry Tudor's head; but it was his younger brother William who turned the scale in Henry's favour at Bosworth and was afterwards executed for complicity in Perkin Warbeck's rebellion. Grosart sees an allusion to Argyll, who crowned Charles II at Scone, 1 January 1651, and was beheaded at Edinburgh 27 May 1661.

l. 74. Danby's bribery was notorious, but the buying over of opponents did not begin with him: cf. the 'five recanters' of *Further Advice to a Painter*. Here 1697 inserts the following passage (see note on the text and observe that they also interrupt the connexion of thought between ll. 73–4 and ll. 75–6. A peerage is one of the forms taken by the 'good preferment' with which bold members are bribed):

> To see them that suffer both for Father and Son,
> And helped to bring the latter to his Throne:
> That with their Lives and Estates did loyally serve,
> And yet for all this, can nothing deserve;
> The King looks not on 'em, Preferments deni'd 'em,
> The *Round-heads* insult, and the *Courtiers* deride them.
> And none gets Preferments, but who will betray
> Their Country to Ruin, 'tis that ope's the way
> Of [the bold talking Members.
> *W.* If the Bastards you add],—

ll. 75–6. See *Britannia and Rawleigh*, l. 4, note.

l. 83. *Publicans*: farmers of the excise: see *Further Advice*, l. 55, note.

l. 85. *Yet baser*: see foot-note. The manuscript authority is divided between *Then* (y^n) and *Yet* (y^t). I have substituted *baser* for *base are*, as the best sense after *yet* (which has the authority of *B* 1), while admitting *then base are* (which has the authority of *State Poems* 1689 and several manuscripts) to be good sense.

l. 86. See note on *The Statue at Charing Cross*, l. 42.

l. 88. *Exciseing*: see *Last Instructions*, ll. 130–306 and notes. *Taxing our Smoak*: the Hearth Tax or Chimney Money; see *Last Instructions*, l. 193, note.

l. 90. Parliament was prorogued 16 November 1675 and did not meet again for fifteen months.

ll. 91–2. English plenipotentiaries had been appointed to assist

(probably in the French interest) at the negotiations for a peace between Holland and France which would in effect release the French for a possible attack on England. The plenipotentiaries were Sir Leoline Jenkins, who left England 20 December 1675, and John Lord Berkeley (or Barclay) (l. 94); 'Jenkins lacked resource and independence of mind, was a great sticker for forms, and, according to Temple, was in an agony when left alone at Nymwegen' (*D.N.B.*). Berkeley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1670 ('a man unthought of': 'Marvell, *Miscellaneous Letters* 10), sailed 14 November 1675, accompanied by Evelyn's son, and leaving his affairs in Evelyn's hands; he went first to Paris, and only reached Nymwegen twelve months later. Clarendon gives an unfavourable estimate of his brains.

l. 95. Hortensia Mancini, Duchesse de Mazarin, came to England at the end of November and first appeared at Court 8 December 1675 (*Miscellaneous Letters* 24). The following months were to witness her struggle with the Duchess of Portsmouth for ascendancy, which 'Carwell' succeeded in retaining. After l. 96 1697 inserts the following:

Ch. The Misses take place, and advanc'd to be Dutchess,
With Pomp great as Queens in their Coach and six Horses:
Their Bastards made Dukes, Earls, Viscounts and Lords,
And all the High Titles that Honour affords.
W. While these Brats and their Mothers, do live in such Plenty
The Nation's empoverisht, and the Chequor quite empty:
And tho' War was pretended when the Mony was lent,
More on Whores, than in Ships, or in War, hath been spent.

The interpolator's rhymes are not very happy.

l. 97. *have reason*: are right; a fashionable Gallicism.

l. 104. Numbers xxii. 29.

l. 110. *Scrivener*: Sir Richard Clayton. See *The Statue in Stocks-Market*, l. 38, note.

l. 144. Cf. *Nostradamus's Prophecy*, ll. 33–4.

l. 146. *Father Patrick*: see *Advice to a Painter to draw the Duke*, l. 10.

ll. 149–50. Cf. *Britannia and Rawleigh, Miscellaneous Letters* 21 (end); Grey's *Debates*, 24 April 1675 (Sir Charles Harbord: 'In the year 1601 the *French* had but three snips of war; they were afraid of Queen *Bess*, and durst build no more'), and a popular play of 1680, *The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth, with the Restauration of the Protestant Religion: or, The Downfall of the Pope*. Protestant and nationalist sentiment at this time seems to have venerated Elizabeth's reign as its golden age.

l. 152. Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State, and Editor of *The London Gazette* from 1666.

l. 154. *predecessor*: Arlington, who resigned his secretaryship to Williamson 11 September 1674.

l. 155. *one Secretary*: Henry Coventry (*Last Instructions*, l. 225, note) was Secretary of State till 1679, but was 'never to rise'.

l. 169. See reference to this line on p. 207.

l. 172. Perhaps a reference to the sacred breach or cleft (στόμιον) at Delphi: see Strabo ix. c. 419.

l. 176. See introductory note (p. 318) on the proclamation to suppress the Coffee-Houses.

l. 182. This is what the city groans.

l. 186. *Dam 'um and sink 'um*: a common seventeenth-century oath. See *O.E.D.* under *sink*.

