

MS RAWLINSON POETICAL 147: AN ANNOTATED VOLUME OF  
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CAMBRIDGE VERSE

Thesis submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
at the University of Leicester

by

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MS Rawlinson Poetical 147: An Annotated Volume of  
Seventeenth-Century Cambridge Verse.

The thesis is an annotated edition of MS Rawlinson Poetical 147, a miscellany of seventeenth-century verse written mainly by poets associated with Cambridge.

The text of the MS is transcribed and presented (with a few exceptions) in its original form, retaining the scribe's spelling and punctuation. The textual introduction outlines the procedure adopted.

The notes accompanying the verse provide a summary of the contemporary background and identify, where known, people, places and events directly relevant to the poems; allusions and obscure words are also explained.

Where applicable, the commentary serves to provide additional information concerning the poems' origins, including authorship, variants in other MSS, and publication details.

The biographical index provides details of the lives of the poets, particularly those who have received little or no scholarly attention.

The introduction explores four topics of direct relevance to the study of minor seventeenth-century verse: the problems associated with establishing the authorship of minor verse where autograph variants are no longer extant; the style and purpose of topical and political satire; style as a reflection of contemporary taste and trends; and the specific style of Clement Paman, whose work comprises the largest body of unpublished verse in the collection.

In conclusion the aim of the work is to increase the reader's perception of how contemporary tastes and trends influenced and directed the writing (and reception) of verse designated 'minor' in the twentieth century. In addition this study will furnish the student of seventeenth-century literature with an increased knowledge of the background against which poets such as Donne, Jonson and Milton were writing.

## CONTENTS

Abbreviations	viii
List of Sigla	xii
Introduction	xv
Textual Introduction	cxix

### Poems:

On the Print of his Lady's foot	Geo[rge] Goad	1
On a man stealing a candle	H[enry] Molle	3
Wit in a Tempest	H[enry] Molle	4
On his Mrs whose name was Barbary	H[enry] Vintner	5
On Technogamia	[Henry Molle]	7
On Fucus	H[enry] Molle	9
On Dr Jegons	Anon.	15
An Epitaph/ His Answere	Anon.	17
Upon a Bile	H[enry] Vintner	19
On a Matron	Isaack Ollivier	22
On the Circumcision	" "	24
On Twelke Day	" "	27
On the death of Mr Edward King	" "	29
Eiusdem	I[saack] O[llivier]	33
To a Gentlewoman with one eye	Henry Molle	34
An old man to his Young Mrs	[Robert] Herrick	35
On a Gnatt which was burnt	Tho[mas] Vincent	36
A Farewell to a chamber	Rich[ard] Williams	38
On a London Tayler	Rich[ard] Williams	41

Epithalamium	William Norrice	45
On King Charles's recovery	Rich[ard] Williams	51
'Who smiles not now'	I[saack] Ollivier	54
Twilight. at four a clock in winter	[Henry Molle]	57
Twilight	Henry Molle	60
To the Queenes Mty	" "	64
A letter from J.J. to S.B.	Jo[shua] Jones	66
Another (The sun had past)	[Joshua Jones]	71
Another (Health to Dear Colin)	" "	75
Han. R's letter to J.J.	Han[aneel] R[ogers]	78
Upon the Death of a Freind	(Richard Crashaw)	84
On the death of Mr. Holden	[Nathaniel] Culverwell	86
An Epitaph (Here in deaths Closett)	(Philip Cornwallis)	88
An Elegie On the death of Dr Porter	(Richard Crashaw)	89
On Felton hanging in chaynes	Anon.	92
An Elegie On...the Lady Parker	(Richard Crashaw)	96
An Epitaph On the Duke of Lenox	(John Elliott)	99
An Elegie Upon...Mr Wm Carre	[Philip] Cornwallis	101
Virginity. The Rosebud	C[lement] Paman	104
The Distill'd Rose	" "	106
On the same	" "	109
Epig. to Montaigne	Cl[ement] Paman	111
On the Spring	H[enry] Wotton	112
A song. On the New Commencement	[John] Cleveland	114
Upon Dr Sandcrofts sonne	(John Jefferies)	119
On the death of Mr Wm Henshaw	[Philip] Cornwallis	121
The Inquisitive	Cl[ement] Paman	123

Absence. To Vernura	" "	127
Beauty	" "	131
The Diamond	C[lement] Paman	134
The patches, made into a black Crosse	Cl[ement] P[aman]	137
The Murtheresse	Cl[ement] Paman	143
On a Childs Death	Anon.	146
On Mr King of Christ's Coll	[Thomas] Booth	148
A Songe (A Love whose force and might)	Anon.	151
A guide to Fortune	Martin Harvey	153
The Old Courtyers Sigh	Cl[ement] Paman	159
St Stephens feild	" "	161
The vision	Clement Paman	166
An Elegie on...Mr Stanninow	(Richard Crashaw)	167
The birthday. Aug.24 1640.	Clem[ent] Paman	170
The complaint of a woman with Child	Anon.	175
Ale. In praise of it	Tho[mas] Bonham	176
Songe (Oh faythlesse world)	H[enry] Wotton	180
To Lady Diana Cecill	Ed[ward] H[erbert]	182
On Strafford	J[ohn] Denham	184
To my Lord Falkland	[Edmund] Waller	187
A Paradox that the sick...	G[eorge] Herbert	191
In the prayse of Musicke	W[illiam] Strode	194
'Tis love breeds love in me'	Dr [John] D[onne]?	196
Songe. Eccho	Sr H[enry] W[otton]?	198
An answere to Dr Donnes Curse...	(William Browne)	200
Dr Corbett to his Sonne Vincent	[Richard] Corbett	202
The same translated by Mr Strode	[William] Strode	204

Epitaph	Morrison	205
On Mary. A Humour	Anon.	206
Ben Jonson to Noy the Lawyer	Ben Jonson	207
Songe The Country-Dance	Anon.	208
Songe (Your love if virtuous)	(Thomas Jordan)	211
A farewell to virginitie	Tho[mas] Stevens	213
Song (Old hagge)	" "	216
A Song made by Mr Henry Noel...	Henry Noel	219
The Platoniqu Lover	[John] Cleveland	221
Ἡ γῆ μέλαινα Πένης etc.	Anon.	225
An ode upon King Charles's returne	Henry Wotton	226
Sr H.W. (On the Duke of Somer...)	H[enry] W[otton]	228
'Songs of shepherds'	Anon.	230
A Meditation	Henry Wotton	238
On the Duke of Buckingham...	" "	240
The Faerey King	Simeon Steward	242
To Ben Jonson. On Gills Rayling	[Zouch] Townly	247
On a catt which Gnawed lutestrings	(Thomas Masters)	250
On the death of Sr Albertus Morton	Henry Wotton	259
To Tho: Carew	C[lement] P[aman]	261
An Epitaph on my Lady Loftus	C[lement] Paman	262
Vernura and Celeman	Cl[ement] P[aman]	264
Genethliacodia. To Mris Wentworth	C[lement] Paman	270
The Tavern. A Satyre	C[lement] Paman	273
The Departure. To Stella	Cl[ement] P[aman]	285
Pym	Cl[ement] Paman	298
To a Watch sent to his Mistress	T[homas] B[onham]	304

Upon a Nightingale ravish'd...	" "	305
Eadem Latine. ab eodem	" "	309
A Rapture	" "	312
Song (Great Julius was a cuckold)	" "	315
Songe (The spring's coming on)	Anon.	316
Songe (Beauty and love)	Anon.	318
Mock-song to the former	Anon.	320
Songe (Why shouldst thou say)	Rich[ard] Lovelace	322
The same done into Latin	J[ohn] Cleveland	324
The Ranter	(Alexander Brome)	326
The Anti-Ranter	(Thomas Jordan)	330
To the memory of Sr Wm Spring.	Cl[ement] Paman	333
Upon Elegies to Ben Jonsons memory	Clement Paman	340
On the Death of...Lady Mary Lewkenor	" "	351
On the first report of Mr Ed. King...	Cl[ement] Paman	355
On his Death	C[lement] P[aman]	359
Upon the death of...Pembroke	" "	370
The dispraise of Ale	Tho[mas] Bonham	375
An Anniversary on the nuptials	John Berkenhead	378
Ἰὲλω λέγειν Ἀπείρας	[Anacreon]	380
The same in English	John Berkenhead	381
Tarrying in London	J[ohn] Berkenhead	383
Good Friday	Clement Paman	386
Capt. Tyrell, of Mrs Winchcombe	[Thomas] Tyrell	388
An Answer to the former Paper	[Laurence] Womack	390
Lord Mainard to Mrs Kirke	[William] Mainard	391
Epitaph on Mrs Warner...	Clem[ent] Paman	393

To Ld Windsor Courting Mrs Cleopole	H[enry] N[eville]	394
The Scotchmans Story	Anon.	400
Farewell to Wine.	Rob[ert] Creswell	408
In Sacroboscum Coriarium...	" "	416
A Dialogue of Love and Feare	" "	419
'Fair Archabella'	George Digby	422
'Upon Ashwendsday'	Anon.	424
Of our present warr with Spain...	Edmund Waller	437
The new Letany	Anon.	444
On the Countesse of Strafford...	Anon.	464
Ode. Upon Orindas Poems	Abraham Cowley	466
Ovids Amores. lib.2 eleg.19	Giovanni Junctino	472
News from Colchester	(John Denham)	475
On November	(William Cartwright)	484
Upon the L. C. Hide	Anon.	493
New Instructions to the Painter	"	495
The Riddle	"	507
Upon the Citie Venice	D. Colbron	511
Thus Englished	"	511
On a Sophister of Caius Colledge...	S[amson] Briggs	513
On Coy kissinge	Samson Briggs	515
On a Bile	S[amson] Briggs	516
On Eumorphe his fancyed Mistris	" "	520
Procris	" "	527
Danae	" "	532
Song (See See/ See Phoebus)	" "	550
Loves Duell	" "	552

Song (When as the Nightingale)	" "	554
Sine cede vulnere bellum	" "	557
A Choise	" "	566
Songe (Keepe your distance)	" "	571
Castitas martyrium sine sanguine	" "	574
A Groane	" "	577
Caius Coll. Plate Lost. Jan. 1657/8	Will[iam] Price	579
Epitaphium. On Mr Westons marriage	Rich[ard] Williams	587
To the Lord Treasurer Weston	" "	591
To the... Lady Weston	" "	597
To the vertuous Mr Tho: Weston...	Richard Williams	600
Song (What meanes this strangenes)	(Robert Ayton)	602
An Epigr. on the Princes birth...	Ben. Jonson	604
Lord Gorings verses	[George] Goring	606
Sent with A Pair of Gloves	Anon.	612
Commentary		615
Biographical Index		659
Appendix		680
Bibliography		682

### ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used for works frequently cited:

#### General works

- Acts and Ordinances      Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-60, ed. C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, 3 vols. (London, 1911).
- Ath. Oxon.                  Antony a Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, ed. Philip Bliss, 1813-20, 4 vols. (Reprinted London, 1969).
- Aubrey                      J. Aubrey, Brief Lives, ed. A. Clark, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1898).
- Beal                         Peter Beal, Index of English Literary Manuscripts, 2 vols. 1450-1700 (London, 1980, 1987).
- CSPD                        Calendar of State Papers, Domestic.
- CSPV                        Calendar of State Papers, Venetian.
- DNB                         Dictionary of National Biography.
- Foster                      Joseph Foster, Alumni Oxonienses (1500-1714), 2 vols. (Oxford, 1891-2, reprint Nendeln/ Liechtenstein, 1968).
- Harwood                  Thomas Harwood, Alumni Etonienses (Birmingham, 1797).
- JEK                         Justa Edouardo King, ed. Edward Le Comte (Norwood facsimile edition, 1978).

- Langbaine Gerard Langbaine, An Account of the English Dramatic Poets, 1691  
(Scolar Press, Menston, 1971).
- Le Neve John Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1854).  
Clarendon, The History of the Rebellion,  
ed. W.D. Macray, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1888).
- Macray
- Matthews Walker Revised, ed. A.G. Matthews  
(Oxford, 1948).
- OED Oxford English Dictionary.
- Pearsall Smith The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1907).
- Saintsbury Minor Poets of the Caroline Period,  
ed. G. Saintsbury, 3 vols. (Oxford,  
1905-21).
- Tilley M.P. Tilley, A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries  
(Ann Arbor, 1950).
- Venn John Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses,  
Part 1 to 1751, 4 vols.  
(Cambridge, 1922).
- Verse
- Banks The Poetical Works of Sir John Denham,  
ed. T.H. Banks (Oxford, 1928).

- Bennett                    The Poems of Richard Corbett, ed.  
J.A.W. Bennett and H.R. Trevor-Roper  
(Oxford, 1955).
- Evans                      The Plays and Poems of William  
Cartwright, ed. G. Blakemore Evans  
(Wisconsin, 1951).
- Clayton                    The Works of Sir John Suckling,  
ed. Thomas Clayton (Oxford, 1971).
- Crump                     The Poems and Translations of Thomas  
Stanley, ed. G.M. Crump (Oxford, 1962).
- Dobell                     The Poetical Works of William Strode,  
ed. B. Dobell (London, 1907).
- Dunlap                    The Poems of Thomas Carew, ed. Rhodes  
Dunlap (Oxford, 1949).
- Gibbs                      Sir William Davenant, The Shorter  
Poems, and Songs from the Plays and  
Masques, ed. A.M. Gibbs (Oxford, 1972).
- Martin                    The Poems English, Latin, and Greek  
of Richard Crashaw, ed. L.C. Martin,  
2nd edition (Oxford, 1957).
- More Smith               The Poems English and Latin of Edward  
Lord Herbert of Cherbury, ed. G.C.  
More Smith (Oxford, 1923).
- Morris                    The Poems of John Cleveland, ed. B.  
Morris and E. Withington (Oxford, 1967).
- Patrick                    The Complete Poetry of Robert Herrick,  
ed. J. Max Patrick (New York, 1963).

- Waller Poems of Abraham Cowley, ed. A.C.  
Waller (Cambridge, 1905).
- Wilkinson The Poems of Richard Lovelace, ed.  
C.H. Wilkinson (Oxford, 1930).
- Williams The Complete Poetry of Richard Crashaw,  
ed. George Walton Williams (New York,  
1972).

### Journals

- JWCI Journal of the Warburg and  
Courtauld Institutes.
- MLR Modern Language Review.
- MLN Modern Language Notes.
- MP Modern Philology.
- MS Milton Studies.
- NQ Notes and Queries.
- RES Review of English Studies.

LIST OF SIGLA

Manuscripts containing variants of the poems

A 15	British Library, Add MS 15226
A 10	British Library, Add MS 10308
A 49	British Library, Add MS 4968
A 20	British Library, Add MS 20308
A 28	British Library, Add MS 28622
Ash 36	Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 36,37
Ash 38	Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 38
Ash 47	Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 47
A 48	British Library, MS Add A 48
CCC 9	Christ's College Cambridge, MS 309
CCC 5	Christ's College Cambridge, MS 325
CCC 8	Christ's College Cambridge, MS 328
Don c	Bodleian Library, MS Don c 57
Don d	Bodleian Library, MS Don d 55
Douce 5	Bodleian Library, Douce MS f 5
Douce 7	Bodleian Library, Douce MS 357
EG 21	British Library, Egerton MS 2421
EM	Bodleian Library, MS English Misc e 241
EP 4	Bodleian Library, English Poetical MS e 4
EP 9	Bodleian Library, English Poetical MS f 9
EP 10	Bodleian Library, English Poetical MS f 10
EP 14	Bodleian Library, English Poetical MS e 14
EP 24	Bodleian Library, English Poetical MS f 24
EP 25	Bodleian Library, English Poetical MS f 25

EP 50            Bodleian Library, English Poetical MS c 50  
EP 53            Bodleian Library, English Poetical MS c 53  
EP 152           Bodleian Library, English Poetical MS d 152  
Firth 4           Bodleian Library, Firth MS e 4  
Firth 7           Bodleian Library, Firth MS d 7  
Firth 16          Bodleian Library, Firth MS c 16  
H 91             British Library, Harleian MS 3991  
H 17             British Library, Harleian MS 6917  
L 7               British Library, Lansdowne MS 777  
Locke            British Library, MS Locke e 17  
M 13             Bodleian Library, Malone MS 13  
M 16             Bodleian Library, Malone MS 16  
M 21             Bodleian Library, Malone MS 21  
Mus S            Bodleian Library, Mus. Sch. MS c 71  
RD 4             Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS D 924  
RD 7             Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS D 947  
RP 21            Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetical MS 21  
RP 26            Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetical MS 26  
RP 31            Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetical MS 31  
RP 65            Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetical MS 65  
RP 84            Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetical MS 84  
RP 116           Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetical MS 116  
RP 117           Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetical MS 117  
RP 152           Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetical MS 152  
RP 160           Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetical MS 160  
RP 173           Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetical MS 173  
RP 174           Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetical MS 174

RP 199      Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetical MS 199  
RP 206      Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetical MS 206  
RP 210      Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetical MS 210  
S            Bodleian Library, Sancroft MS 53  
T 306       Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 306  
T 465       Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 465

'Many such arrogant pretenders to  
Poetry vanish, with their prodigious  
issue of tumorous heats and flashes  
of their adulterate braines.'<sup>1</sup>

The objective of this work is to rescue from obscurity a selection of the 'arrogant pretenders' referred to by Humphrey Moseley, the author of the above quotation, and explore the value of their 'tumorous heats', both in the context of their own time and of the present.

The main reason why MS RP 147 has been selected for annotation is that it contains the corpus of Clement Paman's verse; with minor exceptions his work does not appear in other manuscripts and has previously remained unprinted. Though it is undeniably minor poetry by twentieth-century standards, Paman's verse, and the allusions contained within it, are informative in the context of the literary history of the seventeenth century. As with many of the lesser known authors, his work enables scholars to understand the attitudes and experiences of people who, though educated, were not included in the first or even second circles of courtly life. Paman's work first came to notice in 1959<sup>2</sup> but interest subsequently lapsed; one purpose of this volume is to ensure that his work is made more readily available to others similarly interested in the lesser known authors of the period.

Also included in RP 147 is a wide variety of previously unpublished verse: three poems on the death of Edward King, and numerous poems of a political nature spanning the years from the

early 1630s to after the Restoration. More and more recent scholarship is looking to the minor writers and manuscript collections to confirm or dispel what were, until recently, firmly entrenched views and interpretations of the literary and historical perceptions of the period. Mary Hobbs, for example, argues that the study of manuscripts and miscellanies is invaluable, particularly where they are studied in their entirety. She claims that 'the proper use of manuscript miscellanies is, in short, the way to a fuller, more accurate, study of early seventeenth-century poetry'.<sup>3</sup> RP 147 is fairly typical of the numerous examples, but also exhibits variation in topic and style, and it is for this reason that an edition of RP 147 is deemed to be of value.

Until recently the study of seventeenth-century literature, especially poetry, has focussed on a relatively narrow selection of authors who have inevitably become identified with seventeenth-century thought, style, and even quality. Their domination is further secured by precepts of what is the 'best' and most worthy of scholarly attention. All too often a student's introduction to the period concentrates on the most prolific and skilled writers, isolating them from a vast number of contemporaries who were similarly determined to express themselves in verse. The general aim of this volume is to present a wider perspective of the literary context in which they were writing. Recent scholarship has revealed that the printed text is not automatically to be regarded as the most reliable source of a poem's origin, and in order to gain a balanced impression of the

total context of contemporary poetry, manuscript miscellanies should be taken into account.<sup>4</sup> Such miscellanies reveal the contemporary popularity of poets whose work was not printed during their lifetimes, if at all. The view still prevailed that only the vulgar published their work, and therefore the manuscripts are potentially more reliable than previous editors have generally allowed.<sup>5</sup> Mary Hobbs draws attention to David Vieth's view that in reality many of the popular poems circulated widely in manuscript form after composition, and only went into print at a later date, often giving rise to relatively corrupt texts.<sup>6</sup>

A closer reading of minor seventeenth-century poetry, particularly that of a political or social nature, helps to elucidate contemporary perceptions of events and tastes. The designation of certain poets as 'minor' is a modern phenomenon; as with most contemporary and topical writing, the subject was often as influential in determining its popularity as the quality of the writing or the name of the author.

A knowledge of the verse contained in the numerous seventeenth-century miscellanies provides the reader with additional insight of contemporary trends, literary tastes, and the influence on others, if any, of particular writers. Because of the selective reading of a few authors, isolated from their literary context, poets such as Edmund Waller, who exerted considerable influence on his contemporaries, are almost lost to modern readers.

A large proportion of the work in these miscellanies, of

which RP 147 is a fairly typical example, remains unprinted. Such collections generally consisted of assorted verse copied from manuscript and occasionally printed texts, which in turn were circulated and copied within a circle of varying size. The scribes of these compilations were very often scholars who mixed in literary circles, country gentlemen or citizens with a taste for literature, and the poems included are generally the work of friends or associates. It is also clear from the numerous variations that exist between different copies of the same poem, that several sources of particularly popular poems were in circulation at the same time. It is quite possible that some were even recorded from memory. The purpose of the collectors and compilers was mainly to amass large collections of poems. That the circles amongst which the poems were passed was small and specific is suggested by the fact that many manuscripts appear to be closely related. They share the same poems, singly, or more often as a batch transcribed in the same order. The importance of this is that it also suggests a closeness between the copiers and the original writers.<sup>7</sup>

Another characteristic feature of these collections is that they reflect the diversity of contemporary poetic tastes. Poetry had many uses and Sir Philip Sidney was not alone in having his heart moved 'more than with a trumpet'<sup>8</sup> on hearing a popular ballad, though he did feel obliged to qualify his preference by apologising for the 'barbarousness' of his taste. The fact that so many poems were written, collected and circulated by those schooled in the classics, testifies to their popularity and the

integral place they occupied among the educated classes. The poems deserve to be acknowledged as tangible evidence of how idealistic views so often varied from reality. Though Sidney's commendable sentiment that 'it is not rhyming and versing that maketh a poet....But it is that feigning notable images of virtues, vices, or what else, with that delightful teaching, which must be the right describing note to know a poet by,'<sup>9</sup> was shared by many in general terms, few applied it to their personal preferences and still fewer to their own compositions. The principal attraction of poetry, for the majority, both in the reading and writing of it, was its capacity to entertain. It provided the natural medium for personal expression, friendly or hostile banter, and political statement.

Literature does not act as a passive register of historical events but exists in a dynamic engagement with its context.<sup>10</sup>

The view embodied in the above quotation is derived from the re-interpretation of the literature of the seventeenth century, and the critics who propound this view cite much evidence from familiar texts to support their claim.<sup>11</sup> While the existence of a political element in the work of Milton and Marvell (among others) has never been totally denied by critics, the full significance of these texts for providing an autonomous commentary with the potential to exist beyond the specific period in which they were written, has often been overlooked, and in some instances suppressed.<sup>12</sup>

The purpose in singling out MS RP 147 is to reinforce the view embodied in recent trends. However innovative the re-deployment of explicit or covert political texts may seem to a twentieth-century reader, more recent scholarship reveals that it was not an uncommon phenomenon throughout the seventeenth century. Such a re-deployment was by no means confined to those whose renown as poets and political commentators is well established today, but was widely adopted by many whose names are no longer remembered. Furthermore, the fact of RP 147's existence, along with the numerous texts like it, indicates the widespread desire (whether arising from an individual or a group of like minded people) to create a political commentary on the times. In many instances such texts acquire an additional

dimension; their relevance expands and diverges in proportion to the time during which they were circulated and read. The twentieth-century reader should avoid confining his interpretation of a work's significance to its date of composition, but should also be aware of if, when, and why particular works were reissued. With this in mind many of the poems in RP 147 may be read as a 'gloss' on the changing emphasis in the political and social context of the seventeenth century, and how some people responded to such changes. The issues that were important 'at the time' may then be compared with the retrospective implications suggested by the same work thought to be of significance, either by the same author or by another. RP 147 includes a number of poems previously unpublished which give weight to the arguments currently propounded, the most notable examples being those by the clergyman Clement Paman.

Paman's poem 'Upon the death of the Earle of Pembroke' is of interest for several reasons. The first is that it is probably the earliest example (included in RP 147) of his poetic style, and was written while he was at Cambridge University. It is apparent, when the poem is compared with other university commemorative verse, that it conforms with the formal and stylistic techniques prevailing there during the 1630s (cf. Crashaw and Cornwallis). More interestingly it is the only poem of his, in this collection, to do so; in the other examples of his verse he eschews a distanced and anonymous voice, preferring instead a more direct and personal engagement with his chosen topic (i.e. 'St Stephens Feild'). In 'Pembroke' initial critical

appraisal suggests that the poem's historical worth rests solely on its merits as a 'typical' example of scholarly exercise, praising a remote figure, unknown and of little direct importance to the poet. A closer reading of the poem, with the knowledge of Paman's later tendency for personal comment in mind, it is possible to infer a glancing reference to the political practices inherent in the Laudian regime. The poem was written in the early 1630s when news of home affairs was considerably restricted and Laud had imposed strict rules of censorship on all works not conforming to the Anglican ideal. Within this context the words 'News cannot kill, nor is the common breath/ Fate or infection' acquire a meaning applicable to a wider social context than the environs of court or university life. The recognition of this extended meaning reminds the reader that at this time 'unfavourable' news (i.e. that differing from the official line) was feared by the authorities, and considered harmful to the well-being of the nation.

If the poem is appraised within the context of events after 1649, the covert meaning previously referred to can be seen to have changed in accordance with the shift in political power. Regardless of the original intentions of the author a reader's interest in the poem in the 1650s could well have been stimulated by the notion of Pembroke as a 'type', an exemplar of the court, its ideals and hierarchy, culminating in the king as God's representative on earth, who had also suffered an untimely death. Pembroke was the Chancellor of Oxford University from 1617 until his death, a fact of importance to royalists because Oxford was

not only the bastion of Laudianism but also the King's headquarters during the Civil War. The emphasis had changed as it was now the royalist party that had been silenced, though a note of optimism may be discerned from some of the lines: the 'stonished whisper' and 'some phrase without a voice' may apply to the discreet means by which royalist opinion was perpetuated through the ambiguities of poetry. A royalist reading of the poem teases out the presence of a continued belief, held by Charles' supporters, that the commonwealth was merely a hiatus in the true order of English life, and that his death had made him a martyr on their behalf:

nor wert thou kill'd  
Like other men, but like a type fullfill'd;  
So suddenly to dye is to deceive;  
Nor was it death, but a not taking leave.

(27-30)

Another poem that may similarly be seen to acquire new meaning with the dramatic change in the social and political order is 'On King Charles's recovery from the small Pox' written by Richard Williams sometime after 1633. Again, the poem was written during the period of Laudian dominance, and is unequivocally royalist in tone. In this example the contextual interpretation does not so much change as gather a broader symbolism for the royalist supporters. Clearly, at its composition, it is impossible that any prophetic connotation was intended by the author because the eventual fate of the king would have been inconceivable in the 1630s, even by those opposed

to his beliefs. The poem's original meaning and purpose therefore remains as an ostensible meaning without detracting from or reducing the additional interpretation that is signalled after the events of 1649. The 'sicknes' which 'proves disgrace' may equally apply to the civil unrest which was viewed by those living through it as a form of madness, a psychological sickness, which not only threatened the natural order of the state and religion, but ultimately overturned it. The idea that the Commonwealth, the usurper of true and legitimate power, was part of this madness is implicit in the lines:

twas a resort  
Of some farre strangers to your Royall court  
And so the better for to see your Grace  
They took possession of the highest place.

(18-21).

The concluding lines: 'But sure 'twas Heavens decree/ They shold impression leave in us not thee', when read in the context of events during the latter part of the 1650s now acquire a prophetic ring because, even after the Restoration, the effects and aftermath of the Civil War and the King's execution left a scar on the psyche of the English nation. These lines suggest, though, that the king, at least, in his role as martyr is spared from such impressions.

The events leading up to, during and following the Civil War were perceived by the English people as a form of madness, a symptom of which was an inversion of order - a world turned up-side-down. A consequence of the breakdown in established and

traditional national order was that the individual's sense of identity was also threatened. The collapse of a hierarchical framework removed the very structure and points of reference by which an individual's own existence, and place within that hierarchy, was measured. The inevitable reaction of many was to 'retreat into an internal world in an endeavour to preserve a unified sense of selfhood',<sup>13</sup> and several poems in RP 147 provide a written testimony of this internal crisis; perhaps for some of the poets the act of writing down their feelings, and expressing their confusion in verse, was an attempt to exorcise the pervading sense of self-destruction which possessed them. In Paman's verse this is often apparent, and the recurring imagery of decay, disunity, and dislocation suggest a mind struggling to comprehend the present by comparing it, and noting its shortfall, with the past.

To understand fully the personal dilemma in which some writers found themselves, the twentieth-century reader, looking back from a largely secular culture, should remind himself of the central role occupied by religion in the lives of seventeenth-century English people. Church and State were inextricably linked, and for the majority of people the church combined a spiritual and a physical presence. The church impinged significantly on their daily lives because it was a meeting place where the bulk of news and information was disseminated. Similarly, the priest occupied a central role and could exert considerable influence over his congregation if he so wished. Once this fact is acknowledged it is easier to comprehend why the occurrences of everyday life,

however trivial they may seem now, were not viewed by contemporaries as independent or isolated events, but were believed to be part of, or a divine judgment on, the spiritual status of the individual, and ultimately the nation.

For Christian scholars such as Paman, who were being educated for a career in the church, any sense of inner doubt and turmoil they experienced had to be reconciled with the sense of responsibility of what was expected of them. It was necessary to resolve any inner intellectual struggle before duty demanded their practical application of faith, and in Paman the reader is made aware of this struggle throughout his verse; it appears as though he is attempting to exorcise his doubts by confronting them through expression in verse.

In 'The departure. To Stella' Paman's continued and ostensible assertion of his own worth, on the basis of spiritual equality, is undercut by the pervading sense that his opinion is really the symptom of a retreat into himself in order to create a self-delusory protection against the realities of the outside world. Paman's grasp of reality and sense of identity diminishes the more he discounts the importance of social standing and aristocratic lineage. Like religion, the social hierarchy was an intrinsic feature of life, the upholding of which was deemed by most people to be instrumental in a 'well-balanced' and healthy nation. Paman appears to be discounting its significance and, whether unwittingly or not, condoning the inversion of social order which has contributed to the concerns that trouble him.

Beyond the metaphorical level of Paman's imagery, the

political significance of many lines in 'Stella' would have been apparent to a discerning reader; even the title 'The departure' is highly suggestive and implies that Paman, freed from convention by a growing national dissention, feels at liberty to depart from established opinion and explore his personal preoccupations. This interpretation is supported by the knowledge that in the seventeenth century, verse addressed to a poet's mistress was generally written with a male audience in mind, and often a specific one at that. Paman's skilful word-play continually balances metaphor against political comment; he asks

If then our birth and death bee Equall, Why  
Claimes not mid life the same equality?  
Lett statistes then looke after the Estate  
And marry not a wife but Trick of State.

(106-109)

The second couplet is loaded with possible political implications which, whether intended or not by the author (and they most likely were), could certainly be utilised by later collectors and readers as a gloss on past and current events. The Quakers rejected the established hierarchy and refused to acknowledge those of a superior social rank in the expected way. 'Stella' could have been circulated among Quakers as an expression of their fundamental attitude towards the religious and political situation in the late 1630s and 1640s. The pun on 'Estate' ensures that the ostensible meaning can co-exist with the wider political connotation without detracting from the main theme of the poem. That Paman's word-play is purposely contrived to create

this effect is signalled in another reference to equality:

Bloods then are like, and cheape; our Heralds can  
Afford it from an ounce unto a Dramme.

Wee'll not court Syllables, although wee'le owne  
Illustrious stemms for rich Addition.

(126-129)

Much of the verse in RP 147 reinforces the view that the division into opposing factions was by no means a precise and straight-forward process. Contrary to the traditional historical view, the revisionist historians have shown that the majority of people did not align themselves with one side or another in preparation for war, but rather it was often the shock of war itself which forced the need to take sides. This eventual and unavoidable decision was often only reached after considerable conflict between personal moral belief and what was believed to be one's duty with regard to traditional order and convention. Loyalty to the office of kingship remained a powerful influence, even in those who were disillusioned by Charles' personal conduct. Inevitably, the thought processes that many individuals had to go through, in order to reach their decision, resulted in the internal dialogue of a 'divided self'. Anglicans and Puritans alike had to face this process once arms were used against the king, which in turn exacerbated the perception of a collapse of order, and confirmed the sense of impending doom. For those who believed that the end of time was imminent, the events of the 1640s must have appeared to be the prelude to the final conflagration.

Rebelliousness, whether of a military or religious manifestation, was viewed in the seventeenth century as a sign of mental disturbance. Any psychological disunity experienced by the individual was equated with political and national disunity; a divided self was contrary to the natural order of things, but, as many writers indicate, was widely experienced and commented on.<sup>14</sup> Richard Sibbs, the Puritan divine, suggested that each individual was in a state of potential rebellion; he wrote: 'we must conceive...a double self, one which must be denied, the other which must denie; one that breeds all disquiet, and another that stilleth what the other hath raised.'<sup>15</sup>

In RP 147 it becomes apparent that both Paman and Samson Briggs experienced this feeling of a 'divided self', and some of their verse is evidence of their resorting to internal dialogue in an attempt to achieve some sort of 'answer'. The form of internal debate adopted by Briggs in 'On a Bile' is a commonplace, an allegory personifying the elements of perception and reason in man. Psyche, the main 'character', personifies the soul whose kingdom is the body. The knowledge that Briggs fought on the king's side and died in battle in 1643 ensures that his intended political inference in the numerous allusions is recognised as a commentary on national events between 1640 and early 1643. What he had no way of knowing is that he unwittingly provided posterity with a text sufficiently ambiguous to be re-deployed by others as a commentary on the Commonwealth and the Restoration. During the commonwealth both the parliamentarians and the royalists may have read it as a gloss on events in their

favour. Those who fought the king generally maintained that they did so to protect his sovereignty against the 'evil' influence of his advisers, so from such a premise those exiled 'without hope of coming home' was probably interpreted as a reference to Charles' ministers who fled the country to avoid the same fate as Strafford. Similarly, after 1649 the term 'exile' became a key word for the royalist supporters who were striving to restore the monarchy. After the Restoration additional meaning may be derived from the concluding lines:

Rebellious humours for their treason bled  
And in the end lost their pale guilty head,  
My hand for her assisting the designe  
Was justly hang'd in a black silken twine,

(43-46)

which speak out as an epitaph for those who were instrumental in setting up the Commonwealth and lived to see its eventual collapse. It was inevitable that for their 'high treason' and 'rebellious humours' they would be publicly hanged.

That Paman was troubled about the religious differences in England in the late 1630s is signalled by the tone of confusion in 'The birthday'. The outcome of the religious disagreements would have been of particular note to him as he was (presumably) already contemplating a career in the church. As with many other moderate protestants, his personal beliefs, however steadfast previously, were shaken by the external dissention and questioning of religious order. His precise views cannot be confirmed with absolute confidence, but what emerges from his

verse is his doubt in the motives of both extremes. His security in his own religious faith is challenged by the prevalence of 'Schismes' and 'holy leagues or Covenants', and the poetic voice acquires a rather plaintive tone when it admits

I know not then what Schismes meant,  
What holy leagues or Covenants,  
Who is the Antichrist, or who  
Was th' first Papist; nor know I now.  
I knew not then to counterfeit  
(That art to live) Nor know I yett.

(11-16)

There is no glimmer of optimism in the poet's catalogue of personal doubts, and his conclusion is more of a destructive and apocalyptic nature. For him, it seems, only death can restore the sense of unity that the current dislocation has shattered:

Thus life but interrupts our Rest,  
And's the mid toyle 'twixt East and West.  
Man is Tymes Martyr, rackd and Torne  
Betweene a Cradle and an Urne.

(37-40)

The date of the poem, which presumably is included in the title because of its political significance, fixes the poem in a specific historical context. Before the advent of the Long Parliament (convened in November 1640) there must have been a growing awareness that the current problems would come to a head. The tension felt by the nation as a whole, as it prepared itself for the unknown, is mirrored on a personal level in 'The

birthday'. Like the rest of the nation, Paman in August 1640 can find no obvious answer, or even the illusion of one, and the poem raises issues that appear to have no solution. He, like the rest of the populace, is in a state of limbo, which again may be considered to mirror the fact that August fell between the sittings of the Short and Long Parliaments, a time during which parliamentary activity was in abeyance. Though the presence of a date in the title fixes the political events to which the poem alludes, the poem could still have considerable relevance later when it was selected for inclusion in RP 147. For those reading the poem in the 1650s, for instance, it would provide a commentary on the past events and enable those events to be assessed in the light of the current state of affairs.

In the less overtly political poem 'Good Friday' Paman still conveys the sense of internal confusion. Debate has subsided and is replaced by a tone of passive acceptance that all hope is lost in life, and that only death holds the answer. Even in this, though, the poet's confidence in himself has been shaken. He asks

Where shall I seeke thee? If I hope to have

Thee in thy Heaven, Thou'st shrunk into a Grave.

(5-6)

The poet's inner confusion is associated with darkness and lack of direction which has been caused by the disintegration of an external structure. He is lost in a strange and unfamiliar world and seeks a guiding light to pursue his search for the true God. He realises that his search must be inward as the external conflict has, for him, driven God away; it is into his own heart

that he conducts his search:

Perhaps thou mayst be there, Lend me thy art  
And light to search, That place may prove my Heart.

(17-18)

The poet's desperate need for religious security and stability is conveyed in the concluding lines:

Oh might I find thee there, I'd beg Thy stay  
Rise what thou wouldst Thou shouldst not go away.

(23-24)

A reaction to the sense of disunity and a 'divided self' is also seen in the poems which have an alternative approach to dialogue or debate - those highlighting the virtues of others who have died, taking with them the last vestige of hope for the future. Paman's tribute to Lady Mary Lewkenor is an example. The opening lines of this poem are charged with political language that cannot be divorced from the date of Lady Lewkenor's death in October 1642. The force with which the statement 'Though Truth be dangerous' is made gives credence to the factual implications of the legal metaphor: 'Though lies have a protection, and beare saile/ Up, like a theife or Ruffian under baile'. The risk of such a blatant commentary on the political state of affairs regarding freedom of expression was reduced by the potential for subjective interpretation; both Anglicans and Puritans, during their alternate periods of dominance, imposed strict rules of censorship on their opponents.

Paman contrasts the world which, though it should be unified, has become divided and consequently 'one great Faction', with

Lady Lewkenor in whom disparate virtues were united to make her a 'true Hermaphrodite' and an exemplar to others. Though it is Lady Lewkenor who has died she is celebrated for having achieved a personal unity with religious order which is denied those who remain alive. It is the 'poore Hectique world' that is described in terms of illness and decay, and as a consequence suffering the inevitable physical disintegration which results from a lingering and wasting disease:

Thy parts consume liveness, yett never call  
For thy last feaver, nor at once to dye  
But Mangled in a live Anatomy.

Why here th' hast lost an eye, and yett canst sleepe  
With th' other, which should rather rise and weepe,  
Thou hast lost armes, legs, hart, all thy witts gone  
Except some little to be troublesome  
Yett thou wouldst live.

(22-29)

As with the opening lines, the concluding observation is politically loaded, but remains sufficiently opaque to allow a flexible interpretation, depending on when and by whom the poem is read. A literal reading of the lines:

For who good company would have  
I see must either search the Jayles or Grave,

(59-60)

allows them to stand as the final compliment to the woman whose death the poem is commemorating, but a wider contextual reading includes a possible meaning for the supporters of the Laudian

regime. Laud and Strafford, the two main pillars on which the success of Charles' religious and political ideals rested, were 'victims' of the parliamentary changes. In 1642 Anglicans searching the 'Jayles' or 'Grave' were likely to find such martyrs to their cause as Laud and Strafford respectively. For those of the opposite view, the earlier imprisonment of such men as Alexander Gill and William Prynne might be considered to be the subjects of the allusion.

Alexander Gill is the subject of Townly's poem 'To Ben: Johnson. On Gills Rayling' in which Gill's indiscreet comments regarding the assassination of Buckingham are satirized. Townly's comments are motivated by the fact that 'so disgract a quill' should have dared to write abusive verses about Jonson's play The Magnetick Ladye. Gill's poem was written in 1631 and Townly probably wrote his soon after. Unlike Jonson (who wrote 'An Answer to Alexander Gill', Ungathered Verse 39), Townly does not restrict his attack to a tirade of personal invective, but embellishes it with topical political allusion. Townly equates Gill's earlier anti-establishment outspokenness with his later, and in his view, misguided opinion of Jonson who, within his circle of followers, was esteemed the 'established' authority.

Beyond the superficial insight into contemporary rivalry and petty literary squabbles, the poem signals to a modern reader the use to which such a poem could be deployed by a later audience. The potential political appropriateness coupled with the shrewd (or lucky) prophetic observation, append to the poem a relevance beyond the occasion to which it purports to allude. Townly's

observation that

His verses shall be counted censures, when  
Cast malefactors are made Jurymen

(11-12)

is intended as a contemptuous slight at what the poet believes to be the depravity of Gill's political and religious proclivities. Townly depicts a hypothetical inversion of order that, at the time of writing, probably seemed too extreme to become a reality. Nonetheless, the lines convey a tone of unerring prophesy, enhanced by the use of the word 'meanwhile' which serves to balance the future with the present. The reader is reminded of, and returned to, the present concerns after a brief glimpse into the future. The significance of these lines is increased as the occurrence of later events transforms them into a factual statement. The political symbolism contained within a poem originally intended as a personal attack on one man, could be exploited later by others as an expression of contempt for a wider body of opinions epitomised by Gill's own. For those who remained loyal to the royalist cause, but were silenced by those in power, the succinct line 'Cast malefactors are made Jurymen' encapsulates the dilemma (for them) of the 1650s when those previously 'on trial' for their opinions subsequently overturned the system so that they then sat in judgment on others.

As early as the 1640s, once the Long Parliament was established, the inversion of political order became increasingly apparent. The legal imagery is particularly pertinent to the reversal of fortunes of men such as William Prynne and William

Laud. Prynne, in Laud's view, a dangerous subversive and typical 'cast malefactor', seized the opportunity to be instrumental in censuring Laud during his trial before parliament.<sup>16</sup> This poem, like numerous others, acquired a relevance and usefulness beyond its original intention. Such verse could be circulated in reasonable safety for 'amusement' while combining the additional objective of political comment and observation to those who held like minded beliefs.

In RP 147 the modern reader is also made aware of the fact that public ballads and satires were not the only means of expressing opinion; nor are the partisan views stated in them unanimously shared. Their tone, style, and purpose are worth contrasting with a somewhat quieter voice which, though subtler, is no less representative of a significant body of opinion, particularly in the earlier years of hostilities.

Moderate opinion, generally expressed by those confused and distressed by the increase in opposing factions, is more usually conveyed undramatically in personal poems of an introspective or meditative nature. These private expressions are often an attempt to clarify doubts and fears, and are rarely intended as propaganda. Two examples are 'On a Bile' by Sampson Briggs, and 'St Stephens Feild' by Clement Paman. In these highly personal poems the writers eschew a style of partisan accusation, the rallying call of public satire, and choose instead a more thoughtful and balanced line of reasoning. Briggs died in 1643 at the seige of Gloucester fighting on the King's side. His poem was probably written towards the latter part of 1642 and provides

confirmation that opinion and support did not always divide cleanly and naturally into two distinct camps. The tone of the poem suggests that it was written retrospectively and that the beliefs originally held by the poet had gradually changed in the light of subsequent events. Central to the poem is the sense of a dilemma of conscience. The initial tone is one of support for the actions described (i.e. lines 1-20) but is subsequently subverted by the increasing presence of a self-critical voice. This antithesis expresses the confusion of one originally in sympathy with the parliamentary attempts to restrain the king's prerogative and redress his excesses, but who later regretted the descent into armed rebellion. Though Briggs fought for the King's cause, his early loyalties may have been less unequivocal before there existed the need to take military sides. Such a view is expressed by Edmund Verney who wrote 'I do not like the quarrel, and do heartily wish that the king would yield and consent to what they [parliament] desire; so that my conscience is only concerned in honour and in gratitude to follow my master...[but] chose rather to lose my life (which I am sure to do) to preserve and defend those things which are against my conscience to preserve and defend: for I will deal freely with you, I have no reverence for the bishops, for whom this quarrel [subsists]'.<sup>17</sup>

In 'St Stephens Feild' Paman's central argument is the usefulness of discussion and moderation. As with so many for whom the unity of church and state was a fundamental element in their religious beliefs, he was alarmed by the extent of their current differences, and the thought of military action as the only

remedy. He begins his argument by attacking the illusion that war is attractive, and exposes the reality:

War now appear'd to Ladyes I' their own shapes,  
That's fayre and innocent; No feare of Rape,  
Unlesse of Fancy, which so fill'd each breast  
Each night conceiv'd a Colonell at least.  
But well may softer Ladyes stand and see  
Rough warre, where bulletts are but Property.

(9-14)

Throughout the poem Paman attempts to divest himself of personal opinion and to act as a neutral mediator to two fractious adversaries, who appear not to realise the full consequences of their belligerence. He pursues his argument by appealing to their nobler instincts, and his advice is to

Lett others boast their spoiles then and events,  
And rayse a glory from a Punishment,  
Wee envy not their Practise, but can boast  
We learne the Arts of blood with lesser cost.  
I know the name of Victory sounds loud,  
Yet she's most Noble when she had least of blood.

(23-8)

This line of reasoning is expanded with an additional warning:

Thus our wiser Tymes  
Where muzzel'd war goes tyded, and sheath'd, afford  
A way to make the Scabbard owe the sword.

Some conquest works at Distance, and To bee  
Able to or'e come's Implicite victory.

(36-40)

This warning is reinforced in line 51 with the clipped prognosis that 'Calme Peace is the Best Pulse'. The sentiment, that in certain circumstances peaceful negotiation is more noble and influential than war, is not an uncommon one. Milton, in his sonnet to Cromwell, reminds him that 'peace hath her victories/ No less renown'd than warre'. Later, after Cromwell had been appointed Protector, the Recorder of London in a public speech, obliquely alluded to the risks inherent in military dictatorship by citing God's pleasure in a leader's 'giving in of Affections of the people' (cf. note 57, p.457). Paman's final warning to those considering war stems from his belief that it is not only human approbation that is at stake. His personal religious commitment emerges briefly when he appeals directly to God, and requests him to use his influence over those threatening the unity of the church. He beseeches him to not allow the destruction of 'Kings...Sees and Thrones', which are of divine creation; he continues

Turne not the Church a feild; Nor looke you on  
Untill the sword must go in Visitation  
And take the Bishoppes work, Tis madnes, say,  
To make a Covenant wee will not Pray:  
Nor surely are those either Pure or Good  
Who like no Rubrick, but whats writt in blood.

(57-62)

This is clearly the voice of reason and moderation, representative of those who disliked the extremes and arbitrary regulations of both sides, and believed a compromise was the only true answer. These two poems highlight the fact that on an individual level support for one side or another was not an easy decision; in many instances it was ultimately the challenge to the King's sovereignty, in the shape of military force, which precipitated the need to choose a 'side'. The ultimate decision inevitably divided many with shared views and ideals.

The notion of moderation in the poetry of the early and mid seventeenth century is an important one as regards the signalling of public and private attitude to the political events of that period. This attitude of moderation is not only evidenced in specific poems but is also manifested in many of the miscellanies as a whole. RP 147 is fairly typical in respect of the breadth of subject matter and variety of verse that is included. From the list of contents it is clear that there are examples of most types of verse, most of which is occasional or commendatory in nature. The process of annotation has revealed that though many of the poems are capable of being redeployed, often from more than one political viewpoint, as a whole the manuscript is not consistently partisan in tone. There is a greater leaning towards the royalist stance, but there are also examples where the original sentiments, and any potential for redeployment, are critical of the royalist regime. Such an example is 'On Felton hanging in Chaynes' which was one of a plethora of verse on the Duke of Buckingham's assassination by Felton. Public feeling

against monarchical favouritism generally, and Buckingham's abuse of it specifically, resulted in almost unanimous sympathy with Felton's action. This sympathy, almost amounting to admiration in some quarters, was taken seriously by those in power, as Alexander Gill learned to his cost when he toasted Felton at a University gathering in the hearing of one of Laud's associates.<sup>18</sup>

Though many of the poems are addressed to the monarch, recording occasions of State importance, it is not axiomatic that the manuscript as a whole was intended as royalist propaganda. There is no reason not to allow the scribe a catholic taste in his selection, especially as (as has already been mentioned) the purpose was to amass the popular poetry that was circulating at the time.