Scaevola Scoto-Brittannus. (Page 196.)

TEXT. First printed by Thompson from the Popple MS. book. My text is from the copy in *M 16*, with one variant. Thompson omits ll. 23–4 and 33–6.

AUTHENTICITY. Ascribed to Marvell by Thompson and *M 16*. A false quantity in l. 25 is the only contrary evidence.

DATE. See note on the title.

NOTES. *Title.* The subject is the torture of the 'boot' (cf. *Old Mortality*), inflicted on James Mitchell or Michell 24 Jan. 167$\frac{4}{5}$, before execution (18 Jan. 167$\frac{7}{8}$) for his attempt on the life of Archbishop Sharp in 1668 (see Burnet, *History of his own Time*, 413–17). Mitchell is compared with C. Mucius Scaevola, who lost his right hand after an attempt to kill Lars Porsena (Livy, ii. 12), and thus acquired the name *Scaevola*, 'left-handed'. Porsena had threatened to burn him unless he revealed the details of the plot; Scaevola in answer thrust his right hand into the flame, and was released. He told Porsena that there were three hundred Roman youths who had sworn to kill him (see l. 32).

l. 1. *Sharpius*: James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, once a presbyterian minister, but now one of the most intolerant of the Scottish episcopal party; he was killed on Magus Muir in 1679.

l. 5. *Praesule*: Andrew Honeyman, Bishop of Orkney, wounded in the hand 11 July 1668 by the shot from Michell's pistol intended for Sharp.

l. 7. *Jacobos*: James Sharp and James Michell.

l. 15. *Cothurnum*: the 'boot'.

l. 24. *Lanium*: executioner.

l. 25. *fĕriatur*: keeps holiday.

ll. 33–6. These lines (omitted by Thompson) seem to form a separate epigram.

l. 33. *glande*: bullet.

l. 36. *Furciferum*: gallows-rogue.

Advice to a Painter to Draw the Duke by. (Page 197.)

TEXT. First printed (*Advice to a Painter, &c.*) in two leaves folio, no date or imprint, in 1679 (see note on authenticity); numerous copies survive. It was reprinted in *State Poems*, 1689, 1697, &c. I have consulted manuscript copies *M 1*, *M 3*, *M 4* (a copy of the printed edition of 1689), *M 6* (ll. 1–40 only), *M 7*, *M 8* (which omits the lines *To the King*), *M 13*, *B 1*, *B 2*, *B 3*, *B 4*, *C*, *H*, *m*, and *R*. *R* is a copy preserved in the Public Record Office, with a covering letter written from Whitehall, 1 September 1673, by Henry Ball to Sir Joseph Williamson, plenipotentiary at Cologne, which refers to friction between the English and French navies; 'this does indeed so inflame the people that every apple-woman makes it a proverbe, Will you fight like the French? and the inclosed Advice to a Painter, ingeniously writt and cryed up extreamly when but touching gently upon that string, and bought up so fast that I could not get two of them. The copies of which Ball could not get two were probably in manuscript. His enclosure is written in another hand, and contains some obvious errors (see foot-notes). I have followed *R* with certain variations (see foot-notes), for which other MSS. provide authority, supplying punctuation based on the printed version of 1697 but considerably lightened.

AUTHENTICITY. The first issue is anonymous, although Marvell was dead and there could be no risk in printing his name. It is ascribed to Marvell in *State Poems*, 1689 (followed by MS. *M 4*) and in subsequent issues; in *m* the poem is entitled *The Effigies of the Duke | Directions to a Paynter by Mr Andrew Marvell the Auother of the Poem of the Dutch warrs This is the third and Last Part of the advices to the Paynter by the said Author*. No other manuscript known to me attributes the satire to Marvell and it is *prima facie* unlikely to be his both on the ground of style (in its lack of characteristic wit) and of the writer's outlook—it is directed not against the Court, or the Court party in Parliament, but against the Duke of York personally.

The copy in *M 3* is ascribed in another hand to 'H. Savile', i.e., Henry Savile, recently made Groom of the Bedchamber to the King, who had had violent quarrels with the Duke, which were to be repeated. Evidence which may be taken as conclusive is to be found in letters exchanged by Savile and his brother Halifax in July 1679 (*Savile Correspondence*, 107).

Halifax to Savile, July 7/17, 1679: 'Here is lately come out in print, amongst other libels, an "Advice to a Painter", which was written some years since and went about, but now by the liberty of the press is made publick which for many reasons I am sorry for.'

Savile replies to Halifax's letter point by point five days later 'Paris July 22. '79: . . . As for your concern for a certain printed paper, the greatest grief I have is that it is very falsely printed, for as to all other considerations such old stuff is so long forgott that I do not think it will have any effect to the prejudice of those you are concerned for.' This letter concludes (and Halifax replies 28 July/7 August 1679) with a bantering reference to 'Father Patrick's' presence in Paris (see l. 10 below).

DATE. August 1673 (see note on the Text above).

NOTES. *Title*. 'Advice to a painter to draw the Duke by' is the heading in R; most of the manuscripts use a variant of this, or simply *Advice to a/the Painter*; for *m* see above (note on Authenticity).

l. 1. The second Dutch war began in March 1672, and in the summer of 1673 an army was assembled on Blackheath, ostensibly for the invasion of Holland when de Ruyter should be driven off the seas; de Ruyter, however, held his own, and the muster served only to inspire the suspicion that it aimed at the subjection of London to 'Popery and arbitrary government'. Fears of a Popish Plot were already rife, though their full fruition was delayed for another five years; whispers of the inner significance of the Treaty of Dover may have been abroad. The unpopular alliance with France to prosecute the unpopular war with Holland, the ascendancy of Louise de Kérouallé at Whitehall and the King's Declaration of Indulgence were matters of fact; the Test Act had discovered to every one that the heir presumptive was a Roman Catholic, and he was now about to marry an Italian princess. Meanwhile in Scotland Lauderdale was attempting to crush dissent, his army lay ready to be used at need against England for the King, and in Ireland the Roman Catholics had been active to make good the losses suffered under Cromwell. See the letter from Henry Ball to Sir Joseph Williamson at Cologne, 6 June 1673 (*Letters to Sir Joseph Williamson*, Camden Society): 'My Lord Duke of Buckingham is returned from Yorkshire, where he has been making new recruites to his regiment, and it 's said that, so jealous were the comanalty of Popery, that not

a man scarse would come into his Grace 'till he had gone and publiquely with his officers tooke the Sacrament at Yorke. The whole towne do nothing but pretend to jealosyes of the growth of Popery, and have the strangest reports from divers parts of Wales of their numerous meetings and nightly trainings, and furnishing themselves with arms, etc. and so superstitious some are to their own opinions that this touchstone of the oaths is not enough to roote them out of command, because many of those that were formerly counted Roman Catholiques have now swallowed the oaths, as Collonel Panton and Collonel Fitzgerald, who is to command under the Prince this expedition.'

l. 10. *Father Patrick*: a Roman Catholic priest, named in the House of Commons 15 March 1673, with Lord Arundell of Wardour and Colonel Richard Talbot, as particularly active on behalf of Roman Catholics in Ireland, and unfit to be near the King (see Grey's *Debates* and *Essex Papers*, I). He was ordered to leave England, and was gone by 3 October 1673 (*Letters to Sir Joseph Williamson*, Camden Society), but had returned before August 1674 (*Essex Papers*, I), he was abroad in 1679 (see *Savile Correspondence*, quoted above). Evelyn met him at Clifford's and wrote to him on 27 September 1671; and it was through the upsetting of the closed coach in which he was driving with Clifford from Somerset House on 17 May 1673 that Clifford's recusancy became known. See also Arber's *Term Catalogues*, i 164 (of 9 February 1674): *A Famous Conference between Pope Clement the X and Cardinal De Monte Albo concerning the late discovery of the Mass in Holy Scripture. Made by the worthy Father Patrick, an excellent Engineer of the Church of Rome in England. In Quarto. Printed for Moses Pitt at the Angel in St. Paul's Churchyard*: and *The Dispute, by the Earl of R——r, 1673* in *A Third Collection of . . . Poems &c. against Popery* (1689).

Darby: not identified. The young Earl of Derby was abroad with his tutor.

Teage: cf. *Britannia and Rawleigh*, l. 126, note. Any Irishman, possibly Talbot.

l. 18. *Fitzgerard*: (Fitzgerald, l. 87; both spellings were current). See note on l. 1 *ad fin.*, and Pepys, 24 September 1662 and 29 April 1663. He had been deputy-governor of Tangier and had commanded an Irish regiment there.