Another interpretation of moderation is that of political reality which is frequently present in the verse; even the most ardent supporters of the King were not always blind to his shortcomings. 'Attacks' by loyalists were generally of a personal satirical nature rather than overtly political, but the existence of such verse highlights the age-old fact that the ruling body, regardless of ideology, will always be satirized and criticised by the populace. A poem of particular relevance in this respect is 'Witt in a Tempest. A translation' by Henry Molle. This poem appears initially to be nothing more than a whimsical piece of writing by Molle, most probably while he was still an undergraduate at Cambridge, but at the time it was written the very subtle (and now almost hidden) allusion would not have gone

unnoticed.

The event alluded to is one that occurred during Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham's return journey from Spain in 1623. The storm in question blew up while Charles was being transferred into a smaller boat which was to carry him to the shore. During this storm his life was thought to be in danger. Waller, in his poem entitled 'Of the danger His Majesty (being Prince) escaped all the rode at Saint Andere'.<sup>19</sup>, praised Prince Charles' bravery because he remained composed while others feared for their lives, but his behaviour was not construed as heroic by every commentator. Sir Simond D'Ewes, the Puritan Diarist, interpreted Charles' behaviour as a sign of ignorance rather than bravery, because he was unaware of the danger. Molle's lines:

They left their worke and fell to praying.

But one who thought no time to loose

When all the rest were on their knees

Ransacks the cupbords, falls to eate,

All what came next, it was good meate

(6-10)

may be compared with D'Ewes entry in his diary where he recorded that Charles, instead of falling on his knees and praying, asked whether there was any meat for supper.<sup>20</sup> Such a reading is confirmed by the title of the poem: 'translation' is used here in the sense of 'transference', 'removal or conveyance' from one place to another (OED I 1a). The implication of 'ignorance' made by D'Ewes is also implied in the concluding lines:

Soe carelesse in that miserye:

Content yourselfe, replyed hee  
H'ad neede to eate a bitt I thinke  
That thus much water hath to drinke.

The satire in this poem is an example of a form of moderation because it is not a partisan piece of writing but is written by one whose allegiance was to the King. Molle's awareness of the shortfalls of the royal family were possibly coloured by his personal experience. His father had been arrested in Rome by the Inquisition and imprisoned, and it was believed by some that more could have been done on the part of the King to negotiate his release.

'Let our frail thoughts dally  
with false surmise.'<sup>21</sup>

Attributing authorship to minor seventeenth-century poetry can be an almost impossible task where an autograph copy does not exist. The scope for speculative argument and subjective reasoning is endless. It is arguable that the principles used by editors to establish the authenticity and stemma of a text, when numerous and disparate variants exist, are arbitrary and subjective; to apply these principles to variant texts only extant in differing scribal hands can be quite misleading. As already noted, the bulk of minor seventeenth-century verse survives in the numerous verse miscellanies and commonplace books which were compiled and circulated by those interested in reading and collecting contemporary verse. Many poems are anonymous, or when compared with other copies, bear conflicting attributions. Additional textual complexities are introduced with the possibility of 'scribal error'. A closer inspection and collation of only a few examples reveals that the numerous, though generally minor variations are more an indication of the scribe's ability as a copyist than a clue to a possible source. Many differences between texts may be explained by lack of attention by the scribe or temporary distraction from the task. Word changes may even reflect a desire to 'correct' or 'improve' a verse which was, after all, copied for personal enjoyment. More often the errors are simply the result of misinterpreting illegible handwriting. Without substantial evidence to attribute

This is clearly the voice of reason and moderation, representative of those who disliked the extremes and arbitrary regulations of both sides, and believed a compromise was the only true answer. These two poems highlight the fact that on an individual level support for one side or another was not an easy decision; in many instances it was ultimately the challenge to the King's sovereignty, in the shape of military force, which precipitated the need to choose a 'side'. The ultimate decision inevitably divided many with shared views and ideals.

The notion of moderation in the poetry of the early and mid seventeenth century is an important one as regards the signalling of public and private attitude to the political events of that period. This attitude of moderation is not only evidenced in specific poems but is also manifested in many of the miscellanies as a whole. RP 147 is fairly typical in respect of the breadth of subject matter and variety of verse that is included. From the list of contents it is clear that there are examples of most types of verse, most of which is occasional or commendatory in nature. The process of annotation has revealed that though many of the poems are capable of being redeployed, often from more than one political viewpoint, as a whole the manuscript is not consistently partisan in tone. There is a greater leaning towards the royalist stance, but there are also examples where the original sentiments, and any potential for redeployment, are critical of the royalist regime. Such an example is 'On Felton hanging in Chaynes' which was one of a plethora of verse on the Duke of Buckingham's assassination by Felton. Public feeling

against monarchical favouritism generally, and Buckingham's abuse of it specifically, resulted in almost unanimous sympathy with Felton's action. This sympathy, almost amounting to admiration in some quarters, was taken seriously by those in power, as Alexander Gill learned to his cost when he toasted Felton at a University gathering in the hearing of one of Laud's associates.<sup>18</sup>

Though many of the poems are addressed to the monarch, recording occasions of State importance, it is not axiomatic that the manuscript as a whole was intended as royalist propaganda. There is no reason not to allow the scribe a catholic taste in his selection, especially as (as has already been mentioned) the purpose was to amass the popular poetry that was circulating at the time.

Another interpretation of moderation is that of political reality which is frequently present in the verse; even the most ardent supporters of the King were not always blind to his shortcomings. 'Attacks' by loyalists were generally of a personal satirical nature rather than overtly political, but the existence of such verse highlights the age-old fact that the ruling body, regardless of ideology, will always be satirized and criticised by the populace. A poem of particular relevance in this respect is 'Witt in a Tempest. A translation' by Henry Molle. This poem appears initially to be nothing more than a whimsical piece of writing by Molle, most probably while he was still an undergraduate at Cambridge, but at the time it was written the very subtle (and now almost hidden) allusion would not have gone

unnoticed.

The event alluded to is one that occurred during Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham's return journey from Spain in 1623. The storm in question blew up while Charles was being transferred into a smaller boat which was to carry him to the shore. During this storm his life was thought to be in danger. Waller, in his poem entitled 'Of the danger His Majesty (being Prince) escaped all the rode at Saint Andere'.<sup>19</sup>, praised Prince Charles' bravery because he remained composed while others feared for their lives, but his behaviour was not construed as heroic by every commentator. Sir Simond D'Ewes, the Puritan Diarist, interpreted Charles' behaviour as a sign of ignorance rather than bravery, because he was unaware of the danger. Molle's lines:

They left their worke and fell to praying.

But one who thought no time to loose

When all the rest were on their knees

Ransacks the cupbords, falls to eate,

All what came next, it was good meate

(6-10)

may be compared with D'Ewes entry in his diary where he recorded that Charles, instead of falling on his knees and praying, asked whether there was any meat for supper.<sup>20</sup> Such a reading is confirmed by the title of the poem: 'translation' is used here in the sense of 'transference', 'removal or conveyance' from one place to another (OED I 1a). The implication of 'ignorance' made by D'Ewes is also implied in the concluding lines:

Soe carelesse in that miserye:

Content yourselfe, replied hee  
H'ad neede to eate a bitt I thinke  
That thus much water hath to drinke.

The satire in this poem is an example of a form of moderation because it is not a partisan piece of writing but is written by one whose allegiance was to the King. Molle's awareness of the shortfalls of the royal family were possibly coloured by his personal experience. His father had been arrested in Rome by the Inquisition and imprisoned, and it was believed by some that more could have been done on the part of the King to negotiate his release.

Some conquest works at Distance, and To bee  
Able to or'e come's Implicite victory.

(36-40)

This warning is reinforced in line 51 with the clipped prognosis that 'Calme Peace is the Best Pulse'. The sentiment, that in certain circumstances peaceful negotiation is more noble and influential than war, is not an uncommon one. Milton, in his sonnet to Cromwell, reminds him that 'peace hath her victories/ No less renown'd than warre'. Later, after Cromwell had been appointed Protector, the Recorder of London in a public speech, obliquely alluded to the risks inherent in military dictatorship by citing God's pleasure in a leader's 'giving in of Affections of the people' (cf. note 57, p.457). Paman's final warning to those considering war stems from his belief that it is not only human approbation that is at stake. His personal religious commitment emerges briefly when he appeals directly to God, and requests him to use his influence over those threatening the unity of the church. He beseeches him to not allow the destruction of 'Kings...Sees and Thrones', which are of divine creation; he continues

Turne not the Church a feild; Nor looke you on  
Untill the sword must go in Visitation  
And take the Bishopps work, Tis madnes, say,  
To make a Covenant wee will not Pray:  
Nor surely are those either Pure or Good  
Who like no Rubrick, but whats writt in blood.

(57-62)

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authorship confidently, many of the more popular poems are consigned to the category of 'doubtful' verse associated with a poet believed to be the author. In other instances the element of doubt allows argument and dissention to flourish where, for whatever reason, it is desirable to disregard a previous attribution.

In manuscript RP 147 many of the poems are anonymous but occur in other manuscripts ascribed to specific authors. The source of the ascription is rarely apparent, and in the majority of cases the details of the poets remain obscure. The poems 'On the Death of William Henshaw' and 'An Elegie on the Death of William Carre', for example, are ascribed in RP 147 to Cornwallis. They also occur, similarly ascribed, in MS Tanner 465, written in the hand of Archbishop Sancroft. The variations are minimal but the relative authority of the two manuscripts remains a mystery because the original source is not known. Even the corresponding ascriptions are inadequate as positive evidence unless the source from which they were both copied is identified. L.C. Martin, an earlier editor of Richard Crashaw's verse,<sup>22</sup> has chosen to admit these poems, albeit tenuously, into the Crashaw canon. For the reasons stated above he doubts the authenticity of Cornwallis' attribution, believing them instead to be the work of Crashaw. Though they were not included in the contemporary editions of Crashaw's work, Martin justifies his unprecedented inclusion on the basis of 'internal' evidence of Crashaw's style. Such editorial licence highlights the subjective nature of interpreting what little evidence exists, and also reinforces the

view that such claims are expressions of personal opinion, and must remain so until proven otherwise. The examples that Martin gives of internal evidence are quite convincing, though the general criteria on which his final judgment is based are highly contentious (Crashaw's Poetical Works, pp.lxx-lxxi). Two points in particular demand to be challenged on behalf of those writers who are not considered major poets by twentieth-century standards of taste and popularity, but who were admired within their own circle: first, that the ascriptions to Cornwallis 'might have arisen from Cornwallis' having claimed them whereas in fact he had appropriated them, or obtained Crashaw's assistance in writing them or induced Crashaw to write them for him'; and second that 'Cornwallis is otherwise apparently unknown as a poet, whereas if the ascription to him is correct he is the author of two poems which not only recall features of Crashaw's style and imagery but which vie intrinsically with that writer's best achievements in the elegiac form'. This is purely supposition because there are no grounds for believing Cornwallis to have 'appropriated' them from Crashaw. Similarity in allusion and style is too frequent in seventeenth-century verse to provide conclusive evidence. On such a premise all parody and imitation would be more correctly assigned to the originators of the model. If Cornwallis 'borrowed' from Crashaw he was only doing what many poets, on occasion, have done. It is also important to remember that although Cornwallis is not well known in the twentieth century, he may have enjoyed an appreciative audience within his own circle of friends. Furthermore, the quantity of a poet's

output need not necessarily be an indication of his skill.

The subject matter of an author's work would also determine the extent to which it was circulated, and whether it achieved transient or lasting fame. Commemorative verse written about people known only to a few would naturally have a limited audience, unless the author later published a collection of his work. It surely cannot be argued with any conviction that only 'well-known' poets can be considered as eligible when attempting to attribute authorship, or that to be relatively unknown automatically removes any legitimate claim to authorship, however slight. Earlier in his discussion of the Tanner manuscript Martin argues that there is 'no reason to doubt' what is stated in the index about the text of Crashaw's poems having been taken from Crashaw's 'own copie', though he is more reluctant to trust Sancroft's accuracy when he attributes the poems in question to Cornwallis. Although the Tanner index is confusing because of Sancroft's idiosyncratic abbreviations, and it contains a few inaccuracies, there is no more reason to doubt what is recorded concerning the Cornwallis poems than those by Crashaw. There is no evidence to suggest that the poems attributed to Cornwallis in the index were copied from the same source as Crashaw's verse. After all, if they were included in Crashaw's 'own copie', and he was the author, they are unlikely to have been ascribed to another; even if the copy was not in Crashaw's hand, being in his possession it is similarly unlikely.

The subjective nature of Martin's claims is revealed in his interpretation of the same evidence when considering the correct

authorship of another poem also believed by some to be Crashaw's work, though it is ascribed to another elsewhere. The poem, entitled 'Upon a Gnatt which was Burnt in a Candle' is ascribed to Thomas Vincent in RP 147, and RP 210, though as the latter is written in the same hand it cannot be considered as independent corroborative evidence. The poem occurs anonymously in Tanner 465 but the page number on which it is written is included in the index listing Crashaw's verse (though a title is not given). In this instance Martin is more willing to accept the external evidence of its attribution to Vincent in another text. Furthermore, he believes that the 'comparatively awkward, jerky prosody and the absence of any imagery characteristic of Crashaw strengthens faith in the relatively unknown Vincent's claim to authorship'.

Another poem whose authorship may be disputed is 'Song' beginning 'When as the Nightingale chanted the Vesper'. This poem, entitled 'A Song of Marke Antony', was first printed in John Cleveland's The Character of a London Diurnal, with severall select Poems by the same Author, Optima et Novissima Editio, 1647, and subsequently included in all the following contemporary editions of his work with the exception of the four editions of John Cleveland Revived: Nathaniel Brooke. The poem in question was part of the 'additional material'. Because of this repeated inclusion with Cleveland's verse, the poem has been assimilated into the Cleveland canon, even though conclusive evidence does not exist to confirm his authorship. It is important to remember that with the exception of RP 147, where the poem is ascribed 'S.

Briggs', all manuscript versions are unattributed. As a copy of the poem does not exist in Cleveland's hand, Briggs' claim to the authorship should not be overlooked. Furthermore, it may also be argued in Briggs' favour that the printed attribution to Cleveland is no more reliable as a positive source of evidence than the ascription to Briggs in a scribal hand. All too frequently the contents of contemporary printed editions of verse were gathered from the numerous manuscripts which circulated, and in the case of anonymous verse, authorship was often erroneously attributed. The printed edition in which the poem first appeared raises doubts rather than settles them because of the absence of publication details. The names of the printer and publisher are omitted, as is the place of publication; nor does Cleveland's name appear on the title page. In the light of these observations it is worth considering the case for attributing authorship to the lesser known Samson Briggs.

Briggs, though known to his contemporaries as a poet, is known to only a few now. With the exception of his poem on Edward King none of his work was ever published in contemporary, or subsequent editions of seventeenth-century verse. This, naturally, has reduced his chances of ever being seriously considered as a challenger for the authorship of a poem assumed by precedent to be the work of a better-known author. As has already been noted, poetic style and quality, and internal evidence are inconclusive factors on which to base a claim in favour of a particular author; but they may at least be cited to justify the reason for making such a claim. If one were to apply

Martin's criterion concerning poetic quality, one would conclude that the poem should more deservedly be conceded to Briggs as he is the lesser known of the two! However, that procedure would of course proclaim Briggs as the most likely author by default rather than by positive arguments in his favour.

When searching for internal evidence of an author's characteristic style there is always the difficulty of distinguishing the use of familiar commonplaces from more original or individual characteristics. In the case of 'A Song of Marke Antony', one might usefully examine another poem ascribed to Briggs, entitled 'Eumorphe'. Compare, for example, the simile chosen to describe the 'golden hayre' referred to in both poems. In each instance hair is depicted as a means of captivating the admirer, both figuratively and literally, 'as if hayre had been for fetters assigned'. This image of hair is developed in lines 23-6:

With that so precious twine, as might cause Jove  
Turn covetous, or greedy Pluto Love.  
With which as chaines she can great Monarcks state  
To her triumphate beauty captivate.

Similarly, the image of love's dart, a commonplace in love poetry, is extended and developed by Briggs to convey the effects, on each other, of the lovers' looks and smiles.

In 'A Song of Marke Antony' he writes

Then we did often dart  
At each others hart

Arrows which knew no smart  
Sweet looks with smiles betweene.

(27-30)

The imagery is used in the same way in 'Eumorphe:

Hir browes are bowes, as oft she doth dart  
Through them her glaunces, they do peirce the heart,  
If amorously she shoote, with open breast  
That arrow wee receive, and thinke us blest,

(47-50)

and by line 45 of 'A Song' the 'sweet looks with smiles' have also become 'amorous glaunces'. The distinctive characteristic in the poet's reworking of this familiar image is in his use of the word 'dart'. It is intended to be interpreted both in the context of 'briefly' snatched glances, and as a pun on 'arrow', with the implicit sense of penetration.

The poet's choice of metaphor in line 48 of 'A Song': 'Numbring of kisses Arithmeticke prove', is another commonplace used in love poetry, and is used by Briggs in 'Eumorphe' to convey the extent of the woman's virtues:

They're infinite, such as to number will  
Puzzle Arithmeticke, much more my skill.

(91-2)

Here the similarity in style ends because the final stanza, on careful reading, appears to be something of an anomaly. There is a considerable change in poetic register which is arguably the consequence of its being written by another poet. The rhythm is far more controlled and the verbal precision is in sharp contrast

to that of the previous stanzas (particularly the third) in which the scansion is irregular. The final stanza as a whole achieves a fluency which is only previously glimpsed in occasional lines. It is not impossible that Briggs could achieve such mastery because there are similar flashes of technical proficiency in his other verse though he never manages to sustain the effect for a whole poem. Two examples worth attention are lines 19-24 of 'Loves Duell':

By the magicke of her eye  
    She enchanted hath my hart  
By her beauteous Majesty  
    Captivated is each part  
    Yett my soule dares not disclose  
    In verse, who 'tis she loves in Prose

and lines 13-8 of 'A Groane':

All-seeing Critick, thou who canst refine  
    Every corrupted line.  
Oh take thy sponge of mercy and, with this  
    Blott out what ere's amisse.  
Then read me through and the imperfect good  
Write out at length in my sweet Saviours blood.

Conversly, Briggs' more characteristic style is inclined to prolix elaboration of similes in preference to succinct metaphors bordering on the 'metaphysical'. A conceivable hypothesis is that Briggs is the author of stanzas one to four, and that at a later date another poet, possibly Cleveland, contributed the final stanza, resulting ultimately in the poem's inclusion within

Cleveland's work. This possibility is strengthened because of the way in which manuscript poetry was passed on, copied, and passed on. It is not even necessary that Briggs and Cleveland (or whoever) should have known each other if they had a mutual acquaintance.

Similar examples of doubtful and disputed authorship abound and these specific cases serve to highlight the difficulties that confront those attempting to edit poetical miscellanies. Because of the desire to solve the mysteries of doubtful authorship, such solutions are tempting and convenient, and if argued with conviction, even convincing. It must, however, be remembered that without conclusive evidence such 'solutions' are opinions and, quite possibly, 'false surmise'.

'More solid things doe not show the  
complexion of the times so well  
as ballads and libells.'<sup>23</sup>

After the abolition of the Star Chamber in 1641 there was a proliferation of newsbooks and pamphlets, stimulated by the popular desire for information. Learned and arcane controversial tracts were the domain of scholars; the rest of the literate population required a medium more accessible. There was an eager and receptive audience for the numerous newsbooks which were generally scurrilous and satirical in tone and partisan in matters of politics and religion. Poetry was frequently used in the newsbooks to influence public opinion. The poets of the time, like most other Englishmen, became, to a lesser or greater extent, involved in the conflict of the Civil War. They realised that if poetry was to be effective as propaganda it needed to be written in a popular medium and therefore the poets adopted the tone and manner of the street ballads and ale-house drinking songs.<sup>24</sup> The established popularity of ballads and the growing prevalence of a 'journalistic' style in public writing dictated the tone a public poet needed to adopt if he wished to gain the attention of a large audience. As early as 1622 the widespread popularity of this style of verse was seen as a threat to the standards and aims of traditional poetry. The fear of a decline in standards is evidenced in the advice afforded to Lord William Howard (second son of the Earl of Arundel) in The Complete

Gentleman. The author, Henry Peacham, advised Howard to give judicious thought to his words, sentences, and matter, and to ignore 'the same ampullous and scenical pomp, with empty furniture of phrase, wherewith the stage and our petty poetic pamphlets sound so big, which like a net in the water, though it feeleth weighty, yet it yieldeth nothing'.<sup>25</sup> Political satire was popular because it spoke out as the voice of people who otherwise had little influence in national affairs. It had a relevance and immediacy that the more refined and stylized courtly and occasional poetry failed to achieve (though of course that too was written for a specific audience). That this type of writing was regarded by the state as a substantial threat is testified by the legal restrictions imposed on writers, printers and publishers, and the determination with which infringement was punished. Culprits were frequently imprisoned and, before the war, may even have been pilloried.<sup>26</sup> In an attempt to control and restrict unauthorised publications Parliament passed several Ordinances, including the Ordinance for Regulating Printing.<sup>27</sup> Set out in the Ordinances were the penalties for those who were caught; the Ordinance of 1647 stated that heavy fines would be imposed and hawkers would be whipped and have their stock confiscated. In 1649 the 'Act Declaring what Offences shall be Adjudged Treason' defined what behaviour the government held to be treasonous, and it included 'maliciously or advisedly' publishing that the government was unlawful, tyrannical or usurped'.<sup>28</sup> Another Act of the same year was passed 'against unlicensed and scandalous books and pamphlets', and stated that

the hawkers and ballad-singers were 'to be sent to the House of Correction'.<sup>29</sup>

Political comment in verse form had the advantage of combining entertainment with the delivery of an attack on the state, religious changes, or any other given topic. The growing public taste for such reading material is the focus of the satire in the opening scene in Cosmo Manuche's play The Loyal Lovers. In response to the Adrastus' request, the book-cryer offers him a work entitled 'A true, perfect and exact account of Justice Dapper, and his Clark's Sodomitical revenue, to the great disabling, and impoverishing the Active, and well affected Females'.<sup>30</sup> The title parodies a convention that had proved compatible with popular taste and an example is included in RP 147: Denham's poem 'News from Colchester' is in the form of a song, and is a variation on a theme previously used by John Berkenhead, the royalist writer. The obscene topic of bestiality was frequently used by royalists to attack what they believed to be hypocrisy and licentiousness in the behaviour of puritan and presbyterian ministers. In 1643 a ballad entitled the 'Holy Rebell' was included by Berkenhead in Mercurius Aulicus.<sup>31</sup> The joke proved popular and provided the theme for his broadside ballad 'The Four-Legg'd Elder', which was published in August 1647. The subject is the 'marriage' between an Elder's dog and his maid who 'according to the Directory,/ They two were Dog and wife' (lines 37-40). The success of these 'graceless Ballads' lay in the combination of obscenity and a direct attack on the presbyterians in a manner particularly offensive to them. A

further reworking of this theme is to be found in Berkenhead's later poem 'The Four-Legg'd Quaker', the model for Denham's poem, in which a Quaker's sexual proclivities are specifically targeted as the object of ridicule. The outrageous behaviour of the more eccentric members of religious sects enabled the writers to spice existing ballads with topical comment and thereby maintain their popularity. The problem for a twentieth-century reader is recognising and appreciating the satirical force and relevance in allusions to people and events that have subsequently lapsed into obscurity. Though the lines

Help Woodcock, Jos and Naylor  
For Brother Green's a stallion  
Now alas what hope  
Of converting the Pope  
When a Quaker turns Italian

(6-10)

need annotation for us to appreciate them, the satire would have been immediately apparent to a contemporary audience.

The ribaldry had great entertainment value and the political comment relevance, not only for the Anglicans, but as time went on, for a growing number of dissatisfied puritans whose personal freedom was increasingly curbed by excessive restrictions.

Ballads depicting the views of those involved in war were particularly popular, and for the twentieth-century reader provide a contrast to official reports which had a tendency to concentrate on providing a record of dates, locations, and winners. We also get an idea of how these events and their

eventual outcome were perceived by those who 'like waiters at a feast' had little choice but to serve their country. 'The Scotchmans Story' is a typical example; it comments on the Bishops' war of 1639, though the tone is somewhat ambiguous and may even be a parody of this type of verse. Parody was a particularly versatile device generally deployed to ridicule the enemy. During the Civil War there was a fashion for ballads and popular verses written as if in the opponent's voice. The satire or ridicule rested on the fact that the singer or reader had to impersonate the identity of the poem's persona. Often the ridicule was made apparent from the start, but the subtlety of the device depended on the tone remaining credible.<sup>32</sup> This was possibly the intention of the anonymous author of 'The Scotchmans Story' because the narrator is compelled to deliver an account of events in such a way as to condemn himself and his cause as a failure. The subtle effect is achieved because the poet counter-balances detail with 'confession'. The relatively lively opening, typical of the ballad style, is finally undercut and exposed as a sham when the narrator states 'I must confesse', and proceeds with a catalogue of admissions unfavourable to the higher motives expected in a war fought over religious ideals. He admits that

We fought for gold and not for vain glory  
And there's an end of the Scotchmans story.

(67-8)

The poem 'A new Letany' is an example of a particular style of satire which flourished during the Interregnum. Its purpose (like

most political satire) was to attack the religion and state reforms, but it succeeded in conveying additional contempt for those deemed responsible because it parodied the litany which these reforms aimed to abolish.

Lucy Hutchinson, in her biography of her husband, observed that 'whoever was zealous for God's glory or worship, could not endure blasphemous oaths, ribald conversation, profane scoffs, Sabbath-breaking, derision of the word of God, and the like' were considered Puritans, and deemed by non-puritans to be 'enemies to the king and his government, seditious factious hypocrites, and ambitious disturbers of the public peace'. She acknowledges that to many they became an endless source of amusement, and that 'every stage, and every table, and every puppet-play, belched forth profane scoffs upon the Puritans; the drunkards made them their songs; and fiddlers and mimics learned to abuse them, as finding it the most gameful way of fooling.<sup>33</sup> The content of the poem is a catalogue of complaint and accusation, highlighting what the writer believes to be the state's injustice, hypocrisy, and contravention of God's own laws. The poet juxtaposes the theological arguments at issue with the more practical consequences, on every-day life, of their implementation. For example, the lines

And from a disobedient fayth  
From quoting Acts of Parliament  
Against the Law-givers intent

(58-60)

raise the controversial issue of secular law and parliament's

increasing powers. The phrase 'Law-givers intent' is clearly a reference to God's laws, but it also prompts the image of the king, the earthly law-giver by divine appointment, whose prerogative has consequently been diminished. Later, the king's integral role in the church hierarchy is more explicitly asserted:

From setting church Assemblies free  
From all royall authoritie.  
A free Assembly falsly nam'd  
Which is not by the King proclaim'd.

(81-4)

For the majority of ordinary people the higher issue of the king's prerogative and divine right was translated into one of arbitrary personal restriction and punishment. The strictness of the laws, and the increasing injustice with which they were carried out, alienated many who originally welcomed the abolition of episcopacy. Specific attention is drawn to the contentious Sabbath-day laws:

From fasting on the Lords own day  
Fasting without warrant I say  
And fasting which the Lord doth hate  
For maintaining strife and debate.

(17-20)

Though the poet only hints at the repercussions and 'strife' caused by these laws, we may confidently assume that for a contemporary audience, a hint was quite sufficient to convey the implied horror of their implementation.

Though 'A new Letany' is largely concerned with the serious issues of church reform, the poet concludes the poem with an attack in the more common form of abuse and ridicule. From line 129 the focus of the satire is levelled at the personal characteristics of the preachers. The caricature of a puritan minister, in which his moral and physical qualities are derided, is frequently portrayed in royalist satire. The poet begins his attack with the predictable accusation:

From preachers that have words in store  
And faces too, but nothing more  
From those who when their matter failes  
Run out their glasse with idle tales.

(129-32)

These lines reiterate the contempt felt for those preachers who lacked the formal education of the bishops and therefore delivered sermons which lectured the congregation and moralized about their behaviour. Less predictable, and therefore more noteworthy, is the poet's depiction of the preacher's dress:

From pyed preachers with shoulder ruffs  
Or shoulder-bands with elbow cuffs  
With trapping, knapping, strapping strings,  
Buttons, bonelace, ribbands, and rings  
Points jangling here, points jangling there  
And brave spangaries everywhere.

(145-50)

This detailed account contrasts significantly with the more usual caricature; compare, for example, the opening lines of another

anonymous poem entitled 'The Character of a Roundhead':

What creature's this with his short hairs,  
His little band and huge long ears,

(The Rump, 1662, p.42)

and similarly lines 17-18 of 'On Fucus' (p.9):

The Puritan surely lookt very demurely  
With his little ruff and hose.

There are numerous contemporary references similarly alluding to the sombre sartorial tastes of the puritan clergy. This view is summarized by F.W. Fairholt who states that the puritan clergy 'discarded everything peculiar to clerical costume, and their preachers appeared in plain doublets and cloaks with small Geneva bands'. He adds that they loudly denounced any 'fashion' for the clergy.<sup>34</sup> In the early part of the seventeenth century Laud insisted that ministers should wear the cope for the celebration of Holy Communion, and the surplice for other occasions; hence the vestiarian controversy begun under Queen Elizabeth was revived by the Puritan Party who resisted Laud's stipulations. Puritan ministers favoured the Geneva gown, which was plain and black with white bands or ruff. With so much evidence to the contrary, one wonders why the poet satirizes what appears to be the over-elaborate dress of the preachers he is ridiculing. His jibe seems to rest on the implication that though the 'pyed preachers' appear to be highly fashionable in the latest trimmings, they are really out of step with current trends, and consequently create the impression of being nothing more than 'the country clown' (line 158). Compare a variation of this

technique in a poem by John Taylor entitled 'The Praise of Cleane Linnen',<sup>35</sup>:

Now up aloft I mount unto the ruffe,  
Which into foolish mortals pride doth puffe:  
The little falling bands encreases to ruffes,  
Ruffes (growing great) were waited on by cuffes.

(157-68)

The poet's description may be an original and subtle metaphor for the loud but superficial nature of such preachers. Perhaps his intention is to imply that without the authority of the established church, puritans are out of step with general opinion and taste. Conversely, the description may be intended literally, in which case it challenges the generalization that all puritans dressed in the same plain style, and were averse to pleasure and cultural refinement.<sup>36</sup>

The reasons a poet had for choosing what is now deemed an inferior style of verse are more apparent if compared to the style and comments of a writer such as Milton. Milton proposed to address the religious issues in the manner of learned debate which, unfortunately, as he was only too aware, narrowed the size of his audience. In 1641, still believing in the aims of the presbyterians, he published his pamphlet entitled 'The Reason of Church Government'. He was careful to deflect potential criticism by including the qualification that the importance of the subject necessitated his writing 'out of mine own season' before he had completed the 'full circle' of his private studies. He further informs the reader that even if he were ready as he wished, it

would be 'a folly to commit anything elaborately composed to the careless and interrupted listening of these tumultuous times'. He confirms that in order to be 'popular' a writer must chose a subject which 'of itself might catch applause'. It is quite clear that experience did not cause Milton to revise his opinion of the reading public's taste. In 'Sonnet XI' he expresses further contempt for those easily satisfied, and, in his opinion, lacking the necessary powers of discrimination. He writes:

A Book was writ of late calld Tetrachordon;  
And woven close, both matter, form, and stile;  
The Subject new: it walkd the Town a while,  
Numbring good intellects; now seldom por'd on.  
Cries the stall-reader, bless us! what a word on  
A title page is this! and some in file  
Stand spelling false, while one might walk to Mile-  
End Green.

(1-9)

The concluding lines are also indicative of the fact that the popularity of scurrilous ballads and poems was by no means confined to the uneducated. A similar view is expressed by the royalist writer Edward Symmons who observed that wickedness was 'scoffed at, then pursued with such grave and home rebukes as the case requireth: in sin thereby I perceived was rather made a matter of laughter, then of sorrow, even to the most guilty'.<sup>37</sup> Ironically, it is in part the qualities which constitute Milton's current stature that also limited the size and appreciation of his audience at the time of writing.

The pervading 'journalistic' style in political verse may be seen in 'Upon Ash Wendsday' where the poet uses the ballad convention as a medium through which to deliver his 'eyewitness' account of Cromwell's reception in London in 1654. When compared with the accounts in the 'official' newsbooks it is apparent that the poet deviates little from the 'facts' (of course it is possible that he wrote the poem after reading one of these accounts). The difference, and hence the satire, lies in the underlying mockery of the occasion. By adopting a facade of respectful language the poet parodies the spectacle of people, hostile to Cromwell's dominance, who nevertheless lined up to greet him in a mock show of support. With the subtle use of puns the poet satirically undercuts his literal observations, for example,

His Highnes should find every street

Swept clean and all besett with rayling

(11-12)

initially appears innocent enough until the implications of the following line are understood. The illusion of unanimity, resulting from the image of a clean sweep, is shattered by the reminder 'Yet Cavaliers mingled here and there'. Read from the view point of a disapproving royalist, the seemingly respectful 'His Highnes' acquires a distinctly contemptuous inflection. Similarly, the word 'rayling' is loaded to convey more than its literal sense. Its implied sense is echoed in the repeated line 'Through laughing, scoffing and many a jeare'. The reader is again reminded of the presence of loyal cavaliers in the crowd

with the statement, 'But ours stood bold and did not feare' (line 29).

Of course Cromwell, like any leader, was no stranger to being the target of political satire. There are numerous examples of songs and ballads of a far more personal nature, including an attack on his 'humble' origins. The common belief that before entering into politics Cromwell had been a brewer is the substance of a poem entitled 'The Protecting Brewer' which begins:

A Brewer may be a Burgess grave,  
And carry the matter so fine and so brave.

(Political Ballads (1860), ed. W.W. Wilkins, vol.1, p.132)

A variation on this line of satire is found in RP 147 in the poem 'In Sacroboscum Coriarium et Tribunal Militum' in which Cromwell is claimed to have been a tanner before his advancement to 'an unjust man of Warre, and a Justice of Peace'. The poem begins:

See he that of old has buried his witts  
With bark to tan leather and stank of the pitts  
Now begins to flea men and change his estate.

The poem has an anti-military tone and the satire rests on the suggestion of a subverted social order which has been brought about by force. The poem concludes:

Yet to his first trade I'de rather appeale  
Which with more hospitality then this a great deale  
Used Poetts and Preachers in Civiler manner  
For Homer and Peter were lodg'd by a tanner.

Though some evidence exists to suggest the foundation for

Cromwell's association with brewing, the basis for this poet's reference to a tanner remains a mystery.

Death, especially untimely death, was a familiar occurrence in the seventeenth century and poets frequently chose to commemorate it in a style that had evolved from the classical pastoral elegy. The classical and pastoral conventions inherent in this genre enabled the author to distance himself from his subject and avoid the tribute lapsing into sentimentality.

A corollary to the dichotomy of pagan and christian elements in the style and emphasis of Renaissance funeral verse was the influence of prevailing contemporary attitudes on the process of grief and mourning itself. In Renaissance England christianity, and an individual's religious faith, were the primary sources of support for those experiencing loss through death, though the perceptions as to how such support should be utilised, or even developed, were often modelled on classical sources. G.W. Pigman, in Grief and English Renaissance Elegy<sup>39</sup> discusses the Renaissance attitudes towards mourning and grief. He identifies the most common and familiar options prevailing in the early seventeenth century, by which time a sympathetic and tolerant attitude towards grief was beginning to evolve. He suggests that there were three general options: that grief was permissible but must be moderate; there should be unrestricted mourning (not widely approved of); and rigorism, which prohibited and condemned all grief for those who died virtuously and had gone to heaven.<sup>40</sup>

The earliest christian writers eschewed the display of emotion

and grief in favour of a standard of behaviour which avoided sin. The argument was that a man should control his passion by the exercise of reason and self-control. This notion, originating in the classical philosophers, was extended to incorporate the christian concept of resurrection and the after-life. It was believed that feeling and showing grief for the deceased was evidence of the sin of despair and therefore a lack of faith. The good Christian should instead rejoice that the deceased had been released from the torment of earthly life and taken his place in heaven; a contrary reaction was viewed as an admission that the deceased had gone to hell.

By the early seventeenth century the attitude towards mourning had become more tolerant and anxiety about expressions of grief is less apparent, if apparent at all, in the work of poets defending the humanity of mourning.<sup>41</sup> In some examples of contemporary verse, the writers concern themselves with the guilt of the survivors. In praising the dead the grief is transferred to the wickedness of the living who remain; hence bereavement becomes a form of punishment. Paman, for example, in his poem addressed to Lady Mary Lewkenor, acknowledges that she has moved on to a better place and that the grief is experienced by the deceased herself, causing her to die 'most Charitably sad/ Not that she left the world, but left it bad' (lines 19-20).

The component elements of funeral verse -lament, exhortation and consolation- make it a mixed genre, the diversity of which is exercised by the additional influence of a Christian emphasis. There are numerous classical models including Pseudo-Dionysus who

defines the essence of a funeral oration as praise of the dead: it includes praise, an exhortation of the living to emulate the virtues of the deceased, and consolation for those surviving. He believes that lament and consolation should not be mixed. Alternatively, Meander does not hold lament and consolation to be incompatible, but rather that the former is the preparation for the latter.<sup>42</sup> The Renaissance poets were influenced by Meander and the leading commentator, Julius Caesar, stated that a funeral elegy should consist of praise, demonstration of loss, consolation and exhortation.<sup>43</sup>

Another important factor informing the seventeenth century attitude to mourning, as conveyed in the funeral elegies of the time, is the fact that elegy was part of Renaissance culture. Scholars composed funeral elegies and epitaphs as Latin exercises, a practice which was an integral part of university education as the numerous editions of 'official' 'Lachrymae' testify. Poets and Courtiers, similarly, would seek patronage from wealthy and influential people by writing funeral verse for their loved ones.

The numerous examples of funeral elegy in RP 147 serve to highlight the extent of variety within this genre, and are evidence of the shifting attitudes towards death in general, personal loss, and the process of mourning.<sup>44</sup> Another's death inevitably serves as a reminder of our own mortality and in the seventeenth century, with a greater incidence of death in all age groups, there was an added awareness of vulnerability. This naturally affected the attitude of those who lived with these

risks and influenced the approach adopted by those who chose to write on the subject. With this in mind it is understandable that Christian imagery should filter into and juxtapose the underlying classical tradition. Sometimes the allusions appear to have both a classical and a Christian significance, and this is particularly so with the Edward King poems because the sea has a wealth of stories associated with both.

The extent to which some funeral elegy is representative of the pervading contemporary attitudes to grief and mourning must be measured in the light of the circumstances in which the verse was written. In 'Upon Elegies to Ben Jonsons Memory' Paman satirises the practice of what appeared to some as merely writing 'elegies to order'. The volumes of university tributes to well-known figures usually comprised such verse, and the apparent competition between the universities compounded such a view. Paman, instead of addressing his tribute to the memory of Jonson directs his 'lamentation' to the elegies written about him. His opening lines might easily be read as a general comment on the increased popularity of elegy and the greater freedom with which praise and lament was voiced; he states:

The grave is now a favourite, we see,  
All verse waites on the rise of Elegy  
Who now in her late Empire scornes to looke  
Through one poore page or Poem, but a Booke.

The reader needs to be aware of the use of conventional devices, particularly where authors have not experienced personal bereavement over the death of their subject. In such a context

the tone of objectivity and restrained emotional response is more convincingly achieved because there is no overwhelming grief to sublimate; the Christian view that the deceased had moved on to a better place was then used to reassure others, rather than the writer himself. The author's identification with the genuinely bereaved was then used to lament the loss, but in such a way as to ease the reader's sorrow rather than compound it.

Thomas Booth, the author of 'On Mr King of Christ's Coll.' has included many of the classical conventions in his poem. With the exception of the inevitable pun in line 8: 'To put downe Neptune and make King their Prince', the poem is devoid of any form of personal address. Even the reference to King's watery death and learned attributes could, within the context of metaphor, apply to any scholar. Furthermore, though a brief sense of loss from this 'foule act' is acknowledged, there is a notable absence of grief.

Apportioning blame for the cause of death is another feature of pastoral elegy and here the poet runs through the list of possible 'suspects', reprieving each in turn. He lists the seas, the wind, and the rocks. This also unites the classical world of Neptune with the physical elements that possibly contributed to the shipwreck in which King drowned. Nothing could be done to save him and the inevitability of King's death is underlined:

Oh no Blame not the seas, they were not cruell  
They had no way but this to save their jewell...  
Nor blame the winds as guilty of his death  
Their plott was only to enjoy his breath...

Nor blame the rocks, as if they were hard hearted,  
Alas they were unwilling to be parted  
From what they did desire, a treasure worth farre more  
Then all that ever they had wreckd before.

(5-18)

Another commonplace in the poems on King is the metaphor alluding to his learning. He is 'the cabinet of all the Arts'. Booth envisages him as a one-man under-water university imparting his vast knowledge to the attentive fish. Within this extended metaphor (lines 25-40), the poet has developed an original variation on the conventional theme of a classical procession. In place of conventional figures the individual categories of learning (i.e. Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Astronomy, Poesy and Music) in which King excelled, are individually introduced until the gathered assembly

all at once cry Follow Follow

Strike up Strike up thou young Apollo.

(39-40)

The concluding tone of the poem is typically conventional, for although 'breathing mortalls weepe', the security of King's after-life is firmly acknowledged. The final note of optimism assures the reader that although King is no longer mortal he has achieved a higher spiritual status.

Paman, in his tribute to King, also achieves a tone of elevated objectivity. The emphasis is predominantly Christian and the recurring image is that of Christian Martyrdom. The initial tone of restrained grief and objective lamentation belies the

crux of the poem: the poet's attempt to come to terms with his own mortality. King's death was a sharp reminder to other young clergymen, who inevitably felt 'the worlds mortality'. The shock (rather than grief) is dissipated through hyperbole, and the poet attempts to justify King's death by describing it as being part of the overall scheme of Christian events. For Paman the loss is a cataclysmic event that affects the whole of mankind, and King is hailed as a 'type' rather than an individual. Paman states that the drowning of King 'was not to kill but to annihilate', and compares him with the apostle Peter. Like Peter, King is an exemplar whose behaviour guides and reassures the 'lesser' mortals:

In our Apostle here, who at his fall  
Was Text and preacher at's owne Funerall,  
Whose death was a convincing Text, which we  
May prove and feele the worlds mortality  
In his decay.

(95-99)

The poem concludes on a reassuring note restating the Christian belief in the superiority of the after life. The poet reminds the reader, and himself, that King is not lost but has simply moved on to his rightful place in heaven, and reaffirms that the death was no 'accident' but, like Enoch's, a translation purposely planned.

An additional element in this poem, arising from the combination of the emphasis on Christian martyrdom and the circumstances of the untimely death of a young representative of

the church, is that it could have been redeployed later as a commentary on the death of King Charles. He too, to his loyal followers, was a martyr whose death had resounding implications for 'mankind'. The opening lines suggest this possibility quite explicitly:

No, no, Hee's gone, I hear'd the Angells sing  
And call him Throne there, who was here a King.  
Gone like the Tyde that drown'd him, and in vaine  
We look for him till the world Tydes againe.

(1-4)

For those who believed that Eikon Basilike was written by Charles, the lines

When he first drownd in teares, upon his knees  
Dies his own martyr first and then the Seas.  
Workes miracles in all, At's parting, where  
His ship turnes Church, his Pulpitt and his biere

(107-10)

provide a succinct vignette of Charles' demeanor and tranquil state of mind prior to his execution.

Another technique used by poets to distance themselves from their subject is that of the extended metaphor. This provides a variety of possibilities for intricate puns and elaborate conceits. In 'Upon Dr.Sandcrofts Sonne Master of Emanuel Coll.' the poet develops the terminology used in the process of minting the gold coins which were known as angels. In a style reminiscent of Donne's 'The Bracelet' the poet puns on the heavenly associations of 'Angel' and 'Sovereigne Image':

Fayre peece of Angel gold, which art yet hott  
Out of Heavens mint and hast but newly gott  
The Sovereigne Image on thee, yet found true  
Without allowance, for all graines are due  
To a young goodnesse, Thou the fate hast found  
Of misers gold and art intomb'd in ground.

(1-6)

The language suggests that the process by which individuals are chosen for Heaven is a precise matter of analysis and subsequent remoulding. Like coins crafted from the gold extracted from lumps of ore, the soul, if sufficiently pure, is separated from the body and imprinted with heavenly markings. Sandcroft is assured that his son has been found 'true' and 'without allowance' (i.e. contamination) and therefore of the right substance to be converted into 'Angel gold'.

The 'metaphysical' conceit may also rest on the specific circumstances of the person addressed. Culverwell, in his poem to William Holden, a college contemporary, describes his death and subsequent elevation to heaven in terms of a degree ceremony:

Goe glorious soule: we now do thinke of thee  
As upon one who taking his degree  
By favour presently admitted is  
In happines, and made compleat in blisse.

(1-4)

The conceit focuses on the religious puns on the words 'supplicate', 'grace', and 'faithful Scio'. Though the imagery is quite different from that used in the poem addressed to

Sandcroft, Culverwell similarly envisages that entry into Heaven arises by means of a selection process in which one is nominated or chosen, and then examined for spiritual suitability.

A desire that many of the poets share is to attempt to account for why death has occurred. One method is to personify death and depict him as a jealous voyeur who is ever eager to snatch the best people for himself. In 'Upon the Death of a Freind' the poet focuses on death's musical failings, and asks:

But who is hee? him may wee know  
That jarrs and spoyles sweet consort soe!  
Oh Death tis thou, you false time keepe  
And stretch'st thy dismall voyce too deepe.

(7-10)

In these lines death is presented as a mysterious presence who at the same time is familiar. The poet's acknowledgement 'Oh Death tis thou' has an almost colloquial ring which is reinforced by the chiding tone of the following lines. The poet complains that death's 'dismall voyce' has upset the harmony, not only metaphorically with regard to the music, but also in world terms. By taking one so young he has subverted the whole balance of nature:

Long time to quavering age you give  
But to large youth short time to live  
You take upon you too too much  
In striking where you shold not touch.

How out of tune the world now lyes  
Since youth must fall when it should rise!

(11-16)

In 'An Elegie on the Death of Mr. Stanninow Fellow of Queens Colledge Cambridge' the poet depicts a more familiar personification of death, that of the 'Grim Reaper'. After eliminating, in classical style, a catalogue of possible culprits, in this instance the 'frozen zone', 'frosty age', and 'the chast and purer snow', the poet finally accuses 'old doting Death' of the crime. He too addresses him with a tone of familiarity and envisages that 'stealing by' he

Dragginge his crooked burden, lookd awry  
And streight his amorous sithe, greedy of blisse  
Murderd the earths just pride with a rude kisse.

An element of competition is introduced over 'so sweet a prey' but the reader is finally reassured that Stanninow is secure and in a better place because a 'winged Herauld':

Snatch'd up the falling starre, so Richly gay,  
And plants it in a precious perfum'd bed.