Scott: has been identified with John Scott the adventurer (see *D.N.B.*). Another John Scott, son of Thomas Scott the regicide, was at this time selling military secrets to the Dutch. Robert Yard, writing to Williamson 4 July 1673, reports that 'Severall complaints have been made of Coll Scot in Flanders, who, it seems, does the King all the ill service his capacity will give him leave'.

l. 24. *presidents*: precedents (cf. *Further Advice to a Painter*, l. 62).

l. 36. *Mordant*: Henry Mordaunt (1624 (?)–97), second Earl of Peterborough, brother of John Mordaunt (see *Last Instructions*, l. 260 note) the father of the famous third Earl. He became Groom of the Stole to the Duke of York in 1670, and Ambassador Extraordinary, 24 February 1673, to negotiate a marriage between the Duke and the Archduchess Claudia Felicitas of Innsbrück which being abandoned he proceeded in August 1673 to Italy to negotiate the marriage with Mary of Modena. The marriage took place 30 September 1673, Mordaunt standing proxy for the Duke, and reaching Dover with the Duchess 21 November 1673.

l. 38. Mordaunt fought for Parliament till 1643.

l. 40. *golden locks*: but 'Lord Peterborough . . . praised her dark eyes and raven hair' (von Ranke, *Hist. Eng.* iii. 564 (1875).

l. 44. *Churchill*: Arabella (1648–1730), sister of the first Duke of Marlborough, maid-of-honour to the first Duchess of York her brother being page to the Duke. She bore four children to the Duke of York, one the famous Duke of Berwick (1671–1734). She subsequently married a Colonel Godfrey.

l. 53. Mary of Modena, born 5 October 1658, was just fifteen when she reached England; she died 7 May 1718.

l. 56. *Clifford*: see *Last Instructions*, ll. 16–18, note.

l. 59. *Cethegus*: the most outrageous of Catiline's fellow-conspirators.

l. 65. Clement X (1590–1676) became Pope in 1670, being nearly eighty.

l. 66. *Talbott*: Richard Talbot (1630–91), Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York, brother to the titular Archbishop of Dublin, afterwards Earl and titular Duke of Tyrconnel and Viceroy of Ireland; 'a man of commanding stature. . . . In his later days he became corpulent and unwieldy' (l. 67) *D.N.B.* See note on l. 10. He received grants of land in Ireland at the Restoration (l. 67), and was 'agent for the Irish Roman Catholics' (Carte's *Ormond*, appendix 91). See Grey's account of the debate on him 17 March 1673.

l. 73. Talbot had taken part in the confused fighting in Ireland ended by Cromwell's campaign of 1649–50.

l. 75. *Arundell*: Henry, third Lord Arundell of Wardour (1606 (?)–94): see note on l. 10: one of the few who were in the secret of the Treaty of Dover from the beginning, and arrested with Belasyse and three other 'Popish lords' in 1678. *Nuncio* is not technically used.

l. 78. *Autumnall face*: from Donne's *The Autumnall*, l. 2.

Bellasis: John Lord Bellasis or Belasyse (1614–89) uncle of Lord Fauconberg (see p. 119), Governor of Hull, and mentioned several times in the *Corporation Letters*. See note on l. 75.

ll. 79–83. Belasyse had been Governor of Tangier; see Pepys, 23 May 1666 (reporting that Belasyse made £5,000 by Turkey prizes) and elsewhere.

l. 84 *Daughter*: daughter-in-law, widow of Sir Henry Belasyse; see Henry Ball to Sir Joseph Williamson, 25 July 1673 (*Letters to Sir Joseph Williamson*, Camden Society): 'A daughter of the Duke of Modena is to be the person, though the women will not believe but that my Lady Bellasise shall be the person, his Royal Highness, when soever he meets her, entertaining her with a particular esteeme.' Burnet declares that Belasyse (as a Roman Catholic) opposed the match, his daughter-in-law being Protestant.

l. 87. *Jermyne*: Henry Jermyn (cf. *Last Instructions*, l. 102, note); a Roman Catholic, and Master of the Horse to the Duke of York.

Loftus: Dudley Loftus (1619–95), Irish jurist and oriental scholar, the holder of judicial posts in Ireland under Cromwell and Charles II. See *The Essex Papers*, vol. i, p. 101: the Earl of Essex (Viceroy) to Arlington, Dublin, 19 July 1673:

'Dr. Loftus, one of the Masters of Chancerie and Judge of the Prerogative, who hath of late in severall Companys declared That the Rules which I made are illegall, and that the Lieutenant and Councell had no Power to establish them; nay, that the Parliament itself could not give Authoritie to any in this case.' He is mentioned later (12 October 1673, p. 126) as being in custody. See also *Essex Papers*, vol. i, p. 318.

Porter: probably Charles Porter, who was Lord Chancellor of Ireland under James II.

l. 96. Cf. Dryden's reference to 'Guardian Angels of Countries' in *A Discourse on the Original and Progress of Satire.*

l. 100. *wouldst*: a better reading than the common corruption *might'st.* The King prefers mercy to promoting action against his brother.

An Historicall Poem. (Page 201.)

TEXT. First printed in *The Fourth (and Last) Collection of Poems, Satyrs, Songs, &c.* (1689); reprinted in *State Poems* 1697 and thereafter (SP in foot-notes includes the versions of 1689 and 1697). I print from MS. *M 16*, except where I record divergences from it, and supply the punctuation. A copy is also found in *H*, which alone prints *Stewarts* in full in l. 57 (*M 16* has *Stu—*).

AUTHENTICITY. Ascribed to Marvell by 1697, but probably written after his death (see below). Possibly (from internal evidence) to be attributed to the author of *Hodge's Vision from the Monument* and of the anti-Prelatical part of *The Loyall Scot.*

DATE. Dated 1680 in *M 16*, where the dates generally deserve respect. The evidence of three lines would seem to fix it after the death of Marvell (16 August 1678):

(1) l. 152, presumably a reference to the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey in October 1678.

(2) l. 155, possibly inspired by the title of Harry Care's Protestant publication 'The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome', the first number of which appeared 3 December 1678.

(3) l. 182, pointing to the Exclusion Bill (introduced in 1679); see also note on l. 158.

NOTES. l. 4. The only line in the poem of which I am sorry to deprive Marvell.

l. 12. *Palmer's wife*: see note on *Last Instructions*, l. 79.

l. 18. *Brother*: Henry Duke of Gloucester (b. 1639), died of small-pox 13 September 1660.

l. 19. *Sister*: Mary, Princess of Orange, died 24 December 1660.

l. 22. *Falmouth*: Charles Berkeley (*Last Instructions*, l. 208, note, and Pepys 10 December 1660). But see *Last Instructions*, note on l. 53.

l. 27. *comes away*: to England. Henrietta Maria was in England from October 1660 to January 1661 and again from July 1662 to June 1665. Catherine of Braganza reached England on 13 May 1662.

l. 34. *flemish Towne*: Dunkirk (*Clarindon's House-Warming*, l. 41, note).

l. 35. *Germin*: see *Last Instructions*, l. 29, note.

founds a Church: During the exile Henrietta Maria had founded the Convent of the Visitation at Chaillot, where latterly she spent much time. Bossuet pronounced her funeral oration in the Church, 16 November 1669, and there her heart was buried.

ll. 41–2. The battle of 3 June 1665; see *Last Instructions*, l. 400, note.

l. 46. *Co'neig*: Robert Carnegie, Earl of Southesk, with whose wife, as with Denham's (*Last Instructions*, l. 65, note) the Duke of York conducted an intrigue. For their supposed revenge see *Grammont Memoirs* and a note in *M 4*.

l. 48. i. e. he betrays the city of London in which his ire (and

himself) was inflamed, with a *double entendre* on the burning of London by the Roman Catholics (see *Nostradamus's Prophecy* and l. 154 below).

l. 54. *Solbay*: Sole Bay (Southwold Bay); see *The Statue in Stocks-Market*, ll. 47–8, note.

l. 61. *Blackheath*: see *Britannia and Rawleigh*, l. 126, note.

ll. 64–71. Cf. *Hodge's Vision from the Monument*, ll. 46–58, and note on the authorship above.

l. 71. She died suddenly soon after her return to France.

l. 79. *black Idol*: Charles II. Cf. l. 1.

l. 89. *Crambo*: *crambe repetita* (Juvenal); used of any weary repetition. See *O.E.D.*

l. 90. *Killegrew*: Tom Killigrew (1612–83) whose position was not unlike a Court jester's; see Pepys, *passim*.

l. 92. Cf. *Loyall Scot*, l. 106, note.

l. 95. *Amphitrio*: Amphitryon, husband of Alcmena the mother of Hercules by Jupiter. There is probably an allusion to Plautus's play or to Molière's or to both.

l. 98. See *The History of Bel and the Dragon*.

l. 101. Cf. Milton, *Reason of Church Government* (*Prose Works*, Bohn II. 450) 'for Lucifer, before Adam, was the first prelate angel'.

ll. 110, 1. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, XII. 88, 9.

l. 115. *Gyant*: as in both senses a 'Monster'. Lauderdale was a large red-headed man of violent manners.

l. 118. *Councel*: the Privy Council. Cf. *Corporation Letters* 174 for this charge against Lauderdale.

l. 125. *Mother*: the Covenant, from which Lauderdale was a renegade, or, perhaps, Scotland.

l. 138. *Churchill*: see *Advice to a Painter to draw the Duke by*, l. 44, note.

l. 139. *White liverd*: Osborne's cadaverous countenance was well known to the lampoonists, e. g. *The Chequer Inn*, ll. 31–6. (Cf. *cream fac'd . . . lily-liver'd* in *Macbeth*, v. iii.)

l. 142. *One*: Clifford, in September 1673.

ll. 146–7. Cf. *Britannia and Rawleigh*, l. 126.

l. 149. *plant*: The colony would commonly be called a plantation.

l. 152. See note on the date.

l. 153. *Mack*: see *Britannia and Rawleigh*, l. 125.

l. 155. See note on the date.

l. 158. *Godly-cheat*: the Vatican. *King-wou'd-be*: the Duke of York. All this passage (ll. 155–78) reflects the Popish Plot agitation.