In contrast to the 'stock' university elegy is Wotton's tribute to his nephew, Sir Albert Morton, written shortly after his death in November 1625. The poem unashamedly expresses Wotton's grief and sense of personal loss, which he makes no attempt to disguise behind a facade of rhetorical praise or lamentation. The overriding sentiment in the poem is human grief untrammelled by any desire to restrain or control its expression. The virtues of tacit endurance are not considered, and the

opening statement that

Silence in truth will speake my sorrows best

For deepest wounds can least their feelingd tell

refers to his inability to express in verse the sorrow he is experiencing rather than the approach he should adopt. His unhappy lines are insufficient for the enormity of the task. The poet chooses to leave the conventional tributes to others while he, with 'Faithfull teares', intends to 'humanize the flints whereon I threade'. Wotton is aware that such open mourning will be judged as weakness on his part but it does not deter his purpose. The tone of the poem throughout is centred on the poet's own feelings and it lacks any of the comforting Christian imagery that was increasingly used to focus attention on the after life, and the impropriety of grieving over another's removal to heaven.

'Nor can the Pencil so lively represent the  
Face as the Pen can do the Fancy.'<sup>45</sup>

Clement Paman's poems contribute the largest body of unpublished verse in RP 147. His work suggests the influence of John Donne, and the poems 'The Tavern. A Satire' and 'Absence. To Vernura', for example, are clearly modelled on Donne's 'Satire IV' and 'A Valediction forbidding Mourning' respectively. There are frequent echoes of Donne's style throughout Paman's verse although it is important to distinguish between direct imitation and a poetic stance that was widely shared by the poets of the period. The reader will also notice echoes of other writers, notably Spenser. Such borrowings should not be dismissed as the slavish 'copying' of an unoriginal poet, but rather evidence of the familiar practice whereby a previous context was deliberately recalled. This may have been for any number of reasons but, within a political context, it was often to reflect on happier times.

The few facts that are known about Clement Paman are as follows: from the thirteenth century the Pamans were a prominent family in the parish of Chevington, Suffolk, rising from yeomen to free holders and estate owners; Clement's father signed his name Robert Paman 'gentleman'.<sup>46</sup> Of his personal life far less is known. At some time, probably between the years 1638 and 1648, he married Briget Kemp, the eldest daughter of Robert Kemp, Esquire, whose family lived at Spains Hall in Finchingfield, Suffolk.

Briget's maternal grandfather was Sir Clement Heigham, chief Baron of the Exchequer.<sup>47</sup> Paman's younger brother, Henry, was a benefactor of the village of Chevington, and both Emmanuel and King's colleges, Cambridge<sup>48</sup> (full details are given in the biographical index).

This biographical information can be supplemented by various clues in his poems, though such an exercise must be pursued with great caution in order to distinguish autobiographical detail from poetic licence. With this in mind it is still possible to tease out a few connecting threads of evidence which may be useful, if not as facts, at least as possibilities. The most obvious clue is of course the chronology of his verse, and where applicable, the relationship between the events and people addressed. Though only a few poems can be dated with any confidence, they are sufficient to piece together a rough outline of Paman's temperament and propose his possible whereabouts for certain years. The poems 'The birthday Aug.24 1640. To G.Rhodes', 'St Stephens Feild' and 'On the Death of the Virtuous Lady Mary Lewkenor' indicate that Paman's political and religious views were moderate. Though he clearly disliked the increasing rift between state and the established church he was not ultimately hostile to the new regime because in 1648 he took the oath of National Covenant, which among other criteria, was necessary to secure his appointment as a vicar (see House of Lords Journal, vol.x, p.244a). Frequent references in his verse suggest that personal integrity, spiritual equality, and the arbitrariness of social standing were Paman's particular preoccupations. It is

possible that he was self-conscious about his family's fledgling status in the social class hierarchy, exacerbated by his love for one who, by worldly standards of judgment, was of superior birth. On the other hand it may have been an idiosyncratic aversion to the ingratiating postures one needed to adopt in order to progress in the world, a view shared by many of the 'Spenserian' poets.

It is possible that on leaving Cambridge in 1635, Paman went to Ireland and remained there until late 1638 or early 1639, probably the former. That his visit to Ireland was the reason for Paman's absence from his beloved (whose identity is not known for certain, but is presumably Briget Kemp) is suggested on three accounts: in 'The Departure. To Stella' he begins the poem by telling his love

I receiv'd thy letter, But dos't heare,  
It will be some next midsommer, 3 yeare:  
Yett I don't chafe in verse, Nor sweare I've payd  
More of the Poetts brine, then would have made  
Tenne Irish seas, and sigh'd, God blesse us, more  
Then if I had puff'd the Compasse up before.

The colloquial tone and the specific reference to the Irish Sea suggest that this piece of water is cited because it is the one that separates them. Furthermore Paman, in an informative tone, actually confirms his current absence to be of three years' duration. Secondly, a contemporary of Paman at Sidney Sussex, one Godfrey Rhodes, had moved to Ireland in 1638. Paman's birthday tribute to 'Mrs Wentworth' is probably addressed to Rhode's

sister, Elizabeth, who in 1632 had married Thomas Wentworth (later Earl of Strafford), Lord-Deputy of Ireland. If Paman was in Ireland it is highly likely that before coming home he would have spent some time with his college friend, and that on occasion was in the company of his sister. Paman's poem written in 1640 addressed to Rhodes suggests that after Cambridge they remained in close contact. Finally, a stay in Ireland, particularly during 1638 would provide a possible connection between Paman and Lady Loftus, and account for the epitaph he wrote after her death in the summer of 1638. On his return from Ireland Paman probably remained in Suffolk with his family until marrying and taking up his living at Thatcham. Paman's absence from England in the year that Jonson died is perhaps why he chose, on his return, to address his elegy to the commemorative verse, which by then had been published, rather than writing on his actual death.

The interrelationship between politics and culture in the seventeenth century is widely accepted and historians agree that a cultural rift developed under the Stuart kings. The problems that developed during James I's reign were exacerbated by Charles I's particular style of government: his autocratic and 'elitest' manner created a narrow, and largely self-contained, 'court' culture which alienated the populace because of its arcane and, supposedly, Catholic tendencies. Hence two cultures developed which came to embody different values and represent opposing political standpoints. The alternative culture, that of the rest of the nation, still relied on the institutions and the Church

for national stability but increasingly found them threatened by the King's behaviour. The national culture, as opposed to that of the court, was in many ways a vestige of the Elizabethan humanist tradition and has been described as the 'country' culture, a term used to describe a 'set of values distinct from and consciously opposed to those of the "court"'.<sup>49</sup>

Kevin Sharpe, in his chapter entitled 'Culture and politics, court and country', argues that the ideals of the 'court' and 'country' culture were often shared rather than in opposition, and that the alienation of the nation as a whole arose more from the abuse of such ideals, manifested in Charles I's particular style of government and arbitrary rule.<sup>50</sup> Clement Paman's verse provides evidence of views and feelings on an individual level of what many of the population probably experienced as the sense of alienation grew stronger. The facts that are known about him, and the impression gained from his verse, suggest that he was not a puritan in the sense that the term usually connotes. His views appear to conform to the thinking of a protestant humanist, loyal to the established Church and State and with a profound belief that those in power should lead by example; personal integrity in himself and others was paramount. Many of the views expressed in his verse are those of the 'country' but they are not voiced in opposition to the 'court' or State ideals. The issue or crux of his doubt and confusion lies in the fact that those who should lead others are no longer true to the values which he believes should (and primarily did) stem from the centre of political and religious life.

A recurring image in Paman's poetry is the medieval concept of 'gentillesse'.<sup>51</sup> His metaphorical use of the apparatus associated with heraldry, in a variety of contexts, suggests this preoccupation to be evidence of the Protestantising of the traditional cult of honour, whereby 'good fame' and 'godly fame' were united.<sup>52</sup> Many poets had lost faith in the reliability and honour of the current aristocracy who appeared to them to abuse the privileges conferred on them by virtue of their social status or family origins. Paman clearly shared the opinion of those poets who believed that honour must be earned by struggle and spiritual purity, not simply handed down from father to son, or bestowed on them in return for a service. In several poems he is at pains to distinguish between nobility of birth and nobility of action: in 'The Departure. To Stella', for example, he observes that

Queens can breed fooles and cowards, when time sees  
Almighty Kings teem'd from obscurest knees.  
The Norman line wee brag so much of came  
From a dark woman which hath scarce a name.

(115-8)

He is undisputably a proponent of the view that to be truly noble, particularly in God's eyes, one must not rely solely on the reputation of one's forebears. In 'An Epitaph on My Lady Loftus' his parenthetical observation that '(Fathers Atcheivement can but bee/ Inputative Nobility)' echoes the Lady in 'The Wife

of Bath's Tale' when she admonishes the knight with the reminder that

He nis nat gentil, be he duc or erl;  
For vileyns sinful dedes make a cherl.  
Thy gentillesse nis but renomee  
Of thine auncestres, for hire heigh bountee,  
Which is a strange thing to thy persone  
For gentillesse cometh fro God allone.  
Thanne comthoure verrey gentillesse of grace;  
It was no thing biquethe us withoure place.

(1157-64)

In his poem Paman cites the catechism to reinforce the spiritual implications of a virtuous life, but it also serves as a device with which to formulate his argument. Additionally, the question and answer process maintains the ambiguity, created in the opening lines, as to whether the poet is commending or actually criticising Lady Loftus' earthly activities.

The wider and social implications of those in power exhibiting and maintaining an impeccable personal integrity are raised in Paman's tribute to the Earl of Pembroke, where he again emphasises the importance of virtuous personal qualities. As a courtier the Earl was praised and well respected, but the poet stresses that his good renown does not rest solely on his birth and position in society: it is his 'vertue and good' that really make up Pembroke's monument for posterity. The humanist notion that it is incumbent on those with learning and position to teach and guide others is clearly the basis on which Paman's tribute

rests. Paman's personal views are not in opposition to courtly ideals that encompass and propound the established moral and religious ideals with which he has grown up. In his view position alone, without moral fortitude, is hollow and inanimate like 'Idolls' and 'scutchions'. Paman confidently asserts that Pembroke recognised his responsibilities:

Thy greatness was no Idoll, state in thee

Receiv'd its luster from humility....

vertue and good

These are too great for scutchions, and make thee

Without forfathers, thine own pegigree.

(61-2, 66-8)

Such expressions are of course all part of the conventional rhetoric of commendatory verse, and there is a certain irony that though the poet condemns others for their false 'witt' and 'flattering raptures', these are in fact the inherent features of a convention Paman frequently uses.

By comparing Paman's expression of similar sentiments in poems as diverse as 'The Departure. To Stella' and 'The birthday' it becomes apparent that in such statements he is not merely bowing to convention but also developing his personal beliefs. In 'The Departure. To Stella', ostensibly a love poem intended to reassure the woman he has recently left, the poet (presumably with a male audience in mind) again resorts to familiar heraldic imagery. His initial intention is to convince 'Stella' of the superiority of their spiritual love, but the personal tone soon expands to include a general commentary on the contrast between

social inequality and spiritual equality. Here, as elsewhere, the scutcheon is cited as the literal and metaphorical symbol of earthly status and the visual means by which others assess wealth and social position. The poet assures 'Stella' that his affections are stimulated by a respect for her soul, before which he would willingly and 'humbly bend as low/ As Persians to their sun'. He is contemptuous of those whose ambitions drive them to marry for money and position, and claims

I know'nt their rules

Who woe a scutcheon daubd azure and gules.

They're not my Red and White, nor shal't bee sayd

I was farre gone in love with three boares heads.

Soules have no Bulls, Beares, Monsters; yet looke

Fairer than all the Ox in th' Hereld booke.

Mascles are mortall as ourselves; we see

Great Names have quite out-liv'd their Heraldrie.

(131-8)

Paman's personal views are typical of a wider body of opinion for whom Spenser became a symbol of a poet's proud independence of the court.<sup>53</sup> For those who strongly disapproved of the growing influence of favourites, Buckingham's assassination in 1628 was viewed optimistically as the opportunity for a new beginning. The disillusionment that followed such hope permeates Paman's verse. The overt opportunism that governed the behaviour of many at court was particularly abhorrent to him, as his observations in 'Stella' and 'The Birthday' make clear. Compared with that in 'Stella', Paman's tone in 'The Birthday' is more introspective

and his musings have acquired a note of cynicism. There is a sense of his awakening awareness as he progresses from a state of naivete to worldly knowledge; he writes:

I knew not then to counterfeit  
(That art to live) Nor know I yett.  
I could no more Bribe, fawne, or bow  
To patrons then, than I can now.

(15-18)

His emphasis on the words 'counterfeit', 'art', 'Bribe' and 'patron' direct the reader to his distaste for the practices which were common in courtly life.

There are many examples in Paman's work to suggest his affinity with those poets influenced by the work and ideals of Spenser, and though such examples may appear oblique and subtle to a modern reader, they would have been more readily apparent to a contemporary audience. One approach of the poets who were dissatisfied with the current ruling elite was to identify and praise earlier 'heros' or 'types' who exemplified the qualities of leadership which (in their opinion) contemporary holders startlingly lacked; Elizabeth and her court were an obvious choice.<sup>54</sup> A return to the practices and standards of the former age was urged in the satires which flourished despite the attempts at censorship. The current trend of hispaniolised courtiers in the Caroline court is amusingly mocked in 'Stella' with Paman's vivid portrayal of national caricatures and their demeanour in the art of kissing:

But laught thee all the postures of a kisse.

The Cring is french, who 'gins his legge at doore  
And kisses you some halfe a mile before.  
The nice Italian, that like some Divine  
Creeps to the Hallow'd lip as to a shrine.  
The solemne Spaniard in a punctuall gate  
That makes each Kisse look like an Act of state.  
The Turke, who stroaks his grim Mustach and stares  
As if he tooke the kisses prisoners.

(196-204)

The amusement and satire rests on the artificiality of a process which was carried out purely for effect.

Paman's allegiance to Spenserian attitudes is suggested further with his reference to Gustavus Adolphus in his poem about Edward King. For Protestants in England and Europe Gustavus Adolphus was held to be the major protestant leader of the 1630s, both literally, because of his military prowess, and symbolically because he emerged as the leader of men fighting for a religious cause.<sup>55</sup> A parallel is drawn between him and Edward King because in both instances their behaviour was deemed to be for the good of others, and for their shared cause rather than personal reward. Such behaviour is, by implication, a contrast to Paman's current experience where behaviour appeared largely to be motivated by greed and personal reward.

Paman is clearly intrigued by the separate life of the soul and the freedom with which it moves when unencumbered by human flesh. He envisages, and graphically depicts, the travels, ecstatic meetings, and panoramic scenery a soul might enjoy

during this freedom. In 'The Departure. To Stella' the lovers' souls, freed from the 'Grosse joyes' of the flesh, enjoy an ethereal meeting 'halfe way' above the sea which separates them. The gentleness implicit in the image of their 'kissing on a wave' is emphasised by its contrast with the harsher image of a physical embrace which in turn is transferred to an inanimate object, a ship, which is described as being 'lost ith' Rough Embraces of the sea'. Paman holds in contempt those 'clung narrow minds' which are only able to respond to the 'fleshes influence'. There is a brief echo of Donne in Paman's advice to his lover to 'Let Bodies goe', but it is followed by a qualification delivered in imagery typical of Paman and quite independent of Donne; he continues: 'They're Monsters patchd and pric't/ Of twenty things, of fish, of fowle, of beasts' (lines 65-6). Yet again, when wishing to enforce the superficial nature of earthly trappings and physical attributes Paman resorts to heraldic imagery. The inanimate carvings acquire a more literal association when the poet includes in his list of animals those that are eaten by man. Bodies, he tells his mistress, are like scutcheons and exist as symbols of baser concerns and activities. He questions whether he should be expected to pay homage to 'that which owes'

Its growth and being to a calf or goose?

Whose very Getting, and whose Nourishment

Comes but from flegme, and as bad Excrement.

Which first feeds Earth, that Beasts, they us, who  
stand

Grac'd if we kiss a stink at the fourth hand.

(68-72)

The language and harsh imagery is purposely used to reduce to basics what others hold in awe. Paman exposes what he sees as the falseness of ceremonial courtesies by providing the reader with a biology lesson proving that man is really nothing more than the last species in a food chain, ultimately derived from 'excrement' and 'earth', the component parts, as Paman so often reminds us, to which we return after death.

On two occasions in his poem 'The Departure. To Stella' Paman contemplates the physical nature of a kiss. His descriptions lack all hint of warmth and instead convey an imminent sense of decay. One wonders how much reassurance 'Stella' derived from his use of this particular simile:

Truth is; wee kisse but Earth, when folke say  
That Thisbe kiss'd her youth through chinkes of clay  
They meant their lips; for soe all are, Nay thine  
Pardon me Stella, are but clay in graine.

(35-8)

Later in the poem he describes his idea of a perfect kiss:

Thus we wold love, yet teach our very sense  
What few Loves now can boast of, Innocence.  
Wee'ld talk and kisse in breath as chaste and cold  
As Nuns did say their prayers in, of old.

(206-9)

The imagery has acquired a funereal tone and the phrasing invites comparison with Keat's 'The Eve of St Agnes' in which the bitter chill numbed the Beadsman's fingers 'while he told/ His rosary'.

Paman is not, however, completely devoid of warmth and physical passion, as poems such as 'Absence. To Vernura' and 'The Diamond' show. In 'Absence. To Vernura' a discernible warmth is present in the softened recollections and imagery. Though the subject of his poem is still the union of the lovers' souls during absence, the poet's language borders on the sensual when:

And as by Fayth our soules enjoy  
And taste the mystick extasy,  
Of Joyes, they see not; so although  
I'me here; By Fayth I am with thee.

(21-4)

Paman now appeals to the senses; his use of the word 'taste' triggers physical associations similar to the tactile nature of Donne's goodbye kiss in 'The Expiration': 'So, so, breake off this last lamenting kisse'. In line 5 Paman's statement that 'Love is our very Beinge' suggests that his feelings have acquired a more tangible aspect. In 'The Diamond' a transition from spiritual to physical awareness has taken place, and the poet acknowledges the effects of music and beauty on the senses:

Whence our cheif'st senses Love Controules  
And conquers both at Eyes and Eares.

(7-8)

He is even prepared to admit that 'more or lesse/ There's Love to Everything in all'.

The separate life of the soul is the basis of a paradox that frequently occurs in Paman's verse. He promotes the view that when the soul is released from the restraints imposed upon it by the physical nature of the body, it achieves a unity with other spirits previously denied it. That such a unity may only be precipitated by separation, either in the form of absence or death, is the crux of the contradiction.

After denigrating the pleasures to be gained from physical encounters, describing them as 'servile trade and commerce with the flesh', Paman consoles his mistress by telling her that they in fact gain by their separation and that once freed from base earthly trappings their joy 'Doubles by parting, and growes more unite'. This concept is of course a commonplace, and though probably quite independent of Donne's influence it is interesting to compare lines 22-4 of 'A Valediction forbidding Mourning':

Though I must goe, endure not yet

A breach, but an expansion,

Like gold to ayery thinness beate.

Though the metaphor is different, Paman succeeds in conveying the same sense of expansion and increase. Another variation of this is pursued in 'The Distill'd Rose', a poem ostensibly about the distillation of rose petals into fragrance; this process is the basis of an allegory of the soul's release from the body:

Live still and breath more whole delights

Thus separation more unites!

The Phoenix Riddle here's unty'de  
She and I live because we dide.

(29-32)

His argument is compounded with the image of the Phoenix, itself a paradox which represents regeneration after death.

Paman develops further the crux of unity and separation in the context of death; in his commemorative verse he combines several of his preoccupations, including spiritual superiority, the equality of souls, and his growing awareness of the corruption of man. His conviction that earthly social differentiation is wrong is based on the fact that everybody is 'equally begott' and ultimately must die. In the observation

And when death comes our soules enfranchis'd then  
Goe out as Equall as they entered in.  
If then our birth and death bee Equall, Why  
Claimes not mid life the same equality?

(103-6)

he uses the language of slavery to depict both the plight of the soul trapped in the body, and the body trapped in social convention. He reiterates this view in 'On The Same':

Death makes all Peeres: His Ladyships Rage  
Here damns not th' Ashes of his Page.

(13-4)

His growing cynicism about the corruptness of man emerges in 'The birthday'

Thus life but interrupts our Rest,  
And's the mid toyle 'twixt East and West.

Man is Tymes Martyr, rack'd and Torne  
Between a Cradle and an Urne

(37-40)

and is developed more explicitly in his tribute to Lady Lewkenor.

In her introduction to The Metaphysical Poets Helen Gardner isolates certain characteristics that are indicative of a 'metaphysical' style. She suggests that 'the reader is held to an idea or a line of argument', and more expansively that 'argument and persuasion, and the use of conceit as their instrument, are the elements or body of a metaphysical poem. Its quintessence or soul is the vivid imagining of a moment of experience or of a situation out of which the need to argue, or persuade, or define arises. Metaphysical poetry is famous for its abrupt openings....' These elements are certainly present in Paman's verse. His introductory lines often have an air of bullying which arises from, and is ultimately softened by, a sense of spontaneity in his outburst. The resulting abruptness and force, whether in the form of a command or an accusation, is a direct consequence of a strong personal presence. In the opening lines of 'The Vision':

Base coward eyes, to run away,  
And hide yourselves because twas day!  
Wold you shutt up yourselves in night  
'Cause there was something worth the sight?

the inquisitorial form of address temporarily succeeds in convincing the reader of the eyes' autonomy and capacity for independent decision and movement. Such a deviation from reality,

as a means of making a point, is further compounded by the paradox that the eyes, presumably his, are really under his own control. The speaker attempts to step outside his own physical existence in order to confront, literally and metaphorically, his impulses. The impossibility of this image gradually acquires a credibility as one imagines him standing in front of a mirror and lecturing his own reflection.

Issuing an order is another obvious device with which to open a poem abruptly. Examples of this occur in 'The Inquisitive': 'Goe ask thy wench', 'The Patches, made into a Black Crosse': 'Goe and perfume the East, and 'Vernura and Celeman': 'Prithee now be civill; Hold thy Hands/ Or give them mee'. A more subtle abruptness is achieved in the opening lines of 'Upon Elegies to Ben Jonsons Memory',

The Grave is now a favourite, we see,  
All verse waites on the rise of Elegie  
Who now in her late Empire scornes to looke  
Through one poore page or Poem, but a Booke.

where, disguised in what initially appears to be a tone of conventional elegy, is the hint of scorn and exasperation. This becomes increasingly more explicit as the poet develops his argument.

Paman's line of argument, using conceit as his instrument, is nowhere more convincingly or more ingeniously developed than in lines 111-26 of this poem. Paman flamboyantly exhibits his poetic skill while at the same time parodying his, and others, pretensions to emulate Donne and Jonson. The conceit consists of

a quick-fired succession of compact images, starting with a sigh and culminating in an inscription on a headstone. Impact is created by the knock-on process in which the commonplace imagery is superseded by the unexpected. The tear becomes a more tangible symbol of verse when it congeals into a solid mass. The pun on 'adamant' unites the image of substance with that of the necessary tool, a diamond, with which the inscription is carved. Finally, the poet's digression ends where it began, with the acknowledgement of Jonson as the father of poetry, and Paman's own desire to be his 'offspring'.

In 'The Murtheresse' the central conceit rests on the poet's comparison of his relationship with his mistress to that of an apprentice and his master. He formulates his argument by developing a series of concentrated and interconnected puns on the language associated with such business arrangements. The metrical rhythm and varying line lengths compound the effect because they ensure that stress falls on those words which have a common association with love, for example, lines 15-16: 'then trye some gentler termes; though all love bee/ Captivitie. This device serves to justify his choice and adds weight to his argument.

Paman also adds force and impact to his line of reasoning by choosing imagery that unites the spiritual and the physical. He frequently endows abstract concepts with substance and inanimate objects with living qualities. For example, in 'The Departure. To Stella':

Yett I'lde not beg the least glance of a gleame

Did not thy soule come riding on the beame.

(79-80)

the language presents the reader with a precise sense of something solid and rigid on which Stella's soul, newly independent and embodied, may ride. This image is reminiscent of Donne's 'The Extasie' (7-8):

Our eye-beames twisted, and did thred

Our eyes, upon one double string.

Spenser's stylistic influence is also to be found in RP 147 in the four verse letters, three written by Joshua Jones and one by Hananeel Rogers, which were clearly influenced by The Faerie Queene and The Shepherds Calendar. The sentiments expressed in the dedicatory epistle to The Shepheardes Calendar, about Spenser's method of composition, equally apply to these poets; they too, with Spenser probably 'still ringing in [their] ears', have managed to 'hit out some of his tunes'. Because little is known about Jones and Rogers their examples of Spenserian verse beg the question, also raised in the dedicatory epistle, as to the purpose of the language. It must be with 'set purpose and choyse' because the poets believed that such characteristic language was 'fittest for such rustically rudenesse of shepherds', though one may reserve judgment as to how much 'great grace' and 'authoritie' it contributes to the verse!

The stanzaic form of these letters, particularly the second, is largely based on that of The Faerie Queene, though in many instances it is The Shepheardes Calendar that provides the model for the tone of the poems, in which a doleful narrator bewails

his lot through the persona of a lonely shepherd. As a pastiche of Spenser's style the poems succeed because they capture the idiom of their model. This is done by the use of the same archaic language and spelling and selective parallel phrasing. Compare, for example, line 23 in the second letter: 'all on a sudden pale and wan he wox' with The Shepheardes Calendar (January, line 8): 'for pale and wanne he was, (alas the while,)'. Similarly lines 37-8 of the same letter:

'Twas greif, that flowre of fayth was wox a weed  
And goodly Frenship turned infidele.

may be compared with June, lines 109-110:

And tell the lasse, whose flowre is wox a weed,  
And faultlesse fayth, is turned to faithlesse feare.

Even bracketed asides are deployed to good effect to mimic Spenser's style.

The language is specifically chosen to transform an account of a fairly ordinary journey into a tale of fabulous adventure. In the first letter the tone is reminiscent of the opening of The Faerie Queene:

Thus in pursuit of this adventure bold  
I rode abroad, leaving Cantabrick stronds  
Ne fearing Bory nor the brumal cold  
I prickt or hills and dales and plowed londs.

(20-3)

The same technique is apparent in stanza two of the second letter where the traditional love-sick shepherd is parodied in the plight of this shepherd swain whose laments echo the doubts of

many bemused students. What grieves this shepherd is not the usual heroic qualities of love or 'wordly good' but the love of 'knowing things that won't be understood'. The poet cleverly adapts a traditional convention to express his personal feelings in a humorous light.

These verse letters provide an insight into student innovation. They are an amusing example of how a poetic convention may be adapted and combined with a parody of a specific author's style to good effect, though it is difficult to confirm whether the exercise was motivated by admiration or contempt.

Though apocalyptic allegory and mythological poetry became increasingly out of fashion<sup>56</sup> at court and with the 'cavalier' poets, Spenser's influence remained considerable over those poets who shared the Protestant ideology and harked back to an earlier age. The entry for Samsom Briggs in Harwood's Alumni Etonienses describes him as 'a good scholar and a good poet'. Fourteen examples of his work are included in RP 147, and though only his poem on Edward King (not included) appears however to have been published, his verse was circulated and enjoyed by his contemporaries.

A poetic style favoured by Briggs which had its roots in Elizabethan courtly and pastoral verse, but was adapted by later writers, is the romantic narrative. Interest in this genre was perpetuated in the numerous translations and paraphrases of mythical tales particularly from Ovid. The poet who embarked on this type of verse had to decide whether he wished to construct a

literal translation, in which he would probably have to sacrifice fluency, or to provide an approximate rendition which delivered the sense of the original work while conforming to the dictates of the chosen poetic convention.

An example of the latter is the paraphrase of Ovid's 'Elegy 19' from book two of his Amores. The anonymous poet confines his interpretation of Ovid's verse within the bounds of the closed couplet which in turn influences the tone. The importance of rhyme dictates the choice of words and word order. Though he manages to adhere closely to the substance of Ovid's poem the actual tone is inevitably changed. The poet does not achieve the personal and imploring tone of the original but instead transforms it into a more general account of how women should react to their lovers. In lines 27-30 he recounts the previous seductions but his version lacks the rigorous thrust of Ovid's reminiscences:

Had Danae ne're ben in brazen Towre  
She' had ne're ben pregnant by a brazen showre  
Io being garded by a hundred eyes  
Made Jove her more a 100 times to prize,

and in lines 48-9 the plainness of the language gives no hint of the underlying passion or deviousness which would engender such an admission:

This let me tell you unles your wife may prove  
Worthy your care, she is not worth my love.

Such a transformation of the original is not necessarily a fault, and for those who were more concerned that stylistic decorum was

observed this technique was preferable. John Denham expressed such a view in his poem prefixed to Sir Richard Fanshawe's translation of 'Il Pastor Fido';<sup>57</sup> he states:

That servile path thou nobly dost decline  
Of tracing word by word, and line by line.  
Those are the labour'd births of slavish brains,  
Not the effects of Poetry, but pains.  
Cheap vulgar arts, whose narrowness affords  
No flight for thoughts, but poorly sticks at words.

(15-20)

Another two poems by Briggs which have their origins in classical myth are 'Procris' and 'Danae', which are based on stories included in Ovid's Metamorphoses. He does not translate or paraphrase Ovid's account but rather reworks the story-line as a basis for his own tale about jealousy which has an additional moral aspect. In 'Procris' he even concludes with a warning that is intended to apply to all lovers:

Lovers take heed this biting snake you cherish.  
Farewell, and thus ingrave upon my tombe  
Suspect not, death is jealous Lovers doome.

Briggs' narrative style is characterized by couplets which frequently run on into verse paragraphs. He embellishes the original story with digressions about other classical figures in order to reinforce the point he is making; for instance he compares Procris' close watch on her husband with Argus who guarded the 'Jove-loved cow'. Later, in lines 37-44, he speculates about the reasons for jealous behaviour and suggests

that it is the result of 'some Alecto envyinge mans blisse', or alternatively the effects of a 'Circean cuppe'.

Similarly, in 'Danae', the poet develops his narrative loosely around Ovid's account of her experiences. This poem also highlights another problem that besets the modern reader of seventeenth-century verse: that of identifying what appear to be obscure classical references but which probably have their origin in the Renaissance. With the aid of Metamorphoses, a good classical dictionary, and the Renaissance mythographers most allusions are relatively easily attributed. Problems arise when there is a significant deviation from the source or a source cannot be found. Contributory factors to this problem include the aim of the translator, and the accuracy of the translation. Translations of classical works into English were not always made directly from the original language and each successive interpretation could easily distort meaning and even detail, especially if an intermediate version was in another language. This process was further confused by the motives of the translator. How close he kept to the original text might depend on his intended audience, or be influenced by his personal religious views. There is evidence that a Christian dimension was often imposed on the classical stories to introduce a moral emphasis that did not exist in the original. It is impossible to establish the sources which influenced Briggs and others like him, or to confirm whether his deviation from a standard classical story is the result of his own imagination or a reflection of his reading material; for example his account of

how Acrisius was killed:

And Perseus when Medusa he had killd  
His grandsires fate unhappily fullfilld.  
Who looking on that Gorgons fatall head  
Was to a statue Metamorphosed.

(338-41)

Though the story is recognisable it shows how a slight alteration may easily be perpetuated and eventually become established.

Another allusion without an obvious source is Paman's reference to Priapus in 'The Old Courtyers Sigh':

Priapus sigh was not so high, they say,  
Yet blew two witches and their Devils away.

(9-10)

The classical tradition makes no direct mention of a specific story in which Priapus and 'two witches' are connected. It is most likely that Paman has conflated the familiar sexual associations of Priapus with the orgiastic folklore tales involving witches, and thereby adding to the existing myth. Again, whether this was an original idea, or one that was circulating at the time, is difficult to ascertain with any confidence.

The variety of verse in RP 147 confirms that trends and styles generally overlapped and merged rather than dividing conveniently into distinct categories. The poets often conflate features of several styles, indicating that the inclination for experimentation could be satisfied without totally relinquishing the safety of an earlier or more familiar tradition. Throughout

the seventeenth century the epigram was extremely popular with university wits who used the form to express a variety of thought. The form was versatile and could be used for any topic, and in 'On His Mistresse Whose Name was Barbary' Henry Vintner adopts it as the medium in which to address the superior qualities of his mistress. He conforms to the criteria that the argument should be concise and expression unencumbered with ornate or extravagant language. In lines 7-10 he makes his point in a tightly constructed word-play about numbers:

And this another wonder is, that one  
Which is no number hath all numbers wonne,  
Yet if you will that one a number bee  
It is the singular, and so is she.

In the concluding couplet he ends the poem with a witty and ingenious turn of thought, and in so doing confirms his mistress' link both with the seven wonders of the world and the pun on her name alluded to in the title.

Henry Molle uses a similar style in his poem 'To a Gentlewoman with one Eye', in which he parodies the 'courtly' style of love poems which focussed, in an elevated and impersonal manner, on the characteristics of female beauty. Instead of elaborate imagery he establishes a colloquial tone which makes the opening question 'Why should you greive for wanting of an eye?' sound a perfectly reasonable enquiry. The poem proceeds as a series of concise and logical answers delivered in a similar tone. With a parting allusion to chastity, another aspect of the verse Molle

is parodying, he concludes with the final observation:

And if one wake, what if the other sleepe

She watcheth well, who one chast eye can keepe.

'Skilled in literature, learning  
and other matters of cunning.'<sup>58</sup>

These observations have focused on general areas in which the study of manuscript poetry has much to contribute to a fuller understanding of the seventeenth century. The objective of the main body of this work, and of the annotations accompanying the poems, is to redress the imbalanced view to which a reader is subjected when restricted to the selective extraction of certain works. Taken as a whole a manuscript such as RP 147 is invaluable as a commentary on the times, and the many events which influenced the contemporary literary scene. This includes writers, tastes, and practices which until recently have largely been forgotten or ignored as being of no value. Though there is arguably only a small proportion of poems worthy of being singled out because of particular poetic merit, as a collection they provide an illuminating mirror of the times.

Most of the verse in RP 147 was written by scholars for amusement and testifies to the tradition that poetry was generally written for circulation among friends, and often remained in a handwritten form. The influence and appeal of this approach was sufficient to provoke a response from Michael Drayton, who wrote in the preface to his published poem 'Poly-Olbion' (1612), that 'there is this great disadvantage against me; that it commeth out at this time, when Verses are wholly deduc't to chambers, and nothing esteem'd in this lunatique Age, but what is kept in Cabinets, and must only

passee by Transcription'.<sup>59</sup> In 1627 he repeated his contempt for manuscript poetry in the epistle 'To Henry Reynolds, Esquire, Of Poets and Poesie'. Though favourite poems were frequently copied, and 'by transcription daintily must goe',<sup>60</sup> they were never intended to be printed. This is also true of the more accomplished poets who wrote for specific patrons. Donne, for example, being a gentleman had no desire to publish his work and, with the exception of the two 'Anniversaries', it was not until after his death that a printed volume of his verse appeared.

The variety of styles and topics in RP 147 also confirms that poetry was an integral part of scholarly life and a useful means of expression. It serves as a reminder that even in the most turbulent times of this period not everybody was solely preoccupied with religious and political concerns. In particular poetry was the obvious medium for satirizing or attacking another's work or behaviour. College rivalry, for instance, is amusingly depicted in the poems 'On Technogamia' and 'On Fucus', written by Henry Molle. These poems are examples of the banter which was an inevitable consequence of the rivalry between the two universities, and reflects the way that individual colleges regarded each other. The poems also contribute, albeit in a small way, to the history of college drama and the ceremonial traditions which existed for entertaining royalty and other senior dignitaries.

The various hints and allusions to contemporary life scattered throughout these poems provide additional insight into the thinking and knowledge of the times. There are two separate

references to the phenomenon of the puritan 'nose-twang' which Jonson satirizes in 'Bartholomew Fair'. Henry Molle, in 'On Fucus' observes that the puritan, a figure in the play he is writing about, exhibits this characteristic:

Each word that he spoke was as long as his cloake  
And drawn quite through his nose.

(19-20)

A similar comment is afforded by Paman in 'Upon Elegies to Ben Jonsons Memory' where, referring to Donne's sermons, he tells us they were not composed to be 'sung unto the nose'. In 'A Guide to Fortune' Martin Harvey alludes to what was believed by some to be the inadequate learning of the puritan ministers. His reference to 'eares' in line 33 conflates the contemporary jibe that puritans cut their hair short to ensure they could hear the word of God, and the application of the proverb 'the ass waggeth his ears' which implied their wisdom was feigned. Additionally, a contemporary audience would have immediately recognised the implied reference to the fate of many puritans, particularly William Prynne, who had his ears cropped in 1634 as a punishment for the alleged defamation of the King and Queen in his Histrionmastix. In 1637 he received further punishment and had them completely removed.<sup>61</sup> Gill only narrowly escaped the same fate. Harvey's poem includes satirical attacks on other prominent groups in society, including lawyers, courtiers, and physicians, and is a variation of the character writing which was popular in the seventeenth century.

Similar references to puritans abound in the royalist poetry

written during the Interregnum, with the result that many aspects of their habits and behaviour, whether apocryphal or not, have become commonplaces, particularly in matters of dress and style of preaching. A less familiar aspect of puritan behaviour, arising from the extreme sabbatarianism of some, is the basis of the allusion included in 'On a Catt which Gnawed Lutestrings'. The strictness with which the sabbath-day laws were rigidly enforced testifies to the restraints and penalties imposed upon the people, even the family pet was not indemnified from such regulations:

Or else profane be hang'd on Munday  
For butchering a Mouse on Sunday.

(19-20)

A scientific influence occasionally impinges on some of the allusions and a particularly noteworthy example is Paman's 'Like a corps before the murtherer' (Upon Elegies to Ben Jonsons Memory', line 29), which also occurs in 'Vernura and Celeman':

At sight of thee my blood will stirre  
Like corse before the Murtherer.

(57-8)

This suggests Paman's familiarity with the work of Cornelius Gamma, who propounded the theory that an image of the murderer lurked in the blood of the corpse for three days, and that during this time it would cause the body to bleed if the murderer were present.

In conclusion, this work aims to rescue a sample of verse which in its own day was a thriving and integral part of the

literary culture, but for a number of reasons has subsequently lapsed into obscurity. One reason is that manuscript poetry is accessible to only a few, and it is hoped that this edition will be part of a process whereby such poetry will be restored to its rightful place within the literary tradition of which it forms a significant part.

## NOTES

- 1] Humphrey Moseley's preface to Richard Crashaw's Steps to the Temple, 1646.
- 2] See John Carey 'Clement Paman' (Letters to the Editor) in TLS 27 March 1959, p.177.
- 3] See Mary Hobbs, 'Early Seventeenth-century Verse Miscellanies' in English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700, ed. P. Beal and J. Griffiths (Oxford, 1989), vol.I, p.205.
- 4] Ibid., p.185.
- 5] Ibid., p.184-5.
- 6] Ibid., p.184.
- 7] Ibid., p.196-200.
- 8] Sir Philip Sidney, An Apology for Poetry, ed. G. Shepherd (London, 1965), p.118.
- 9] Ibid., p.103.
- 10] Literature and the English Civil War, ed. Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday (Cambridge, 1990), Introduction, p.2.
- 11] see, for example, Michael Wilding's discussion of the political significance of the publication of Milton's Poems in 1645 in 'Milton's Early Radicalism', Dragons Teeth: Literature in the English Revolution (Oxford, 1987). Marvell's poem on Cromwell is discussed by David Norbrook in 'Marvell's "Horatian Ode" and the politics of genre', Healy and Sawday, op.cit., pp.147-164.
- 12] The critics whose influence succeeded in depoliticizing the potentially radical texts included T.S. Eliot and F.R. Leavis; see Michael Wilding op.cit., pp.2-5.

- 13] Jonathan Sawday ' "Mysteriously divided": Civil War, madness and the divided self', Healy and Sawday, op.cit., p.31.
- 14] For a detailed account of seventeenth century attitude to self-division and suicide, and commentaries on these topics see Jonathan Sawday, op.cit., pp.133-140.
- 15] Richard Sibbs, The Soules Conflict with itself and Victory over Itself by Faith (London, 1635), p.143; cit. Sawday, op.cit. p.134.
- 16] Hugh Trevor-Roper, Archbishop Laud (London, 1988 second edition), pp.418-426.
- 17] Clarendon's Life and Continuation, vol. i, p.135.
- 18] Cf. Mead's letter, MS Harl. 390, f.455.
- 19] For an account of this incident see David Norbrook, Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance (London, 1984), p.226.
- 20] Cit. David Norbrook.
- 21] Milton, 'Lycidas', l.153.
- 22] The most recent edition of Crashaw's verse is that by George Walton Williams, The Complete Poetry of Richard Crashaw (New York, 1972). He does not include these poems.
- 23] John Selden, Table Talk, 1689, p.31.
- 24] For a detailed account of Civil War verse, its tone, form and implications see Margaret Doody, The Daring Muse (Cambridge, 1985), p.30.
- 25] Henry Peacham, The Complete Gentleman (1622), ed. Virgil B. Heltzel (Cornell University Press, 1962), p.54.

- 26] See Lois Potter, Secret Rites and Secret Writing (Cambridge, 1989), pp.19, 22-3, 151-2, where the penalties suffered by specific printers are discussed.
- 27] Acts and Ordinances, vol.I, p.1021.
- 28] Ibid., vol.II, p.245.
- 29] For a detailed account of the censorship of the press throughout the seventeenth century see W. Clyde, The Struggle for the Freedom of the Press (Oxford, 1934), pp.61-8, 187-91, 208-273.
- 30] Cosmo Manuche, The Loyal Lovers: A Tragi-Comedy (London, 1652), p.1. (STC 550).
- 31] Mercurius Aulicus, no. 51 17-23 December 1643, pp.719-34.
- 32] See Margaret Doody, *op.cit.*, pp.32-6.
- 33] Lucy Hutchinson, Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, ed. C.H. Firth (London, 1885), vol.i, pp.114-5.
- 34] F.W. Fairholt, Costume in England (1846), p.323.
- 35] The Workes of John Taylor The Water-Poet (1630), p.167.
- 36] For comment on the puritan attitude to recreation see K. Sharpe, Criticism and Compliment (Cambridge, 1987), pp.11-12.
- 37] Edward Symmons, The Preface, A Vindication of King Charles, 1648.
- 38] Matthew Parker, A Funerall Sermon..., 1551, translated by Thomas Newton (London, 1587), sig. A5v.
- 39] See G.W. Pigman, Grief and English Renaissance Elegy (Cambridge, 1985), pp.11-26.
- 40] Ibid., p.27.

- 41] Ibid., p.28.
- 42] Ibid., p.41-3.
- 43] Ibid., p.41-3.
- 44] Ibid., pp.39-40.
- 45] James Howell, The Familiar Letters of James Howell (1890).
- 46] Frank Cooper, The Parish of Chevington (n.p.,n.d.), p.95.
- 47] John Cage, The History and Antiquities of Suffolk (London, 1838); Wm. Hervey, The Visitation of Suffolk, ed. J.J. Howard, vol.II; The East Anglian, or Notes and Queries and Suffolk, Cambridge, Essex and Norfolk, ed. C.H. Evelyn White (London, 1885-6), vol.I, p.38.
- 48] Frank Cooper, loc.cit.
- 49] For a full account of 'court' and 'country' attitudes see Kevin Sharpe, op.cit., pp.1-53. Cf. P.W. Thomas, 'Two Cultures? Court and Country under Charles I', The Origins of the Civil War, ed. Conrad Russell (London, 1973), pp.168-193.
- 50] Kevin Sharpe, loc. cit., pp.1-53.
- 51] See Mervyn James 'English Politics and the Concept of Honour, 1485-1642', Society, Politics and Culture (Cambridge, 1986), pp.308-415. The concept of honour was gradually redefined throughout the Renaissance. Blood and lineage remained central to the concept although the additional elements of virtue and learning became increasingly important. The protestant and humanist influence was such that descent alone was insufficient: to be truly honourable a man was expected to countermand vice and error with his virtue and learning. For a detailed account of the influence of writers such as

- Sir Thomas Elyot see Mervyn James, *op.cit.*, pp.375-413.
- 52] David Norbrook, *op.cit.*, p.229.
- 53] *Ibid.*, p.222.
- 54] *Ibid.*, p.221.
- 55] *Ibid.*, p.222.
- 56] *Ibid.*, p.241.
- 57] Sir John Denham's Preface to Richard Fanshawe's Il Pastor Fido (1647), ed. W.F. Stanton and W.E. Simeone (Oxford, 1964), lines 15-20.
- 58] C. Hollis, Eton, A History (London, 1960), p.2.
- 59] Poly Olbion (1622), The Works of Michael Drayton, ed. J.W. Hebel (Oxford, 1961), vol.iv, p.v.
- 60] *Ibid.*, vol.iii, p.231.
- 61] Hugh Trevor-Roper, *op.cit.*, p.320.

## TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION

The entry in F. Madan's Catalogue of Western Manuscripts describes RP 147 thus: 'In English and Latin, on paper: written in about 1640-60....Poems chiefly in English, collected by a Cambridge man ('H. S.', 1647?), and largely concerned with Cambridge events of about 1630-58...'. 'H. S.' is identified as probably one Henry Some, admitted to King's College Cambridge, aged 16, in 1646, where he proceeded BA in 1651, MA in 1654, and was a Fellow from 1649 to 1658. He died of small-pox in 1658 (Venn). Part of the manuscript is written in the hand of Clement Paman (cf., for another example of his handwriting, BL Harleian MS 3511, fol.34v ff.). The manuscript contains a table of contents (a photocopy is included in this edition) which lists all the poems in the text, plus eight poems that do not appear, Henry Wotton's 'On the Queene of Bohemia', and others (possibly by Clement Paman) listed separately at the end of the index (see Appendix, p.675).

MS Rawlinson Poetical 147 belongs to the large collection of manuscripts bequeathed to the Bodleian Library by Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755), one of the Library's greatest benefactors. Rawlinson was educated at St Paul's, Eton, and St John's College Oxford, where he proceeded BA in 1711 and MA in 1713 (Foster). Like his elder brother, Thomas (also educated at St John's College), he pursued his antiquarian interests and acquired contemporary renown as a collector of books and manuscripts: 'not a sale of manuscripts occurred, apparently in London, during his

time, at which he was not an omnigenous purchaser' (W.D. Macray, Annals of the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1890), p.231).

Richard Rawlinson died on 6 April 1755 and his will was published immediately. He provided for a deed of trust for the foundation of a professorship of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, and bequeathed to the Bodleian Library his seals and curiosities as well as his manuscripts and books. His endowments were made with eccentric restrictions and stipulated (among other things) that the recipients must never be natives of Scotland, Ireland, or of the Plantations, and they must not be married (DNB). His manuscripts in the Bodleian Library number altogether about 5,700 (for further comments on the Rawlinson brothers and their collections see The Remains of Thomas Hearne, e.d. Philip Bliss, 3 vols. (London, 1869); C. and M. Elton, The Great Book-Collectors (London, 1893); and S. De Ricci, English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530-1930) and their Marks of Ownership (Cambridge, 1930)).

In this edition the text is transcribed and presented in its original form with a few exceptions: abbreviations (except in titles of poems), ampersands, and contractions have been expanded, 'ae' has been resolved as 'e', and superscript has been lowered. Spelling, with the exception of archaic orthography (i.e. u/v and j/i), and punctuation have not been modernized or 'corrected'; capitals are transcribed as written. The numerous minor scribal corrections, such as altered spelling and the addition of omitted words via a caret, are transcribed in the 'corrected' form without identification. Substantive corrections,

additions, marginal comments and emendations are recorded in the notes of the relevant poem where they are identified by line number, the corrected variant preceding the original. Where a poem is subject to many corrections and alterations (e.g. Paman's poems on Edward King) a detailed account of the procedure adopted is provided in the commentary at the end of the volume pertaining to the poem, because the number of variations is too extensive for inclusion in the notes. In all instances it is the 'corrected' form which is transcribed in the main text. Illegible words or phrases are identified in the text with empty, closed square brackets; words or phrases whose reading is doubtful are enclosed within square brackets. Where poems do not have a title an incipit is substituted, which is identified with inverted commas.

Generally, the notes serve to annotate the poems by providing a summary of the contemporary background and the identification, where known, of places, dates, events and individuals. Allusions, and obscure or obsolete words are also explained. The commentary, where applicable, provides a more detailed account of the poems' origins, including views on authorship and date. The reader is also directed to other contemporary works for comparison or elucidation.