APPENDIX

AN

ELEGY

VPON THE DEATH OF

MY LORD *FRANCIS*

VILLIERS.

AN

Elegy upon the Death of my

Lord *Francis Villiers*

Tis true that he is dead: but yet to chuse,
Methinkes thou Fame should not have brought the news
Thou canst discourse at will and speak at large:
But wast not in the fight nor durst thou charge.
While he transported all with valiant rage
His Name eternizd, but cut short his age;
On the safe battlements of Richmonds bowers
Thou wast espyd, and from the guilded Towers
Thy silver Trumpets sounded a Retreat,
Farre from the dust and battails sulphry heat.
Yet what couldst thou have done? 'tis alwayes late
To struggle with inevitable fate.
Much rather thou I know expectst to tell
How heavy *Cromwell* gnasht the earth and fell.
Or how slow Death farre from the sight of day
The long-deceived *Fairfax* bore away.
But untill then, let us young *Francis* praise:
And plant upon his hearse the bloody bayes,
Which we will water with our welling eyes.
Teares spring not still from spungy Cowardize.
The purer fountaines from the Rocks more steep
Destill and stony valour best doth weep.
Besides Revenge, if often quencht in teares,
Hardens like Steele and daily keener weares.
Great *Buckingham*, whose death doth freshly strike
Our memoryes, because to this so like;
Ere that in the Eternall Court he shone,
And here a Favorite there found a throne;
The fatall night before he hence did bleed,
Left to his *Princess* this immortall seed.
As the wise *Chinese* in the fertile wombe
Of Earth doth a more precious clay entombe,
Which dying by his will he leaves consignd:
Til by mature delay of time refind
The christall metall fit to be releast
Is taken forth to crowne each royall feast:

Such was the fate by which this Postume breathd,
VVho scarcely seems begotten but bequeathd.
  Never was any humane plant that grew
More faire then this and acceptably new.
'Tis truth that beauty doth most men dispraise:
Prudence and valour their esteeme do raise.
But he that hath already these in store,
Can not be poorer sure for having more.
And his unimitable handsomenesse
Made him indeed be more then man, not lesse.
We do but faintly Gods resemblance beare
And like rough coyns of carelesse mints appeare:
But he of purpose made, did represent
In a rich Medall every lineament.
  Lovely and admirable as he was,
Yet was his Sword or Armour all his Glasse.
Nor in his Mistris eyes that joy he tooke,
As in an Enemies himselfe to looke.
I know how well he did, with what delight
Those serious imitations of fight.
Still in the trialls of strong exercise
His was the first, and his the second prize.
  Bright Lady, thou that rulest from above
The last and greatest Monarchy of Love:
Faire *Richmond* hold thy Brother or he goes.
Try if the Jasmin of thy hand or Rose
Of thy red Lip can keep him alwayes here.
For he loves danger and doth never feare.
Or may thy tears prevaile with him to stay?
  But he resolv'd breaks carelesly away.
Onely one argument could now prolong
His stay and that most faire and so most strong:
The matchlesse *Chlora* whose pure fires did warm
His soule and only could his passions charme.
  You might with much more reason go reprove
The amorous Magnet which the North doth love.
Or preach divorce and say it is amisse
That with tall Elms the twining Vines should kisse
Then chide two such so fit, so equall faire
That in the world they have no other paire.
Whom it might seeme that Heaven did create
To restore man unto his first estate.

Yet she for honours tyrannous respect
Her own desires did and his neglect.
And like the Modest Plant at every touch
Shrunk in her leaves and feard it was too much
But who can paint the torments and that pain
Which he profest and now she could not faigne?
He like the Sun but overcast and pale:
Shee like a Rainbow, that ere long must faile,
Whose rosiall cheek where Heaven it selfe did view
Begins to separate and dissolve to dew.
At last he leave obtaines though sad and slow,
First of her and then of himselfe to goe.
How comely and how terrible he sits
At once and Warre as well as Love befits!
Ride where thou wilt and bold adventures find:
But all the Ladies are got up behind.
Guard them, though not thy selfe: for in thy death
Th' Eleven thousand Virgins lose their breath.
So *Hector* issuing from the Trojan wall
The sad *Iliades* to the Gods did call
With hands displayed and with dishevell'd haire
That they the Empire in his life would spare.
VVhile he secure through all the field doth spy
Achilles for *Achilles* only cry.
Ah ignorant that yet e're night he must
Be drawn by him inglorious through the dust.
Such fell young *Villiers* in the chearfull heat
Of youth: his locks intangled all with sweat
And those eyes which the Sentinell did keep
Of love closed up in an eternall sleep.
VVhile *Venus* of *Adonis* thinks no more
Slaine by the harsh tuske of the Savage Boare.
Hither she runns and hath him hurried farre
Out of the noise and blood, and killing warre:
VVhere in her Gardens of Sweet myrtle laid
Shee kisses him in the immortall shade,
Yet dyed he not revengelesse: Much he did
Ere he could suffer. A whole Pyramid
Of Vulgar bodies he erected high:
Scorning without a Sepulcher to dye.
And with his steele which did whole troopes divide
He cut his Epitaph on either Side.

Till finding nothing to his courage fit
He rid up last to death and conquer'd it.
Such are the Obsequies to *Francis* own:
He best the pompe of his owne death hath showne.
And we hereafter to his honour will
Not write so many, but so many kill.
Till the whole Army by just vengeance come
To be at once his Trophee and his Tombe.

FINIS

NOTES

This poem is reprinted for the first time from a copy, apparently unique, in the library of Worcester College, Oxford. This consists of one sheet 4° (8 pp.), of which the collation is A 1^{r}, T.-p.; A 1^{v}, blank; A 2–4 (pp. 3–8) *An Elegy*, &c. I owe my knowledge of it to Mr. Thorn Drury and to Mr. C. H. Wilkinson, the librarian of Worcester College, who has supplied me with the following note on its authenticity.

'*An Elegy vpon the Death of my Lord Francis Villiers* was left to the Library of Worcester College by George Clarke. who wrote on it " by Andrew Marvell ". The handwriting is unquestionably that of Clarke. As no other copy of the *Elegy* seems to be recorded and there is no further external evidence to support the statement that Marvell was the author, the value of Clarke's attribution can be measured only by what is known of his literary interests and of his methods. There is an account of his life (1660–1736) in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. This note is concerned only with such evidence of Clarke's reliability as is furnished by his books, and it will be sufficient to mention the fact that he held various important posts such as Member of Parliament, Judge Advocate-General, Secretary at War, Joint Secretary to the Admiralty, and Lord of the Admiralty. To his contemporaries he was best known as a politician. He is remembered to-day as a munificent benefactor of the University of Oxford and of many of its Colleges, particularly of All Souls and of Worcester. To the latter he left a magnificent collection of books, pamphlets, plays, MSS. and drawings, which furnishes ample proof of his many interests and of his wide reading. It is impossible to give any account of his library as a whole or to do more than mention a few facts concerned for the most part with some of his English books. Poets such as Pope, Prior, Dennis, Young, and other less well-known authors gave him copies of one or other of their works and Clarke usually wrote " Donum Autoris " on the title-page. Robert Walpole, possibly Bolingbroke, Sir William Gifford, Lord Granville, and others gave him books. Henry Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church, gave him *Antiquitates Urbis Romae*, 1709, and what is of more interest as illustrating Clarke's careful methods, the five half-sheets of his unpublished *Elementorum Architecturae Pars Prima*, " De Architectura Civili." A quarter sheet was later printed from the author's MS. in Christ Church Library to complete the part of this work which remained unprinted. Clarke had already carefully copied out these pages in his own hand and had had them handsomely bound with the

printed sheets and the engravings. Aldrich's original drawings he had separately bound in the same style. There are several books in the Worcester Library which Clarke found imperfect and himself completed in MS. from another copy. In scores of books he wrote notes about the authors, often quotations from other books, or criticisms on the work. One or two examples must suffice. On the title-page of *Poems on Several Occasions*, 1707, he wrote " by Mr. Pryor ", and both in " The Table " and below the title of the verses on p. 1, " *A* Satyr *on the Modern Translators* of Ovid's Epistles ", stated that these lines were " by Bob : Wolsely—1685 ". This is an attribution of considerable interest. The satire is one of two repudiated by Prior, but none the less thought to have been written by him. (See *Prior*, ed. A. R. Waller, 1905–7, vol. ii, p. 388.) It was not printed in 1709, nor in the folio of 1718, but was included in the edition of 1716, which was disowned by Prior, and in *A Supplement To Mr. Prior's Poems*, 1722. Clarke owned a copy of the *Supplement* and his only note in it is written below the title of this satire (p. 44), where he again states categorically, " This was writt by Mr Robert Wolsely." On the flyleaf of the 1707 volume Clarke quotes from the Preface to the edition of 1709 Prior's statement that the earlier collection was unauthorized, that some things in it were not by him and others very imperfectly transcribed. Below this, with a reference to p. 82, on which are printed the lines from stanza vii of " Heraclitus " (i. e. the lines to Charles Montagu) " What-e'er we take, as soon we lose ; In Homer's Riddle, and in Life," Clarke quotes " Homer's Riddle ; "—" Cum venamur bis quinis canibus quod capimus perdimus, quod quaerimus habemus." The list of " Errata " below the " Advertisement " is crossed out, Clarke having made all the corrections in the text. He inserted two portraits of Prior in his copy on the " greatest Paper " of the 1718 folio. Below a fine impression of the mezzotint by Simon after Richardson, he wrote ' Obijt 18° Sept : 1721. Sepultus Westmonasterij 25°."