The poems in this collection frequently occur in numerous other manuscripts and in a wide variety of seventeenth-century printed miscellanies, for which the initial source of reference was provided by Margaret Crum's First-Line Index of English Poetry 1500-1800 in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library Oxford, 2

vols. (Oxford, 1969). I have inspected most of these variants, and many more, but cite only substantive variations from the earliest known printed text. Again, variations such as spelling and punctuation are not listed. Several poems bear the marginal note 'Impress' or 'Impressa', a means by which the scribe identifies those poems he has transcribed from a printed text rather than a manuscript. After the titles of each of Clement Paman's poems there are two Greek letters, each followed by a full stop. If, as it appears, the letters are kappa-pi, they could stand for 'Clement Paman'.

Details of the lives of the poets are given in the biographical index; for those poets who have been researched and written about elsewhere comment is minimal and the reader is directed to the standard edition of their verse and other relevant sources of reference. In the case of poets who have received little or no scholarly attention, the biographical detail, if known, is more extensive. In the table of contents, names in round brackets indicate the poets whose authorship is not ascribed in the text of RP 147, but is attributed in other sources.

The manuscript includes seven Latin poems, three of which have accompanying English versions. They have been transcribed and translated by Mrs. Jean Cloud, to whom I should like to record my thanks.

On the Printe of his Lady's foot cutt on the leadds of Kings  
Colledge Chapple where before, she had slipt and fallen.

Here once my Princesse when wee first did meete  
Made proud the leads, and lett them kisse her feete  
Which not contented with a part soe small

Gave her the slip, and with the slip a fall,

So did they gett the grace to kisse her hand

5

A better feast then that whereon wee stand.

Bold sawcy lead, that (as proud coblers doe)

Durst passe theire bounds, and touch about the shoe,

But why do I the lead's Ambition blame

Had I been they, I should have done the same,

10

Only I would have melted at the meeting,

And not have hurt her with so hard a greeting.

Butt o what name so bad by which to call

Her servants negligence, that lett her fall?

Yett this excuse he hath, 'twas rayney weather,

15

And this his comfort, they fell both together.

Such falls before advancement I'de prefer

And wish to fall againe so 'twere with her.

But see her triumph, where she fell before  
Her foote stands now ingrav'd, and slips no more. 20  
The conquer'd lead in pennance hath receiv'd,  
The print of that, whose trust it once deceiv'd,  
And wounded beares to all Posterity  
The punishment of its disloyalty.  
A just requitall, only 'twill bee sayd 25  
So rare a gemme should not bee sett in lead.

Geo[rge] Goad.

NOTES (see commentary page 615)

Title] 'leadds' is possibly a figurative term applied to the  
pavement which may have been 'covered' or 'set' with lead  
(OED 2,4b).

On a man stealing a candle from a lanthorne.

One walkinge in the streets a winter night  
Climb'd to a lanthorne, thought to steale a light  
But taken in that manner, and descry'de,  
By one o'th' servants who lookt out and cryde  
Whose there? What d' thee? who doth our lanthorn handle? 5  
Nothing, said he, but only snuft your candle.

H[enry] Molle.

(see commentary page 615)

Witt in a Tempest. A translation.

A ship with soldiers ready pres't  
Was in a tempest sore distress't.  
And angry Neptune swell'd soe fast  
That all despayr'd of life, at last  
(As oft it falls) the danger weighing 5  
They left their worke and fell to praying.  
But one who thought no time to loose  
When all the rest were on their knees  
Ransacks the cupbords, falls to eate,  
All what came next, it was good meate. 10  
His fellow seeing him at that passe  
Wondred, and askt him why he was  
Soe carelesse in that miserye:  
Content yourselfe, replyed hee  
H'ad neede to eate a bitt I thinke 15  
That thus much water hath to drinke.

H[enry] Molle.

NOTES (see commentary page 615)

Title] the original of Molle's 'translation' is not known; it is not identified in the other MSS in which this poem is included.

On his Mris whose name was Barbary.

Vaine Egypt, let thy selfe-amazement cease

Bury thy wonders in eternall peace,

As they thy Kings: resigne thy ruin'd glory

And antique records to a moderne story.

And you the other wonders, this one shall

5

Or equall them, or else surpasse them all

And this another wonder is, that one

Which is no number hath all numbers wonne,

Yet if you will that one a number bee

It is the singular, and so is she

10

Were all the wonders of the world together

I'de rather have this one, than all the other

For if that all the rest should cease to bee

Yett might they all bee found in Barbary.

H[enry] Vintner.

NOTES (see commentary page 615)

Title] marginal note: 'The theame Barbara Pyramide etc.'

'Barbary' was the name given to the countries along the north coast of Africa (OED 11 4); more familiarly, the name was used for a horse: the poet possibly intends a play on being well ridden.

5-14] the poet develops as the central conceit the fact that his

mistress is not counted among the seven wonders of the ancient world. He argues that by not being one of their 'number' she remains 'singular', is therefore unique and hence superior.

On Technogamia

A comedy acted at Oxford.

Christchurch prepar'd a Marriage for the Kinge

And least that it should want an offeringe

The Kinge himselve did offer: what I pray

He offer'd once or twice to goe away.

#### NOTES

Title] refers to the play 'Technogamia, or the Marriage of the Arts', written by Barton Holiday of Christ Church Hall, Oxford (printed in 1618 by W. Stansby and J. Parker, STC 13617). The comedy was acted in Christ Church on 13 February 1618, but with little success. It was subsequently performed, after some 'foolish alterations' were made, before James I on 26 August 1621 during his stay at Woodstock. Wood records the performance as being 'too grave' for the king, and 'too scholar-like for the auditory', but adds that the actors may have had too much wine before the performance. The king, after viewing two acts, attempted to withdraw but was eventually prevailed upon to see the complete performance. These events precipitated several witty verses on the comedy. (For details of the occasion and verses written subsequently see Ath. Oxon., iii.522; Wood's History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford (1796), ii. pp.339-40.)

4] Wood records that the king offered several times to withdraw, and Nichols suggests that he may have been offended by a song in praise of tobacco (Nichols, Progress of James I (1828), vol. iv, pp.713-5).

On Fucus.

A Comedy acted before the King by some of Queens Colledge in  
Cambridge.

The Queenes Colledge Play, from Cambridge away

The King to the Court did call

Because it was pittie, that a thinge so witty

Should dye in a private Hall.

They thought it no slander to the Court for to wander 5

Though men might judge never so hard

The King did command it, they could not withstand it

And therefore went thitherward.

Three coaches came empty to carry some twenty

With bagge and baggage to boote 10

And when they had done, 'twas twenty to one

They had not come home on foote

Sure they were not wise that did them advise

To appeare in so publike a place

But things that are vicious will still bee ambitious 15

To runne into farther disgrace.

The Puritan surely lookt very demurely

With his little ruffe and hose

Each word that he spoke was as long as his cloake

And drawn quite through his nose. 20

And being in orders he past not his borders  
In shewing the world his art  
For he thought a Divine need never decline  
To play a grave Ministers part

A Foole and a Morris provided was for his 25  
Good Majesties greater delight

When a suddaine mischance might have spoyled the dance  
Theire bells were forgotten quite

But at a dead lift there were freinds for a shift  
To whom they became greate debtors 30

For the Hawkes of the Court to farther their sport  
Did give up their bells to their betters

Now honour befall those merry boyes all  
To see the good chance of thinges

For they that while ere but the Queens players were 35  
Are now become the Kinges,

The players of London will surely be undone  
They have little cause to thanke 'um

For Lowin, nor Towley, nor Tayler, nor Rowley  
Could ever dance Prinkum prankum. 40

Poore Technogamia may sitt down and dye a  
Most bitter and sorrowfull death,

For these went beyond her, judge which was the fonder  
To runne themselves out of breath.

She went but six mile and gate not a smile 45  
 And came her wayes home againe  
 These were better serv'd, had what they deserv'd  
 They were well laught at for their paine.

The King as they say at their coming away  
 Greate grace unto them did show 50  
 And gave them ten pound to drinke his health round  
 But I thinke it was not soe.  
 That gift was too small to give 'mongst them all  
 For every man for his share  
 [Deserved] no worse then ten pound and a purse 55  
 I'le be judg'd by them that were there.

Now when you make more, bee advised before  
 Your Ignavia must not bee such  
 Your Ingenium, your Judiaism  
 Had neede bee twice as much. 60  
 And then last of all, your fift act was too small,  
 At least you must make it soe bigge  
 That when there's an end men need not attend  
 As if they expected a Jigge.

Now Trinity Colledge, you needs must acknowledge 65  
 They were to you of good use  
 For thus they did toyle to bee but your foyle  
 And rayse your noble Muse.

For they that will looke without their owne booke

Will quickly be brought to see

70

And easily know their's was but a shew

And your's the Comedy.

H[enry] Molle

NOTES (see commentary page 616)

Title] a satire on 'Fucus Histrionastix', a comedy written in Latin and performed by a cast of Queens' men before the college in March 1623 (first printed by G.C. Moore Smith, 1909). There was a second performance before a royal visitor, probably James I during his stay at Newmarket in March 1623. Robert Ward (Fellow of Queens' from 1617-c 1642), is believed to be the author, and acted the title role (see commentary for evidence concerning date and authorship).

Fucus] the eponymous central character, depicted as a hypocritical puritan minister. The name is derived from the figurative sense of 'fucus' meaning pretence, deceit, dissimulation.

17-20] like other plays of this period 'Fucus' attacked and satirized puritans and their hostility to the theatre. There was a contemporary view that the puritans' style of dress and physical characteristics, such as tone of voice, were synonymous with what appeared to be their ascetic values. Their particular manner of speaking was often characterized by a nasal resonance which gained the sobriquet of the

puritan 'nose-twang' (cf. Helen Wilcox, 'Puritans, George Herbert and "Nose-Twange"', NQ, 224 (1979), 152-3). (Cf. 'The new Letany', p.453, n.147-49.)

21-24] this comment may also apply to the author (playing Fucus), as well as the character of Fucus.

31 Hawkes] used here in the figurative sense of persons who may prey on others (OED 3). The allusion may also pun on the association between hawks and the House of Habsburg, which means 'Hawk's Castle', and intended as a subtle jibe at the intentions of the visiting ambassadors who enjoyed the king's hospitality. The poet may also have in mind the present of hawks made to King James by the ambassadors.

35-39] puns on the sense of the actors, who are Queens' scholars, becoming the king's men and posing a threat to the London acting company of that name. The four actors mentioned were all members of the King's company at some time, and this comment may be an indication of the date of performance. Because Rowley joined the company in 1623 and Tooley died between 3 and 5 June 1623, a date when they were both considered King's men may correspond with the period of King James' visit in March 1623.

Lowin] John Lowin joined the King's company in 1603, he became a leading actor and eventually one of the managers.

Towley] Nicholas Tooley, an actor with the King's men for a time before his death between 3 and 5 June 1623.

Taylor] Joseph Taylor joined the King's men in 1619 and became the most widely known member of the company. With Lowin he

was also a manager.

Rowley] William Rowley joined the King's men sometime in 1623.

40 Prinkum prankum] an ostentacious, prancing type of dance (OED).

58-59] probably a reference to the subject of 'Loyola' and 'Fucus'; 'Ingenium' is used here in the sense of 'poetic inspiration'.

65] probably a reference to 'Loyola' written by John Hacket (Fellow of Trinity college 1608-28), performed at Trinity College on 28 February 1623, and subsequently before James I in March 1623.

On Dr Jegons who bestowed the mulcts of the Schollars in  
playstering the Scholes.

Here lyes John Jeggons Bennet Colledge Master  
Who broake the schollars head and gave the scholes a playster.

NOTES (see commentary page 617)

Title] Dr. John Jegons was Master of Corpus Christi College from  
1590 to 1603 (see Venn; H.P. Stokes, Corpus Christi College  
History (1898), pp.80-1). During his tenure he introduced  
reforms to stop the misappropriation of college funds, and  
one of the first included the proviso 'that leases being lett  
to the best advantage, the fines thereof be whollie received  
and used to the stock of the house' (J.B. Mullinger, A  
History of the University of Cambridge (1888), ii, p.386  
n.1). He was a successful administrator and 'by the prudent  
management of the society the whole of their [the college's]  
debt was not only cleared off, but some stock was found to  
remain "in hand" at the audit for the year 1600' (ibid.,  
p.495 n.5).

Mulcts] a fine, penalty (OED 1 and 2).

1 Bennet Colledge] Corpus Christi College was more familiarly  
known by the name of 'Benet' College because of its close  
proximity to the church of St Benedict. Stokes records that  
it 'was not until the new court opening into Trumpington  
Street was erected in the year of 1827, and the old entrance

by the church yard was closed, that the name, 'Bene't College', was lost in the more official title' (Stokes, op.cit., pp.14-5).

2 playster] the obsolete spelling of 'plaster' used for the local application of a medicament, or for closing a wound (OED 1 a); a pun is probably intended on its figurative sense of a healing or soothing means or measure (OED 1b).

## An Epitaph

Here lyes John Hall th' University Capper  
Who liv'd by the Bell, and dy'de by the clapper.

## His Answere

Thou lyeest (quoth John Hall) he is yet in hope  
To live by the Bell when thou dy'st by the Rope.

NOTES (see commentary page 617)

## AN EPITAPH

1] John Hall (1627-56) attended St John's College Cambridge between 1646 and 1647, but left without a degree. He was a poet and pamphleteer, and in 1648 wrote the parliamentary newsbooks Mercurius Britanicus and Mercurius Censorius. His published work includes a volume of essays entitled Horae Vacivae (June 1646), Poems (June 1647) and a pamphlet entitled A True Account of the Character of the Times (1647). From 1650 to about January 1653 he worked for the government newsbook Mercurius Politicus. (Venn; DNB; Saintsbury, vol.ii; Dictionary of British Radicals).

Capper] arrests.

2 clapper] puns on the literal sense of a tongue of a bell, and the slang term for a talkative person's tongue (OED 4). The allusion is to Hall's outspokenness on behalf of the

parliamentary side. The bell by which Hall lived is possibly that belonging to a neighbouring church, or the name of an inn. A bawdy connotation is probably also intended.

#### HIS ANSWERE

2] as each side believed their opponents to be traitors, the poet is referring to the punishment of hanging which awaited those convicted of such an offence. Both royalist and parliamentary journalists resorted to personal abuse when attacking their opponents, and because it was believed that those who were paid for writing could not be relied on to tell the truth, Hall was satirized for receiving a stipend of £5. His pamphlets were condemned by royalist writers as being sold in the streets by 'a poore sneaking Tobacco-stopper' (Mercurius Elencticus 15 June 1648).

Upon a Bile.

Let others sing of heads, and some of capps

Of Mars and Venus, or her after clapps,

I have a subject that gives me more matter

Then you or I or both know how to utter.

It is a Bile which though I cannot cure

5

I am resolv'd t'elude or else endure.

Come come my Bile what Epithite shall I

Find for to call so dull a creature by?

Shall I proclaime thee Blockhead? and yet call

Thee so I can't, thou hast no head at all.

10

Couldst thou butt gett a head and ripen faster

I wold not breake thy head, but adde a plaister.

Or shall I call thee coward, cause I finde

Thee alwaies in one place, and still behind?

Well since thou art a coward, prethee play

15

A cowards part, and quickly runne away.

Or shall I call thee ungratefull vexinge me

That brought thee up, and breeding gave to thee?

Yett be not angry, preethee O my Bile

Thou lookst to have bin praysed all this while

20

Shall I commend thee then? and so I will

Commend thee to the surgeon and his skill.

Reader forbear to frowne or carpe at least

For quicquid hic attingis ulcus est.

Thus doe I ease my paines, and when my Bile  
Begins to rage, then I oppose my stile  
Thus did that Roman Possidonius stoute  
And Scaliger did thus outbrave the goute.

25

Hen[ry] Vintner.

NOTES (see commentary page 618)

Title] the obsolete sense of 'bile' meaning 'boil' is probably intended (OED 2).

24] 'For nought but corrupt matter here doth rest' (Wit and Drollery (1661), p.144).

26 stile] puns on the sense of a blunt-pointed probe (OED 4) and a particular manner of behaviour (OED III,19b).

27 Possidonius] the Greek philosopher and historian (c 135-c 50 BC); he was sent to Rome towards the end of BC 87. His Histories, in fifty-two books, dealt with events from where Polybius left off, and included the history of the Eastern and Western peoples with whom Rome had come into contact. His writings were biased in favour of the 'nobilitas' and he thus vindicated Roman imperialism. His writings were influential and later historians were dependent on his views.

28 Scaliger] either Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558), a French classical scholar, or his son Joseph Justus (d 1609). Julius is the more likely because as the author of a Latin treatise on poetics and a dogmatic exposition of the classical rules

of literary perfection, he was frequently referred to by seventeenth-century writers (cf. Samuel Sheppard's Socratic Session, or the Arraignment and Conviction of Julius Scaliger, 1651); evidence of his suffering from gout is not apparent and the comment is more likely intended as a satirical jibe than as a statement of fact.

On a Matron.

Saw you a Temple where no pride within  
Outfac't the tapestry, no Idoll sinne  
Was cring'd to, while that Vesta's holy light  
Shin'd on the altar: such, such was the sight  
Of that chast Matron, if her thoughts withdraw 5  
No painted cloath were like them, the Preists lawne  
Were farre lesse white; each eye did stand a taper  
Whilst that she writt on her breast's purest paper  
Words that were Collects, her pennes were desires  
And all herselfe a Rheame of Royall Quires. 10  
She was all Musicke inward, yet of all  
Her thoughts still persevered Virginall  
When that she went, twas a Procession thought  
And for her needles skill good workes she wrought  
When she lay down some Saint intomb'd youl'd spye, 15  
With hands uprear'd, booke, candle standing by.  
He that would reade her perfect piety  
Must see it in the pattern'd deity.

Isaack Ollivier.

NOTES (see commentary page 618)

Title] the identity of the woman addressed is not known. 'Matron'  
was a term applied to a married woman, particularly one of

high standing (OED).

3 cring'd] obeisance.

Vesta's holy light] Vesta was worshipped at Rome as the goddess of the hearth and home, and was prominent in family worship. A fire, tended by virgins, continually burned in her sanctuary.

6 Preists lawne] a fine linen fabric used in religious clothing (OED 1 and 2).

7 taper] a candle used for devotional purposes (OED 1a).

9 Collects] used here in the liturgical sense of a short prayer (OED).

10 Quires] plays on quires of paper (OED 1a) and musical choirs.

On the Circumcision

Peace here first blusht, and in a crimson flood  
As Christ was flesh, began to shew him blood,  
Yee blood for Christ little-great Martyrs shed  
But he for your first circumcised bled.  
First blood he shed, and then his love divine 5  
Chang'd Canaan teares into the purple wine;  
His soule was pure not to bee purg'd afresh  
That we might harts he circumcised flesh  
True hearts of flesh, who sooner will admitt  
This circumcision, they are farre unfitt 10  
Whose marble soules ne're sweat in teare or groane,  
Who ne're were fitted to the corner stone.  
If hearts of stone, yet circumcise us still  
Wright with thy finger here thy holy will,  
Moses thy tables broake, yet pleas'd thou wert 15  
With th' other table broake his broken heart  
If circumciz'd our marble cannot bee  
Breake it O Lord that so wee may please thee  
Then shall wee Temples, preists then shall wee bee,  
Thou sacrifices broake, yet whole in thee. 20

Isaack Ollivier.

NOTES (see commentary page 618)

Title] as a religious rite circumcision was abandoned at an early

date by nearly all the Christian church but maintained its symbolic importance as representing the 'putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ' (Col. 2: 11). For Christians the rite of circumcision was closely associated with the Law, expressive of the Covenant of Works, and given in consequence of the Fall. Because of man's inability to fulfil the Law, Jesus submitted to its rites on man's behalf to free believers from sin. It was traditionally kept on 1 January, the eighth day after Christmas: 'And when eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child, his name was called Jesus' (Luke 2: 21). The symbolism associated with this rite, and the feast of Epiphany (cf. p.28) was part of the religious controversy concerning altar imagery. At a theological level, there was a division between those who saw circumcision as a type of Christ's sacrifice on the cross and those who argued that the shedding of the blood of Jesus in the circumcision was the first act in the passion of Christ. Cf. Christopher Harvey's 'The Circumcision' and Milton's 'Upon the Circumcision'.

6 purple] standard classical adjective for wine: 'purpureus'.

8-10] the poet alludes to the significance of the rite as a token of moral and religious dedication; the sentiments expressed in Romans 2: 28-9 are echoed: 'neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh...and circumcision is that of the heart...'. In the New Testament Paul reiterates the spiritual emphasis of the rite: 'For we are the circumcision, which worship God in the spirit, and rejoice in Christ Jesus,

and have no confidence in the flesh' (Phil. 3: 3; cf Deut. 30: 6).

12 corner stone] the Christian faith. The poet refers to the tradition of the Christian faith as a building which is erected upon the foundation 'of the apostles, and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone' (Eph. 2: 20). In the following lines the poet adopts the language and imagery of Matthew 21: 44: 'And whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken'.

14] see Exodus 31: 18, in which Jesus writes on the tables with his finger.

15] the ten commandments pronounced by God and inscribed on the 'tables of the law' were carried down from Mount Sinai by Moses, but he broke them when on his return he found his people worshipping a calf. (Exodus 32: 15-19). At God's command Moses returned with two more tablets on which to record God's pronouncement 'the Lord said unto Moses, write thou these words' (Exodus 34: 27).

On Twelwe Day

The Sunne of righteousnesse that shone  
Before that Light way sayd, or done,  
For to be seene himselfe doth shrowd  
In weakest flesh's obscurest clowd,  
A star began to outface day 5  
Heav'n seem'd night, the sun away,  
Earth had the sun but in a mist  
The vapours from her sullen fist  
Refuse'd those rayes that else wold rise  
Her masse enlightned, to the skyes 10  
The poles least they should darkned lye  
Borrow'd the sunne a second eye.  
Admire thee Magi that new light  
There hovering whence it became bright  
Yet what's the light of Heaven to me 15  
If light on earth I cannot see?  
Descend o sunne into this Inne  
Whose signe was darkned by foule sinne,  
And lett the world yett once more see  
A stable purg'd thy temple bee. 20  
So shall I shine on earth a farre

Shewing thy birth a second starre,  
So shall I offer'd live in thee  
Who offer'd once didst dye for me.

Isaack Ollivier.

NOTES (see commentary page 618)

Title] the feast of Epiphany, celebrated by the church on 6 January. It originated from the eastern celebration in honour of Jesus' baptism (also connected with the Nativity), but in the western church has mainly become associated with the manifestation of Jesus to the Gentiles. These are represented by the Magi who were the first Gentiles to believe in Jesus. In the Mass and Office the Magi have the chief place, though mention is also made of the Baptism and the miracle at Cana.

1 Sunne of righteousnesse] identified by Christians as Jesus, 'But unto you that fear my name shall the sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings' (Malachi 4: 2).

On the death or Mr Edward King fellow of Christ Coll Cambr:  
who was drown'd in the Irish Sea

What water now shall virtue save againe  
As once to purge? The ocean't selfe's a staine:  
And at this mourning weepinge eyes do feare  
They sin against thee, when a pious teare  
Steales from our cheekes, Go, Go, you waters backe 5  
So foully tainted: all the Muses blacke  
Came from your surges. Had the Theban swan  
Who lov'd his Dirce (while it proudly ran  
Swell'd by his lyre) now liv'd, he wold repent  
The solemn prayses he on water spent. 10  
Why did not some officious Dolphin hye  
To bee his shippe and Pilott through the frye  
Of wondering Nymphs; and having passed o're,  
Would have giv'n more then Tagus to his shoare.  
Bee this excuse, Since first the waters gave 15  
A blessing to him which the soule could save,  
They lov'd the holy body still too much,  
And would regaine some virtue from a touch:  
They change too fast; great Amphitrite soe  
Embraces th' earth, and will not lett it goe. 20  
So seem'd his soule the struggling surge to greet  
As when two mighty seas incountring meete  
For what a sea of arts in him was spent,  
Mightyer then that above the firmament?

As Achelous with his silver fleete 25  
Runs through salt Doris purely, so to meete  
His Arethusa, the Sicanian Mayde  
Admires his sweetness by no wave decay'de  
Soe should hee, so have cutt the Irish Strand  
And like a lusty Bridegroome leapt to Land; 30  
Or else like Peter trod the waves: but hee  
Then stood most upright, when he bent his knee.

Isaack Ollivier.

#### NOTES

Title] marginal note: 'Impressa'. The poem was probably transcribed from the commemorative volume Justa Edouardo King, written in response to Edward King's death on 10 August 1637. This volume has more recently been edited and annotated by Edward Le Comte (Norwood facsimile edition, 1978), to whom I am indebted.

7 Theban Swan] the Greek poet Pindar (b 518 B.C.) was proud of his Theban birth and training. Horace commended Pindar's poetical skill and described him as the 'swan of Dirce' (Carm. iv 2).

8-10] Dirce is the fountain near Thebes which is praised by Pindar (cf. Pythian Odes ix.87-9; and Olympian Odes x 84-5).

11-12] many classical stories existed in which men were befriended and rescued from the sea by the aid of dolphins; in particular Arion, a lyric poet and musician, was

traditionally believed to have been saved from drowning when a dolphin, attracted by his music, carried him to the safety of the shore (see John Creaser, 'Dolphins in "Lycidas"', RES, 36 (1985), 235-43). Within the Christian tradition these stories were adapted to symbolise the mystical escort of the dead, resurrection, and salvation.

14 Tagus] a river in Spain (now Tajo). The ancient poets believed that the sands carried by the Tagus were covered with gold (cf. Ovid, Metamorphoses, ii, 251); more famously the estuary on which Lisbon is situated.

19 Amphitrite] the wife of Neptune; probably used here to represent the sea.

25 Achelous] the longest of Greek rivers, it was also said to be the oldest of all rivers, which gave rise to its frequent use for water in general. In this instance, as Le Comte observes in JEK, Ollivier appears to have conflated it with Alpheus the largest river of Peloponesus whose waters were fabled to pass unmixed through the sea (hence 'by no wave decay'd' l.28), and to rise in the fountain of Arethusa.

26-28] Doris is used here to represent the sea (cf. Virgil's Eclogue ix. 5). The poet is alluding to the legend of Arethusa, the river goddess, who was pursued by Alpheus. When she tried to escape his attentions he followed her beneath the sea from Arcadia to Sicily, where she reappeared in the form of a fountain in Syracuse. She is the 'Sicanian Mayde' because she made Sicily her home. The term is derived from a tribe of warriors who moved from Italy and eventually settled

in Sicily. Ollivier has clearly been inspired by Virgil and his interpretation of the legend of Alpheus and Arethusa in which he depicts the attraction as mutual (cf. Eclogue x 1-5).

32] Le Comte draws attention to the parallel with the last line of Donne's poem 'Hymne to God my God, in my Sicknesse': 'Therefore that he may raise the Lord throws down'. Ollivier conveys the religious significance that earthly submission will be rewarded in heaven and therefore death should not be feared. He may also be alluding to the popular belief that King, in the face of death, fell to his knees to pray thereby proving himself to be an exemplar of Christian faith.

Eiusdem

Iuven.

Ad generum Cereris sine Caede et Sanguine pauci  
Descendunt Reges, et Sicca morte Tyranni.

To Ceres Sonne in Law few Kings doe goe  
With a dry death, thy name's thy overthrow.

I[saack] O[llivier].

#### NOTES

1-2] an adaption of Juvenal, Satire, x, 112-13.

2] puns on Reges meaning 'king' and Sicca meaning 'dry'.

3-4] a version of lines 1-2; Ceres' son-in-law is Pluto, god of  
the underworld.

To a Gentlewoman with one eye.

Why should you greive for wanting of an eye?

One sunne will serve the beauty of the skye,

Blame not misfortune then for doeing this

The Gods perhaps intended you to blesse

Because that they would have you weepe the lesse. 5

Then bee not soe with greife disturb'd in mind,

You come more neere to Love, for it is blind.

For do not lovers in darke shades delight,

And kisse most surely in the blackest night,

When none doth them behold? then what are eyes 10

But loves disturbers and suspicious spyes,

You'le see to take your ayme the better now

When blinking you do shoote in Cupids bow,

And if one wake, what if the other sleepe

She watcheth well, who one chast eye can keepe. 15

Henry Molle.

NOTES (see commentary page 618)

Title] the identity of the woman is not known.

An old man to his younge Mrs.

Am I despis'd, because you say

And I beleive that I am gray

Know Lady you have but your day

And nights will come when men will sweare

Time hath spilt snow upon your hayre.

5

Then when in your glasse you seeke

And find no roses on your cheeke,

No nor the bud at least to shew

Where such a fayre carnation grew

And such a smiling Tulippe too,

10

Ah! then too late close in your chamber keeping

It will be told

That you are old

By those true teares y'are weepinge.

[Robert] Herrick

NOTES (see commentary page 619)

Title] marginal note: 'Impressa'. The original ascription has

been crossed out but appears to read 'H.M.'

On a Gnatt which was burnt in a candle  
and fell into an Inkehorne.

Sylly Buzzing wanton Elfe

Perish there and thanke thyselfe

Thou deserv'st thy life to loose

For abusing such a Muse.

Was it thine ambitious ayme

5

By thy death to purchase fame ?

Didst thou hope he wold in pittie

Have bestow'd a funerall ditty

On thy Ghost, and thou in that

To have outliv'ed Virgills Gnatt.

10

No. the treason thou hast wrought

Might forbid thee such a thought

If that nights worke chance miscarry

Or but a syllable to varye

A greater foe thou shalt me find

15

Then Domitian to thy Kinde.

Phoebus to revenge thy fault

In a fiery trap thee caught,

That thy winged mates may know it

And not dare t'enrage a Poett.

20

Deare and wretched was thy sport

Since thy life was given for't.

Scarcely had thy life a breath

Yett it found a double Death.

Playing in the golden flames

25

Thou fell'st into an Inkey Thames.

Scorch'd and drown'd. That petty sunne

A petty Icarus hath undone.

Tho[mas] Vincent Coll. Trin.

NOTES (see commentary page 619)

10 Virgills gnatt] a pseudo-Virgilian work entitled 'Culex', in which a gnat is killed by a shepherd it has befriended.

16 Domitian] the emperor Domitian (51-96). The allusion is based on his reputation for a ruthless persecution of his enemies.

17-18] a parallel is drawn between the sun and the flame of the candle; the allusion is extended in lines 27-8 where a further comparison is drawn with the fate of Icarus, who in order to escape from Crete used wings of wax and feathers made for him by his father, Daedalus. Once on his journey he ignored the instructions given by his father and flew too close to the sun. This melted the wax and Icarus fell from the sky into the sea.

A Farewell to a chamber known  
by the name of Taylors Inne.

Farewell thou mortall stage  
Of our more mortall age

Where toads, and mice and ratts together lye  
In a place most fitt.

Thou close-retired Cell

5

Not Taylors Inne but Hell

Which Phoebus yet wheeling the world about  
Could ne're find out.

Nor dost thou much desyre

Bright Hyperions fyre

10

Knowing thy black and ugly foggy steames  
Would choake his beames

The Eare-wiggs and the snaile

With forkt head, and forkt tayle

Bestride thy gaping casements and ore-crawle

15

Thy craggy wall.

Thou smellst though I presume

It is not of perfume

Yett such as for to tell would sorely pose

The wisest nose

20

Yett thou art hung in troth

With quondam-painted cloath

And liberall spiders have thy curtaines drawn

In Cobwebbe lawne

If they who hardly save

25

Their life from the salt wave

Hang up their halfe-drown'd dropping cloaths to please

The God o'th' seas.

Then what shall I present

As a fitt Complement

30

Escaping greater dangers if well scann'd

On the dry land.

Rich[ard] Williams Regal.

#### NOTES

Title] 'Taylors Inn' is possibly a coinage alluding to one of the Inns of Chancery, the collegiate houses in which students of law resided while awaiting admission to one of the Inns of Court. Alternatively, it may simply be the name of a local hostelry frequented by the poet and his contemporaries.

7 wheeling] refers to the chariot of the sun.

25-9] a reference to Horace, 'Ad Pyrrham'.

On a London Tayler who spoyld  
a Commencement gowne in the making.

How ist nine Taylors make a man up? when  
One Taylor is enough to marre nine men  
And more of women? for their large vocation  
Acknowledgeth no bound or limitation  
Equall to natures priviledge which shows  
Variety in our bodyes, they in cloaths.  
Nay more a Badgers gate, a flaw or cracke  
In any member or a lute-case backe  
Take not so much from man nor can deface him  
So as an ill cutt garment doth disgrace him  
In the deepe censuring of gay mutes  
Who sitte upon the life and death of sutes  
If this bee true thou neither hee nor shee  
In what high manner hast thou injur'd mee  
By mangling of my gowne? the neck to wide  
Too long before and then too short o'th' side  
My sleeves to small to laugh in, then so high  
The wings start up as if they meant to flye  
Thus ill to bee behandled, thus bee thumb'd.  
It makes my velvet frett though never gummd  
But was my gowne cutt in this unked guise,  
And my Commencement Gowne? When thousand eyes

5

10

15

20

Were brought to gaze and I to walke mongst those  
 Whose greatest part of braine lies in their cloaths  
 Tayler, I will not damme or curse thee for't 25  
 Thoudst fare the better but I wish sort  
 Of debtors fayle, that thou full justly harm'd  
 As thou sittst now crosse leg'd mayst walke crosse-arm'd  
 Many crosse stitches mayst thou make and meete  
 Some ruffians still to crosse thee in the streete 30  
 Mayst thou still see thyselfe when thou shalt looke  
 In each thing cross'd but in thy credit booke  
 And yett if in sad silence of the night  
 Thou shalt bee hunted by a merry spright  
 I pray that drawing nere thee he may find 35  
 Crosses each part before but not behind  
 Let Courtiers 'point a day, and comming then  
 Point thee another day to come agen.  
 Lett fashions never change, let garments weare  
 As long as Coriates shoes, or men goe bare 40  
 As in their better state and women too  
 As some suppose they are aboute to doe  
 I cannot wish thee mischeife in the wars  
 For thou art only skilld in needle skars  
 Yett lett thine one goose presse thee till thou faint 45  
 And though I never meane thou shouldst bee sainted  
 Lett men invoke thy name though then alone

When as their knife is struggling with a bone  
Farewell and when thou bringst thy long bill downe  
Ile mak't as short as thou hast made my gowne.

50

Rich[ard] Williams.

NOTES (see commentary page 620)

Title] 'commencement' is the Cambridge term for graduation.

1-2] tailors were often the subject of ridicule and the poet is alluding to the proverb 'nine tailors make a man', a contemptuous expression implying that tailors were physically inferior to other men, needing nine to make one good man (Tilley, T 23). In contrast, one tailor could ruin the appearance of several men through poor workmanship. Sir Thomas Overbury describes a tailor as 'a creature made up out of threads, that were pared off from Adam, when he was rough-cast. The end of his being...is not to serve God, but to cover sin. Other men's pride is his best patron, and their negligence, a main passage to his profit... Of all weapons he most affecteth the long bill, and this he will manage to the great prejudice of a customer's estate' (A Book of Characters, ed. R. Aldington (London, 1924)). Cf. Cleveland's poem 'Smectymnuus, or the Club-Divines' (lines 45-6) where he uses tailors as a symbol of multiplicity:

Like to nine Taylors, who if rightly spell'd

Into one man, are monosyllabled.

3 And more of women?] tailors were proverbially lecherous.

- 7 Badgers gate] 'Badger' is used here in the sense of an itinerant dealer (OED); 'gate' is used in the sense of road or path (OED 11).
- 8-9] i.e. anything that may detract from one's attributes and accomplishments.
- 20 frett] puns on the sense of 'agitation' (OED 3); to become worn (OED 7); and as a term to describe interlaced work, especially in gold and silver. The 'commencement gowne' appears to be of a type usually worn by Fellow Commoners whose gowns were 'richly trimmed with gold, or silver lace' and their caps covered in velvet (Gradus Ad Cantabrigiam: or a Dictionary of Terms (London, 1803), p.62).
- 21 unked] obsolete spelling of 'uncked' meaning hooked (OED). Wit and Drollery (1661) reads 'uncouth'.
- 40 Coriates shoes] Thomas Coryate (1577?-1617) gained notoriety from his European travels. In 1608 he completed his walking tour of the continent by walking home from Venice. On his return he displayed his worn shoes in his father's church at Odcomb in Somerset, where they were preserved until 1702.
- 43 goose] a tailor's smoothing iron (OED 5a). Cf. Macbeth II. iii, 17 'Come in tailor; here you may roast your goose.'

Epithalamium.

There was a night, it was a happy night  
The glittering stars did yeild a glorious light  
The Moone was never brighter, it may bee  
Shee fear'd the Earth would bee more bright than shee  
And cause there was enough, for there was one 5  
Would make her sleepe and wake Endymion  
A comely lasse she was, if I may say  
She was soe: and was fairer than the day  
The stars fell now indeede, not that they might  
Give any, but receive new borrow'd light 10  
Content they were for Candles to have gone  
But that when she was by, their light was none  
    But my first theme was night, and yet some say  
Apollo then would faine have made it day.  
His charriott then a Carman might have driven 15  
But that he fear'd on Earth to burne up Heaven.  
Full twice seven years he wold keep sheep againe  
Where such a Shepherdesse did grace the Plaine.  
The Poetts God a Poett faine would bee  
Nay anything to such a Saint as shee 20  
Say what I can or will. He would have beene  
Present, but that his presence must bee seene.  
Mars smiles, and might he now one minute gett  
He would not care a pinne for Vulcans nette.  
Vulcane was only glad, for now the Gods 25

Hee thought were all below, such were the odds  
 And yett some say they were to blame  
 He never thought till now that he was lame  
 Tis more than certaine that he once did begge  
 For one poore night to losse the other legge 30  
 The Gunner Boy was present and would faine  
 For his owne sake one arrow shoote againe  
 But he (alas!) right bankrupt like poore Elfe  
 Had shott so many, he outshott himselfe.  
 The nimble winged thing so swifter farre 35  
 Then ayre or shaddow, doth out-leape a starre  
 He that undid and sped faire Venus tone  
 Though all the Gods and Vulcan too look'd on  
 Here was content to snatch one kisse I say  
 But that was all and that he stole away 40  
 In vaine he brought his Pipe and eke his rodde  
 Where such an Io is, Argus can't nodde  
 Great Jove though Juno did espie  
 His wondering looke, did cast an eye  
 He that did boast he could pluck up the Ball 45  
 Of the vast earth, the seas, nay Gods and all  
 Might here bee seene come trembling downe the skie  
 Drawn by the ray of one poore mortalls eye  
 Nor would an Eagle bee, for Eagles sight  
 Cannot behold more then the Sunlike light, 50  
 Sometime a Bull, but her pure thoughts did seeme  
 Either to give or to receive the horne

Next for a milke white swan, but 'twas a sinne  
 To thinke a swan so white as shee within.  
 Then for a golden showre but he was told 55  
 Her baser thoughts were farre more pure then gold  
 Sometime he thought in thunder to have came  
 But that might make her burne not quench his flame  
 He that could all things (but could nothing now)  
 Kisses Heavens Queene, since earthly Queene will not bow 60  
 This was the only Beautie Juno's eye  
 Beheld and was not jealous by and by  
 And yett twas thought she would have given consent  
 To jove for his, might shee have her content.  
 Nay mortall men speake of the Gods alowde 65  
 Here she herselfe 'twas sayd would bee the clowde.  
 That Mayden Goddesses that distain'd to bee  
 A wedded wife, would needs this wedding see  
 She lik'd and blush'd, and blushing smiling sayd  
 A marryed life is the only Maydenhead. 70  
 And might she here of kisses have her fill  
 She wold ne're more have stoop'd to Etna's hill  
 Faire Venus came herselfe as I was told  
 And freely offer'd up the Ball of Gold  
 But she was wise, as Goddesses all bee, 75  
 She parts with one hopes to enjoy three.  
 And all in vaine, for though that they were two  
 Yett were but one, because they both were true.  
 For all these paines faire payre I only crave

You'd please to keepe what faine the God wold have

80

But when you dye, fayth write upon your stone

Here lyes the love of all, the joy of one.

William Norrice. Regal.

#### NOTES

- 3 Moone] associated with Diana and thought to mean 'bright one'.
- 5-6] in mythology Endymion, a beautiful young man, was said to have been beloved by the moon; Zeus granted that he should sleep everlastingly.
- 15-16] only Apollo was capable of driving his chariot without firing heaven or scorching the earth. When he granted Phaeton's request to drive the chariot, it resulted in the destruction of the earth.
- 23-26] Mars became entangled with Venus in the trap set for them by Vulcan. The other gods were invited by Vulcan to view the spectacle.
- 28-30] an allusion to the tradition in which Jove, angered by Vulcan's interference with himself and Juno, threw Vulcan down from heaven, whereby he sustained a broken leg from the fall. The poet's allusion suggests a contemporary variation or adaption of this story, the exact details of which are no longer apparent.
- 31 Gunner Boy] Cupid.
- 37 tone] the space between planets (OED 4b).
- 41] Mercury, in the guise of a shepherd, carried reed-pipes and a

magic rod.

42-44] Jove, enamoured with Io, attempted to protect her from Juno's jealousy by changing her into a beautiful heifer. Juno was not deceived, and obtained the animal from Jove. She then commanded Argus to guard the heifer.

can't nodde] Argus had a head with a hundred eyes, two of which in turn were always resting. Mercury was ordered by Jove to slay Argus and rescue Io, and with his pipe playing induced Argus to sleep. This was deepened by the touch of his magic rod and enabled Mercury to cut off his head.

45-46] Jove cf. his opening speech to the assembled gods, v Iliad VIII.

55-56] Jove outwitted Danae's captor by entering the tower and appearing before her as a golden shower; they became lovers and she subsequently bore Perseus.

57-58] in response to Semele's request, Jove appeared before her as a clap of thunder and reduced her to ashes.

60 Heavens Queene] Juno, through marriage to her brother Jove, became queen of all the gods.

61] Juno was fiercely jealous of the subjects of Jove's intrigues and contrived to punish them.

66] Jove often protected the identity of his lovers by obscuring their meetings in a cloud of mist.

67 Mayden Goddess] Diana gained permission from her father to live in perpetual celibacy, hence she became the patroness of chastity.

72 Etna's hill] possibly an allusion to the tradition that

Vulcan's forges were situated under Mount Etna.

73-74] an allusion to the story in which Paris was called on to decide who the golden apple, bearing the words 'for the fairest', rightly belonged to. He had to choose between Minerva, Juno, and Venus who each offered him a great reward in return. Paris chose Venus because she had promised him the most beautiful woman for his wife.

On King Charles's recovery from the small Pox.

Most gracious Sovereigne

When as your blest face, booke from whence we draw  
Religion, Courage, Learning, life and law.

Which in red letters writt; there's none was seene  
To read or understand you but your Queene. 5

For when that heate that sommer did arise  
I'le sweare 'twas winter in your subjects eyes  
Pardon our loyall error while wee view  
Through spectacles of feare no objects true.

'Mongst us indeed this sicknes proves disgrace 10

And tells us of our faults unto our face  
By stamps and pittholes, (though our lives wee save)  
It shews how often we deserv'd a grave.

But from you twas so gone so banisht quite  
That I can scarce beleive what I doe write 15

No footsteps character or track was veiw'd  
They fear'd it seems least they shold bee pursu'd  
Or rather as I think twas a resort

Of some farre strangers to your Royall Court  
And so the better for to see your Grace 20

They tooke possession of the highest place  
But being question'd how they there darst stay  
They streight like Maydens blusht and went away

Nor this nor that. But sure 'twas Heavens decree  
They shold impression leave in us not thee.

25

Rich[ard] Williams.

#### NOTES

Title] in 1632 Charles had an attack of the smallpox; it was reported on 6 December that 'king Charles has had the small-pox, but was never sick, and is in a good way of recovery (CSPD 1631-3, p.454). In his Memorials (1853), Bulstrode Whitelocke records that 'the king fell sick of the smallpox, but was well recovered again to the joy of his subjects' (vol.i, p.49). A more graphic account of the king's illness is provided by the Venetian Ambassador who reported that 'after the king had suffered some slight disturbance spots appeared on his face and neck, indicating either smallpox or over heating of the blood, so the physicians here say. His Majesty does not believe the first and will not hear a word of it, and he thinks nothing of the second...meanwhile he had suspended public audiences and affairs' (CSPV 1632-6, pp.47,49). Charles' recovery was also celebrated by William Cartwright, 'On His Majesties Recovery from the Smallpox' (Evans, pp.448-9), and Thomas Carew, 'Upon the Kings Sickness' (Dunlap, p.35).

4 red letters] puns on the sense of 'laws' in the previous line, the literal sense of 'rubric' signifying red letters, and the metaphorical sense of the scars caused by smallpox; cf. the

imagery used by Cartwright (lines 9-10):

Let then the name be alter'd, let us say

They were small starres fixt in a Milky Way.

'Who smiles not now'

Who smiles not now, was hew'n from of some rocke  
Some Caucasus, some flint nature did locke  
For a harts softnes in his rigid breast  
An Agelastus, robd of that is best  
And calls us man, the yeare itselفة doth rise 5  
Clad in a smile, and all her knotts unties,  
To teach us to unknitt our brows and then  
Outstrip her flowres, they are the flowre of men  
Who waite upon her, and such pleasance yeild  
In all their actions, as the new trim'd feild. 10  
Youth in their Age a May continuall keepe  
Nor age itselفة shold here produce her sleepe  
But follow Tyme who nere so trod the stage  
But with this month did change to youth his age.  
You that are Phoebus son, who nere is old 15  
But hath still spring, such as the age of gold  
May unsevere your forhead now, and take  
A garland on, our Muses shall it make  
Of all the flowres which gentle May hath bred  
And wold adorne herselfe upon your head 20  
So hath Apollo bid his Muses goe  
To flowrey Tempe, and their care bestow  
To fitt a chaplett which he wold allow  
Either to Homers or old Hesiods brow:  
They like so many bees at feild did meete 25

Nor rob'd the flowres but did increase their sweet,  
 Came laden home and all their store did bring  
 Unto their hive a present to their Kinge.  
 Say you the which your bees then streight shall flye  
 And with their pleasures crown their labours high 30  
 These flowrs shall honey yeild when we retire  
 Such as distill from the old Pilians sire  
 Such as from you when that you speake [to] flow,  
 Or when you teach or when you bid us goe,  
 That word itselpe shall make us to revive 35  
 And come back rich to you as to our hive.  
 Clement he is who is the Bees great Kinge  
 They labour too, although he want a stringe,  
 His gentle nature rules them strongly, soe  
 He hath an empire without cruell showe 40  
 Of angry fascies, let your rule bee such,  
 More then with strips you may do with a touch  
 More with a word; be that our leave and we  
 Shall in our care outvie the labouring bee  
 Each word of leave shall grace the smiling howre 45  
 Make us a May and rayse a morning flower  
 That when we walke not to the morning dew  
 Wee'le owe May flowers, but take them as from you.

I[saack] Ollivier. dum Etonae.

## NOTES

Title] crossed out and illegible.

2 flint] a kind of hard stone, usually covered with a white incrustation; in poetic use it was used as a term for hard stone in general (OED I 1a).

locke] a pun is possibly intended on the use of flint to kindle the powder in a flint-lock.

4 Agelastus] a surname of Crassus; he was said to have only laughed once, upon seeing an ass eat thistles. The word is also applied to Pluto because of the sullen and melancholy appearance of his countenance.

22 Tempe] the name of a valley in Thessaly, but more often used as a general term for any delightful rural spot (OED).

23 chaplett] a wreath for the head, usually a garland of flowers or leaves (OED 1). Apollo is traditionally depicted as wearing a wreath of laurels on his head.

32 Pilians sire] Nestor of Pylos.

Twilight. at foure a clock in winter.

The Occasion.