' *The Ark. A Poem In Imitation of Du Bartas*, 1714, was given to Clarke by the author, Mr. Burchett. On the verso of the half-title he copied out from *The Daily Courant* for March 9, 1714, an advertisement which called attention to a misprint, " Great Sol " in place of " Bright Sol ". He also inserted the original leaf of *The Daily Courant*. As the volume which contains this piece was bound for Clarke, it is unlikely that it was put in by any one else. Below this quotation are written some uncomplimentary verses " On Mr Burchetts Ark ", and there are other quotations on the title-page and on the recto of the half-title, but it does not seem absolutely certain that these were written by Clarke, though they were copied out before he had the volume bound.

' In *Miscellanies* and *Collections* Clarke would sometimes copy out whole poems. He transcribed verses by Pope and others into a large folio commonplace book, which consists mostly of poetry and probably belonged to his father. In his copy of the 1718 folio of Prior he inserted loose copies of two separately printed poems omitted in that book, and some poems which he had transcribed. One of these which Prior had also omitted in 1709 he heads " M. Pryor to Fleet : Shepherd 1688 ". He made lists of the contents in many volumes in which different pieces were bound together, e. g. in over a hundred numbered volumes of eighteenth-century pamphlets, and often gave the author when a piece was printed without the author's name. In other books and pamphlets which were published

anonymously he would sometimes insert the name of the author, and a few of these may be quoted as having a direct bearing on the question of his reliability.

'On the broadside *Upon Her Maiestics New Buildings at Somerset House*, 1665, Clarke notes " by Mr Waller ". On *The Dove*, 1717, he writes " By Mr Pryor ". On the two pamphlets *The Reasons of Mr. Bays Changing his Religion*, 1688, and *The Reasons of Mr. Joseph Hains The Player's Conversion & Re-conversion*, 1690, he writes " T. Browne ". On the title of *Miscellany Poems on Several Occasions. Written by a Lady*, 1713, he writes " Lady Winchelsea dy'd, 5th Aug : 1720 ". On *The Romaunce of the Rose. Imitated from Chaucer*, 1721, he writes " by Captain Philips " and adds " Donum Autoris 16 Feb. 1720". Beneath the word " Vanessa " on the title of Swift's *Cadenus and Vanessa*, 3rd ed., 1726, he added " Hess'y Vanhomrigh " and wrote a word above " Cadenus " which has been almost entirely cut away by the binder. *The Apparition*, 1710, " Donum Autoris ", is attributed to " Dr Evans of St John's Coll : ". *An Essay on the Different Stiles of Poetry*, 1713, is given to Parnell. It is worth noting that the *Essay* is not found in most editions of Parnell, but was included in a Dublin edition of 1744 and by Chalmers. The Latin translation of *Coopers Hill*, 1676, bore the inscription " Donum Autoris ", but as it was mostly cut away by the binder Clarke wrote it again and gave the author's name, " Moysis Pengry è Coll : Aen : Nasi."

'It would not be difficult to enlarge this list, but enough has been said to show that Clarke was a collector who read his books and was interested in any point connected with them. He was not in a position like Thomason to collect every piece that was published, nor was he concerned to find and record the author of every anonymous poem in his possession. In the large majority of cases he says nothing; when he did not know the name of an author he did not guess at one. If he had some definite knowledge, however, he recorded it, and as a natural consequence of this the majority of his statements are concerned with his own contemporaries. In no single instance of which I am aware can any attribution made by Clarke be definitely proved wrong.

'One important point remains. From his father, Sir William Clarke, he inherited what is by no means the least interesting section of his library—a number of books and a great collection of pamphlets and MSS. of the time of the Civil Wars. Clarke had an unusually good opportunity of knowing the literature of the mid-seventeenth century and his books show that he was well acquainted with it. He was invariably anxious to record the truth, and, until some overwhelming evidence to the contrary can be produced, his statement that Marvell wrote the *Elegy on Villiers* can be accepted as authoritative.'

If the poem is Marvell's, it is his one unequivocally royalist utterance ; it throws into strong relief the transitional character of *An Horatian Ode* where royalist principles and admiration for Cromwell the Great Man exist side by side : it explains *Tom May's Death* : and it throws a backward light on the history of Marvell's mind during the still obscure years since 1641.

Lord Francis Villiers, posthumous son of George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, born 2 April 1629, was killed in a skirmish near Kingston-on-Thames (cf. ' Richmond ' l. 7) 7 July 1648.

l. 31. Cf. *First Anniversary*, ll. 19, 20.

l. 61. *Faire Richmond* : Mary Villiers married James Stuart, fourth Duke of Lennox and first Duke of Richmond.

l. 81. Cf. *Appleton House*, ll. 357, 8.

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