On a Decembers afternoone

Between the times of Sun and Moone

For day too late, for night too soone

It fortun'd

Dick Goad and I resolv'd Together

5

To go we knew nor car'd not whither

To seeke some shelter as the weather

Importun'd.

And as we wandred up and downe

To find a fire in Cambridg towne

10

It seem'd that angry fate did frowne

Upon us.

For not a fire or great or small

We could procure or find at all

In Parlour, Kitchin or in Hall

15

Of one house

The Morning fire was dead and gone

The evening fire was very none

But the materialls of each one

Lay scattering

20

There did the silent ashes lye

The stony hearted cinders by

No help, no hope, no remedy

For shuttering

Fy o'this ugly time quoth Dick 25  
 That we must needs be cold ith' nick  
 When there's no coale of fire, no stick  
     To shew light  
 Methinks it were a merry straine  
 And worthy of a Poetts vaine 30  
 To character this Interreigne  
     Of owle light.  
 For sure Dame Nature ne're did breed  
 A time whereof there is no need  
 But some promiscuous wanton seed 35  
     Did whelp it  
 Then if some angry poetts quill  
 Make it the subject of his skill  
 He shall have heart and my good will  
     To helpe it 40  
 Thus I who yett (as all men know it  
 And as my following rime will show it)  
 Was neither borne nor bred a Poett  
     Nor thought one,  
 Since Indignation doth supply 45  
 The verses that nature doth deny  
 The good will of my Muse to try  
     Was brought on.

NOTES (see commentary page 620)

5 Dick Goad] probably Richard Goad, a contemporary of Molle who was at King's College Cambridge from 1610 until 1615. He was buried on 13 April 1625 (Venn).

45] cf. Juvenal, Satire I ('facit indignatio versum').

## Twilight

It was the time when chimneys all agree  
To shew no comfort to mortality  
And by their empty tunnells nought expresse  
But silence and unnaturall emptynes  
When the sun setts and yett the modest Moone 5  
Dares not usurpe upon his light too soone  
But by degrees incroaches as unfitt  
To beare the envy of succeeding it.  
When squallid darknes and unwelcome night  
Depose bright day and the true fathers right 10  
Descends not to the son, dayes lawfull heyre  
Cleere fire, succeeds not in the fathers chaire  
A time that makes no difference at all  
Betweene the niggard and the liberall,  
When both their homes seeme dead, no smoaky breath 15  
Gives signe of life and vindicates from death  
When Phoebus dyes and the Malignant owle  
Bursting to tell ill news, begins to howle  
His sad departure, and not there content  
Calls night to soyle the unwilling firmament, 20  
Hatefull to both, a dismall peale to ring  
Dayes heavy funerall and nights Christening  
A time, we wish Prometheus liv'd to call  
A new supply down from th' Olympian hall;  
A time, that chimney-sweepers feare and curse 25

Affording nothing to their pain or purse  
 A time of doubt and danger, when the sight  
 Debates his object, and (uncertain light  
 Dazing the sense) his Royalty forgoes  
 And knows not dogs from wolves nor friends from foes 30  
 A time so bad that neither day nor night  
 Strives for the mastery who shall name it right  
 A time that's gone before it can be thought,  
 A time that is, and yett a time that's nought  
 A time no time, but times Hermaphrodite 35  
 Compos'd of female darknes and male light.  
 A time which how to name was ever doubtfull  
 When the sun's gone, and Moone not yett shines out full.  
 A time half-fac'd and partly coloured  
 A linsey-wolsey time, and motlyed: 40  
 A time between two fires, such is the chance  
 Of barren sea cole: no continuance  
 Of following fire, but as the glasse being done  
 It must be turn'd agen before twill run  
 Or mules, on whom the curse of nature lyes 45  
 That neither gett nor beare but prodigies  
 So sea-coale childles dies, and after death  
 Proceeds new fire from an externall breath.  
 Oh that the bowells of the harmlesse earth  
 Should be so vexed, to make way for the birth 50  
 Of such a brood! to taske a ragged crue  
 Of ugly feinds, that nere the sun can veiw

But verticall, and but two yards of sky!  
 Fitt instruments for such a Midwifery,  
 Great walking coales that in Hells suburbs dwell 55  
 And fuell dig for th' earnest fire of Hell.  
 A time that nere was made : for at th' worlds birth  
 When mighty God created Heavn and earth  
 He made the day and night the morn and even  
 But of twilight no name, no mention's given. 60  
 Since made a plague, when man by his offence  
 Had stain'd with guilt his snowey innocence.  
 All things at first were perfect in theire kind,  
 And to their sexes and their lawes confin'd.  
 Till wanton nature weary of restraint 65  
 Began to court change and seek out quaint  
 And strange connixtions: hence came afterwards  
 The race of monkeyes griffins Leopards,  
 Baboons and thousands more: that now we may  
 Try our beleife to what the Poetts say 70  
 And Painters draw and look next mart to heare a  
 Man that will sing the life of a chimdra.  
 From this confusion and excesse of nature  
 Came this irregular and monstrous creature  
 Which we call Twilight as a scourge and shame 75  
 Like thorns and bryars or this accursed frame

Henry Molle.

NOTES (see commentary page 620)

Although Goad died in 1625 it is possible that later readers recognised the poem's potential as a royalist commentary on the Interregnum, and redeployed it as such. The previous poem may similarly have been redeployed (cf. Richard Lovelace's 'The Grasshopper').

17 Phoebus] sun

23-24] Prometheus restored fire to man, after Zeus had hidden it, by stealing a lighted torch from Olympia.

36] Phoebe (moon) and Phoebus

39 half-fac'd] incomplete, imperfect (OED 3).

40 linsey-wolsey] a term originally used to describe a textile material of wool and flax; it is used here in its figurative sense to depict a strange medley, confusion (OED 2).

42 Barren sea cole] 'sea-coal' was a name given to mineral coal in order to distinguish it from charcoal (OED 2a). It is considered barren because it shows no signs of propagating more fire, and the poet continues this metaphor in lines 46-51.

52-56] an allusion to hell; mining was considered to be the work of the devil.

72 Chimdra] probably an allusion to the chimera, a monster with a lion's head and chest, the tail of a snake, and a body all aflame.

To the queenes Mty on the birth of James D. of York.

Thus ever live, Great Queen, and forward fly

To an Eternity

While these sweet parts of you like chrystall shivers

Each one your face delivers.

And when you have many ages seene and lives

5

See yett an endles race in perspectives.

Happy these times, that hope and forward looke

In their great fortune booke.

But more, that once shall know their lives and see

Our hope a History.

10

When from your great example they are knowne

While they your virtues follow, you your owne.

To be a Prince is chance, but to bee good

Is no effect of blood.

Yett both conspire in yourself who both inheritt

15

Your birth and virtues meritt

May yett more issue from that happy wombe,

Now girt your board, long hence inscribe your tombe.

Henry Molle.

NOTES (see commentary page 620)

Title] James, the second son of Charles I and Henrietta Maria,

was born on 14 October 1633; 'the whole Court is full of rejoicing at the happy birth of a son...the people rejoice at the birth of a new duke of York, the usual title of the second son' (CSPV 1632-36, p.157). In the light of the Civil War and the execution of the King it is possible that this poem was redeployed by later royalist compilers as a reminder of former and happier times.

3 chrystall] transparent, clear (OED ).

A letter from J.J. to S.B.

Health to good Colin,

Every gentle mind

(Al gates the course may interrupted bee

By fortunes joyous smiles, or freakes unkind,

For both pervert alike,) to Chevalrie

5

And gentle deeds we still inclined see.

In Phaedria's bowres Sir Guyon must not stay

Ne Calidore in Lap of Pastorell,

While Satyres rude fair Alma ill apay

And blatant beast though poyson's ill, with

10

poyson still doth swell.

2.

Thou knowest Dear Mela that I vowed have

(And thereby bound to have a speciall care

I still pursue't) the Persian beast to enslave

Whom when I captiv'd have (the event to feare

Is cowardly) in chaines to thee, my Dear,

15

I'le fetterd bring, yet not so strongly tyde

As will his master to thy Goodlihead

Whom thou shalt find when ere his faith is tryde

The truest Shepheard swaine that e're on ground did tread.

Itinerarie

Thus in pursuite of this adventure bold

20

I yode abroad, leaving Cantabrick stronds

Ne fearing Bory nor the brumal cold

I prickt ore hills and dales and plowed londs:  
 No spur I had for Glory needs no spur,  
 As said a gentle poet. As I ranged 25  
 The worlds great champaign; a foule Mastiff Curr  
 Assayld my horse, this act had neere estranged  
 Me and my witts, so wood and fell he seem'd  
 That I of Cerb'rus damned race him deem'd.  
 Bite me he did not, for I rode away 30  
 Fast as I could ('tis folly to contend  
 With rascall Dogs, you know,) By this the day  
 Had shut up windowes, night gan overhend  
 Her sable mantle, while in forrests wide  
 We fearlesse wander, ne knew where to provide 35  
 A homely lodging, riding thus, at length  
 By horned Phoebe's light we might perceive  
 A goodly castle and of mickle strength,  
 Full joyfull sight to see, wherewith Bylive  
 Wee boldly knockt an aged Sire came out 40  
 And well perceiving by our dirty guize  
 That we were wandering Knights, he 'gan to loute  
 Lowly and bid us welcome, in this wise  
 We stayd till morneing, when myself uprearing  
 From drowsyhead I lookt about and saw 45  
 Naught but vast ruines, hereupon a drearing  
 Began to seize me, as in deep dismay.  
 Those ruin'd walls I had not long survey'd  
 When I might spy att sitting with her farr

An old old woman, ill she seem'd apayd 50  
Her Eyne into their cavernes sunken were  
She seem'd the ancient Genia of this place  
For time had ruines made in her old face  
As in the Abbey, for so it prov'd to be  
And Warden heght, there lived now the owle 55  
And dreary Batt signes of ill destinie  
Where many a Nun had liv'd or many a Learned Cowle.

I cannot write a word more for hast of the Carrier, you may  
perceive that the first day that we left Cambridge, we lost our  
way, and lay at an old Abbey, By the next I'le write all the 60  
observables in the Country: Have a care of anything that  
concerns me, thine as sure

As etc.

Jo[shua] Jones

From Mells  
in Somersetshire.

#### NOTES

Title] the first of three verse letters from J.J. to S.B. 'J.J.'  
is Joshua Jones, from Mells in Somerset. He was at King's  
College Cambridge from 1651 to 1667. S.B. cannot be  
identified with certainty but was most likely a contemporary  
of Jones at Cambridge; two possible candidates are Samuel  
Beck, admitted at King's in 1651, and Fellow from 1654 to

1666, and Samuel Borfett, admitted at King's in 1650. He was a Fellow from 1653 to 1660.

1 Colin] a conventional pastoral name.

3 Algates] however (OED 5).

7 Phaedria] typifies unmeasured mirth and wanton idleness. In the Faerie Queene Phaedria tries to tempt the Palmer (2.12.16-7).

Sir Guyon] under the Palmer's guidance Sir Guyon resists the temptations of the Bower of Bliss (ibid., 2.12).

8 Calidore] a courteous knight whose mission is to slay the blatant beast. He is temporarily distracted from his duty by his love for Pastorella, a beautiful shepherdess (ibid., 6).

9 Alma] typifies the soul; mistress of the House of Temperance (ibid., 2.9).

10 blatant beast] a seven-headed monster with 'vile tongue and venomous intent' (ibid., 6.1.7-8).

marginal gloss 'In that verse I go beyond Spencer. tis royly [bid] an Elboick p.c.'

11 Mela] not identified; probably a name coined for the recipient of the letter.

13 Persian beast] marginal gloss 'the Persian Language.'

21 Cantabrick] Cambridge.

Stronds] strand, shore.

22 Bory] may be derived from Boreas, the north wind.

brumal] wintry (OED).

23 prickt] to spur, ride fast (cf. Faerie Queene 1.1.1.).

Londs] lands.

26 champaign] open country, plaine.

28 wood] mad, angry.

fell] deadly, fierce.

29 Cerb'rus] Cerberus, the Echidean dog with three heads;  
designated by Spenser as the father of Blatant Beast.

33 overhend] overhead.

37 Phoebe's light] moonlight; the moon is crescent-shaped, hence  
'horned'.

38 mickle] much, great.

42 loute] bow, do obeisance.

52 Genia] custodian, term derived from the spirits and goblins of  
Arabian demonology (OED).

55 heght] named.

57 cowle] monk.

Another

1.

The sun had past his height meridionall  
And now came tumbling down the Heavens apace  
Whereat asham'd from so great height to fall  
In dusky clouds he wrapt his blushing face:  
Such time it was when carefull Hobinole 5  
(That simple swaine) with trouble wearied mind  
Yode forth abroad to ease his musing soule  
In hope to leave his pensive thoughts behind  
But they like quick-nos'd Hounds still had him in the wind.

2.

Ne Lasse it was, ne thought of worldly good 10  
That thus perplext the swain, it was the love  
Of knowing things that won't be understood  
Nature of Soules, and things that sore above  
From sober mood this shepherds mind did move  
Ay me the while! that I poor sorry wight 15  
Can raise those Devills which I cannot lay,  
That troublous Fancy can create a night  
To which poore Reason cannot give a day!

3.

Thus ill bestad gan coast this carefull wight  
To neighb'ring Lawnes amongst the merry Kids 20  
To ease his mind of any waies he might,  
But nought could lesse, His goodly flocks amids  
All on a sudden pale and wan he wox

And ghastily began to look around  
Then falls on ground, like Lamb at sight of Fox. 25  
Small greifs amaze, but greate ones do stound.

4.

Thus Knight return'd from battallous assay  
Of doing dead some rude Gigantick foe  
With head in hand at Ladies feet to lay,  
All suddenly doth pale and bloodlesse grow 30  
By the fresh bleeding of his woundes drad  
Falls to the ground in dolorous distresse;  
Just so this Shepheard falling bestad  
As if some secret wound had gan to bleed afresh.

5.

And so it was, a wound began to bleed 35  
Nere made by sword, or dint of deadly steele  
'Twas greif, that flowre of fayth was wox a weed  
And goodly Frenship turned infidele  
(Such greif Gods grant no honest mind may feele):  
Nature returning, Hobbin 'gan upreare 40  
And meaning frame his dolorous complaint  
Hasted to shadow of a bushy breere  
But could not plaine, so great was his constraint.

6.

At last, tis gan to say with heavy paine:  
Ah Colin's fal- poor heart could not sustaine 45  
To speak it out, 'twas deadly word to sayne,  
But a kind sigh such doom unjust to stay

Did rend poor word, and almost heart in tway!  
With that from eyne a teare gan trill adorne  
On hanging lip, full bitter twas to last 50  
But nought so bitter was this dreery storme  
As though that Colin's flowre of fayth could be yblast.

7.

And now a pricking fawn came jerking by  
Much like Quadruple's morning exercise,  
But mov'd no mirth: good signe how dreerily 55  
He was possest; but in distainfull wise  
He broke his pipe and down again he lyes.

Tis late at night, I can hold no further, but by this mayst  
thou see, Dear Colin, how unkindly I took thy silence, yet  
darest not accuse thee: I'le write the next week farther of my 60  
mind, but faile not in the mean while to blesse Hobinolkin with  
some fine lines

Fare thou well

Hobinolkin.

NOTES.

5 Hobinole] a shepherd swain, and friend of Colin Clout; the name  
used by Spenser to address his particular friend Gabriel  
Harvey. Marginal gloss: 'that's I, quoth Molops'.

7 Yode] went.

19 bested] 'bestad', situated, placed.

coast] approach.

20] marginal gloss: 'a place where Dear and Goats feed'.

23 wox] became, grew.

29 head] marginal gloss: 'I don't mean his owne'.

31 drad] dreaded, fear.

40 Hobbin] a diminutive of Hobinole.

42 breere] briar.

49 trill] to flow in a continuous motion (OED v2).

52 yblast] withered.

61 Hobinolkin] another variation of Hobinole.

Another

Health to Dear Colin

Hobinolkin prayes

(If Hobinolkins prayres may ought availe)

Ten thousand blisses crown thy youthfull daies,  
And happy fortune fill thy swelling saile.

5

Health also to thy flock, that goodly flock,  
Which whilome was thy dearest hearts delight  
Thrice happy sheep whom wonne in fold to lock  
So lovely swain as Colinisho bright.

Faire bin your Luck to have so deare a ward  
As is that shepherd, thousand Nymphs would dye  
To be so kept by him, but are debarr'd  
Whilst he their loves for love of you does fly.

10

Witness those nymphs that loved him so deare  
Corenia, and Anamil the faire,  
Whom he forsaking left in deadly dreare,  
Ah flinty heart to slight so good a paire!

15

The woods and groves where Dian mostly dwells  
The plaines, the vales, and hills are his abode

The springs, the fountains, and the sacred wells 20  
Are his dear joyes, when ere he yoes abroad.

Wedding device he hateth as the snake  
And laughs the bonds that silly Vicars make,  
His pipe, the jollyest pipe, that ere did sound  
Is joy enough, when ere he getts on mound. 25

Seemeth Quadruple (speak well of the dead  
Therefore no more than Quadruple) that swaine  
Yprickt with Venus sting and lustyhead  
Hath sold his joyes for dreriment and paine.  
But since that \* \* is gone from among us 30  
To the Isle of Virginy to plant Mundungus  
I doubt when soone his vessell is fraught  
To fill up the rime, that you will be n-

I am now just ashamed of myself for writing simple rithmes  
which nothing but thy honesty is able to preserve from being 35  
ridiculous I shall henceforth endeavour to expresse my mind in  
honest prose, but indeed neither verse nor prose is able to  
expresse how affectionately

I am

Thy humble servant (shepherd I  
shold have said)

Hobinolkin Dogrell.

NOTES

6 Whilome] formerly.

14] Corenia and Anamil have not been identified; the names were probably coined by the poet.

17] an allusion to the association of Diana as a wood goddess.

27 Yprickt] prickes, stabbed.

Venus sting] love, passion.

30 \* \*] probably intended to signify the name of a mutual acquaintance.

31 Isle of Virginy] Virginia

Mundungus] bad-smelling tobacco (OED 2).

Han. R's letter to J.J.

Oh gentle Hobinoll, some pittie take

On thy poor Huffin, who is all forlore,

Fullen of greif, fullen of dreery ach,

Scarefull, and lank, and leane, and sad, and poore.

All to be ruin'd, sith all joyes forsake

5

His carryon carkasse, 'twas not so of yore;

Some pitty taken, so may soveraigne Pan

Keepen thee still from paleness and from wan

Henceforth ne callen me the jollie wight

Ne let me henceforth shepheard called be

10

All jovisance han bid my heart good night,

My swainship too is tane alas! from me

My dainty sheep, then purest snow more white,

Droppen down dead, as fast as leave from tree:

And I, poor silly I, am so dismaid,

15

I cannot give my sheep and younglings ayde.

Siker, there never liv'd a sicker swaine,

If swain can be, whose flock is all destroyd,

This jarrs me greet, to see my lambkins slain

(Which were to me full leife) and sadly noyd,

20

Certes, they pine away to heare me plaine

And I complain to see them ill accloyd,

Yet happy sheep, and thrice unhappy I,  
Who sick am dying and yet cannot dy!

'Twas golden time, I wisse, when by a willow 25

We chanted roundelayes as shrill as pewitt  
The Duke (God sheild him) leaning on his pillow  
Was faine to heare my bagpipe when I blew it,  
Full golden time was that, Quicquid ab illo

Produxi vitae tempore, parva fuit 30  
Then was I nimble, knew no kind of ayle  
Now sadly dight with dreriment and bale.

That oaten pipe of mine, which erst was heard  
To make the welken roare, with thrilling sound

That oaten pipe lyes buryed and interr'd 35  
In the black bowells of the fusky ground

Those songs displeasen which were once prefer'd  
And soughten for, so dolefull is my stound,

With fever fell my heart on flaming fire is  
Nec mihi respondent veteres in carmina vires. 40

Sed Satis invalidos calamo lassavimus artus  
Et negat officium longius aegra manus.

So may no sicknes ever overhale you  
Restat ut ascribat litora ara, Vale.

Nor part we thus! I have a great request 45  
To make unto thee, (Hobbin) I protest.

Deny me not, by former love I bind thee  
 Loving I left thee, let me loving find thee.  
 O keep me pritheer, and preserve me still  
 From punishments of Deanes, which work me ill. 50  
 No exercise perform'd they take occasion  
 To exercise my Patience: no persuasion  
 Can work upon their stony hearts: in fine  
 They mulct me for no willfull Act of mine.  
 Keep thou my Acts, dear Jos. and I will rayse 55  
 A monument to your eternall prayse.  
 My debts to thee are great, but yet I'le cleare 'um  
 Ere long be; nec si miserum fortuna Rogerum  
 Finxit, mendacemque ingratumque improba finget  
 But with ten thousand thanks I'le bow and cringe it. 60  
 Your kindnesse shall not be forgot (ne're feare it)  
 Exiguum, sed plus quam nihil, illud exit.  
 And since I'm weak and feeble, strength to raise  
 I pritheer add 4 moneths unto my daies.  
 And if the Provost askes you how I fare, 65  
 Tell him my body's half consum'd with care.  
 A Dividend or two will not repaire it,  
 Si me nunc videat, visum prius esse negaret:  
 So mayst thou still be ague-proof and free  
 From paine and greif, what ere becomes of me 70  
 So mayst thou never pine away, for lack  
 Of unsiz'd beare, or circumcised Sack.

So may a hundred little gods agree  
To be as kind to you as you to me.

Thine what is left of me

Huffolin.

Doddinghurst. Feb.8.

#### NOTES

Title] 'J.J.' is Joshua Jones, the author of the preceding verse letters. 'Han.R' is probably Hananeel Rogers, a contemporary of Jones at King's College Cambridge. Rogers matriculated in 1652 and was a Fellow from 1655 to 1664.

1 Hobinoll] a shepheard.

2 Huffin] a variation on the shepherd's name.

5 sith] since.

7 Sovereigne Pan] Pan signified a universal god; more specifically an allusion may be intended to the story in which Midas declared Pan to be the superior flute-player when he contested with Apollo.

11 Jovisance] delight, mirth. The OED states that 'jovisance' is a variant spelling of 'jouisance' which has been erroneously introduced by editors of Spenser and other texts of this period.

17 Siker] surely, certainly.

22 accloyd] burdened, oppressed (OED 5).

- 25 wisse] pseudo-archaic form meaning 'know' (OED s.v.'wis').
- willow] a symbol of grief for unrequited love, or the loss of a mate (OED II.d).
- Marginal gloss: 'in the cole house yard'.
- 29-30] Whatever I drew out from that time of life, it was small.
- 34 Welken] heaven, sky.
- 38 Stound] season, moment.
- 40-42] And my former strength no longer serves my poetry.  
     But with the pen I have wearied enough my weakened frame,  
     And my sick hand refuses to do its duty any longer.
- 44] The alter remains that it may mark the shore; farewell.
- 46 Hobbin] a diminutive of Hobinoll.
- 50 Deanes] the College Dean was responsible for the behaviour and manner of the students; he issued punishments and impositions for irregularities.
- 54 Mulct] a penalty, to deprive or divest (OED 2).
- 55 Acts] 'to keep an Act' was to perform an exercise in the public shools before proceeding to a degree; a declamation was presented after which an 'opponent brings forward his arguments, and the keeper of the Act, or respondent, endeavours to take them off' (Gradus Ad Cantabrigiam: or a Dictionary of Terms (1803), p.5).
- dear Jos] Joshua Jones to whom the poem is addressed.
- 58-59] Even if harsh fortune has shown Roger as wretched,  
     She will not show him as an ungrateful liar
- 65 Provost] the Cambridge Platonist Benjamin Whichcote was provost of King's from 1644 to 1660 (DNB; C.A. Patrides, The

Cambridge Platonists (London, 1969)).

67 Dividend] a sum of money (OED 2).

68] If he were to see me now, he would say he had not seen me  
before.

72] marginal gloss: '6d in the quart being cutt off'.

Upon the Death of a Freind.

Hee's dead. Oh what harsh Musick's there

Unto a choyce and curious eare?

Wee must that discord surly call

Since sighs do rise and teares do fall.

Teares fall too low, sighs rise to high

5

How then can there bee harmony?

But who is hee? him may wee know

That jarrs and spoyles sweet consort soe!

Oh Death tis thou, you false time keepe

And stretch'st thy dismall voyce too deepe

10

Long time to quavering age you give

But to large youth short time to live

You take upon you too too much

In striking where you shold not touch.

How out of tune the world now lyes

15

Since youth must fall when it should rise!

Gone be our comfort, since alone

He that once bore the best part's gone

Whose whole life Musick was, wherein

Each virtue for a part came in.

20

And though that Musicke of his life bee still

The Musick of his name yet soundeth shrill.

NOTES (see commentary page 620)

Title] the identity of the friend is not known.

1] central to the poem is the Renaissance philosophy of cosmic harmony, derived from a belief in the omnipotence of God and exemplified in music. This view is expressed by Nathaniel Culverwell in his treatise 'An Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature': 'When God first tun'd the whole creation, every string, every creature praised him; but man was the sweetest and loudest of the rest, so that when that string apostatized, and fell from its first tuning, it set the whole creation jarring' (ed. Greene and MacCallum (Oxford, 1971), p.105).

2 choice] discriminative (OED 3a).

curious] careful as to the standard of excellence (OED 2).

3 discord] puns on the meaning 'variance' (OED 1), and the musical sense of lacking harmony (OED 2). The central conceit of this poem is the parallel between the effects of musical imbalance on the ear, and the unsettling effect of untimely death on the harmony of life.

8 consort] agreement, concurrence (OED I 2a), and in the musical sense of harmony and accord (OED II 3a).

11 quavering age] puns on the sense of 'quaver' representing the time of a musical note (OED 1), and the association of 'trembling' or 'shaking' with old age (OED 1a and b).

22 shrill] puns on a type of sound, usually a high-pitched tone (OED 1), and 'poignant' (OED 4).

On the death of Mr. Holden Inceptor in Arts  
of Eman. Coll. Cant.

Goe glorious soule: we now do thinke of thee  
As upon one who taking his degree  
By favour presently admitted is  
In happines, and made compleat in blisse  
For Heaven ha's heard thy supplicat, and soe 5  
Gave thee not only grace, but glory too.  
He that presented thee, he did thee save  
It was a faythfull Scio which he gave  
Such as he gives to visitors. In vayne  
Thou didst stay here, Heav'n gave a come-againe 10  
And now thou mayst Triumphant soule, looke thee  
On us poore undergraduats that live here  
Fearing some posing-hard, some rubbe or stay  
That may abate our happines by delay  
Thou art Commenc'd already, but all wee 15  
Are but Inceptors in Felicitye  
How many wayte for a Caps putting on,  
While thou art compass'd with a glorious crowne?

[Nathaniel] Culverwell. A.M.Eman.

NOTES (see commentary page 621)

Title] possibly addressed to William Holden who was admitted to  
Emmanuel College in June 1635 and proceeded BA in 1639 and MA

in 1643. An Inceptor is one about to enter formally into the degree of Master or Doctor, so presumably Holden died before receiving his doctorate. He was buried at St Andrew's, Cambridge in 1643 and was possibly one of Culverwell's students at the time. The poet uses the terms of graduation as a metaphor for his untimely death.

4 complete] perfect.

5 supplicat] puns on the religious sense of a humble prayer, and the formal process by which a candidate, with a petition known as a 'supplicat', applied to the university for a degree.

7-8] before a candidate could proceed to a degree, the university required a formal testimony from members of his faculty confirming his fitness with regard to his conduct and learning. The word 'scio' was used to affirm his fitness.

17] a reference to the ceremonial conventions and style of dress worn by graduands.

An Epitaph.

Here in deaths Closett (Reader) know  
Lyes a caskett which did owe  
The brightest gemme that ere did shine,  
Which now makes Abrahams bosome fine.  
Therefore its shrine desires supply  
Of watry pearls from each kind eye.

5

NOTES (see commentary page 621)

Title] probably the concluding 'epitaph' belonging to a poem entitled 'An Elegy upon the Death of Mr. Christopher Rouse Esquire'. Christopher Rouse was admitted to Pembroke Hall in April 1621 and proceeded BA in 1624. He died on 23 March 1635 and was buried at Henham (Venn).

4 Abrahams bosom] the term is of Rabbinic origin and is cited in the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Luke 16: 22). In Roman Catholic theology it is a technical term for the Limbo of the Patriarchs, and occasionally used for heaven itself.

An Elegie On the death of Dr Porter

Stay silver-footed Chame, strive not to wed  
Thy mayden streams so soon to Neptunes bed  
Fix here thy watry eyes Upon these towers  
Unto whose feete in reverence of the powers  
That there inhabite thou on every day 5  
With trembling lips an humble kisse dost pay  
With pearely papers carelesly bee sett  
Whose snowey cheeks least joy should bee exprest  
The weeping penne with salt Teares has drest  
Theire wronged beautyes speake a Tragaedy 10  
Somewhat more horrid than an Elegie  
Pure and unmixed cruelty they tell  
Which poseth mischeifes selfe to parallel  
Justice hath lost her hand, the law her head  
Peace is an orphan now her Father's dead 15  
Honesty's nurse, Virtue's blest Guardian  
That Heavenly mortall, that Seraphick man  
Enough is sayd, now if thou canst crowd on  
Thy lazy crawling streames, preethe be gon  
And murmure forth thy woes to every flower 20  
That on thy banks sitts in a verdant bower,  
And is instructed by thy glassy wave  
To paint its perfum'd face with colours brave  
In veyles of dust their silken heads they'le hide  
As if the oft departing sunne had dide 25

Go learne that fatall juyce so spruicely dight  
 In downey surplasses and vestments white  
 To sing their saddest dirges, such as may  
 Make their scar'd soules take wing and fly away  
 Let thy swolne breast discharge their strugling groanes 30  
 To th' churlish rocks and teare the stubborn stones  
 To melt in gentle drops. Lett them be heard  
 Of all proud Neptunes silver sheilded guard  
 That greife may cracke those strings and now untye  
 Their shackeld tongues to chant an Elegie. 35  
 Whisper thy plaints to th' Ocean's courteous Eares  
 Then weepe thyselfe into a Sea of teares  
 A thousand Helicons the Muses send  
 In a bright christall tide, to thee they tend  
 Leaving those mines of nectar, their sweet fountaines 40  
 They force a lilly path through rosy Mountaines  
 Feare not to dy with greife, all bubling eyes  
 Are teeming now with store of fresh supplyes.

NOTES (see commentary page 622)

Title] Dr George Porter, Fellow of Queens' College (1601-35), and  
 Regius Professor of Civil Law (1611-35). He died in 1635 and  
 was buried at St Botolph's, Cambridge (Venn; Searle, History  
of Queens' College Cambridge, vol.ii, p.455).

1 Chame] the river Cam.

4 feete] puns on poetic metre.

9 salt teares] commemorative verse; university collections of elegies were often entitled 'Lacrymae'.

11 horrid] rough, unpolished (OED).

23 brave] grand (OED 2); the sense of 'worthy' may also be intended (OED 3).

26 dight] decked.

38 A thousand Helicons] 'Helicon', the name of a mountain in Boeotia, sacred to the Muses, is used allusively in reference to poetic inspiration (OED 1).

41 lilly path] figuratively the lilly represents purity (OED 3), but it is probably used here as an emblem of heavenly bliss.

On Felton hanging in chaynes.

Here uninterr'd suspends (though not to save  
Surviving freinds the expences of a grave)  
Feltons dead earth, which to the world must bee  
Its owne sad monument. His Elegye  
Is large as fame, but whether bad or good 5  
I say not, by himselfe 'twas writt in blood  
For which his body is entomb'd in ayre  
Arch'd or'e with Heaven, sett with a 1000 payre  
Of glorious Diamond stars, a sepulcher  
That tyme can never ruinate, and where 10  
The impartiall worme (that is not us'd to spare  
Princes inwrapt in marble) cannot share  
His flesh, which oft the charitable skyes  
Embalme with teares, Doing those obsequies  
Belonge to men, which lasts till pittying foule 15  
Contend to reach his body to his soule.

NOTES (see commentary page 622)

Title] John Felton (?1595-1628) from Suffolk, served as a lieutenant in the army. He was distantly related to the Earl and Countess of Arundel, and Sir Simonds D'Ewes describes him as a 'gentleman of a very ancient family of gentry in Suffolk'. On the morning of 23 August 1628 he stabbed and killed the Duke of Buckingham in Portsmouth, and Lord

Carleton wrote to the Queen the same day to furnish her with 'a most lamentable Relation' (a copy of the letter is in MS Lansdowne 213, fol.144). Because of the 'confused presse' after Buckingham was attacked Felton eluded capture, but later voluntarily came forward 'most audaciously, and resolutely drawing forth his sword,...saying boldly, I am the man, heere I am'. On being questioned as to why he had killed Buckingham he gave his reasons as being 'partly discontented for want of £80 pay which was due unto him, and for that hee being lieutenant of a company of foot, the company was given over his head'. But the main reason, he said, was that on 'reading the Remonstrance of the Houses of Parliament, it came into his mind that in committing the Act of Killing the Duke, he should doe his Country a great, good service.' Although many did in fact share this view, especially the popular ballads celebrating the event, the king and the judiciary understandably did not. Felton was taken prisoner and transported to the Tower of London. A special commission, comprising Lord Treasurer Weston, Secretary Coke, and the Earls of Pembroke and Dorset, was appointed to supervise Felton's arraignment and trial (see CSPD 1628-9, p.269). His case was heard before the King's Bench on 27 November. Confessing to the murder he was sentenced to be hanged the next day at Tyburn (see Thomas Birch, The Court and Times of Charles I (London, 1848), vol.i pp.290, 438, 441-2, 444-6, 448-50). The king had suggested that Felton should be tortured but the judges dissuaded him on the grounds that it

was illegal. After his execution, instead of being buried, Felton's body was removed to Portsmouth and hung in chains, a procedure known as gibbetting. For other poems on Buckingham, the assassination, and Felton see F.W. Fairholt's Poems and Songs relating to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (London: for the Percy Society, 1850), pp.34-78.

1-2] Felton was hanged at Tyburn but afterwards the king ordered that 'his corpse should be returned back to the Gatehouse, from whence...it was carried in a coach towards Portsmouth, there to be hanged up in chains upon the highest tower' (Birch, op.cit., pp.441-2).

4-6] Buckingham's unpopularity guaranteed that Felton would gain the sympathy of the populace. The general view was voiced loud enough for contemporary chroniclers to consider it newsworthy. Mead, in a letter to Sir Martin Stuteville, recalls that during Felton's journey to his trial an old woman called out 'now God bless thee, little David'. Mead explains the analogy by adding 'meaning he had killed Goliath'. Even the king had to accede to public feeling and bury the Duke privately because of the risk of public disturbance. According to the Venetian Ambassador 'crowds flock[ed] to the tower to see the culprit, and depart[ed] in tears and prayers...They wish[ed] him not to be put to death' (CSPV 1628, p.337). The last four lines of a poem entitled 'To Felton in the Tower' (Musarum Deliciae (1817), vol.i, p.157) express the sentiments of many people:

Let the duke's name suffer, and crowne thy thrall

All we in him did suffer; thou for all.

And I dare boldly write, as thou darst dye,

Stout Felton, Englands ransome, here doth lye.

Felton probably expected to be killed himself after murdering the duke and took the precaution of sewing an explanatory note into the crown of his hat, to 'shew the cause why hee putt this cruell Act in execution' (Carleton, MS Lansdowne 213). Carleton repeats the lines written in this note: 'If I bee slaine, let no man Condemne me, but rather condemne himselfe; it is for our sinns that our harts are hardened, and become sencelesse, or else hee had not gone soe long unpunished', and 'Hee is unworthy of the Name of a Gentleman, or soldier, in my opinion, that is afrayd to sacrifice his life, for the honour of God, his king, and Country'. According to Carleton, the second statement is taken from 'The Golden Epistles' by Geoffry Fenton (1577).

14 Embalme] preserve; puns on the literal sense of the salt present in tears, and 'tears' meaning the commemorative verse which serves in place of a more tangible memorial or 'monument'.

An Elegie On the death of the Lady Parker.

Can such perfection fade? Can virtue dye  
And find a grave, and not an Elegye?  
Can such a flaming Constellation  
Of Heavens bright graces sweetly melte in one  
In silence be Eclips'd and forc'd to shrowde 5  
Theire precious beams under a marble clowd  
Without a swanlike Dirge? Should I in verse  
As broken as my hart her worth rehearse  
The jarring accents of my ragged songe  
Her lifes melodious harmony wold wrong 10  
Nor can my humble fancy soare so high  
As was her excellence. Oh could I flye  
Betwixt Seraphick pinions, that I might  
Towre up to th' loftyest sphere, and take the height  
Of full grown goodnesse, and exactly see 15  
The perfect modell of bright sanctity  
Then would I dare in order to repeate  
Each scene of her pure life and tell how greate  
Her gloryes were, and ev'ry grace unroule  
And make a mappe of her most holy soule. 20  
But Oh twere grosse impiety I feare  
To lett my fancy clime above her beare,  
Twill not aspire unto a higher roome  
May it obteyne a lodging in thy tombe  
Whilst others strive to hang a mornfull verse 25

I'le pinne my saddest thoughts upon thy hearse,  
 Here shall my winged cogitations rest  
 Ile locke the wanderers in this sable chest  
 And gladly be a Hermitt, may I have  
 A blessed mansion in this sacred grave 30  
 There wold I sitt and study every art  
 That witty greife can learne me. How a hart  
 May with one groane bee splitt, and How I may  
 With a lowd sob scarce from their house of clay  
 My nimble spiritts. How my soule may flye 35  
 On a few winged sighs about the skye  
 How through the open sluces of my eyes  
 Each crimson streame may bee lett out which lyes  
 Warne in its violett channell and O then  
 Faire wold I learne, an Epitaph to penne, 40  
 But greife forbids and tells me shee'le take care  
 That every hart her Epitaph shall weare.

NOTES (see commentary page 623)

Title] probably addressed to Elizabeth Parker, wife of William Parker, fourth Baron Monteagle; she was buried at Great Hallingbury on 2 January 1648 (Complete Peerage).

3 flaming constellation] an arrangement of qualities, from the astronomical sense of constellation meaning a configuration of 'stars' that exert an influence on other things (OED).

7 swanlike Dirge] puns on the sense of 'swan' meaning poet (OED)

2c), and the tradition (preserved in the word 'swansong') that the swan was believed to sing immediately before its death (OED 2b).

9 jarring] inharmonious, discordant (OED 1).

An Epitaph On the Duke of Lenox

Are all diseases dead? or will Death say  
He might not kill the Prince the common way!  
'Twas even so, and Tyme with death conspir'd  
To make his end as was his life admir'd.  
The Commons were not summon'd now I see 5  
Only to make lawes, but to mourne for thee  
Noe losse then. All the Bishops do suffice  
To wayte upon so greate a sacrifice  
To Court this Altar was the mourners Peeres  
The Myrrhe and Frankincense greate Censers teares 10  
A braver offring with more pompe and state  
Nor time nor death did ever celebrate.

NOTES (see commentary page 623)

Title] Ludovic Stuart, second Duke of Lennox and Duke of Richmond (1574–1624). He succeeded to the peerage in May 1583, and was created Duke of Richmond in August 1623. He died suddenly at his lodgings in Whitehall on the morning of 16 February 1624 and was buried in Westminster Abbey on 19 February. A tombe was erected by his widow in Henry VII's Chapel (DNB).

2 Prince] probably intended here in the sense of a courtesy title for the duke (OED 7b).

4] Lennox was a great favourite with James I and held many influential positions, including gentleman of the bedchamber

and privy councillor (1603), and joint commissioner of the great seal (1621).

5-6] the opening of parliament was originally planned for 16 February but on account of Lennox's death it was deferred until after his funeral.

10 Myrrhe] a gum resin used in perfumes and incenses (OED 1).

Frankincense] an aromatic gum resin that was burned as incense (OED 1).

Censers] RP 147 is the only variant to have this, all other examples read 'great Caesars teares', which implies a scribal error; however, within the context of the line 'censer' is more appropriate, and it is not impossible that one misreading has been the source of a perpetuated error.

An Elegie Upon the death of Mr. Wm. Carre in Eman. Coll.

Death hath drawn our golden Carre  
Into the mirey grave soe farre  
That there (alas!) its like to stand  
Untill some loving Angells hand  
Out of this prison setts it free 5  
And mount it on Heavens Axelle tree,  
Then each Caelestiall precious stone  
From their christall boxes gone  
Shall gladly runne to kisse his feete  
And smoothly pave the milkey streete 10  
Which leads into the rosey arbour  
Which Apollo's Bride doth harbour  
There he shall leane his lovely head  
Upon her crimson velvet bedde.  
From whence this starre of Excellence 15  
Shall shed his precious Influence.  
And in spite of the sicke streames  
And lazy foggs of death, his beames  
Shall smiling flow in a bright showre  
From Aurora's gilded bowre 20  
The Astronomer that every night  
Studyes by Heavens Candlelight  
And reades the volumes of the skye  
With a too ambitious eye  
When his glory shall appeare 25

Shining in its owne free speare  
 Shall start and thinke that Charles-his-wayne  
 Hath travayl'd or'e th' Olympian plaine  
 And in the Chamber of the East  
 Taken up his quiett Rest 30  
 In the meane time lett us trye  
 The Rhetoricke of a weeping eye  
 Rigid death shall then bee kind  
 When an eye a tonge can finde,  
 Oh prethee Death release him then 35  
 Release the sweetest among men  
 But if thou turndst away thine eares  
 Wee'le drowne thee in a sea of teares  
 Thou and Apollos bright Carre shall  
 Into a briney Ocean fall. 40

[Philip] Cornwallis.

NOTES (see commentary page 624)

Title] William Carre matriculated from Queens' college in 1631 and migrated to Emmanuel College in 1634. He died later in that year and was buried at Great St Andrew's, Cambridge, on 12 November 1634 (Venn).

1 golden Carre] an allusion to the chariot driven daily across the heavens, from east to west, by the sun. His son, Phaethon, attempted to make the same journey but proved inadequate to maintain control, eventually falling into the

river. The poet cites this myth as a parallel to the journey of life, which for Carre, has ended similarly abruptly. It is, of course, also a pun on his name.

6 Heavens Axelle tree] the imaginary or geometrical line which forms the axis of revolution of planetary bodies (OED 4a and b).

7] stars, heavenly bodies.

10 milkey streete] the Milky Way. The name arose from the legend of Hera, whose milk was spilt when she refused the breast to the infant Heracles. The poet is alluding to the tradition in which it was regarded as the way to the Home of the Gods, the orbit of the sun, and the souls' meeting-place.

16 Influence] used here in the sense of excess of power or virtue (OED 2a).

20 Aurora] dawn.

27 Charles-his-wayne] a name given to the asterism also known as 'The plough' (OED); the poet is probably also alluding to the classical association of 'wain' meaning The Great Bear. The name was said to originate from a verbal association of the star-name and the legendary association with Charlemagne. It was applied to Bootes and to the Great Bear (OED).

Virginity. The Rosebudd.

See, how that Virgin bud repos'd  
    Within herselfe doth dwell,  
Amidst her holy sweets inclos'd  
    And makes her leaves Her Cell.

Where she embalm'd alive, does yeild 5  
    More sweets from this her Tombe,  
Then all blowne strumpetts of the feild  
    From their adulterate wombes.

Here she her chastity intrusts  
    And hence she wold not strive 10  
'nlesse pluck'd: who if you'ld smell you must  
    Blow ope, and ravish her;

After which Rape, see what you'le find  
    Perhaps a dewey teare  
Which with her leaves she streight assign'd 15  
    To mourne, and dress her beer.

For now she withers, pines and, cryes  
    Nor tyme, nor sun can bring  
My rifled sweets agen. So dyes  
    The Lucrece of the Spring. 20

Thus fayre Vernura mus'd and chid  
Her hands for plucking downe  
That pretty Temple, for she sed  
The case might bee her owne.

But to repayre 't, she in her brest  
Does the dead bud compose  
In which new Temple, now both rest  
The Chastnes and the Rose.

25

C[lement] Paman.

#### NOTES

- 5 embalm'd] balm was the vital substance that pervaded organic bodies; it also had fragrant and preservative qualities.
- 20 Lucrece] a shortened form of 'Lucretia', the wife of Tarquinius Collatinus. After her violation by Sextus Tarquinius and subsequent suicide, she became a symbol of chastity. Shakespeare's poem 'The Rape of Lucrece' is based on Livy's story of Lucretia.
- 21 Vernura] a name coined by Paman.

The Distill'd Rose

I once the flower of flowers, The starre  
Which lead each eye my follower;

I whom Queens brests have nurst 'till I  
Grew big to judge of Victorie.

I who have spar'd Lovers my leaves 5  
To mend their Tales, but not Deceive,  
Who like their Mistresses am best  
When I'm thus naked and undrest.

(For what's a distill'd tortur'd Rose  
But scarlett stript out of its cloaths?) 10

I who have help'd dresse many an herse,  
Whom Poetts beg'd into their verse;

Almighty Homer wold not scorne  
To woe my hand to paint his Morne,  
Their Stella's, Celia's, thousands more 15

Ne're blush or breath but on my score,  
Or if they weepe or smile, 'tis my  
Wardrobe must lend them Propertye.

I whose Constant sweets noe fate  
Not fire or Death can violate; 20

I who in case my trifling Beere  
Should want a Mourner, turn'd a Tear,

And if the last should spare me none

I bring Embalmments of mine owne.

I who of all my Beautyes have 25

Nought left me but this Christall grave.

Where now by an unusuall doome

My Body must keepe sweet my Tomb.

Live still and breath more whole delights

Thus Separation more unites!

30

The Phoenix Riddle here's unty'de,

She and I live because we dide.

Sometimes to burne a City builds

And those Flames ruine not, but guilde.

So Tyrants when they Martyre, trye

35

But Cruell wayes to Glorify.

C[lement] Paman.

#### NOTES

Title] the process of extracting fragrance from rose petals.

11 herse] an elaborate framework intended to carry lighted tapers and other decorations over the bier or coffin (OED 2a).

13-14] an allusion to Homer's description of the dawn as 'rosy-fingered'.

15] the names of women addressed in love poetry.

24] puns on the sense of 'balm' meaning the distilled fragrance of the petals and the preservative preparations used on a corpse; cf. lines 1-3 of Donne's Elegy VIII 'The Comparison':

As the sweet sweat of Roses in a still,

As that which from chaf'd muskats pores doth trill,

As the Almighty Balme of th'early East.

29-32] a comparison is drawn with the fate of the rose and that of the legendary bird which regenerated itself from its own ashes; similarly, the rose bloom lives on in the fragrance; cf. lines 23-4 of Donne's 'The Canonization':

The Phoenix riddle hath more wit

By us, we two being one, are it.

On the same

Brave scene of Death! These Roses were  
Alive the only Revellers.

The Modes and Gallants, knowne as well  
By their fayre suites as by their smell.

That wormwood, Once our Noses scorne, 5  
Which, but in plagues, was never worne;  
(True Heavenly plant, to which wee flye  
Never but in Adversity!)

Yet now methinks when both are dead  
Their waters looke alike, The Red 10  
And White Rose from the wormwood's known  
Meerely by their Inscription.

Death makes all Peeres: His Ladyships Rage  
Here damns not th' Ashes of his Page:  
Here all my Ladyes hayre unbraydes 15  
And yett her Dust ne're kicks her Mayd's.  
All fellowes Here, 'Till Tombs or Sheards  
Call this Dust-Royall, that the Guards.

C[lement] Paman.

NOTES

Title] refers to the previous poem 'The Distill'd Rose'.

3 Modes and Gallants] fashionable, courtly men.

5-8] wormwood has a bitter taste but was used medicinally as a  
tonic and vermifuge.

Epig. to Montaigne.

Men wold feare sin, or not feare to confes't  
If they like Thee should make the world their Preist.

Cl[ement] Paman.

NOTES

Title] George Montagne (1569-1628), Bishop of London and later  
Archbishop of York (DNB).

On the Spring.

And now all Nature seem'd in love,  
The Lusty sap began to move,  
New juyce did stirre th' embracing Vines,  
And birds had drawn their Valentines,  
The jealous Trowte, that low did lye 5  
Rose at a well-dissembled flye.  
Or else my Freind with patient skill  
Did early watch the trembling quill  
Already were the eaves possest  
With the swift pilgrims dawbed nest 10  
Already did the grove rejoyce  
In Philomels Triumphant voyce,  
The showres were short, the ayre was mild  
The mornes were sweet, the meddows smild  
Joane takes her neat-rubd pale, and now 15  
She trips to milke the Sanded Cow  
Were for some sturdy football swaine  
She stroaks a sillibub or twaine  
Both feild and garden were besett  
With Crocus, Tulip, Violet. 20

And now though late, the modest Rose  
Did more then halfe a blush disclose.  
Thus all was gay, all full of cheare  
To welcome the new-livened yeare.

Sr H[enry] Wotton.

NOTES (see commentary page 624)

Title] marginal note: 'Impress'.

12] the nightingale.

A Song. On the New Commencement.

No Coranto newes I undertake  
No teacher of the town I mean not to make  
No new England voyage my Muse doth intend,  
No new fleet, no bold fleet, no bonny fleet send.  
But if you'le be pleas'd to heare but this ditty, 5  
Ile tell you some news as true and as witty  
    And now the Commencement growes new.  
See how the Simony Doctors abound  
Each crowding to throw away 40 pound.  
They'le now in they're wives stammell Petticotes vapour 10  
Without any need of an argument draper  
Beholding to none, he neither beseeches  
This freind for his venison, that for his breeches.  
    And thus the commencement growes new  
Ev'ry twice-aday-teaching Gaffer 15  
Brings up his Easterbooke to chaffer  
Nay some take degrees that never had steeple  
Whose means like degrees come by Placets of people.  
They come to the Fayre and at the first plucke  
The old man Barnaby strikes them good lucke 20  
    And so the commencement growes new.  
The country Parson cometh not up  
Till Tuesday night in his old Coll to suppe.  
Their bellyes and tablebooks equally full  
The next Lecture dinner their notes forth they pull. 25

How bravely the Marg' ret Professor disputed  
The Homilyes urg'd, the scholemen confuted.

And soe the Commencement growes new.

The Inceptor brings his Father the Clowne  
To looke with his mouth on his Grogeran gowne, 30  
With like admiration to eate Rost beafe  
Which invention puzzeld his (beyond Trent) beleife.

Who shold but heare our Organs once sound  
Wold scarce keepe his hoofes from Sellingers round

And soe the Commencement growes new. 35

The Gentleman comes not to shew us his satten  
To look with some judgment at him that speaks Lattin.

To bee angry with him that marks not his cloaths  
To answer (O Lord Sir) and talke play-booke oaths  
And in his next company full of his sacke 40  
To tell our Commencement-discipline's slacke.

And soe the commencement growes new.

Wee have no Praevaricators witt  
I marry sir when had wee any yett  
Besides no serious grave Oxford man comes 45  
To cry downe the use of Jestings and Humms.

Our Ballad, beleiv't, no stranger then true  
Mun Salter is sober, and Jack Martin too.

And so the commencement grows new.

[John] Cleveland.

NOTES (see commentary page 625)

Title] marginal note: 'Impressa'. I am indebted to the annotations provided by Morris, pp.147-9.

1 Coranto] a public news sheet.

2 teacher of the town] preachers in the Church of England, known as 'lecturers' and often puritan, were usually chosen by the parish to give afternoon or evening 'lectures'. The term became a catch-phrase for puritan.

3] puritans, dissatisfied with Laud's policy, were the main supporters of the New England Company.

6] a marginal addition.

8 Simony Doctors] alludes to an attitude that skills could be purchased. (cf. Acts 8: 18-20.)

11 argument draper] i.e. ready-made arguments.

15 Gaffer] master or governor; refers here to parsons.

16] the 'Easterbooke' recorded the 'easter-dues' paid to the incumbent by his parishioners; the implication here is that this money was used to purchase a degree.

17 steeple] a parish; the reference is to those ministers whose church was not in a parish organisation.

18 Placets] affirmative answers used in the University when a question was put to the vote; therefore the minister's 'means' were acquired by the approval of his congregation.

19-20] probably an allusion to the annual Cambridge Midsummer Fair; Barnaby may have been a familiar character.

26 Margret Professor] from 1623 to 1643 the Lady Margaret Professorship was held by Dr. Samuel Ward, Master of Sidney

- Sussex, and a leader of the puritan majority at Cambridge.
- 27 Homilyes] from Elizabethan times the books of Homilies, originally intended for use by disaffected and unlearned clergy, became a part of Anglican preaching and a repository of Anglican doctrine. A pun on the more general sense of a tedious moralising discourse is probably intended (OED b).
- 29 Inceptor] one about to enter formally to the degree of Master or Doctor.
- 30 Grogeran] grogoram was coarse fabric of silk, or mohair and wool mixed with silk.
- 31-2] a reference to regional eating habits. A north-countryman was used to salted boiled beef and would therefore be puzzled by roast beef.
- 33] Fuller refers to the alterations in the college chapels, commenting that most were being 'graced with the accession of Organs' (The History of the University of Cambridge (1655), p.167).
- 34 Sellingers round] a contraction of 'St Leger's round', an old country dance.
- 43 Prevaricators' witt] the 'Prevaricator' or 'Varier' was an orator who delivered a jocose or satirical speech at the commencement.
- 45 grave Oxford man] probably a reference to Laud's failure to exercise his right of visitation (see Cooper, Annals, iii. pp.275-8).
- 46 Humms] students at both universities were accustomed to express approbation by humming.

48] Edmund Salter admitted at Jesus College in 1619 and proceeded BA in 1620 and MA in 1623; John Martin admitted at King's College in 1626 (Venn).

Upon Dr Sandcrofts sonne Mr of Emanuel Coll.

Fayre peece of Angel gold, which art yet hott  
Out of Heavens mint and hast but newly gott  
The soveraigne Image on thee, yet found true  
Without allowance, for all graines are due  
To a young goodnesse, Thou the fate hast found 5  
Of misers gold and art intomb'd in ground.  
Go pretty worms meate, If such things as they  
Gott of their food may breed here, for wee may  
Thinke such a soule corrupted in the mould  
Without the ayde of Balme or Aloes would 10  
Far richer Mummyes make Then ere was sent  
From a tyme-worne Egyptian monument,  
Go pretty soule New cutt in Heaven and sett  
As a rich Diamond in an Amulett  
Which now is broken and that sever'd Jemme 15  
Shines like the stones in new Jerusalem  
And if your soule bee made of harmony  
As some do deeme in theire Philosophy,  
He shall so sing, none shall distinguish him  
Supposd to bee some pretty Cherubim. 20

NOTES (see commentary page 626)

Title] William Sandcroft (1582-1637) Master of Emmanuel College  
from 1628-37. He died at Bury St Edmunds in April 1637. His

only son was born c 1621.

1-6] the tone and imagery is very similar to Donne's treatment of coins. The poet uses the same technique as Donne in describing coins in terms of human qualities. In this instance the poet uses the metaphor to enforce the suggestion that Sandcroft's son has been 'imprinted' with the image of God, and has therefore become suitable 'currency' for heaven (see John Carey, 'Donne and Coins' in English Renaissance Studies (Oxford, 1980), pp.151-63).

10 Balm or Aloes] preservatives made from fragrant resins, used for embalming the dead.

17-18] possibly a reference to the Platonist view of a world soul, and the importance of the soul as a meeting-place of spirit and matter; it accorded with the humanistic belief in the dignity of man.

4 allowance] approbation, sanction (OED 2).

graines] the smallest possible quantity (OED 9); cf. the phrase 'grains of allowance' (Tilley G 403).

On the death of Mr Wm Henshaw student in Eman. Coll.

See a sweete streame of Helicon  
Runne into deaths blacke Ocean  
See his precious sylver wave  
Ith' jetty channell of a grave  
Hither Muses turne your eyes 5  
See where your Aqu-vitae lyes,  
Angry Heaven doth now bequeath  
This living fountaine unto death  
Come therefore now and him interre,  
Find him a glorious Sepulcher 10  
But trust him not unto the earth  
She had him ever since his birth  
In your breasts lett him have roome  
In those snowey hills a tombe  
Come weave your locks, those threads of gold 15  
Make a winding sheete t' infold  
His ivory limbs, and in this shrine  
Heavens milkey way he shall out shine.  
From the Alabaster bankes  
Of your cheeks plucke all the rankes 20  
Of those modest blushing roses  
And your lillies, Make you posies  
To decke his hearse and lett each weare  
The liquid Jewell of a teare  
Your starry eye like tapers burne 25

That may conduct us to his urne  
Where when our watrey eyes shall see  
Our pictures of mortality  
There so lovely fayre and bright  
And so triumphously dight  
Narcissus like wee'le flame in love  
And his funerall Jewell prove  
For in this shape that now death is  
To entertaine her were a blisse.

30

[Philip] Cornwallis

NOTES (see commentary page 626)

Title] William Henshaw matriculated from Emmanuel college in 1631. He died in 1634 and was buried at Great St Andrew's, Cambridge on 8 November 1634 (Venn).

6 Aqu-vitae] water of life (OED), hence 'living fountain' in line 8.

25 tapers] candles used for religious devotion.

30 dight] decked

31] Narcissus was consumed with love fired by the sight of his own reflection.

32] the origin of the poet's allusion is not apparent but it may derive from an adaption of the story concerning the arrangements for Narcissus' funeral; traditionally it was believed that instead of his body, the nymphs found a flower.

The Inquisitive. To him that wold needs know whom I loved.

Goe aske thy wench, if any were

So falne from Beauty to love Thee,

Unto whose trust she did preferre

Before hand her Virginitye.

Aske her how she came old and lame,

5

So drye, and yellow, clung, and graye,

Or why with all these faults she came

To thee to cast her more away.

Aske what her painting lost, and what

Her hayre, and Teeth; and what her Eye;

10

And what the Diett; who begatt

The issues in her Arme and thigh.

But never question Whom nor Why

I love, For didst you know't, it would

But more Ferment thy misery,

15

As starv'd men swoune at talke of food.

For when thou hearest, Vernura's eye

Shines not like common Sun or Moone

But like that light which God wrought by

When he was making of the Sunne.

20

Nor that wee paint her cheeke or hand  
With rose and Lillyes; These but bee  
Her buds and coursest pictures, and  
She is theire Life and Nursery.

But when thou hearest she does partake 25  
Peru's and Arabies Happinesse  
All Gold, and spice enough to make  
Thy Mistress though not sweete, stinke lesse,

Wilt thou not dye to thinke 'oth' Elfe  
Thy old Anatomys at Home, 30  
Who every night dissects herselfe  
And hides her limbs in sev'rall Tombes.

Will not thy bed a True grave bee  
And she the fester'd corse within  
While her beissued linnen she 35  
Wraps like oyld lear-cloaths round her skin

If thou'rt not dead yett, but wouldst faine  
As all would, who like thee each night  
Must taste Hells brimstone, breath, and paine  
Whose greatest Blessinge's want of light, 40

Heare why I love! Not cause her Eye  
Is Heavenly full, or her mouth small,  
Her gestures low, or her thoughts high,  
'Tis not for this nor that nor all.

But tis for what thy wench would doe 45  
Sooner to her disease then Thee  
Or to her Monkey, nay or to  
White Vertue. 'Tis for lovinge mee.

And now I pittie thee: Goe pray  
To Hell to turne Thee to some Rott, 50  
Or plague, And soe Thou and These may  
Chance kill her; For the Pox cannot.

Cl[emet] Paman.

#### NOTES

6 clung] shrunk, shrivelled (OED 2).

17 Vernura] a coinage of Paman's.

19 light] brilliance, associated with goodness.

wrought] the obsolete meaning of 'created'; to shape, mould  
(OED 1a) is probably intended, cf. Gen.1: 3-4.

20 Sunne] obsolete form of 'sun' and 'son'. The shift in spelling  
to that of 'Sun' in line 18 implies that a pun is intended on  
the meaning 'son of God' (OED 4a).

26-7] the lands associated with perfumes, spices, and gold.

30] a pun on the sense of 'anatomy' meaning 'body' and  
'dissection'.

34 corse] corpse.

35 linnen] the sense of 'grave clothes' is probably intended  
(OED 3b).

36 Lear-cloaths] 'lear' probably refers to the tape or binding  
for the edges of a fabric (OED 1); 'cloaths' are (in this  
instance) winding cloths (OED 1a).

50 Rott] a wasting disease (OED 3a).

Absence. To Vernura.

Talke not of absence, wee ne're were  
Together, if wee're absent now;  
What may be separated, was ne're  
Essentiall, and our Loves are so.

Love is our very Beinge; I 5  
And Thou in one another move,  
With us to cease to love, 's to dye  
Our soules depart as well as Love.

Smiles, kisses, quicke returnes of witte,  
Winks, treads, and such dumbe complement 10  
Are but loves outer cloathes, not it,  
And give not life, but ornament,

These we may change and live: But change  
Our owne for any other Heart,  
Then thy hart dyes in me, And, strange! 15  
In thee my murdred hart departs.

This is loves fayth; eyes, lips, and hands  
Are but the outward Ceremony  
To leave one is but schisme, And  
The other flusht Apostasy. 20

And as by Fayth our soules enjoy  
And taste the mystick Extasy,  
Of Joyes, they see not; so although  
I'me here; By Fayth I am with thee.

For distances of Tyme and Space 25  
Measure our bodyes, not our mind:  
Quick thoughts can meete in any place  
And leave their carkasses behind.

How many bodyes claspe, whose harts 30  
Lye in some other lovers armes,  
Wee still are joyn'd in our best parts  
And distance kills not, but disarms.

There might be Mischeife done, had wee  
Our weapons by us, our bodyes; Now 35  
If butt one thought rebell, the sea  
Will coole it ere it comes at you.

Wee vex ourselves with words, wee may  
Be absent ith' same Roome or bed,  
And lye together though wee laye 40  
At both the Indyes billeted.

Then name not Absence, Thou wer't ne're  
Nearer, when in migne Arms, then Now;  
No seas can separate those who are  
Their own firme world, Thou I, I Thou.

Cl[emet] Paman.

#### NOTES

Title] 'Vernura' is a name coined by Paman, and is probably another pseusonym for 'Stella' (cf. 'The Departure. To Stella' p.283). The poem was possibly written sometime between 1635 and 1638, during Paman's stay in Ireland (cf. Introduction, pp.xlix-1).

1-4] the poem appears to be an imitation of Donne's 'A Valediction forbidding mourning'; cf. lines 17-20:

But we by a love, so much refin'd,  
That our selves know not what it is,  
Inter-assured of the mind,  
Care lesse, eyes, lips, hands to misse.

4 Essentiall] real, having existence (OED 1b).

5-6] though Paman eschews an explicit reference to the metaphor used by Donne, comparing the lovers' to a pair of compasses, he conveys the same sense of simultaneous movement; cf. lines 27-8:

Thy soule the fixt foot, makes no show  
To move, but doth, if th'other doe.

10 treads] coming and going; intercourse (OED 7).

28 carcases] a marginal emendation from 'carriages'.

43-4] the tone is reminiscent of Donne as the lovers are depicted as existing independently and isolated from the rest of the world; cf. 'The Sunne Rising' lines 21-2:

She is all states, all Princes I.

Nothing else is.

Beauty.

Pallora's fayre, I know't, and so does she:

Her glasse, and th' other parcell of fraylty

Her chambermayd told her so: But I feare

Wee are her glasses all and flatter her.

'Tis true, Her forehead's high, her fingers longe, 5

And soe's her Nose, Her witt and fancy's stronge,

As is her Breath; Her breasts which part within

Their Lawn, jutte swelling out, so does her chin:

Her christall lids hide up, yet lett out day,

And are'nt her lips as thin and white as They? 10

Her veynes are blew I say not as the skye,

But as those Circles which benight her Eye,

But see her move once, Bee't to dance or walke

There she outgoes her very tongue and talke.

And what's the most, These her Crosse graces all 15

Are like her laughter most perpetuall.

Tell Truth then, and beguile her face no more

Say, Her Allay does overweigh her Ore.

All white is not streight Handsome; no nor yett

Is all tall Goodly, No nor all talke Witt; 20

These, Height, Colour, Witt itselife I can buy,

But so I cannot even Symmetrye;

That shines not in a Forhead, Cheeke or Eye

Or in one part, but in all Equally.

Marbles have Length and Colour then when they 25

Lye in theire durty Quarries, yet who'le say  
 That there they with the selfe same beauty shine  
 As when they're wrought into the King or Queene?  
 Will we prayse silk in skeines, or bottoms, more  
 Then if these silks were made into a flowre? 30  
 Order and sweet Proportion are the Soule  
 Of Beauty and the world; what wants is foule.  
 Then say Pallora's white, red, tall, or full  
 Of these, but never call her Beautyfull.  
 For had she beene as fayre as she might, 35  
 Or as she thinks she is, I feare the sight  
 Had turn'd me Lover, and I should admire  
 Her more then she does new cloths, or new tyres,  
 Now if her Eye inflame me, streight her chin  
 Or pittyfull Nose blow out the flame agin. 40  
 Thus like a foolish Devill though she doe  
 Provoke and Tempt me, yet she frights mee too.  
 Troth is, Vernura has ta'ne all my roomes,  
 And where God dwells, the Devill cannot come.

Cl[ement] Paman.

#### NOTES

1 Pallora] a name coined by Paman.

9 christall lids] eye lids.

12 Circles] a pun on the sense of spheres in which heavenly  
 bodies were supposed to revolve (OED 4a), and the colour of

the iris.

- 15 Crosse-graces] 'cross' is used in the figurative sense of representing two sides, a thing and its opposite (OED 21b); the poet is parodying the usual convention of idealising a woman's attributes by acknowledging that she possesses some that are less appealing (cf. Shakespeare's sonnet 130).
- 16 Perpetuall] puns on the meaning of 'lasting, unceasing' (OED 1a), and 'constant, uninterrupted' (OED 2a).
- 18] Pallora's 'crosse-graces' are further commented on with a pun on the sense of 'alloy' meaning 'inferior metal', and 'ore' which contains precious metal.
- Allay] an admixture of something that detracts from or diminishes the value (OED 4). It may also be used in the sense of an intrinsic character, quality, temper (OED 6).
- Ore] the sense of 'esteem, regard', and 'respect' is also intended (OED 1).
- 29 bottoms] the cocoon of a silkworm (OED 15b).
- 38 tyres] 'tires' meaning dress, apparel (OED 2).
- 43 roomes] faculties.

The Diamond.

He that call'd souls an harmony  
Did but meane love in other words;  
So this string woes that to agree  
Till both bee marryed by a Third.

Musicke and Beauty are th' worlds soule, 5  
These gild and Tune the stars and spheres;  
Whence our cheif'st senses Love controules  
And conquers both at Eyes and Eares.

And as some find magneticknes  
Scattred throughout the generall 10  
Whole limbs of Earth: So more or lesse  
There's Love to Every thing in all.

For since All by the Mothers side  
Are Brothers; not a wonder is't,  
If plants to Beasts, and Beasts divide 15  
To men their Loves, Men when they list?

Beauty attracts us every where  
She takes us in a plant or flowre,  
Wee give fayre Dogs and horses share:  
But in Vernura she devoures. 20

Wee love Her in all shapes and dies:  
In teeth and skin we worship white,  
And Blacknes wee preferre in Eyes,  
Blew, Red, in Veynes and Lips delight.

Negroes (as greenesick mayds love coale) 25  
A smutch'd and sooty face approve,  
All, Be their Mistress fayre or foule,  
Yett picke occasions why to Love.

If then I do transgresse a winke  
Or spend out of Thy stock one sigh 30  
Upon some forreine face; Oh thinke  
Love is mans Common Destiny.

Yett never dreame that forreine gold  
Or pearls, of radiant hayre or eye,  
(Though these be powrefull bribes) yet could 35  
Corrupt and to Apostasye.

For lett Vernura once appeare  
And all those trifling beautyes flye,  
As Loadstones modestly forbear  
To woe the steele when the Diamond's by. 40

C[lement] Paman.

## NOTES

- 5-6] it was traditionally held by humanist and Protestant theologians that music pervaded the cosmic structure creating a harmony of sounds. Music and beauty were believed to be two of the several ways in which God imparted goodness to the natural order of creation.
- 25 greensick] greensickness, an anaemic disease which mostly affects adolescent girls and gives a pale or greenish tinge to the complexion (OED).
- 39 Loadstones] literally magnetic oxide of iron (OED), but used figuratively because of the association with love, attraction, and magnetism (cf. lines 9 and 17).

The Patches, made into a black Crosse.

Go and perfume the East, th' whole Kingdome where

Balmes dwell and are at home; Go fan the ayre

'Till it grow softer. Bleach the snow. Putt on

Tissues and cloths of gold upon the sun,

To dresse him braver. Paint the Rosy morne

5

Or thine once rosye Cheekes, In silks adorne

The richer Ermine 'Twill bee sooner done

Then to mend thy Beauty by addition.

Best can't bee betterd, Why then shouldst thou strive

To make that more which is superlative?

10

Art will prepare thy Cheeke, Like holy writt

Tis Equall sin to give or take from it.

No wealth can adde one mite unto thy store

Or make thee Attract less, or men love more,

Thou art a banquet of thy self so high

15

Thou needst no sauces to provoke the Eye.

Foyles were to carve some staine or sickly stone

True Diamonds shine best when they have none.

Nor think tis true that Contraryes show best

When they by one anothers side are sett

20

Or that thy Banks of refin'd snow can take

More glitter from these Molehills cast in blacke:

For then, Why doe you not weare stinks as well

To make your Mardy Breath and bosome smell

More fragrant yet? Or why too don't you staine

25

And spott with durt or Inke, your snowey lawne,  
To make it whiter? Nay, why art not thou  
Wicked to make thy vertue more? For know  
Vice is a mind-spott, and if vices doe  
Deforme a mind, These do your Beauty too. 30

But if you'le talke of Contraryes, A face  
Which is but one great Patch; a looke wold chace  
And fright away Desire untill it grow  
As chast as Hermits, or whats more as thou;  
Why such a Reprobate face wilt saint thine 35  
And damne itselke to show Thee more divine?

Away then with these blacks; Purge thy faire skyes,  
What shold these Devills doe in Paradise?  
Wilt thou plant Hell in Heaven? Ay or dare  
To blott that copie nature writt soe faire? 40  
Black's a dull colour: schollers are thought fitt  
To bee laught at, meerly for wearing it.

Leave then thy blacks to mourning faces, whose  
Hott sins have eate away their Eyes and Nose.  
Lett such bee branded in the cheeke, That wee 45  
May shun them as they shun Virtue, or Vice Thee.  
Thy confirm'd Beauty's in its glorious state  
And Angells spoyld when they would mend their fate.

But tis not for thy selfe but us, that thou  
Vexest the harmelesse Glories of thy brow: 50  
For Clouds don't make day fairer then it is,  
They coole the sun, and make him scortch us lesse.

And least our ranke desires shold feede too high  
 Thou throwst those spotts as Tying to our Eye.  
 Then never pluck them of, Rather lay on 55  
 More still, untill they grow Devotion.  
 Till on man draws his beads and prayes when hee  
 Beholds Thy Crosse; Another on his knee  
 Creeps to the Reverend silke, A third  
 (Whom thy smooth cheeke intic'd, the crosse deter'd) 60  
 While his young lust but Thinks and wishes, This  
 Figure comes in and Crucifyes the wish.  
 If who I thank God for it have more grace  
 Then to bee in love with an Impossible face)  
 Will mak't my meditation, as each looke 65  
 Shall teach me more of Truth then some mens books.  
 Thy crosse shall read me Mortalnes, thy brest  
 And cheeke, that Heav'n, where soules wrapt in soft rest  
 Live after their Departure, Like whom too  
 Wee must by th' one unto the other goe. 70  
 I'le thinke thy face the world, where some mens fate  
 Slide smooth as thy smiles are, and Antedate  
 Their Heaven here; Others whose fortunes runne  
 Perplexd and troubled as thy Justest frowne,  
 And take their Hell before hand; Some are free 75  
 As are thy thoughts or Breath, while others bee  
 In bondage like thy haire: But over all  
 The Crosse prevailes, and's Epidemicall.  
 It tortures even our Joyes and mirth, that wee

Are never free when most at libertie. 80

This Crosse torments thy Beauties, for though night  
 Can't quite putt out, yet she can hide their light,  
 They'le shine lett Blacknes do her worst, so some  
 Burn't Saints have smil'd its [riddle] of martyrdome.

I'll thinke the vow-bound Pilgrim might come 85  
 As well to Thee as to Jerusalem;

Whence if the prostrate votarie implore  
 To kisse the Beauteous shrine hee'le aske no more.

I'll thinke what others wantonly putt on  
 For fashion, is in thee Religion. 90

And if thou thinkst soe too; thy Mode is free  
 From Pride, Or what men feare worse, Poperie.

But since there's but one Best in all; and thou  
 Art, and deserv'st to heare That Best why know  
 There's use in either; weare, or weare them not, 95

Some men can picke some learning from a blott:  
 But none were better: For though poysonous  
 Druggs may turne Physicke; yet 'tis hazardous.

Cl[ement] P[aman].

#### NOTES

Title] 'Patches' may be a pun on the sense of an area different  
 in appearance or character from that which is around it (OED  
 3a), and the seventeenth-century fashion device of wearing a  
 piece of black silk (often in a fanciful shape) to show off

the complexion by contrast (OED 2).

Black Crosse] a cross may be the 'fanciful' shape of the silk patch. The symbolic and religious sense of the word 'cross' is present as a conceit throughout the poem. The poet is comparing devotion and subjection to the purer influence of virtue and religion to that of physical love and beauty.

4 Tissues] used here in the sense of rich cloth, often interwoven with gold or silver (OED 1a).

5 braver] applies to fine clothes; an adornment, embellishment (OED 3c).

15-18] a marginal addition.

16 sauces] to make pleasant or agreeable (OED 2a).

17 Foyles] a foil is a thin leaf of metal used in the setting of a jewel to increase its brilliancy (OED 5a).

29 Mind-spott] the figurative sense of 'spot' is intended as in a moral stain, a stigma or disgrace (OED 11a).

34] in the original text the poem stops at line 34 and is resumed on page 125; it is transcribed here in its entirety.

36 Reprobate] one rejected by God, lost in sin (OED); hence one unprincipled, lost to all sense of religious or moral obligation (OED 3b).

38 blacks] puns on the sense of bad weather and mourning clothes.

44 blacks] a reference to the tradition of mourners blackening their faces with soot; an analogy is also intended with the black patches attached to the face for fashionable purposes.

45-46] probably refers to the belief that syphilis resulted in the decay of the body, particularly apparent in the face; the

poet William Davenant was widely ridiculed for supposedly losing his nose in this way (Aubrey, vol.i, pp.205-6).

55 Trying] in the sense of to subject to a severe test, to strain the endurance or patience (OED 10).

92 Mode] puns on the sense of a way or manner in which something is done (OED 4a), and fashion or custom in dress, manners, and speech (OED 9).

The Murtheresse.

Six yeares I've lov'd, and if loves houres bee

Eternity

How many Eternities have I lost?

How many Golden minutes has it cost

In serving Thee?

5

Count them but by thy haire and thou wilt say

They were as many and as faire as They.

Starv'd Prentices gett for 6 yeares pennance

Deliverance

My Indentures (like bills sign'd to be payd

10

Tomorrow) ne're come out, But as their date

Wasts They advance

Nothing; the sun (Times Lord) can't sett mee free,

But shee who hath more beams and power than hee.

Then trye some gentler termes; though all love bee

15

Captivitie,

There's difference in Bonds; A misterisse

That will consent and yield, (though courser,) is

Lesse slaverye.

And if 'ith' Counter I live freer, more

20

At ease, Let Lords (a' Gods name) beg the Towre.

Yett since Love brings with starving or Excesse  
Like mortallnes,  
This killing with too much, and that with none  
T'ones Kindnes Murdring more than t'others frowne.

25

Brave Murtheresse  
Vernura, strike: 'Twere better loose my breath  
To Lyons, than by Leeches suck'd to Death.

Cl[ement] Paman.

#### NOTES

Title] central to the poem is the extended metaphor highlighting the cruelty exerted over a lover by his mistress; throughout the poet compares the lovers' relationship to that of a business contract by which an apprentice is bound to his employer. The conceit is elaborated in the discussion of the constraints imposed upon the contracted individuals, and is finally resolved with the subordinate party acquiescing to the inevitable remuneration for his services.

6-7] a marginal addition.

8 6 yeares pennance] probably the period of an apprenticeship.

10 Indentures] puns on the meaning of a contract by which an apprentice is bound to the master who undertakes to teach him a trade (OED 2b), and the figurative sense of a mutual engagement (OED 2d).

bills] the obsolete sense of a promissory note is implied here,

with the explicit meaning of an acknowledgment of debt with the promise to meet it on a specified date (OED 9b).

12-13] empty promises.

15 termes] with its central position and diverse meanings 'termes' provides the focus on which the conceit is based. The poet puns on its sense of a set or appointed time (OED 4); as an indicator of time; a standing and mutual relation between two persons or parties (OED 9); a limit in space and duration (OED 1); and the words and expressions uttered between lovers (OED 14a).

17 Bonds] puns on the sense of any circumstance that takes away freedom of action; that enslaves the mind through the affections or passions (OED 5), and that of an agreement or engagement binding on him who makes it (OED 8a).

On a Childs Death.

What meant Dame nature when she brought to light  
This wonder first? Thinge without Epithite  
So rare that, wee not able to invent  
Must only call it Sweet or Excellent.

What meant shee? If she thought but for an houre 5

To shew the world her art, and then her power  
In marring what she made? was it that men  
Should say that nature never wrought but then

When he was borne, and all the world before  
Were but rough modells rudely [slubbered] or'e? 10

Or was it that she did intend to see  
How all the ill made world did looke but Hee,  
Who when he was compar'd with all the rest

Seem'd to be made in earnest, we in jest?  
Or made she only him, and wee were throwne 15  
Carelesly backward by Deucalion?

Or if she made us all, there was some wrong  
That he shold live so short and wee so longe:

It may bee nature 'fore she was aware  
Having made one so exquisite and rare 20

Danced within herselfe, twixt love and pride  
Ever to make a thing so qualify'de,

And that her art in him might not expire

Tooke him to keepe him as a Copy by her,

Or fearing that the world seeinge their want 25

How niggard like with them sh' had dealt, how scant,  
Would envy him. The world she would not trust  
But soone againe transform'd him into dust.  
Nature indeede might well these reasons pleade  
But sure Jove tooke him for a Ganimede.

30

NOTES (see commentary page 626)

- 16 Deucalion] after surviving the flood, Deucalion and his wife were instructed to create a new race by throwing lumps of earth over their shoulders (Ovid, Metamorphoses, i, 381-415).
- 30] because of his beauty, Ganymede was carried off by the gods to be Jove's cup bearer. He is usually depicted in Hellenistic art and literature as young and pretty.

On Mr King of Christ's Coll.

Come hither Zerxes with thy threatninge lash,  
And whip the seas, you Poetts come and dash  
Your Inke into his Eyes, make him all blacke  
And seeme at least to mourne for this foule act.

On no Blame not the seas, they were not cruell 5

They had no way but this to save their jewell  
And tis conceiv'd that they decreed longe since  
To putt downe Neptune and make King their Prince.

And now he sitts in state upon the sand  
And every wave contends to kisse his hand. 10

Nor blame the winds as guilty of his death  
Their plott was only to enjoy his breath  
That mingling it with theirs, they might no more  
Blow so ungently as they did before,

Nor blame the rocks, as if they were hard harted, 15

Alas they were unwilling to bee parted  
From what they did desire, a treasure worth farr more  
Then all that ever they had wreckd before

And now to make amends, they are become  
So many gravestones to adorne his tombe, 20

Whereon Apollo hath engrav'd most deepe  
This Epitaph, on which the seas do weep.

The Epitaph.

Here lyes the love of gentle harts

The Cabinet of all the Arts.  
 Here lyes Grammer out of which 25  
 Mute fishes learne their parts of speech.  
 Here was Rhetoricke all undone  
 Which makes the seas more fluent runne.  
 And here Philosophy was drown'd  
 Which makes the seas far more profound 30  
 His head the student fishes call  
 Their curious Globe Celestiall  
 His eyes are stars whereon they looke  
 And learne Astronomy without booke  
 His Poesy and Musicke cause 35  
 The Wandringe waves to make a pause  
 'Till on the sudden they rebound  
 And dance and skip and touch no ground  
 Then all at once cry Follow Follow  
 Strike up strike, up thou young Apollo. 40  
 Thus. While poor breathing mortalls weepe  
 The witt and mirth lyes in the deepe.

Mr [Thomas] Booth

C[orpus] C[hristi] C[ollege] Cant.

NOTES (commentary page 626)

Title] addressed to Edward King, Fellow of Christ's College  
 Cambridge, who drowned in the Irish sea on 10 August 1637.

For reasons unknown it is not included in JEK.

1 Zerxes] Xerxes the king of Persia (486-465 B.C.); when his attempt to cross the Hellespont was frustrated, he gave orders for it to receive 300 lashes (Herodotus, vii,35). Cf. Cleveland's poem 'Upon the death of M. King drowned in the Irish Sea' (lines 11-12):

The Sea's too rough for verse; who rhymes upon't,  
With Xerxes strives to fetter th' Hellespont.

23-6] a commonplace in the poems on King; cf. Cleveland's poem, lines 35-6:

Books, arts, and tongues were wanting; but in thee  
Neptune hath got an University.

40 young Apollo] a term applied to scholars whose hair was loose and flowing, derived from the iconography of Apollo who was generally depicted as youthful and having blond flowing hair (Graegus Ab Cantabrigiam: or a Dictionary of Terms (1803), p.8).

A Songe.

O Love whose force and might  
Noe power e're withstood  
Thou forcest mee to write  
Come turn about Robinhood.

Her tresses that were wrought 5  
Most like the golden snare  
My loving heart have caught  
As mars did catch his mare

Grant Pitty else I dye  
Love so my heart bewitches 10  
With greife I'le howle and crye  
Oh how my elbow itches

What ist I wold not doe  
To purchase but one smile  
Bid me to China goe 15  
Fayth, I'le lye still a while.

Teares overflow my sight  
With floods of duly weeping  
That in the silent night  
I cannot rest for sleepinge. 20

But since that all releife  
And comfort doth forsake me  
I'le kill myselfe with greife,  
Nay then the Devil take mee.

Mark well the dolefull hap.  
Jove Rector of the thunder  
Sent downe a thunder clappe  
And rent her smocke asunder.

25

NOTES (see commentary page 627)

Title] marginal note: 'Impress'.

8 mare] possibly an allusion to Venus; Wit and Drollery (1661),  
reads 'moss'.

27-8] Semele, beloved by Jove, was reduced to ashes when he  
appeared before her as a clap of thunder.

A guide to Fortune.

Blind fortune if thou wantst a guide  
I'le shew thee how thou mayst divide  
Distribute unto each his due  
Justice is blind, Justice is blind  
Justice is blind and so are you. 5

To th' Usurer this doome impart,  
Lett scriveners breake and then his hart,  
His debtors unto beggary fall  
Or whats as bad, or whats as bad  
Or whats as bad, Turne Courtiers all. 10

And so our tradesmen that sell deare  
A longe Vacation all the yeare  
Revenge us thus on their deceipts  
And send them wives, and send them wives,  
And send them wives, Light as their weights 15

Fortune if thou wilt recompence  
The Frenchmens dayly insolence  
To them I know no greater paine  
Then to bee sent, then to bee sent,  
Then to bee sent, To France againe. 20

To players least that they grow poore  
Send them Aglauras more and more,  
To schollers, if that thou canst do't  
A benefice, a benefice  
A benefice, without a suite. 25

And unto Lawyers I beseech  
As well for silence as for speech  
To Ladyes ushers strength of backe  
And unto mee, and unto mee,  
And unto mee, A Cup of Sack 30

And to Phisitians, if thou please  
Send them each yeare a nice disease  
And unto Puritans more Eares  
Then Ceres in them, then Ceres in them,  
Then Ceres in them, Her Garland weares. 35

To Court Lords grant Monopolyes  
And to theire wives Communityes  
So Fortune thou shalt please them all  
When Lords do rise, when Lords do rise,  
When Lords do rise, And Ladyes fall 40

If these instructions make thee wise  
Wine shall restore againe thine Eyes  
By any stile thou shalt Commence  
Not Fortune calld, not fortune calld,  
Not Fortune calld, But providence.

45

Martin Harvey.

NOTES (see commentary page 627)

Title] the satire in this poem is an example of seventeenth-century character writing. The poet alludes to the widely accepted commonplaces and distinguishing features associated with particular character 'types'. An example of the prevailing style of character writing is that of Sir Thomas Overbury whose work, with others, is included in A Book of Characters, ed. R. Aldington (London, 1924), from which quotations in the notes below are taken.

4 Blind fortune] Fortuna (or Tyche) the goddess of fortune; she is represented on ancient monuments as blindfolded, and holding in her hands a horn of plenty and a wheel, as a symbol of her inconstancy.

6 Usurer] 'a double dealer. He puts his money to the unnatural act of regeneration; and his scrivener is the supervisor bawd to it.' (Overbury, op.cit., p.146).

10] the courtier, like the usurer, was renowned for being an opportunist, but with more subtlety and deviousness; he honours 'nothing but fortune' (Overbury, op.cit., p.98).

11-15] tradesmen were generally believed to increase their profits by giving customers short measure through the use of inaccurate weights.

17] the manner of Frenchmen was often regarded as affectation and their behaviour ingratiating.

21-2] a lavish production of Aglaura, written by Sir John Suckling, was performed by the King's Company at Blackfriars in early 1638. The cost of the production attracted contemporary notice and Garrard wrote in a letter to Strafford that 'Sutlin's Play cost three or four hundred Pounds setting out, eight or ten Suits of new Cloaths he gave the Players; an unheard of Prodigality' (Strafford Letters and Dispatches (London, 1739), ii, 150). Similarly, the extravagant folio printing of the play, also in 1638, was acknowledged by several lampoons, including one entitled 'Upon Aglaura in Folio', printed anonymously in Musarum Deliciae (1655), pp.51-2.

23-5] the satire appears to be aimed at those who rely on patronage or 'gifts'; 'schollers' is used here in the sense of those students who received emoluments while at university, to defray the costs of their education (OED 4). 'Suite' puns on the sense of a fee paid in lieu of attendance (OED 4), and possibly alludes to the gift of new suits given to the King's Players.

26-7] a character frequently subjected to denigration, Overbury describes a lawyer as 'thinking no language worth knowing but his own wrangling. For indeed he is all for money' (Overbury,

op.cit., p.117); it is a commonplace that they will rarely speak unless paid to do so.

28 Ushers] an usher is a male attendant on a lady (OED 2b).

31-32] a physician is only 'languaged in diseases' and 'if you send...to him you must resolve to be sick howsoever, for he will never leave examining your water, till he has shaken it into a disease' (Overbury, op.cit., p.194).

33-35] puritans often found themselves the subject of ridicule and were frequently satirized in the plays and literature of the period. Overbury is quite unequivocal in his biting summary, stating that a puritan is 'a diseased piece of Apocrypha: bind him to the bible, and he corrupts the whole text: ignorance and fat feed are his founders;...his life is but a borrowed blast of wind; for between two religions, as between two doors, he is ever whistling...Honest he dare not be, for that loves order: yet if he can be brought to ceremony, and made but master of it, he is converted' (Overbury, op.cit., p.114). Puritans were considered to lack learning but talk as if they were wise, an analogy based on the proverb 'the ass waggeth his ears' (implying understanding where there is none) and here a comparison is drawn with Ceres because, as the goddess of corn and harvests, she was represented wearing a garland of ears of corn on her head.

36 Monopolyes] as a means of economic manipulation monopolies were often awarded to favourite courtiers who, with the treasury, personally benefited, usually at the customers

expense. Monopolies were attacked by parliament and eventually abolished by statute in 1624, but the crown evaded the legislation by granting exemptions.

37 Communityes] puns on the sense of 'common prostitutes' (OED 10).

40] puns on the sexual connotation of 'rise' and 'fall'.

The Old Courtyers Sigh.

Lord, what a sigh there was! Blesse the Kings ships  
And merchants from the soveraigne to the skiffe,  
Apollo blesse the Rime too, which is blowne  
Methinks most vilely out of Tune.

Sitt fast all Periwigs, Tyres, Spriggs, and whims, 5  
Venetian Quincills, and befrenched Limbs;  
For since the last great Partian sigh behind,  
Never was felt so strong a gale of wind.  
Priapus sigh was not so high, they say,  
Yet blew two witches and their Devills away. 10

But why? Did the King frowne? or is his place  
Bid for, or sold, or is he in disgrace  
With's Pimpe or Taylour, does his Rheummy eye,  
Drye hand, and backe reade him mortalitye?  
Or do his Gamesters, Old and Worne as Hee 15  
On the first Couch he us'd them on, Tehee  
Now, I leave Him, swearing they won't bee won  
To dandle timber wicke, when the oyle is done.  
Or since hee's old, ist for his sinnes? 'Tis soe,  
He sighs for th' sins he did, but cannot doe. 20

Cl[ement] Paman

NOTES

2 merchants] i.e. merchant ships.

- 5 Tyres] 'tires', meaning dress, apparel (OED 2); a pun may also be intended on the sense of 'to prey upon' (OED 11 2c).  
Spriggs] young fellows (OED 2c).  
Whims] whimsical fellows (OED).
- 6 Venetian Quincills] probably an allusion to a particular style of contemporary dress or fashion accessory.
- 7 Partian] narrow or prejudiced support for a particular side or party (OED A 1).
- 9 Priapus] a classical source for this allusion is not apparent; the poet has probably conflated the stories about Priapus, the classical god of fertility, with the orgiastic folklore associated with witches.
- 18 timber wicke] a vulgar pun is probably intended.

St Stephens feild.

Mild Peace is up in Arms, And battailes are  
Joyn'd in a safe and Healthfull Civill warre:  
Where March is sweeter Musicke than Retreate  
And drums run to a Tune and are not beate,  
Forgetting quite their bellowing, and in 5  
Soft Consort listning to the Carabins:  
Who are so refin'd and purg'd from Death and ill  
They only taught us How but did not Kill.  
War now appear'd to Ladyes i' their own shapes,  
That's fayre and innocent; No feare of Rape. 10  
Unlesse of Fancy, which so fill'd each breast  
Each night conceiv'd a Colonell at least.  
But well may softer Ladyes stand and see  
Rough warre, where bulletts are but Property,  
And so much of smooth courtshipp understand 15  
As gently but to touch and Kisse the Hand:  
Only one kill'd the Powder, and thence went  
Not as twas shott, but as the Generall meant  
Who now stood Deputy to Providence  
Teaching the very lead Obedience. 20  
Nothing was hurt but Ayre, whose wounded breath  
Like swans expiring, sung itselife to death.  
Lett others boast their spoiles then and events,  
And rayse a glory from a Punishment,  
Wee envy not their Practise, but can boast 25

We learne the Arts of blood with lesser cost.  
 I know the name of Victory sounds loud,  
 Yet she's most Noble when she'has least of blood,  
 As she hath Here, where she this Triumph gaine  
 That if she be not wonne, she saves their Paynes. 30  
 Who'le strike a man at's guard? and if our men  
 Thus keepe out Enemies, they Conquer them.  
 So when the Thunder beates, our Terrors knowe  
 There's an arm'd bolt within, Although wee doe  
 Not dare provoke't. To shake the whip sometimes 35  
 Commands above a stroake. Thus our wiser Tymes  
 Where muzzll'd war goes tyed, and sheath'd, afford  
 A way to make the Scabbard owe the sword.  
 Some Conquest works at distance, and To bee  
 Able to or'e come's Implicite victory. 40  
 Oh were the sudden Julius alive  
 And saw these learned troops in's Perspective  
 Where every man's a leader, and each one  
 Might write a Commentary of his owne.  
 I feare 'twold make his rasher anger sinne. 45  
 To breake his glasses and go home agen.  
 These be our wayes to Peace, and while men see  
 Wee Can, wee save ourselves an Enemye.  
 So Dyet saves Disease, and th' first degree  
 Of health's not sicknes, the Recovery. 50  
 Calme Peace is the Best Pulse; But if she stirre  
 And beate too High, True war Can Physick her.

Both, blessed Order we deriv'd from Thee  
Who art oth' same Age with Eternitie.  
Thou then that first mad'st Kings, build'st Sees and Thrones, 55  
And joyndst Church and Commonwealth in one,  
Turne not the Church a feild; Nor looke you on  
Untill the sword must go in Visitation  
And take the Bishopps work. Tis madnes, say,  
To make a Covenant wee will not Pray: 60  
Nor surely are those either Pure or Good  
Who like no Rubrick, but whats writt in blood.  
Then either sett their soules to Peace and Thee  
Or reprobate theire force to Anarchy.  
But what feare wee a Multitude, since They 65  
Can ne're Command, who cannot first obey.

Cl[ement] Paman.

NOTES

Title] from the mid-sixteenth century until the fire in 1834, St Stephen's was the House of Commons. Originally a private chapel, the Royal Chapel of St Stephen's was secularized under the Chantries Act of 1547, and by 1550 had become the meeting place of the Commons because of its suitability as a debating chamber. It is thought that the tradition of bowing to the speaker originates from his chair being placed where the altar had originally been.

6 Consort] agreement, concurrence (OED I 2a); also puns on the

musical sense of accord or harmony (OED II 3a).

Carabins] fire-arms used by the cavalry; may also refer to the soldiers who carried such guns.

17-20] possibly an allusion to the earl of Strafford, former Lord Deputy of Ireland, who was impeached by parliament in November 1640. There was a general outcry for his death and he was executed on 12 May 1641 after the king reluctantly signed the Bill of Attainder.

24] this may refer to the punishment of those believed to have been the king's agents during the period of unparliamentary rule.

41 sudden Julius] Julius Caesar (100-44BC.), assassinated by his colleagues, supposedly for the good of Rome; 'sudden' is used in the sense of 'swift in action, expeditious' (OED 4a).

49 Diett] puns on the sense of 'course of life' (OED 1), and 'a meeting by formal appointment' (OED 5).

55-59] a comment on the reforms wanted by many, and which precipitated the Bishops' wars and ultimately the civil war.

Covenant] may be the National Covenant of 1638, or more probably, the Solemn League and Covenant which was finally agreed by the House of Lords in September 1643.

62 Rubrick] the direction for the conduct of divine service inserted in liturgical books (OED I 3a); also a title or heading of a statute or section of a legal code (OED 15). In both instances they were written or printed in red, hence 'blood'. It may also be of significance that Strafford told those assembled to see him executed that he had always

believed parliaments in England to be the best means of making the king and his people happy, though he questioned whether it was well that the 'beginning of the people's happiness should be written in blood'.

The Vision.

Base coward eyes, to run away,  
And hide yourselves because twas day!  
Wold you shutt up yourselvs in night  
'Cause there was something worth the sight?

Is Nakednes so strang a Thing 5  
When Truth ne're wore a Covering?

Let people cover faults; Here's none  
Unlesse to bee too fayre, be one.

White Nakednes and Innocence  
Were Paradises Excellence, 10

And could you blush to see a Breast  
That showed how Eve look't at her best?

No you in conscience turn'd aside;  
Tis sin to gaze at Things deni'de.  
Religion bad you veyle, (my eyes) 15  
And not pry into Mysteries.

Clement Paman.

An Elegie on the death of Mr Stanninow fellow of Queens  
Colledge, Camb.

Hath aged winter fledg'd with feather'd rayne  
To frozen Caucasus his flight now ta'ne ?  
Doth he in downey snow now closely shrowde  
His bedrid lims wrap'd in a fleecy clowde ?  
Is th' earth disrobed of her apron white 5  
Kind winters guise and in a greene one dight  
Doth she begin to dandle in her lap  
Her painted infant fed with pleasant pappe  
Which theire bright father in a precious showre  
From Heavens sweet milkey streame doth gently powre? 10  
Doth blithe Apollo cloathe the Heavens with joy  
And with a golden wave wash cleane away  
Those durty smutches which their faire fronts wore  
And make them laugh which frownd and wept before?  
If Heaven hath now forgott to weepe, O then 15  
What meane these showres of teares amongst us men?  
These cateracts of greife, that dare Ev'ne vie  
With th' richest clouds their pearly treasury  
If winter's gone whence this untimely cold  
That on these snowey limbs hath layd such hold? 20  
What more then winter hath that dire art found  
These purple currents hedgd with violetts round  
To corralize, which softly wont to slide  
In crimson waveletts and in scarlett dide?

If Floras darlings now awake from sleepe 25  
 And out of their greene mantletts dare to peepe  
 Oh tell me then what rude outragious blast  
 Forc'd this prime flower of youth to make such hast  
 To hide his blooming gloryes and bequeath  
 His balmy treasure to the bed of death 30  
 'Twas not the frozen zone, One spark of fyre  
 Shott from his flaming eye had thaw'd its ire  
 And made it burne in love, Twas not the rage  
 And too ungentle nippe of frosty age  
 Twas not the chaste and purer snow, whose nest 35  
 Was in the modest Nunnery of his breast,  
 No, none of these ravisht those virgin Roses,  
 The Muses and the Graces fragrant Posies  
 Which while they smiling satt upon his face  
 They often kist and in the sugred place 40  
 Left many a starry teare to thinke how soone  
 The golden harvest of our joyes should fade  
 And bee eclipsed with an envious shade.  
 No, twas old doting Death, who stealing by  
 Dragginge his crooked burden, lookd awry 45  
 And streight his amorous sithe, greedy of blisse  
 Murdred the earths just pride with a rude kisse.  
 A winged Herauld glad of so sweet a prey  
 Snatch'd up the falling starre, so Richly gay,  
 And plants it in a precious perfum'd bed 50  
 Amongst those lillyes which his bosome bredd

Where round about hovers with silver wing

A golden summer, a perpetuall spring,

Now that his roote such fruite againe may beare

Lett each eye water't with a courteous teare.

55

NOTES (see commentary page 627)

Title] James Stanninow (or Stanynough) matriculated from Queens' College Cambridge in 1622, proceeded BA in 1625, and MA in 1629, and was a Fellow from 1628 to 1635. He died in 1635 and was buried at St Botolph's Cambridge on 5 March 1636 (Venn).

13 fronts] faces (OED 2).

17 cateracts of greife] here used in the sense of 'waterfall' (OED 2).

23 corralize] puns on the sense of an enclosed space (OED), and 'to make red, to crimson' (OED).

25 Floras darlings] Flora was an Italian goddess of flowering plants, hence 'darlings' are the buds.

31 frozen zone] one of the five 'zones' or 'belts' in ancient cosmography, distinguished by climatic differences and divided by the tropic and polar circlces (OED 1a).

42] the scribe appears to have conflated two lines; MS T 465 has an additional line which reads as follows:

The golden harvest of our joyes, the moone  
Of all our glorious hopes should fade.

The birthday. Aug.24 1640. To G. Rhodes.

This is my eight and twentyeth sun

And He methinks and I are one.

He is a child still, so am I,

Wee both are in our Infancy.

He shin'd the first day he was borne

5

He did no more this very morne:

For soe he rose, sett, and shin'd here

Just this day Eight and Twenty yeare.

He hath no more of Beard or eyes

Then he had then; Nor am I more wise.

10

I knew not then what schismes meant,

What holy leagues or Covenants,

Who is the Antichrist, or who

Was th' first Papist; nor know I now.

I knew not then to counterfeit

15

(That art to live) Nor know I yett.

I could no more Bribe, fawne, or bow

To patrons then, than I can now.

Then I was Vaine, Ignorant, Ill,

Fond, Bashfull, and I am so still.

20

Nay worse; for though I then knew nought

I gott by't, for I did not Doubt.

Now all my Books but come to this

That I dare think, perhaps it is.

Then spelling vext me, now a store

25

Of ABC criticks vexe me more.  
 Then Conning some odd grace in ryme,  
 Now making worse, costs richer tyme.  
 Then I read I BELEIVE, I reade  
 Now Bellarmines or Luthers Creede; 30  
 This mans and that's Opinion,  
 Breake of, or quite Debauch mine owne.  
 Then All my furthest Aymes did drive  
 But where to play, Now where to live.  
 Then my Nurse frown'd or chid: but now 35  
 My milder fortunes doe so too.  
 Thus life but interrupts our Rest,  
 And's the mid toyle 'twixt East and West.  
 Man is Tymes Martyr, rackd and Torne  
 Betweene a Cradle and an Urne. 40  
 Long-lives (as longest dayes have least  
 And shortest nights) have shortest rest.  
 We are [spans] all, And stretch your span  
 You'le give't, if more of length of paine.  
 All I have gott is, like the sunne 45  
 I've seene more sins, wold I had done  
 None too like Him, who casts his gleames  
 On Durt, yet never foules his beames.  
 But all my comfort is, The Sunne  
 Has thousand little stars, A moone 50  
 Which must be kept too, I have none  
 When I goe out I goe alone.

But Thou, Poore sun, must keepe me too  
Besides all these, And prithee doe,  
Or else give Him to whom this go'eth  
Thy everlasting Health and youth.

55

Clem[ent] Paman.

#### NOTES

Title] the birthday is Clement Paman's who was born on 24 August 1611. The date is politically significant because it falls in the period between the Short and Long Parliaments. G. Rhodes is Godfrey Rhodes, the grandson of Sir Edward Lewkenor; a contemporary of Paman at Sidney Sussex college, he was there from 1621 to 1638, during which time he became a Fellow. In 1638 he became treasurer at St Patrick's in Dublin.

1] it was Paman's twenty-nineth birthday.

11-34] these lines express the poet's fears for the future of the church; after the Short Parliament was dissolved Charles ordered that the convocation should continue to sit. The most contentious work of this body was the promulgation of seventeen new canons which set out to define the correct attitude to be adopted by the clergy and all loyal subjects. This included such aspects as what the clergymen were to teach their congregation, the prescription of certain subjects for sermons, the compulsory reading once every quarter of a definition of the king's position, and that the communion table should be moved to the east and railed off.

Furthermore, the congregation were commanded to observe reverence and obeisance on entering and leaving all churches. These practices were viewed suspiciously as tinged with 'popish' influence and gave rise to what the Anglicans considered 'schisms' in the state religion. Unfortunately for the puritans, while Charles believed in 'no bishop no king', the 'official' line restricted the puritan preachers, who risked excommunication, suspension, and even deprivation of all spiritual promotion if they voiced a contrary view.

11 schisms] the resistance to Anglican practices gave rise to independent sects.

12 holy leagues and Covenants] refers to the Scottish Covenant of 1639. The Scottish success in abolishing episcopacy would have been significant in England where there was increasing resentment against the powers of the bishops. In 1640 Laud attempted to introduce an oath for the English to swear; this became known as the 'etcetera' oath, and was an oath of obedience to the government of the Church. The oath was exacted by the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge (Dr Cosin) from all members of the University.

13 Anti-christ] Protestants generally identified the Pope with the Anti-christ. The allusion is probably to the hostility felt for the bishops whose practices encouraged the popular fear of 'popery' within the state church.

15-18] this may be a reflection on the dilemma of some of the clergy, over issues such as preferment and plurality, whose personal interests conflicted with private religious beliefs.

20 Fond] foolishly credulous or sanguine (OED A 2).

Bashful] wanting in self-possession, daunted, dismayed (OED 1).

25-6] Catechisms and Alphabets: i.e. the rudiments of knowledge.

27 Conning] studying or learning; scrutinizing (OED 2).

grace] the doctrine of grace whereby man gained sanctification through the supernatural assistance of God. The manner of its achievement was the subject of religious controversy from the fourth century onwards. Reformers such as Luther and Calvin held views based on Augustinianism. In England, Caroline thought had a closer affinity with the doctrine taught by Jacobus Arminius, which resembled that of Cassian.

30 Bellarmine] St Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621), the theologian and controversialist. He was a vigorous and successful opponent of Protestantism, expressing his beliefs through reason and argument rather than dogmatic assertion and abuse. The Oath of Allegiance, imposed on Catholics by James I, precipitated a controversy which spread throughout Europe. After English Catholics were forbidden by the Pope to swear the oath, James wrote an apology for it which in turn was answered by Bellarmine. Bishop Andrewes was called on to answer this challenge.

Luther's creed] Martin Luther (1483-1546), the corner-stone of whose creed was his belief that faith alone is sufficient for salvation.

The complaint of a woman with Child

Take me alone Death Let my Babe still move  
To gett a pardon from Joves Court above.  
I am with child, make suite to th' Judge to give  
The mother pardon, so that both may live.  
But death loves not this play. It sayes I'le have  
Both Child and Mother, neither will I save.

5

Yett Peace Sweet Babe, for I will ever bee  
A coffin and a grave still unto thee,  
My wombe thy chariott, and my Fayth thy guide  
Shall bee to Heaven, with saints there to abide.

10

NOTES (see commentary page 627)

The ascription 'Cl. Paman' is crossed out.

Ale. In praise of it.

When the chill Sharroco blows

And Winter tells an heavy tale

When Pyes and Dawes and Rooks and Crowes

Do sitt and curse the frosts and snowes

Then give me Ale.

5

Ale in a Saxon Romekin then

Such as makes gray=Malkin prate

Bids valour burgeon in tall men,

Quickens the Poetts witt and pen

And laughs at fate.

10

Ale that the absent battayle fights

And formes the march of Swedish drumme

Disputes the Princes lawes and rights

What was, and is, tells mortall wights

And whats to come.

15

Ale that the Plowmans hart up=keeps

And equalls it to Tyrants thrones

That wipes the eye that overweepes,

That lulls in deepe and dainty sleepes

Th' ore weary'd bones.

20

Great antidote of greife and care;  
The Joviall claspe of strict fraternity:  
Through thee Parnassian Laureats are  
And never fading garlands share  
To longe Eternity. 25

Thou more then Mountebanke of wonders  
Beyond the Chymists art and Kinde;  
Rare julip for the Hypoconders  
When the pert gutt roares forth salt wind  
In sulphurous thunders. 30

Had but thy rarityes been known  
How they the phantasy inspire,  
To the wild Anacreon;  
That tipling dancer to thy fire  
Had tun'd his lyre. 35

So the shrill grassehopper quaffes  
In morning draughts the pearly dew.  
And skipping sings, and singing laughs  
To feele in panting breast a new  
Flame to accrew. 40

Grandchild of Ceres, barley's daughter  
Wines emulous neighbour if but stale  
Ennobling all the nymphs of water  
Thine half blood; grandmother of laughter  
Ah give me Ale.

45

#### EXCEPTION

Only the grey-coate gnatt doth dreine  
A purple nectar from the skin  
Of my Evanthe, that doth staine  
(Though with cruelty and sin)  
Thee and thy kin.

50

Tho[mas] Bonham.

#### NOTES (see commentary page 628)

Title] an example of the numerous cavalier drinking songs which circulated prior to and during the Civil War. They were a well established genre and generally expressed praise for wine or ale (see Margaret Doody, The Daring Muse, p.32).

1] sharroco] 'scirocco', a warm wind of southern Europe.

6 Romekin] 'rumkin', a drinking vessel (OED). 'Romekin' is written above the line and is transcribed as a correction of the original text which reads 'Rumpkin'.

7 gray=Malkin] the name 'malkin' was usually applied to a servant or country woman (OED 2); it occurred frequently in proverbial expressions.

- 12 Swedish drumme] an allusion to a Swedish battle, probably the campaigns of Gustavus Adolphus against the Poles in 1626-9.
- 23 Parnassian Laureates] poets worthy of distinction.
- 26 Mountebanke] puns on the sense of an itinerant quack (OED 1), and one pretending to skill and knowledge (OED 2).
- 28 julip] a medicated drink given to cool or soothe (OED 1).  
Hypoconders] from 'Hypocondria' meaning the internal organs i.e. liver, gallbladder, spleen etc., formerly thought to be the seat of melancholy and 'vapours' (OED 1b).
- 31] in the original text the seventh stanza, beginning 'Grandchild of Ceres', is the concluding stanza, but has subsequently been crossed through. Written beneath is the direction 'vide. p.153', where the poem is resumed with four additional stanzas, the third repeating that beginning 'Grandchild of Ceres', and the last headed 'Exception'. The poem is transcribed here in its entirety.
- 33 wild Anacreon] an allusion to the Greek poet whose verse celebrated the more immediate pleasures of life; his style and tone were frequently used as a model in seventeenth-century verse.
- 36-40] A marginal note directs the reader to 'Anac. Ode 7', cf. 'We give you joy O grasshopper'.
- 41 Ceres] the goddess of corn.
- 48 Evanthe] a name coined by the poet.

Songe.

Oh faythlesse world, and this most faythlesse part

A Womans heart

The true shops of variety, where sitts

Nothing butt fitts

And feavours of desire, and pangs of love

5

Which toyes remove

Why was she borne to please, or I to trust

Words writt in dust

Suff'ring her looks to governe by dispaire

My paine for ayre

10

And fruite of time rewardeth with untruth

The food of youth.

Untrue she was, yet I beleiv'd her eyes

Instructed Spyes.

Till I was taught that love is but a schoole

15

To breed a foole

Or was it absence that did make her strange

Base flower of change

Or sought she more then triumph of denyall

To see a tryall

20

How farre her smiles commanded on my weaknes

Yeild and confesse

Excuse not now thy folly, nor her nature

Blush and endure

As well thy shame as passions that were vaine

25

And thinke thy gaine

To know that love lodg'd in a womans breast

Is but a guest.

H[enry] Wotton.

NOTES (see commentary page 628)

Title] marginal note: 'Impressa'.

To Lady Diana Cecill.

Diana Cecill that rare beauty thou dost showe

Is not of milke or snow

Or such as pale and whitely things doe owe

But an Illustrious Orientall bright

Like to the Diamonds refracted light

5

Or th' early morning breaking through the night.

Nor is thy haire or eyes made of that ruddy beame

Or golden sanded streame

Which still wee find the common Poetts theame

But reverend black, yett such as one would say

10

Light did but serve them, and did shew the way

By which at first Night did precede the day.

Nor is that Symmetrye of parts and forme divine

Made of one vulgar line,

Or such as any know how to define

15

But of proportions new, so well exprest,

That the perfections in each part confest

Are Beauties to themselves and to the rest.

Wonder of all thy Sex, lett none henceforth admire  
Why they so much desire.

20

Since they that know thee best, ascend no higher.  
Only bee not with common prayes wooed  
Lest if men hop'd more then they understood  
The ill of ignorance proves better than the good.

Ed[ward] H[erbert].

NOTES (see commentary page 629)

Title] Lady Diana Cecil, the second daughter of William Cecil,  
second Earl of Exeter. On 1 January 1624 she married Henry De  
Vere, eighteenth Earl of Oxford, and later (12 November 1629)  
Thomas Bruce, first Earl of Elgin (Complete Peerage, s.v.  
Elgin).

4 Orientall] here used in the sense of 'pearls or precious  
stones' (OED 4).

On Strafford.

Greate Strafford worthy of that name, though all  
Of thee could bee forgotten, but thy fall  
How great thy name was, when no lesse a weight  
Could serve to crush thee than 3 Kingdoms hate  
Yett single they accounted thee (although 5  
Each had an Army) as an equall foe.  
Thy Wisdome such, at once it did appeare  
Three Kingdoms wonder, and 3 Kingdoms feare  
Joyn'd with an Eloquence so greate, to make  
Us heare with greater passion than he spake, 10  
That wee forc'd him to pittty us, whilst hee  
Seem'd more unmov'd and unconcern'd than wee  
And made them wish who had his death decreed  
Him rather, them their owne distractions freed  
So powerfully it wrought, at once they greive 15  
That he should dye, yett feare to lett him live.  
Farewell Great soule, the glory of thy fall  
Outweighs the cause, whom wee at once may call  
The enemy and Martyr of the state  
Our Nations glory and our Nations hate. 20

J[ohn] Denham.

NOTES (see commentary page 629)

Title] Thomas Wentworth (1593–1641), Earl of Strafford and Lord Deputy of Ireland was impeached by the Long Parliament and executed on 12 May 1641 after the king agreed to sign a Bill of Attainder.

4 three Kingdoms] England, Scotland and Ireland.

5] for many Strafford was the embodiment of the nation's current problems, and the determined course of the leaders of the House of Commons was backed by a growing excitement in the city. On 24 April 1641 a signed petition was presented by the people of London calling for the execution of Strafford; the petition, read to both Houses of Parliament, concluded with the hope that the citizens' 'said Grievances may be Redressed, the Causes of their Fears removed, Justice executed upon the said Earl, and other incendiaries and Offenders, the rather, in regard till then the Petitioners humbly conceive neither Religion, nor their Lives, Liberties, or estates can be secured' (John Rushworth, The Tryal of Thomas Earl of Strafford (London, 1680), pp.55–7; cf. The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, ed. J.O. Halliwell (London, 1845), vol.ii, p.268).

9–16] in his own defence, Strafford's eloquence was very convincing and some were of the opinion that there were inadequate grounds for executing him; conversely, others believed that he was too dangerous to live. His manner and speech on the scaffold cast him somewhat in the light of a martyr to the king's cause; Clarendon recorded that Strafford

told the people 'he was come thither to satisfy them with his head', and observed that those 'who had not been over-charitable to him in his life' were at least 'much affected with the courage and christianity of his death' (Macray, vol.i, p.341).

19-20] the parliamentary leaders were adamant that Strafford must die if they were to achieve their objectives. The king, in turn, was forced to sacrifice his loyal supporter, hence making him a martyr of the state, though previously, on 23 April, the king had written to Strafford assuring him that 'upon the Word of a King, you shall not suffer in Lyfe, Honor, or Fortune' (The Letters and Dispatches of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford (London, 1739), ii, 416). Ultimately Strafford released the king from his promise and Charles signed his death warrant.

Cf. Cleveland's poem 'Epitaph on the Earl of Strafford':

The Prop and Ruine of the State;  
The People's violent Love and Hate:  
One in extreames lov'd and abhor'd.

(9-11)

To my Lord of Falkland.

Brave Holland leads and with him Falkland goes.

Who heares this told and doth not streight suppose

Wee send the Graces and the Muses forth

To civilize and to instruct the North

Not that these ornaments make swords lesse sharp 5

Apollo weares as well his bow as harpe

And though he be the Patron of the spring,

When in calme peace the Sacred virgins sing

He courage had to guarde the invaded thron

Of Jove and cast th' ambitious Gyants downe. 10

Ah noble freind with what impatience all

That know thy worth and know how prodigall

Of thy greate soule thou art, longing to twist

Baies with that ivey, which so lately kist

Thy gratefull temples, and what horroure wee 15

Think on the blind events of warre, and thee

To fate exposing that all-knowing breast

Among the throng as cheaply as the rest

Where Oaks and Brambles, if the Copps be burn'd

Confounded lye, to the same ashes turn'd. 20

Some happy wind over our Ocean blow

This tempest yett, which frights our Island soe

Guarded with ships, and all the sea our owne

From Heaven this mischeife on our heads is thrown.

In a late dreame the Genius of this land 25

Amaz'd I saw like the fayre Hebrew stand  
 When first she felt the twins begin to jarre  
 And found her wombe the seate of civill warre.  
 Inclinde to whose releife and with presage  
 Of better fortune for the present age 30  
 Heaven sends (quoth I) this discord to our good  
 To warne perhaps, but not to wast our blood  
 To rayse our drooping spiritts, grown the scorne  
 Of our proud neighbours, who e're long shall mourne  
 Though now they joy in our expected harmes 35  
 Wee had occasion to resume our armes.  
 A Lyon so with self-provoking smarte  
 His Rebell-tayle scourging his nobler part  
 Calls up his courage, then begins to roare  
 And charge his foes, who thought him mad before. 40

Mr [Edmund] Waller.

NOTES (see commentary page 630)

Title] Lucius Cary (1610?-1643) second Viscount Falkland. He was Secretary of State for the king 1642-3, and fought at Edgehill, the seige of Gloucester, and was killed at Newbury (DNB). Marginal note: 'Impressa'.

1 Brave Holland] Henry Rich (1590-1649), Earl Holland. He was made General of Horse 2 February 1639 and led an English army against the Scottish forces stationed at Kelso on 3 June 1639 (see CSPD 1639 pp.277, 281). Faced with a greater

Scottish force than anticipated, Holland 'sounded a fair retreat, and returned without loss or blow given' (ibid. p.277). He was accused by some of treachery and cowardice, but though the retreat was bad for the morale and reputation of the army it was officially acknowledged that to have proceeded would have led to a most 'shameful and dishonourable defeat' (ibid., p.281). A contemporary chronicler attributed Holland's decision to the persuasive powers of Lieutenant-General Goring and Commissary Wilmot, which combined with 'the king's command by letter to the purpose caus'd them to retire' (BL Add. MSS 28566, f.21v). More importantly, the incident served to highlight the inadequate army intelligence of the English forces compared to that of the Scottish.

3-4] many of the king's forces were led by men more suited to a courtier's life than that of a soldier. Clarendon describes Falkland as a person possessing 'such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge' and 'inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation' (Macray, vol.iii, pp.178-9); he also remarks that though Falkland initially 'received some repulse in the command a troop of horse, of which he had a promise' he went as a volunteer with the Earl of Essex (ibid., p.187; cf. CSPD 1639 p.39). Holland is similarly regarded by Sir Henry Craik who wrote that 'he did not, for all his social arts, escape the imputation of cowardice, and his wavering allegiance to each party in turn, increased the aversion which that imputation caused. Few men owed more to the Royal

favour, or repaid it worse, and his reputation was only partially retrieved by his death on the scaffold in 1649' (The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon (London, 1911), vol.i, p.163-4).

10] the Titans, with whom Jove fought for the supremacy of the heavens.

14] bay and ivy signified a poet's labour and became associated with triumph and immortality; they provided the tribute which poetry owes to arms and arms to poetry. In the Renaissance the leaves became the motif of a finished gentleman, whose education was in arts and arms (see J.B. Trapp, 'The Owl's Ivy and the Poet's Bays', JWCI, 21 (1958), 227-55).

23] possibly an allusion to the coastal protection organised as a precaution against invading foreign forces, while the threat of internal war posed a greater dilemma (see CSPD 1639 p.275).

25 Genius] guardian spirit.

26-8] alludes to Rebecca, the wife of Isaac, who bore twin sons, Esau and Jacob: 'and the children struggled together within her....And the Lord said unto her, Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels' (Gen. 25: 22-3).

37-40] in the popular science of the seventeenth-century many old animal legends survived. In this instance the passage may refer to the belief that when angry, the 'animal spirits' in the lion caused it to wag its tail.

A Paradox that the sicke are in a better case, then the whole.

You who admire yourselves because

You neither grone nor weepe

And think it contrary to natures lawes

To want one ounce of sleepe

Your strong beleife

5

Acquits yourselves, and gives the sick all greife.

Your state to ours is contrary

That makes you thinke us poore

So Black-Moores thinke us foule, and wee

Are quitt with them and more

10

Nothing can see

And judg of things but mediocrity.

The sick are in themselves a state

Which health hath nought to doe

How know you that our teares proceed from woe

15

And not from better fate ?

Since that mirth hath

Her waters alsoe and desyred Bath.

How know you that the sighs wee send  
     From want of breath proceede 20  
 Not from excesse? and therefore we do spend  
     That which we do not neede  
     So trembling may  
     As well shew inward warblings, as decay.

Cease then to judge Calamities 25  
     By outward forms and shew  
 But veiw yourselves and inward turne your eyes  
     Then you shall fully know  
     That your estate  
 Is, of the two, the farre more deperate. 30

You allwayes feare to feele those smarts  
     Which we but sometimes prove  
 Each little comfort much affects our hearts  
     None but grosse joyes you move  
     Why then confesse 35  
 Your feares in number more, your joyes are lesse.

Then for yourselves not us embrace

Plaints to bad fortune due

For though you visitt us, and plaint our case

Wee doubt much whither you

40

Come to our bed

To comfort us, or to bee comforted.

G[eorge] Herbert.

(see commentary page 630)

In the prayse of Musicke.

When whisp'ring straines do softly steale  
    With creeping passion through the heart  
And when at every touch wee feele  
    Our pulses beate, and beare a part.  
    When threads can make  
    A hart-string quake.  
    Philosophie  
    Can scarce deny  
Our soules consist of Harmony.

5

When unto Heavenly joyes wee feigne  
    What ere the soule affecteth most,  
Which only thus wee can explaine  
    By Musicke of the Heavenly host,  
    Whose layes wee thinke  
    Makes starrs to winke,  
    Philosophy  
    Can scarce denie  
Our soules consist of Harmony.

10

15

O Lull, Lull, Lull me charminge ayre  
    My senses rocke with wonders sweete.  
Like snow and wooll thy fallinges are  
    Soft like a spiritt are thy feete.

20

Greife who needs feare  
That hath an eare  
Down Lett him lye  
And slumbring dye  
And change his soule for Harmony.

25

W[illiam] Strode.

NOTES (see commentary page 630)

Title] cosmic harmony was exemplified in music (cf. 'Upon the  
Death of a Freind', p.85, n.1.

13-5] possibly a reference to contemporary views on astrology; in  
Harmonice Mundi (1619), Kepler discussed the harmony of rays  
from heavenly bodies descending to the earth, their effects  
on sublunar nature and the human soul, and the relation of  
planetary aspects to musical consonance (see Lynn Thorndike,  
History of Magic and Experimental Science (London, 1958),  
vol.viii, p.20).

'Tis Love Breeds Love In Me'

Tis love breeds love in me, and cold distayne

Kills it againe

As water makes the fyer frett and fume

Till all consume

None can of love more free guilt make

5

Then to loves selfe, for loves owne sake

I'le never digge in quarry of a heart

To have no part

Nor roast in those fayre eyes, which are

Allwaies Canicular

10

Who this way wold a lover prove

Doth shew his patience, not his love.

A frowne may bee sometimes for Physick good

But not for food

And for that raginge humour there is sure

15

A gentler cure:

Why barre you love of private end

Which never should to publicke tend.

Dr D[onne]

NOTES (see commentary page 630)

Title] marginal note: 'Impressa'.

Dr D.] replaces a deleted and illegible ascription.

Songe. eccho.

If her distayne in you least change can move

You do not love

For while your hopes gives fuell to your fire

You coole desire

Love is not love but given free

5

And so is mine, so should yours bee.

Her heart that melts to heare of others moane

To mine is stone

And eyes that weepe a strangers heart to see

Joyes to wound mee

10

Yett I soe much affect each part

As caused them, I love my smart.

Thinke her unkindnesse justly must bee grac't

With name of chaste

And that she frowne, least longing shold exceede

15

And raginge breed.

So can her rigour ne're offend

Except her love seeke private end.

Sr H[enry] W[otton].

NOTES (see commentary page 630)

Title] marginal note: 'Impressa'.

Sr H W.] replaces a deleted and illegible ascription.

An Answere to Dr Donnes curse whoever guesses etc.

Poore silly soule, thou striv'st in vayne to know  
Whither I know, or love, who thou lov'st soe.  
Since my affection ever secrett tryed,  
Blossoms like ferne, and seeds still unespied.

For as the subtle flames of Heaven, that wound 5  
The inward parts, and leaves the outward sound:  
My love warrs on my hart, kills that within  
When merry are my lookes and fresh my skin.

Of yellow jaundice lovers as you bee  
Whose faces streight proclaime their malady 10  
Thinke not to find me one, who know full well  
That none but French and fooles do love and tell.

His greifes are sweete his joyes do Heavenly move  
Who from the world conceales his honest love  
Nay letts his mistriss know his passions sourse 15  
Rather by Reason, then by discourse.

This is my way, and in this language new  
Shewing my meritt, it demands my due  
I hold this maxime spite of all dispute  
He asks enough, that serves well and is mute.

20

NOTES (see commentary page 632)

Title] cf. Donne's 'The Curse'.

Dr Corbett to his sonne Vincent on his birth-day.

Novemb. 10. 1630.

What I shall leave thee none can tell

But all shall say I wish thee well.

I wish thee (Vin.) before all wealth

Both bodyly and Ghostly health.

Not too much meanes, nor witt come to thee. 5

Too much of either may undoe thee.

I wish thee learning not for show

But truly to instruct and know,

Not such as gentlemen require

To prate at table or at fire 10

I wish thee all thy Mothers graces,

Thy Fathers fortune, and his places:

I wish thee freinds, and one at Court

Not to build up, but to support,

To keepe thee not in doeing many 15

Oppressions, but from suff'ring any.

I wish thee peace in all thy wayes

Nor lazy, nor contentious dayes.

And when thy soule and body part

As innocent as now thou art. 20

NOTES (see commentary page 632)

Title] Richard Corbett (1582-1635), Student of Christ Church Oxford served as Dean from 1620-8, and in 1628 was made bishop of Oxford (Foster; DNB). His son Vincent was born in 1627 but died at an early age. Aubrey says of Vincent that he went to Westminster school and though handsome he was 'run out of all and goes begging up and down to gentlemen' (Aubrey, i, p.187; The Record of Old Westminster, compiled by G.F. Russel Barker and Alan H. Stenning (London, 1928), vol.i, p.214).

The same translated by Mr. Strode

Scit nemo quantam opem tibi relinquam.

Dicent quod bene sum precatus omnes

Vincenti puer, ante pondus auri

Sano in corpore sana mens sit oro;

Rerum non nimis, ingeni nimisve;

5

Possis alterutro perire luxu.

Doctrinam precor haud superbientem

Sed cognoscere sed docere natam.

Non qualem generosuli requirunt

Qua vel mensa crepat, vel urat ignis.

10

Maternas tibi gratias peropto,

Sortem de patre traducemque mittam.

Sit non rarus amicus, e patronis

Unus copula principis, tuique.

Non quo surgat honoris avita moles

15

Sed fundata statura fulciatur,

Non quo sospes eas, feroxque regnes

Patrando mala sed parum ferendo.

Pacem comprecator exitus per omnes

Non pigri neque litigantis aevum.

20

Carnis cumque fugam senecta solvet

Aequae ac nunc puer innocens recedas.

(see commentary p.632)

Epitaph.

Twice twelve yeares not full told, a weary breath

I have exchanged for a wished death.

My course was short, the longer is my rest

God takes them soonest whom he loveth best

For he that's borne to day and dyes to morrow

Looseth some dayes of joy, but months of sorrow.

5

Morrison.

NOTES (see commentary page 633)

Title] the identity of Morrison is not known.

On Mary. a Humour.

If Mary bee the Marygold,  
Give mee the gold, let Mary goe.

For if that Mary can bee sold  
I can have Mary for my gold.

If Mary bee the Marybone,

5

Give me the bone, and Mary too.

For when the Mary all is gone

My dogge will thanke mee for the bone.

If Mary only Mary bee

Shee's neither for my dogge nor mee.

10

NOTES (see commentary page 633)

Title] 'Humour' is used here in the sense of a piece of writing  
that is intended to be 'comical', and 'excite amusement' (OED  
7a).

5] 'Mary' is an obsolete spelling of 'marrow'; a marrowbone or  
'Marybone' is a bone containing edible marrow (OED 1).

Ben. Johnson to Noy the Lawyer.

When the world was drown'd

No venison was found

For then there was never a Parke

And now here wee sitt

And have never a bitt

5

For Noy hath all in his Arke.

NOTES (see commentary page 634)

Title] William Noy (1577-1634), Attorney-General to Charles I. He was not a popular man though of significant influence with the king. He showed particular zeal in Prynne's trial and subsequent punishment (see DNB). Noy also had a crucial role in the soap subsidy (along with Lord Treasurer Weston), which outraged the public and caused hardship to many. Clarendon says of him that he 'moulded, framed, and pursued the odious and crying project of soap' (Macray, vol.i, p.92). According to the Venetian Ambassador his popularity with the king stemmed from his ideas for raising money using 'methods of extortion, though under the pretence of the breach of ancient and obsolete laws' (see CSPV 1634, p.265).

Songe. The Country-Dance.

Andrew and Maudlin, Rebecca, and Will,  
Margrett, and Thomas, Jocky and Mary,  
Kate of the Kitchen, Kitt of the Mill,  
Dickey the Plowman, and Joane of the Dayry  
To solace their lives, and sweeten their labour, 5  
Mett all on a tyme at a pipe and a taber.

Andrew was cloathed in good shepherds gray,  
Will had gott on a holyday jackett,  
Becke had a coate of Poppin-jay  
And Madge had a ribband hunge down to her plackett, 10  
Meg and Molly in freeze, Tom and Jocky in leather  
And so they began all to foot it together.

Theire heads and their armes aboute them they flunge  
With all the force and might that they had  
Theire leggs went like flayles, and as loosely they hunge 15  
They swindgled their Arses as if they'had beene madde  
Theire faces did shine and the fires did kindle  
While the Mayds they did trippe it, and turn like a spindle.

At no whisson Ale that are yett hath beene  
Such friskers and ferkers as these Lads and Lasses 20  
From their faces the sweate ran down to bee seene

And sure I am, much more from their arses,  
Had you but seene them, you would have sworne  
You never beheld the like since you were borne

Andrew chuck'd Maudlin under the chin, 25  
Simper she did like a firmety kettle  
The twang of her blabber lips made such a dinne  
As if they 'had beene founded all of Bell mettle  
Kate laughing heartily at the same smacke  
Aloud she did second it with a Bum-cracke 30

Here they did fling, and there they did hoite  
Here a hott breath and there went a savour  
Here they did glance, and there they did gloyte  
Here they did simper and there they did slaver  
Here wagg'd a hand, and there mov'd a plackett 35  
Whilst, hey, their sleeves went a flickett, a flackett.

The Dance being ended, they sweate and they stanke  
The Maydens did smacke it, the youngsters did kisse them.  
Cakes and ale flew about, they clapp't hands and they dranke  
They laught and they giggled untill they bepist them. 40  
They layd the Girles downe, and gave each a green Mantle  
Till their Bills, and their bellies went a pintle a pantle.

NOTES (see commentary page 634)

9 Poppin-jay] probably a type of fabric.

10 plackett] an apron or petticoat (OED).

11 freeze] 'frieze' was a coarse woollen cloth usually worn with the nap on the outside (OED 1).

16 swindgled] to swing or flourish about (s.v. 'swingle' OED v.2).

19 whisson Ale] the ale brewed especially for the Whit holiday.

20 ferkers] 'firk' is to move about briskly; to dance (OED 3b).

26 firmety kettle] the pan in which 'furmenty' or 'frumenty', a concoction of hulled wheat, spiced and boiled in milk, was brewed.

31 hoite] to 'indulge in riotous and noisy mirth' (OED 1).

33 gloyte] 'gloat', meaning 'to stare' (OED v).

41 green mantle] a variation of 'green gown', a euphemism meaning to 'tumble a woman on the grass' to 'have sexual sport with' (Partridge, A Dictionary of Slang).

Songe.

Your love if virtuous must shew forth some fruits of devotion

There's no Religion can warrant a dishonest motion

Would you entice me to give them respect

You would not seeke then mine honour to infect

With poysoned potion

5

If I ever did affect you,

'Twas in honour. But in ill ends, I needs must neglect you

That fort is feeble which words can subdue without battery

Wee had better stop our eares then leave them open to flattery

Should I count that true which cannot bee just

10

Your sighs and sad silence I must not trust

With eyes so watrey.

Take a lover from a passion

Like an image out of date Stands quite out of fashion.

My love's as virtuous as yours is when you frame affection

15

For so inflamed Religion you keepe in subjection

I must not tempt you to give me respect

Tis not the crime, but the man you reject

With words soe zealous

This same trifle called honour

20

Is a pretty witty cover To conceale a Lover.

What needs a battery bee where the fort is resigning  
You cannot stop your eares at your owne servants repining  
Where wee affect, we do never mistrust  
If you'le spell Love, and chance to write Lust

25

No inter lininge.

Take a Lady in the humour  
When the Love fitt is upon her, shee'le ne're think of honour

NOTES (see commentary page 635)

8-9] the imagery of battle and siege is a commonplace in  
seventeenth-century love poetry; cf. the opening lines of  
Suckling's poem 'Upon A. M.':

Yeeld not, my love; but be as coy,  
As if thou knew'st not how to toy:  
The Fort resign'd with ease, men cowards prove  
And lazie grow.

The stopping of the ears derives ultimately from The Odyssey in  
which the Sirens' voices lured sailors to their death.

A Farewell to Virginitie.

Adeiu. thou cold companion of my bed adeiu.

And doe not sue.

To harbor longer in soe warme a breast

I goe to th' flames of Love to melt away thy snow

That streams may flow

5

And fountains open to a Kinder guest.

And I, whose frozen fancy never yett conceiv'd loves holy fires

Am ravisht now with Hymens vowes that I am all desires

As when the sun with's beams doth court the frost bound earth

and thaws the ground

The Ice appeares

10

Dissolv'd in teares

Cause it so hard was found.

To thee, Great Power of Love here prostrate falls to thee

A Votarie

Oh pardon that she made no greater hast.

15

These eyes are offred at thy shrine a sacrifice

Cupid arise.

Accept and fix them where thine owne were plac't.

But stay the cheifest marksmen winke and shoote, them blind

though you hast beene

Thy golden dart hath peirct my heart, as right as if you hadst

20

seene

Such skill Achilles weapon only knew before, for now I feele

What ever feare

In mayds appeare

The blade that wounds can heale.

Lye close, thou better Genius of my life, lye close

Who feares to loose

25

That, letts his losse to use, and thrives upon't.

There's none that tyes the true loves knott will wisht undone

But feedes upon

Those delights which comes by tasting on't

For had my mother never deign'd to light a torch at Hymens

30

shrine

I pray how had I beene now continued in her line

Then if a Maydenhead's no treasure, whilst preserv'd, Come

sweet and try 't

Make one a mother

To another

So none are losers by't.

35

Tho[mas] Stevens of Bury.

#### NOTES

6 Kinder guest] i.e. love.

8 Hymens vowes] wedding vows; Hymen was the god of marriage.

21-4] Achilles' spear had the power to heal whatever wound it made.

31] Hymen personified the bridal song, and was depicted as a handsome youth bearing a torch; the allusion suggests that it

was a custom for those seeking husbands to light a torch in honour of the god.

Song.

Old hagge

Old hagge

She is the Devills picture

Devills picture

The furies with their curled snakes

5

Instead of haires have deckt her.

Did you not yet behold good face, good face?

Did you not yet see good face?

Old hagge, Old hagge, her front's a mossey alley

Mossey alley

10

Shaddowed with her hairrey tufts

With which her nose doe dally

Did you not yet behold good face, good face?

Did you not yet see good face?

Old hagge, old hagge, her eyes are made to scare you

15

Made to scare you.

Like sparky cometts fiery red

And round about as hairrey

Did you not yet behold good face, good face?

Did you not yet see good face?

20

Old hagg, old hagg, her nose is the faces handle

The faces handle

Like a black lanthorne all ore black

But where it showes the candle.

Did you not yet behold good face, good face? 25

Did you not yet see good face?

Old hagge, old hagg her cheeks do scorne the weather

Scorne the weather

Like a new Carriers empty pouch

Thin dry and swarthy leather

Did you not yet behold good face, good face? 30

Did you not yet see good face?

Old hag old hag, her lips are shrunk ith' wetting

Shrunk ith' wetting

Like old gates 'fore a rotten house

One ledge feares the others jetting 35

Did you not yet behold good face, good face?

Did you not yet see good face?

Old hag, old hag her teeth a fence to keep her

fence to keepe her

Like an old Parke pale that will teare 40

The Bucks paunch that dare leape her.

Old hag old hag, shee's the foile of nature  
foile of nature

As you approve her lovely face

So guesse her bodyes feature.

45

Tho[mas] Stevens of Bury.

NOTES (see commentary page 635)

5] the furies, Tisiphone, Megaera, and Alecto, were avenging  
deities and were depicted with snakes twined in their hair.

9 front] face.

11-14] cf. Suckling's poem 'The Deformed Mistress', lines 17-20:

Provided next that half her Teeth be out,  
I do not care much if her pretty snout  
Meet with her furrow'd Chin, and both together  
Hem in her lips, as dry as good whit-leather.

36 jetting] i.e. jutting; 'projecting', 'protruding' (OED 1).

A Song made by Mr Henry Noel, Son to the Lord Viscount Cambden  
sett by Mr H. Lawes.

Gaze not on swans in whose soft breast  
A full hatch'd beauty seems to nest,  
Nor snow which falling from the sky  
Hovers in its Virginitie.

Gaze not on Roses though new blowne 5  
Grac'd with a fresh Complexion,  
Nor lillyes which no subtle bee  
Hath rob'd by kissing chymistrie.

Gaze not on the pure milkey way  
Where night vy's splendour with the day 10  
Nor Pearls whose silver walls confine  
The riches of an Indian mine.

For when my Emperesse once appeares  
Swans moulting dye, Snow melts to teares  
Roses do blush hanging their heads 15  
Pale lillies shrink into their beds

The milkey way rides post to shrowde  
His baffled glory in a clowd.  
The Pearles do climbe into her eare  
To hang themselves for envy there 20

Thus may you see stars bigge with light  
Proove lanthornes to the moone-ey'd night  
Which when Sols rayes are once display'd  
Sinke in their socketts, and decay'd.

NOTES (see commentary page 636)

Title] Edward Noel, Lord Viscount Campden, son of Sir Andrew Noel  
of Brooke, Rutland, and son-in-law and heir of Baptist Hicks,  
Viscount Campden (DNB).

Henry Noel] the second son of Edward Noel and baptized at  
Brooke on 30 August 1615 (DNB s.v. Edward Noel).

Sett by Mr H. Lawes] Henry Lawes (1596-1662) the composer; the  
verse is set to music and included in Lawes' Ayres and  
Dialogues (1653), p.15.

The Platoniqu Lover.

For shame thou everlasting woer  
Still saying grace and nere fall to her  
Love in contemplation plac'd  
Is Venus drawn but to the waste  
Except the heate confesse the Gender 5  
And the Parley cause surrender  
    You're Salamanders of a cold desire  
    Which live unscorcht amidst the wildest fire

What though she be a Dame of stone  
The Widdow of Pigmalion 10  
As cold and unrelenting she  
As the new crusted Niobe  
Or which doth yet more statue carry  
A Nunne of the Platonicke quarrey  
    Love melts the rigour which the rocks have bred 15  
    A flint will break upon a fether bed.

Hence learn you pretty female Elves  
To candie and preserve yourselves  
Women commence by Cupids dart  
As the Kings hunting dubs a hart 20

No more thee Sectaries of the Game  
No more of the Calcining flame  
Loves votaries each others soule  
Untill they both do live upon Parole.

Virtue's no more in woman-kind 25  
But the Greensicknes of the mind  
Philosophy their new delight  
A kind of charcoale Appetite  
There is no Sophistry prevails  
Where all convincing-love assails 30  
But the disputing Petticoats will warpe  
As skillfull fencers are to seek and sharpe

The soldier that man of iron  
Whom ribs of horror do environ  
Who's strung with wires instead of veines 35  
In whose embraces thou'rt in chaines  
Let a Magneticke Girle appeare  
And hee'le turne Cupids Curiasseir  
Love storms the brestworke, takes the cheekworke in  
For all the bristle turnpike of this chin 40

Since loves artillery then checks  
The breastworke of the firmest sexe  
Let us in affections riott,  
Their sickly pleasures keepe a Diet

Give me a lasse that's bold and free

45

No Eunuch to formality

Like an Ambassador that beds a Queene

With the nice caution of a Sword betweene.

[John] Cleveland

NOTES (see commentary page 637)

7-8] 'Salamanders' were believed to be able to 'live in, or endure fire' (OED 1a), and a parallel is drawn with the lover who remains untouched by passion's fire; the allusion also puns on the sense of one who remains chaste in the midst of temptation (see OED 2c).

9-10] an allusion to the statue carved by Pygmalion; he fell in love with his creation and brought her to life, though the idea of her returning to a statue after Pygmalion's death appears to be Cleveland's invention.

11-12] the goddess Niobe was so overcome by grief for the death of her husband and children that she turned to stone.

18 candie] to preserve (OED 1). The figurative sense of 'to sweeten, render pleasant' (OED 2) is also intended.

19-20] in other variants the order of these lines is reversed with that of lines 21-2.

22 Calcining] used in the sense of 'to burn to ashes, consume' (OED 2), and to 'purify or refine by consuming the grosser part' (OED 1c).

24 Parole] a declaration or undertaking.

26 Greensicknes] an anaemic disease in adolescent girls, often characterised by a morbid appetite, hence 'charcoale Appetite' in line 28.

32 sharpe] a small sword.

37-8] puns on the figurative and literal sense of 'magnetic'. A cuiraseer was a piece of metal body armour which would be drawn to the 'Magneticke Girle'.

39 brestworke] puns on the sense of 'heart' and the body armour alluded to in the previous line.

40 turnpike] puns on the military sense of a barrier constructed as a defense against a cavalry attack.

Ἡ γῆ μέλαινα πίνει etc.

The fruitfull earth does drink the rayne,

Trees drinke the fruitfull earth againe

The sea does drinke the liquid ayre,

By the Suns beams the sea-waves are

Drunke up which is no sooner done,

5

But streight the Moone drinks up the Sunne

Why then Companions do you thinke,

I may not with like freedome drinke?

NOTES (see commentary page 637)

Title] an anonymous translation of Anacreon Ode xx.

An Ode Upon King Charles's returne to the Queene from his  
Coronation in Scotland.

Rowse up thy selfe my gentle Muse  
Though now our greene conceits are gray  
And yet once more do not refuse  
To take the Phrygian harpe and play  
    In honour of this chearfull day 5

Make first a song of joy and love  
With chastly flames in Royall eyes  
Then tune it to the spheares above  
When the benignest stars do rise  
    And sweet conjunctions grace the skies. 10

To this lett all good hearts resound  
While Diadems invest his head  
Long may he live whose life dost bound  
More then his lawes, and better leade  
    By high example then by dread 15

Long may he round aboute him see  
His Roses and his lillies blowne  
Long may his only Deare and Hee  
Joy in Idea's of their owne  
And Kingdomes hopes see timely sowne.

20

Chorus.

Long may they both contend to prove  
The best of crowns in such a love.

Sr Henry Wotton

NOTES (see commentary page 638)

Title] the coronation took place in Edinburgh on 18 June 1633.

Marginal note: 'Impressa'.

4 Phrygian harpe] the Phrygians' music was of a solemn and grave nature and the festivals of Cybele, the chief diety, were observed with solemnity.

Sr H. W. (On The Duke Of Somer.) On the suddaine restraint of a  
Favorite.

Thus dazeled with height of place  
While our hopes our witts beguile  
No man heeds the narrow space  
'Twixt a prison and a smile.

Then since fortunes children fade 5  
You that in her Arms do sleepe  
Learne to swim and not to wade  
For the hearts of Kings are deepe.

Or if Greatnes be so blind  
As to trust in towres of aire 10  
Let it bee with goodnesse line'd  
That at least the fall bee faire.

Then though broken he may say  
When freinds sinke and Princes frowne  
Vertue is the hardest way 15  
Yett at night a bed of downe.

Sr H[enry] W[otton].

NOTES (see commentary page 638)

Title] Robert Carr (d 1645), the Earl of Somerset, though the

poet erroneously gives him the title 'Duke'. Previously a favourite of James I, he was stripped of his power and position after he became implicated in the scandal surrounding Sir Thomas Overbury's murder. He was arrested and imprisoned on 18 October 1615 (DNB). Marginal note: 'Impressa'.

'Songs of shepherds'.

Song of shepherds and rustical roundelayes  
Formed of fancies and whistled on reeds  
Sung to solace the nymphs upon holydayes  
Are to unworthy for wonderfull deedes.

Phoebus ingenious	In verse better coyned	5
And witty Silenus	And voice more refined	
The Lofty Genius	How states divined	
May seem to declare	Hunted the hare.	

Stars inamour'd with pastime Olympicall  
Stars and Planetts that beautyfull shone 10  
Would no longer that earthly men only shall  
Swim in their pleasures and they but look on.

Round about horned	Each God and Goddesses	
Lucina they swarmed	To take human bodies	
And her informed	Like Lords and Ladies	15
How minded they were	To follow the hare.	

Chast Diana applauded the motion  
And pale Proserpina sate in her place  
To lighten the welken and govern the Ocean  
While she conducted her Nephews in chace. 20

Who by her example	Neptune the water	
Their Father to trample	The wine Liber Pater	
The old and the ample	And Mars that slaughter	
Earth, leaved the Ayre	To follow the hare.	

Light God Cupid was hors't upon Pegasus	25
Borrow'd of Muses with kisses and prayers.	
Stout Alcides upon cloudy Caucasus	
Mounts a Centaure which proudly him beares	

Postillion of the skie	Yellow Apollo	
Light heeled Mercury	The Kenett to follow	30
Maketh his Courser flye	With whoop and Hollow	
Fleete as the Aire	After the hare.	

Hymen ushers the Ladyes, Astrea	
The just takes hand with Minerva the bold	
Ceres the brown with the bright Cytherea	35
With Thetis the Wanton Bellona the old.	

Shamfact Aurora	Juno was stated	
With subtle Pandora	Too high to bee mated	
And Maia with Flora	But O she hated	
Did company beare	Not hunting the hare.	40

Drown'd Narcissus from his Metamorphosis

Rowsed with Eccho new manhood did take

Snoring Samnus up started in Cimeris

Who for this thousand years was not awake.

To see clubfooted	Proud Faunus powted	45
Old Mulciber booted	Lowd Aolus showted	
And Pan Promooted	And Momus flowted	
To Chirons Mare	Yet follow the hare.	

Deepe Melampus with cunning Jenobates

Nape and Tiger and Harper the skies 50

Rend with roaring whilst hunterlike Hercules

Winded his plentifull horne to their cries.

Till with varietyes	Wee shepheards were seated	
Having solac'd their pietyes	While that wee repeated	
The weary Deities	What wee conceited	55
Repos'd them where	Of hunting the hare.	

Young Amintas suppos'd the Gods came to breath

After some battle, themselves on the ground

Thirsis thought the stars came to dwell here beneath

And that hereafter the earth shold go round 60



And now that romp of Jove  
Round as his sphere shall move  
A health to all that love hunting the hare.

NOTES (see commentary page 638)

- 5 Phoebus] god of the sun.
- 6 Silenus] a satyr, tutor to Dionysius.
- 8 Hunted the hare] this has a bawdy connotation and is the point of the song.
- 14 Lucina] goddess of the moon, associated with childbirth, hence 'horned'.
- 17 Diana] the moon-goddess and patroness of chastity.
- 18 Proserpina] Ceres' daughter, the goddess beloved and abducted by Pluto.
- 19 Welken] the celestial region of heaven; in mythology the home of the gods (OED 2b).
- 20 Nephews] here used in the sense of 'descendants' (OED 4).
- 21 Neptune] god of the sea.
- 22 Liber Pater] the Italic god of fertility and wine, commonly identified with Dionysius.
- 24 Mars] the Roman war-god called upon to guard his worshippers from their enemies; in mythology he is equated with the Greek god Ares.
- 25 Pegasus] the winged horse who carried Jove's thunderbolt.
- 27 Alcides] another name for Hercules, from his grandfather Alcaenus.
- Caucasus] mountain chain north of Armenia, regarded by the

Greeks as one of the limits of the earth.

28 Centaure] a wild beast-like monster whose upper-body was in human shape and the lower part that of a horse.

29 yellow Apollo] in Renaissance art Apollo, god of the sun, was generally depicted with long blond hair.

30 light heeled Mercury] as the messenger of the gods he was often depicted wearing winged sandals.

Kenett] Kennet, a small hunting dog (OED).

33 Hymen] the god of marriage.

Astrea] Astraea, goddess of justice; she was represented as a virgin, with a stern but majestic countenance, holding a pair of scales in one hand and a sword in the other. After the golden age the wickedness of man caused her to return to heaven, and she was placed among the constellations of the zodiac under the name of Virgo.

34 Minerva] the goddess traditionally associated with war.

35 Ceres] the corn-goddess.

Cytherea] an epithet of Aphrodite, so called after her birth-place at Cytherea.

36 Thetis] the wife of Peleus and mother of Achilles; she had several children, but in attempting to find out whether they were immortal, destroyed them all by fire. Achilles was saved from the same fate by his father. The epithet 'wanton' may be used here in the sense of 'reckless of justice and humanity' and 'merciless' (OED 5a). Alternatively, the more general meaning 'sportive' and 'unrestrained' (OED 3c) may be intended.

- Bellona] the Roman war-goddess of early origin, hence 'old'.
- 37 Aurora] goddess of the dawn.
- Juno] the wife and sister of Jove.
- 38 Pandora] the legendary woman responsible for releasing all the  
spites that plague mankind by opening the jar in which they  
were kept.
- 39 Maia] the daughter of Atlas, and mother of Mercury by Jove.
- Flora] the Italic goddess of flowering plants.
- 41 Narcissus] the beautiful youth who fell in love with his own  
reflection; 'Metamorphosis' may refer to his transformation  
into the flower of that name, or more specifically to Ovid's  
account of the story in Metamorphoses (iii, 370-492).
- 42 Eccho] a nymph in love with Narcissus; though he rejected her  
love, she mourned his death.
- 43 Sannus] Somnus, Roman personification of sleep.
- Cimeris] in Homer, the home of the Cimmerians, a mythical  
nation living on the edge of the earth in darkness and mist.
- 45 Faunus] a god of herdsmen, anciently identified with Pan.
- 46 Mulciber] a surname of Vulcan, who was crippled.
- Aolus] Aeolus, god of winds.
- 47 Pan] the patron of hunters and shepherds; he is represented  
seated in the centre of the zodiac playing on his pipes.
- Momus] Momos, a literary rather than a mythical figure, and  
personified fault-finding; he was used by Lucian as the  
mouthpiece to make fun of his fellow gods.
- 48] in Greek mythology Chiron was represented in the figure of a  
man above the waist, and below the waist a horse. He was

renowned as a beneficent and a wise centaur, and after his death Zeus lifted him to the heavens and transformed him into the constellation known as Sagittarius.

49 Melampus] mythical Greek soothsayer, hence 'deepe'; he was able to understand the sounds of animals, and used their voices for divination.

50] 'Nape', 'Tiger', 'Harper' and 'Jenobates' (previous line) may be the names of animals that assisted Melampus.

51 Hercules] the hero famed for his strength and powers of hunting. In classical art he was often depicted with a club and bow.

57 Amintas] Amyntas, a standard pastoral name.

59 Thirsis] Thyrsis, a common name in pastoral poetry and sometimes used for shepherd singers.

61-2] Corydon and Phillis are the traditional names of a shepherd and his beloved.

73 Olympical Rector] Jove.

74 Eagle] in Greek mythology the eagle typified Zeus as thunderer, who was generally represented sitting on a golden throne with a thunderbolt in one hand, a sceptre of cypress in the other, and an eagle, standing with expanded wings, at his feet. The eagle was also a Trojan emblem, hence 'Troyborn'.

76 Hermes] the Greek name for Mercury.

A Meditation.

Oh thou Great Power in whom we move

By whom wee live, to whom wee dye,

Behold me through thy beames of love

Whilst on this Couch of teares I lye.

And cleanse my sordid soule within

5

By thy Christs blood the bath of sin.

No hallowed oyles no graines I neede

No new borne drams of purging fire

One rosey drop from Davids seede

Was worlds of seas to quench thine ire

10

O precious ransome which once payd

That consummatum est was sayd.

And sayd by him that sayd no more

But seal'd it with his sacred breath

Thou then that hast dispung'd our score

15

And dyeing wert the death of Death

Be now whilst on thy name wee call

Our life, our strength, our joy, our all.

Sr Henry Wotton.

NOTES (see commentary page 639)

9 Davids seede] in the New Testament the Messiah was assumed to

be of Davidic descent, and it is as the 'Son of David' that Jesus is welcomed to Jerusalem before his passion (cf. Matthew 21: 9). The idea of David as a type of Christ is a commonplace in the Fathers.

12 consummatum est] the last words of Jesus on the cross (cf. John 19: 30).

On the Duke of Buckingham sicke of a feaver

Untimely feaver, rude insulting guest

How durst thou in such inharmonious heate

Dare to distune his well composed rest

Who hart so just so noble stroaks did beate

What though his youth and spiritt well may beare

5

A more deepe seige and strong assault then this

We measure not his courage but our feare

Not what ourselves but what the times may misse

Had not the blood which thrice his veins did yeild

Beene better treasur'd for some better day

10

At farthest west to paint the liquid field

And with new worlds his mistris love to pay?

But tell those thoughts sweet Lord repose awhile

Tend only now thy vigour to regaine

And pardon these poore rimes that would beguile

15

With mine owne greife some portion of thy paine.

Sir Henry Wotton.

NOTES (see commentary page 639)

Title] George Villiers (d 1628) Duke of Buckingham; the date and nature of the duke's 'feaver' is not known. Marginal note: 'Impressa'.

The Faerey King.

When the monthly horned Queene  
Grew jealous that the starrs had seene  
Her rising from Endymions armes  
In rage she threw her misty charmes  
Into the bosome of the night 5  
To dimme their curious pryeing sight  
Then did the dwarfish Faery Elves  
Having first attyr'd themselves  
Prepare to dresse their Oberon King  
In light robes fitt for revelling 10  
With a Cobweb shirt more thinne  
Then ever spider since could spinne  
Bleachd by the whitenes of the snow  
As the stormy winds doe blow  
It in the vast and freezing ayre 15  
No shirt halfe so white so Faire.  
A rich wastcoate they did bring  
Made of Trowt flyes gilded wing  
At that his Elveship 'gan frett  
Swearing it would make him sweate 20  
With its weight and needs wold weare  
His wast coate wrought of downey hayre  
First shaven from an Eunuchs chinne.  
That pleas'd him well, twas wondrous thinne  
The outside of his doublett was 25

Made of shaved 3 leav'd grasse  
 On which was sett so fine a glosse  
 By the oyle of crispy mosse  
 That through a mist and starry light  
 It made a Rainbow for the night 30  
 On every seame there was a lace  
 Drawn by the unctuous snayle's slow pace  
 To it the purest silver thred  
 Compar'd did look like dull pale ledd.  
 Each button was a sparkling eye 35  
 Ta'ne from the speckled adders Frye.  
 And for coolenes next the skin  
 Twas with white poppey lin'de within  
 His breeches of the fleece was wrought  
 Which from colchos Jason brought 40  
 Spun into so fine a yarne  
 That mortalls might it not discern.  
 Wov'n by Arachne on her loome  
 Just before she had her doome  
 Dyde crimson by a Maydens blush 45  
 And lined with Dandaleon plush.  
 A rich mantle he did weare  
 Made of the tinsell Gosamere  
 Besmeared over with a few  
 Diamond drops of morning dew. 50  
 His cappe was made of Ladyes love  
 So passing light as it would move

If any humming knatt or flye  
 But buzze the ayre in passing by  
 About it was a wreath of pearle 55  
 Dropt from the eye of some poore Girle  
 Pincht because she had forgott  
 To leave faire water in the potte.  
 And for's feather he did weare  
 Old Nisus fatall purple haire 60  
 The sword they girded to his thigh  
 Was smallest blade of finest Rye:  
 A payre of buskins they did bringe  
 Of the Cowladyes Corral winge  
 Powdred ore with spotts of Jett 65  
 And lin'd with purple violett:  
 His belt was made of mirtle leaves  
 Pleyted in small curious threavs,  
 Besett with amber cowslips studs  
 And fring'd about with daysey buds 70  
 In which his bugle horne was hunge  
 Made of the bathing Ecchoes tongue  
 Which sett unto his Moon-burnt lips  
 He winds and then his Faeryes skipps:  
 At that the lazy drone 'gan sound 75  
 And each did trip a Fayrey round.

Sr S[imeon] St[eward].

NOTES (see commentary page 639)

3] in mythology Endymion was a beautiful young man beloved by the moon.

13-16] a marginal addition.

26] in all other variants the line reads 'Made of the four-leaved true-love grasse'.

33-4] a marginal addition.

36 Frye] offspring (OED 1).

In all other variants line 36 is followed by two additional lines:

Which in a gloomy night, and dark,  
Twinkled like a fiery spark.

39-40] Colchis, the legendary home of Medea, was the destination of Jason's expedition for the Golden Fleece.

41-2] marginal addition.

43-4] after challenging Athena to a weaving competition, Arachne hanged herself when the goddess destroyed her web; she was subsequently changed into a spider.

45-6] a marginal addition.

51 Ladys love] probably a variation of 'lady's glove', the foxglove.

58] it appears that the scribe originally believed this to be the concluding line as it is followed by the ascription 'Sir Simeon Steward'; the remainder of the poem is continued immediately below.

60] Nisus, the legendary king of Megara, was betrayed by his daughter when she presented his enemy, Minos, king of Crete,

with a lock of his purple hair.

63 buskins] boots.

64 Cowladyes] possibly another name for cowslips.

68 threavs] bundles, small sheaves (OED 3).

72 bathing Ecchoes tongue] Echo, deprived of the powers of normal speech, could only express herself by repeating the last words uttered by another. When Narcissus rejected her love she pined away and only the sound of her voice remained. The word 'bathing' is probably mistranscribed because in all other MSS variants the line reads 'babbling Ecchoes tongue' and is thus more consistent with the story that Hera deprived Echo of normal speech because of her distracting chatter.

To Ben: Johnson. On Gills Rayling.

It cannot move thy freind Firme Ben, that hee  
Whom the Star-chamber censur'd, rimes at thee  
I gratulate the method of thy fate  
Which join'd thee next in malice to the state:  
Thus Nero after Parricidall guilt 5  
Brooks few delays till Lucans blood he spilt  
Nor could his mischeife find a second crime  
Unles he slew the Poett of the time  
But thanks to Helicon here are no blows  
The drone no more of sting than honey showes 10  
His verses shall be counted censures, when  
Cast malefactors are made Jurymen.  
Meanwhile rejoyce that so disgract a quill  
Tempted to wound that worth, Time cannot kill  
And thou who darst blast his fully blown 15  
Lye buried in the ruines of thine owne.  
Vex not his ashes, open not the Deepe:  
The Ghost of thy slaine name had rather sleepe.

[Zouch] Townly.

NOTES (see commentary page 640)

Title] written in response to some abusive verses (entitled 'Upon  
Ben Jonsons Magnettick Ladye Parturient Montes Nascetur  
(ridiculus Mus)' written by Alexander Gill (the younger) on

Ben Jonson's play Magnetick Ladye (see Herford and Simpson, vol.xi, p.348). In 1628 Gill appeared before the Star-Chamber, and owed the remission of his punishment to his father's successful appeal to Laud. The expression 'Gills Rayling' may equally apply to Gill's attack on Jonson's verse, or to the pronouncement made by the Star-Chamber on Gill's behaviour.

2] sharing the popular view that Felton, though a murderer, had in fact done his country a service when he assassinated Buckingham, Gill was foolish enough to voice his approbation while visiting friends at Trinity College Oxford. In a letter dated 15 November 1628 addressed to Sir Martin Stuteville, Mead reported on what had occurred. He wrote 'On Friday sennight was censured in the Star Chamber Alexander Gill B.D. at Oxford, and usher in Paul's school...for saying in Trinity College that our king was fitter to stand in a Cheapside shop, with an apron before him, and say, "what lack yee!" than to governe a kingedom. 2.That the duke was gone down to hell to meet K. James there. 3.For drinking a health to Felton, saying, he was sorry Felton had deprived him of the honour of doing that brave action. His censure was, to be degraded both from his ministrie and degrees taken in the university, to loose one ear at London, and the other at Oxford and be fined £2000'. At the hearing the 'words concerning his majestie were not read in open court but only those concerning the Duke and Felton' (see Mead's letter, MS Harl. 390, f.455). Mead's observations give additional

insight as to the impropriety of such casual criticisms voiced about the king and his favourites, and the delicacy with which such observations were treated. He was fully aware of the risk involved in repeating the comments, and requested the recipient of the letter to 'strike out' the relevant words before the letter was seen by others. Fortunately for Gill, his father's intervention and influence resulted in him obtaining a 'mitigation of the first and a full remission of the latter, upon old Mr. Gill the Fathers petition to his Majestie' (Mead's letter dated 22 November 1628, MS Harl.390, fol.457v).

5] Nero was responsible for his mother, Agrippina's, death in A.D.59. She was murdered at Baiae by a freedman, acting on Nero's instructions.

6-8] Lucan, the Roman poet (A.D.39-65), became a member of Nero's inner circle of personal friends and had the offices of quaestor and augur conferred on him. Enmity between them caused Nero to ban Lucan from exercising his literary talent in public. He joined the conspiracy of Piso, the discovery of which resulted in Lucan being compelled to commit suicide. He died on 30 April A.D.65.

12 Malefactors] puns on the meanings of 'those guilty of an offence against the law' (OED 1), and 'those who do ill towards others' (OED 2), thereby reinforcing the central conceit of the poem which parallels Gill's verbal comments about the king and Buckingham, with those written about Jonson.

On a Catt which gnawed Lutestrings.

Are these the strings that Poetts faine  
Have cleer'd the aire, and calm'd the maine,  
Charm'd wolves and from the mountains crests  
Made forrests dance with all their beasts?  
Could those neglected threads wee see 5  
Inspire a lute of Ivorie  
And bid it speake? O think then what  
Hath been committed by that Catt  
That in the silence of the night  
Hath gnawd these cords and marr'd them quite? 10  
Sparing such reliques as might bee  
For Fretts, not for my Lute, but mee?  
    Pusse I will curse thee, mayst thou dwell  
With some drye Hermitt in a Cell  
Where ratt nere peepd, where Mouse nere fed 15  
And flyes go supperles to bedde  
Or with some close-par'd Brother, where  
Thou'ld fast each sabbath in the yeare  
Or else profane be hang'd on Munday  
For butchering a Mouse on Sunday. 20  
Or mayst thou tumble from some tower  
And misse to light upon all foure  
Taking a fall that may untie  
Eight of thy lives and lett them flye  
Or may the midnight embers sindge 25

Thy dainty coate, or Joane beswinge  
 Thy hide when she shall find thee biting  
 Her cheese clowts or her house be-  
 What was there nere a ratt or mouse  
 Nor buttry open? nought ith' house 30  
 But harmeles lutestrings could suffice  
 Thy paunch and draw thy glaring eyes?  
 Did not thy consciuous stomaghe find  
 Nature prophan'd, that kind with kind  
 Shold staunch its hunger? thinke on that 35  
 Thou Canniball and Cycloppe cate,  
 For know thou wretch that every string  
 Is a catts gutt which art doth spin  
 Into a thread; and now suppose  
 Dunstan that snufft the Devills nose 40  
 Shold bid these gutts revive, as once  
 He raysd the Calfe from naked bones;  
 Or I to plague thee for thy sin  
 Shold draw a Circle and begin  
 To conjure (for I am, look to't 45  
 An Oxford scholler and can do't,)

Then with three setts of mopps and mawes  
 Seven of old names with motley showes  
 A thousand tricks which might be taken  
 From Faustus, Lambe, or Fryar Bacon, 50  
 I shold begin to call my strings  
 My Catlins and my Mini kins

And they (recatted) streight should fall  
 To mowe, to purre, to catterwall  
 From pusses belly, sure as death 55  
 Pusse shold be an Engastromyth.  
 Pusse shold be sought to far and neere  
 As she some cunning woman were  
 Pusse shold be given to the King  
 Like to some wonder or rare thinge. 60  
 Pusse shold be carride up and downe  
 From shire to shire, from town to towne,  
 Like to the cammell leane as Hagge  
 The Elephant or Apish Nagge  
 For a strange sight; pusse shold be sunge 65  
 In lowsey ballads 'midst the throng  
 At marketts, with as greate a grace  
 As Agincourt, or Chevie-chace,  
 The Troy-sprung Britton shold forgoe  
 His pedegree he chaunteth soe 70  
 And sing that Merline long deceast  
 Reviv'd is in a longe liv'd beast  
 Thus Pusse, thou seest what might betide thee  
 But I do spare to hurt or chide thee.  
 For 't may bee Pusse was Melancholly 75  
 And for to make her blith and jolly  
 Finding those strings shee'd have a fitt  
 Of mirth: well Pusse if that were it  
 Thus I revenge me, that as thou, 80

On them, so I've playd on thee now,  
And as thy touch was nothing fine  
So I've but scratcht these notes of mine.

NOTES (see commentary page 641)

Title] marginal note: 'Impressa in Dr Smith and Sir John Mince's Drollery'. James Smith (1605-67) and John Mennes (1599-1671) were the compilers of numerous contemporary verse miscellanies, including Musarum Deliciae, in which this poem is printed.

12 Fretts] in a musical context 'fret' is a ring of gut on musical instruments like the lute (OED sb 3); it also puns on the meanings 'to eat, devour' (OED 1a), and 'agitation of mind, vexation' (OED 3).

14 drye] here used in the sense of 'plain' 'bare' (OED 16).

19-20] an allusion to the practices believed by some to have been carried out by extreme sabbatarians; cf. a poem included in a work by Richard Brathwait under the pseudonym 'Corymboem' entitled Barnabae Itinerarium, (1636) sig B 4:

In my progresse travelling Northward,  
Taking my farewell oth' Southward,  
To Banbery came I, O prophane one!  
Where I saw a Puritane-one,  
Hanging of his Cat on Monday,  
For killing of a Mouse on Sunday.

35 staunch] to satisfy (OED 3).

36 Cycloppe catte] a parallel is drawn with Polyphemus because after imprisoning Odysseus and his men, he proceeded to eat two of them morning and evening.

40 Dunstan] St Dunstan, the theologian. As a young man he was banished from the court of king Athelston because of allegations made against him of studying and practicing incantations (see DNB; Butler's Lives of the Saints (1956), vol.11, p.349). The association between scholastic learning and seemingly magical processes often resulted in clerics being portrayed as sourcerers (see Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (1971), p.78). Dunstan gained a reputation for occult powers while young and had to purge himself of an accusation of black magic by the water ordeal (see K.M. Briggs, Dictionary of British Folk-Tales (1970), part B, vol.2, p.439). Dunstan is traditionally associated with painting, music and metal work. Artists sometimes depicted him holding the devil by the nose with a pair of tongs, a tradition based on the popular legend that while working at his forge, the devil appeared and tried to tempt him. Dunstan responded by seizing the devil's nose with a pair of hot pincers.

42] probably an allusion to a contemporary story based on St Dunstan's legendary magical powers.

44 Circle] a figure of magic or necromancy (OED 3).

45-6] there is a long tradition of scholarly association with the magical arts which, in consequence, gained a certain intellectual respectability. At the universities Jacobean

students pursued an interest in the natural variety of magic, and in the conjuration of spirits, and it was remarked that the recreation of Oxford students of Optics was of a kind which former generations would have regarded as magical. To the less informed, learning was generally believed to equip the scholar with an ability to comprehend and respond to 'unnatural' occurrences. In Hamlet, when the ghost appears before the soldiers, Marcellus appeals to Horatio for help saying 'Thou art a scholar. Speak to it, Horatio.' (1.i.42). The sentiment was reiterated by William Vaughan who wrote in 1600 that ' Now-a-days among the common people, he is not adjudged any scholar at all, unlesse hee can tell men's Horoscopes, cast out divels, or hath some skill in southaying' (The Golden Grove (1660), Sig.Y8v. STC 24610).

47-48] the poet is alluding to the various methods of conjuring.

Three was the magician's sacred number; it represented good luck and signified completeness and perfection. In certain instances some charms took the form of Christian prayers and were repeated three times, as there was a strong belief in the power and efficacy of recitation and repetition in a ritual manner, a view which stemmed from the Christian mass (Thomas, op.cit. pp.36, 38-9, 46).

mopps and mawes] a variant spelling of the phrase 'mops and mows' (see OED 'mops' (sb 3) and 'mows' (sb 2i)), and used here in the sense of 'movements of the lips' (mop vi).

seven] represented good luck and was believed powerful for good or evil; occultists called it 'the mystic'.

old names] sometimes Hebrew names for the divinity were used in incantations.

motley shows] diverse apparitions or phantasmal appearances (see OED 'motley' (2) and 'shows' (11)).

50 Faustus] in literature Faustus is depicted as a student of the black arts who made a compact with the devil, a tradition precipitated by the legend surrounding Dr Johann Faust, a sixteenth-century German charlatan, which was in circulation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Lambe] considered equally disreputable by some of his contemporaries, John Lambe was believed to have pursued a career of fortune telling and more sinister 'magical' services. On several occasions he was indicted and imprisoned but the leniency subsequently shown to him was believed to be due to the influence of the Duke of Buckingham in his favour. On Friday 23 June 1628 he was attacked by a mob in Finsbury and died the following day from the injuries. Buckingham was believed to have benefited from Lambe's expertise and the two names became linked, which gave rise to the rhyme 'Let Charles and George do what they can,/ The duke shall die like Dr Lambe' after Lamb's death. Similarly, after the duke's assassination the rhyme 'The shepherd's struck, the sheepe are fledd,/ For want of Lambe the Wolfe is dead' was coined.

Fryer Bacon] Roger Bacon (1214?-1294), probably a student at Oxford, he also studied at Paris and became a member of the Franciscan order. He was portrayed as a famous necromancer in The Famous Historie of Fryar Bacon, and Greene's play Frier

Bacon and Frier Bungay (1587).

56 Engastromyth] one who appears to speak in the belly, a ventriloquist (OED).

66-70] popular ballads, often printed as broadsides, were a familiar form of public entertainment. They were usually sung by itinerant ballad-singers and celebrated, or scurrilously attacked, well known and legendary figures or institutions. The poet is echoing a contemporary view of this method of entertainment. Ballads and ballad-singers provided writers, particularly dramatists, with a suitable topic for social satire because they appealed to the lower and country classes. As the heroic adventures of distant characters provided the ideal topics for such ballads, the people enjoyed a vicarious glory from the successes of those they believed to be their ancestors. The 'Troy-Sprung Britton' is Brut, the great-grandson of Aeneas and legendary founder of Britain. 'Chevy-chase' also gained considerable notoriety through this form of writing and recitation. Recorded by Thomas Fuller as a battle fought in 1524, 'chevy-chase' is more usually used as the generic name for the various Border skirmishes of this period between the Percys of Northumberland and the Douglass of Scotland. Fuller wrote 'these Borders have been embroyled in several battles against the Scotch, witness the battle of Chevy-chase, where Sir Philip Sidney is pleased to make mention' (The Worthies of England, p.306). For a detailed account of the many references to 'Chevy-chase' (see Douglas Hamer, 'References

to "Chevy Chase", NQ, clxiv (1933), 308-13, 327-32, 381-85,  
398-401).

66 lowsey] inferior (OED 2).

On the Death of Sr Albertus Morton.

Silence in truth will speak my sorrows best  
For deepest wounds can least their feelings tell,  
Yet lett me borrow from mine owne unrest  
But time to bid him whom I love Farewell.

O my unhappy lines! you that before 5  
Have serv'd my youth to vent some wanton cryes  
And now congeal'd with greife can scarce implore  
Strength to accent, Here my Albertus lyes.

This is the sable stone, and this the cave  
And wombe of earth that did his Corps embrace 10  
While others sing his praise, lett me engrave  
These bleeding numbers to adorne the place

Here will I paint the characters of woe  
Here will I pay my tribute to the deade  
And here my Faithfull teares in showrs shall flow 15  
To humanize the flints whereon I treade.

Where though I mourne my matchles loss alone  
And none between my weaknes judg and mee  
Yett even these gentle walls alone me moane  
Whose dolefull Ecchoes to my plaints agree. 20

But is he gone? And live I riming here  
As if some Muse would listen to my Lay,  
While all distun'd sitt wailing for their Deare  
And bath the banks where they were wont to play.

Dwell then in endlesse light thou soule  
Discharg'd from Natures, and from Fortunes trust  
While on this fluent globe our glasses roule  
And run the rest of our remaininge dust.

25

Sr Henry Wotton.

NOTES (see commentary page 641)

Title] Sir Albert Morton, Wotton's nephew, died in November 1625 and was buried at Southampton (DNB). Wotton's sorrow is expressed in a letter to Nicholas Pey, in which he wrote 'I received notice of Sir Albertus Morton his departure out of this World, who was dearer to me, than mine own being in it; what a wound it is to my heart, you that knew him, and knew me, will easily believe' (Isaac Walton, The Life of Sir Henry Wotton, 1670 (facsimile edition, 1969) p.56).

21 riming] i.e. rhyming.

To Tho: Carew.

No Lute, nor lover durst contend with Thee  
Hadst added to thy Love but charity.

C[lement] P[aman].

NOTES

Title] Thomas Carew (1598?-1639?), poet.

An Epitaph on my Lady Loftus.

Reader, Perhaps thy sight has met  
Some guilty Marbles which have sweat,  
Lookt pale to see their falshood lye  
Judg'd and arraign'd by every eye:  
This is all Truth; If thou be such, 5  
Turne this Marble into Touch,  
Here Try and pose thyselfe by this,  
And make the stone thy Catechise.

First art thou great in mind and blood,  
And hast improv'd both stocks by Good? 10  
Hast chang'd thy Mettall, Pearle, and showne  
A scutcheon charged of thine owne?  
(Fathers Atcheivement can but bee  
Imputative Nobility.)

Art thou so wise thou hast the wit 15  
To show it more by hiding it?  
Hast studyed Virtues whole Demeane  
Canst thou both suffer and Abstaine?  
Art grown so perfect, to bee sed  
Good enough to bee envyed! 20  
Hast thou a face so fairely blist  
Death dares not looke on't but Eclipst?  
Hast thou All Beauty, yet canst dye,  
And freely leave what others buy?

Art Virtuous to spare? Canst lend

25

False Tombes the Truth they but pretend?

If yet thou art not such, but wouldst; Go home,

And by this, Practice so Deserve a Tombe.

C[lement] Paman.

#### NOTES

Title] probably Eleanor, wife of Robert, eldest son of the first Viscount Loftus of Ely, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who died in the summer of 1638. She was a friend, and relative by marriage, of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, who commented after her death that she was 'one of the noblest persons I ever had the happiness to be acquainted with' (The Letters and Dispatches of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford (London, 1739), ii, 381). In 1637 a petition was made to the king on Lady Loftus' behalf for a settlement of property and money that was allegedly promised to her by her father-in-law. The matter was referred to Wentworth, who was then Lord-Deputy of Ireland. He decided against the Viscount who, as a result, was imprisoned and had his land sequestered (DNB). Wentworth's treatment of Loftus over this matter formed part of the eighth article of his impeachment.

6 Touch] here in the sense of that which serves to test or try the genuineness or value of something (OED 2b).

8 Catechise] to examine by question and answer.

Vernura and Celeman

Ver. Nay Prithee now be Civill; Hold thy Hands  
Or give them mee, I'le in such bands  
Hold them, th' art sworne, they'ld rather bee  
So fetterd, then at liberty.

Cel. Lord! Canst thou thinke this time of night 5  
Was made for Civill uses? Light  
And day have nothings else to doe,  
Let them be grave and chast: Wee know  
Blind darknesse is so neere of Kind  
To love, that love itselife is blind. 10  
They'le favour one another, and  
Darknes will hide what love commands.  
See! Heaven's in bed too, and complies  
There's not a starre up but thy Eyes.  
What fear'st thou then, when Heaven before 15  
Putts out the lights and holds the dore?

Ver. Oh peace! Another word like that  
Would planet-strike the stars, and blast  
Those chaster fires, which leave us soe  
As we would fooles or madmen doe, 20  
To rave unto themselves: or They  
Like little tell-tales for the day.  
Are run to tell the Absent sunne  
What tricks men play when Hee is gone.

Cel. Why lett them tell, and tell't from mee 25

The trick's almost as old as Hee.  
 Tell him his Incests will not spare  
 His very Daughters, but he dares  
 Deflowre whole springs, from the Court rose  
 To th' Hedg-row daisy, which disclose 30  
 Theire naked leaves to him, and lay  
 Their wombes as open as his Play,  
 And 'fayth who would not doe soe too  
 If they were sure the sunne wold woe?  
 Ver. Not, Daphne; though inrag'd he stare 35  
 His eye out, or shold teare his haire:  
 His vowes, and oathes could make her bow  
 No more then thunder stirs her now.  
 Cel. What talkst thou of a bashfull girle,  
 That would have blusht to handle pearle 40  
 For the odde namesake only, When  
 Now she would (might she live agen)  
 Herselfe under her Tree display  
 And crowne his labour with her bayes.  
 Then sweet now lett me goe. Ver. Why doe, 45  
 Away, Cel. I meant not that. Ver. yett goe;  
 I feele my blood revolt, and turne  
 Quite to thy faction I burne,  
 Feele, if our hands thus intersett  
 Boyle not in one anothers sweatt. 50  
 Cel. Now thou breath'st balme. Ver. Nay stay, no hast,  
 For when this night and deede is past

Will not Thy love be past and done  
When that for which thou lovest me's gone,  
I'm sure, when I see thee next, thou 55  
Wilt looke more black, then night is now,  
At sight of thee my blood will stirre  
Like corse before the Murtherer.

But if one minute must deface  
A love built with such Care and space 60  
Here take mee aside unto some Tree  
Or bush, or ditch, There rifle mee,  
Theeves use to doe soe yet first heare  
By these now=virgin hands I sweare,  
I'le hate Thee and my selfe more then 65  
God, men, or women, hate the sinne.

Why staist? Alas what is't to Thee  
To loose soe poore a thing as mee?  
Thou mayst when I am gone. Cel. Oh hold  
Vernura, I am chast and cold, 70  
As feare hath made thy lippe: for know  
Not for a whole Seraglio  
Of Pagan pleasure, wold I part,  
Though but a minute, from thy Heart.

Thy Holy heart, which here to fore 75  
I lov'd profanely, now adore.

Ver. Why now thy convert pulse beats right;  
I feele thy blood a Proselyte  
Here! take thy hands agen, which now

May freely, any whither goe 80  
 Without a keeper, for I've heard  
 Man is his owne severest guard!  
 Nor none soe seldome Erre as they  
 Who may but will not goe astray.  
 Cel. Yes those thou guidest Erre lesse. Ver. well then 85  
 I hope the stars may shine agen  
 And see our sports; Cel. Oh lett them shoote  
 Out all their beames, and the Moones to boote,  
 To gaze at us: Nay lett the Sunne  
 Now tell what thou and I have done. 90

Cl[ement] P[aman].

NOTES

Title] the names appear to be a coinage of Paman's.

10] in Greek mythology Eros, the god of love, was depicted as a beautiful youth, but with time degenerated into a cruel boy armed with arrows. Later additions to the myth represented him with covered eyes, hence 'blind'.

23-24] in mythology Helios, the sun-god, was often appealed to as a witness because he was believed to see and hear everything.

27-28] in revenge for informing on her love for Mars, Venus wounded the sun-god with passion for one person. The subject of his passion was Leucothoe, and in order to seduce her he disguised himself as her mother, Eurynome. When they were alone he declared his identity and Leucothoe, overcome by his

magnificance, succumbed to his embraces. In mythology Apollo is closely associated with the sun-god, and here the poet conflates this story with that of Apollo and Daphne.

35 Daphne] daughter of a river goddess and pursued by Apollo.

39 bashfull girle] Daphne deplored the idea of marriage and gained her father's agreement to maintain her maiden state.

40 pearle] symbolized innocence, virginity.

43 her Tree] the laurel; to escape Apollo's advances, Daphne appealed for divine intervention and, as a result, was transformed into the tree bearing her name.

44] in Antiquity ivy and bay were the leaves used to crown a poet's labour, and signified his triumph and immortality. Bay, in particular, was the exalted triumphal garland because of its association with Apollo, who was depicted wearing a wreath of laurel leaves (see J. B. Trapp, 'The Owl's Ivy and the Poet's Bays', JWCI, 21 (1958), 227-55).

47-51] sweaty palms were suggestive of lustfulness, and Paman conflates this commonplace with the use of 'balm' as a euphemism for 'sweat'. His model was possibly Donne's 'The Extasie' (lines 5-6):

Our hands were firmly cimented

With a fast balme, which thence did spring,

though it is more than likely that he would have been familiar with Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis:

With this she seizeth on his sweating palm,

The precedent of pith and livelihood,

And, trembling in her passion, calls it balm,

Earth's sovereign salve to do a goddess good.

(25-8)

For comment on Donne's use of 'balm' see K. Gustav Cross, "Balm" in Donne and Shakespeare: Ironic Intention in "The Extasie", MLN, 71 (1956), 480-2).

48 faction] behaviour, course of conduct (OED 1a).

58] alludes to the contemporary theory, propounded by Cornelius Gemma, that an image of the murderer remained in the victim's blood for three days, causing the corpse to bleed if the murderer was present (L. Thorndike, History of Magic and Experimental Sciences (1958), vol.viii, pp.283-4).

62 rifle] to despoil (OED 1c).

72 Seraglio] here in the sense of a harem (OED 1).

73 Pagan pleasure] sexual gratification.

78 Proselyte] a convert, one who has changed opinion or belief (OED 1).

Genethliacodia. To Mrs Wentworth.

The skie may save her needles throwes

She shall not Teeme for Thee.

Who'rt borne Thy star

And thine owne signe.

To which thy after-greatnesse owes

5

All that stars can prophesye.

Thou art bespoken Rare,

By thy great fathers deeds, who beares

Whole chronicles and stories in his loynes

And each of whose Embraces are designes.

10

Goe Comett shine some other where

Wee know thy Pageantry:

Thy gilded fumes,

Gay durt, are lyes.

Her Beauty's Cutt from its owne sphere

15

Thine's but smoakie Alchymie.

Thy flaring Curles and plume

As they increase and grow, consume,

Her Beauties, which her age must lengthen, lye

Kept for her in her mothers cheeke and Eye.

20

Seize then thy fathers spiritt All,

For if All goe too high

For a she hand

To manage it;

Thy Mother owens a Touch that shall

25

Sooth it tame as Lenity,

She shall allay it, And

Teach men kneeling to Command.

Thus wee shall see both Heights in thee unite

And show a Virtue that's Hermaphrodite.

30

C[lement] Paman.

#### NOTES

Title] though 'Mrs. Wentworth' cannot be identified with certainty, the birthday tribute ('genethliacodia') is possibly addressed to Elizabeth Rhodes, the third wife of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford. She would have been known to Paman as there is a family connection with the Rhodes family: her maternal grandmother was Mary Lewknor and her brother Godfrey Rhodes, both of whom are addressed in poems by Paman. Elizabeth married Wentworth (who was then Lord-Deputy of Ireland) in October 1632, and the poem may have been written during Paman's conjectured stay in Ireland between the years 1635 and 1638 (see Introduction, p.lxxxiii). If Paman did visit Ireland it is highly probable that he would have visited his Cambridge friend Godfrey Rhodes (who became treasurer at St Patrick's, Dublin, in 1638), and on occasion been in the company of his sister, Elizabeth.

1 throwes] birth-pangs, cf. 'teem' l.2.

11 Comett] a celestial body, and traditionally an ominous sign.

20 mother] possibly Anne Lewknor, Sir Godfrey's second wife and  
daughter of Sir Edward Lewknor.

MS RAWLINSON POETICAL 147: AN ANNOTATED VOLUME OF  
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CAMBRIDGE VERSE

Diana Julia Rose

Volume II



804201056

The Taverne. A Satyre.

Prithee, whence comst thou and that looke? Speake man

What! there are no wolves left, but men Why whan?

Oh happy Donne and Horace, you h'd but one  
Devill haunted you, but me a Legion.

For you; like condemn'd men, that wondring see 5

Yet scarce beleivd a pardon; pray lett mee

Admire my escape first; A scape as strange

As Tom strange's from his keepers. Yet nor Change

Nor love to change, or words or company

Brought mee to this, But one, who shold hee bee 10

Putt to't, could change his fayth, Any thinge; but

Mony and suites. He has thrice chang'd his Cut

And Haire too, as he does his Haunts and walkes

And can change nothing now but Oaths and Talke,

This Thing crosses the streete and mee, and ses 15

He must arrest me at his Companies

Whole suite. Saye I, They've lost their charter; here's

Scarce a company but of fiddlers.

Oh Lord shrugs he, you far mistake me Sir

A Bevie of selected spirits I assure 20

Woe your faire parts. I cry, I'me promised

Already. There he smil'd: Yet pluck'd and led

Me nearer Prison: and, (as he courts his

Whore in English, in French his Mistrisse)

Tells me of Love; But once; and veniall; 25

We will bee very private. yes and I shall  
 Thought I bee mad. But there's no [koo], the feild  
 Is his; I, like his light Mistrisse, yeild.  
 Up staires he leads; Had Hell beene upwards, I  
 Had thought, for being in His companie 30  
 I had beene goeing thither; yett I thinke  
 I found it little lesse for smoak and stincke.  
 The doores were shutt; lights up at noon, I thought  
 Of Treason streight; and that just soe Faux wrought  
 Juries are not kept closer, Nor condemne 35  
 Men more rashly then they did, But [ ] them  
 Within doores; and (as painted ladyes show,  
 Worst neerest hand they were a Map of these  
 Wild foxes Samson us'ed, Only these had  
 Their firebrands in their mouths, else their as madde 40  
 And Antiqu full. One singes, Another talkes  
 A third dances, A fourth (if he can) walkes  
 Each has his Humour (as hee calls't) but none  
 That I did know there but Confusion.  
 Sure Germans (when they had time to drinke) were 45  
 Just such a reeling landskape as this here.

But now I'm swallowd. And as Soldiers prayse  
 All services they were at, Not because  
 The action thriv'd, but because they were there;  
 So must I these, And, In truth, I may sweare, 50  
 Though there was disorder enough, They were

No Conventicle. Nor though they swore more  
Then would have payd the subsidie, they swore  
No Covenants, nor perjurdly to hold  
Assemblyes 'gainst the King, nor t' coyne his gold 55  
Although they washd it soundly, But 'twas to  
The Kings Health, Ay and his Leiu-tenants too.  
And though they drunk sufficiently to keepe  
A Dutch garrison competent drunke a weeke,  
They drunk no sacrament of secresie, 60  
Their Hopes, their Plotts, their freinds lives, their owne they  
Lay open all, And some theire stomacks, None  
Has once poore Ace of Heart which is his owne,  
He has dealt all to th' company. Next day  
Hee'le stamp and eate that Heart he threw away. 65

But hark! They're now past, not Praise, but Excuse  
All banks are overflow'd; There's not one sluice  
Left standing now; They over-roast the sea  
As if they had drunk't. Their deluge too sucks mee  
Into the reeling Torrent; methinkes I 70  
Swim like men in the fable, steeple high  
And Castle; and kick both: all order's gone,  
The Spanish wine has turn'd me a Tyrone.  
I am as vaine, wild, all but drunke, as hee  
Which takes and leads mee (or I him) privately 75  
To the next window, I hop'd he would have chid  
Mee for being with him; I reserved it.

But he ith'word of a Leiutenant vowes  
 Hee's servant to the faire report the world throwes  
 Upon my parts. I blusht as much as wine 80  
 Or th' companie would lett me; And rejoyne  
 The world's as false as this scarlett, Or this  
 False silver lace you weare, And if it mis-  
 take and call me honest, modest; twill say  
 As much of you or any here. Away 85  
 Hee sneakes his complement at this. Now hee  
 Askes what I thinke of London and this Citty  
 I tell him London's a meere bankrout to this  
 Poore as the playhouse or the Poett is,  
 Or wer't sett up agen and in its prime 90  
 Here are enough to breake it the fourth Time.  
 Hee talkes of buildings next, I tell him streight  
 Of my Lords stables, He squeakes out, Tis right,  
 Damme him they are Escuriall O' I crye  
 What's that? know you not th' Escuriall! fie 95  
 Tis the Kings greate ship, the Sovereigne. I  
 Smil'd. He of Houses, Pictures then askes mee  
 I nam'd Chaddocks, and Tavernes two or three  
 For very good Houses; for Pictures I  
 Told him the Queens head at Kytes is done lively, 100  
 Dread name! How is thy Diety profan'd  
 As if hung up, to beckon surfetts, riots and  
 Disease? But they use Angells so My scourge  
 Won't lett mee thinke the rest. Hee joggs and urg's

Me to a new sight. Twas James. Doe you see 105  
 Yon fellow? Yes, almost double, Trust mee  
 Hee's a shrewd fellow. So is his wife. Nay  
 Sir you are too quick, I mean he is  
 An arrant Machiavill; knows all mysteryes  
 Of state since D' Aquila's time. I yawn'd out, yes 110  
 Hark! Hee's telling them the boyes. Ner'e the lesse  
 He cryes him up; Pedling Lesley is come  
 Not worthy to carry his packe after James.  
 I ask'd him why these parts, and such deepe grace  
 Getts him no Corporalls or sergeants place. 115  
 Sir By this oath which I intend to sweare;  
 Nay pray you spare your swearing, to mee who dare  
 Trust you alike; Besides Sir you have sworne  
 Pretily well already. Yett doe not scorne  
 One harmeles oath, By this sword, Hee'le doe 120  
 As much good I'le maintain 't, as some that goe.  
 I nodded, whither in token that hee,  
 Like drunkards, spoke Truth; or that hee talk'd mee  
 Into a Mappe. I known't, But I'me sure, now  
 The whole Tide reeles hither. Straws do not goe 125  
 More eagerly about a Jeat Ringe, Than  
 These light, weake, hollow things about James.  
 And as to see the Troopes, or the state ride  
 Men care not whom they thrust, but though one cryde  
 Murther, they crowd on worse. Soe They thrust mee, 130  
 Now press'd to all but death. But I'me gott free.

And yet no more then poore debtors, which gett  
 From Gilberts to the fore-courts. For I mett  
 One sett in more, though scarce sober, sadnesse  
 Then the grave bird in her Monasticknes. 135  
 I, borne to plague myselfe, unluckily  
 Lett full. Sir are you making verses? Hee  
 Pulls me to him, and whispers; By this light;  
 Sweare by a fresh one Sir, It is goodnight  
 With this. However, By this light that's left, 140  
 I can write. Blesse God for't, tis a faire gift  
 Sayd I, and more then some secretaries  
 They say, can. Nay Sir I can, He replies  
 Write all sorts of verse. Pastorall  
 Tragick, Comick, and Tragicomicall, 145  
 Poems, Satyres and if I list Ballads  
 From great Prince Arthur to the Iliads.  
 Sir I wold propose me to spell what you can write.  
 Then like some Rime-Mountebanke, he recites  
 Dicoles, Distrophes, Dithyrambicks, 150  
 Hyper, Cata, and [Acatalectics]  
 And as he had had the' Patent for Anagrams  
 For gay Acrossticks and for Chronograms  
 He commends them, Besides he can make  
 Eggs, (shells and all) swords, Axes, I take 155  
 His word; Indeede I feele hee can, And more  
 The pen kills now then the sword did before.  
 But as to cure some madnes, The best way

Is to comply, and to say as they say  
 I prapt out Barbara, Clarent, and 160  
 [Quae ca vel. hy p.] and other new-found-land  
 Poeticknes. He askes what I meane, and I  
 Tell him, Tis a charme against Poetrie.  
 Against? squeakes he. Don't Spencer and great Ben  
 Live by't? yes, they may now they're dead, but when 165  
 They were alive they could not. Hee fretts, and  
 Askes what I thinke of Barclay and the white hands  
 Of Argenis, I tell him she weares gloves, nor  
 Suffers each star to see them. He cryes, but Sir  
 Is't not well penn'd? Strong? ha! methinkes I could 170  
 Compose just in his veine now if I would.  
 And is not Nicopompus neatly done?  
 I told him yes, so is Heraleon.  
 And surely had he known you Sir, I make no  
 Doubt but you' had beene in His Euphormio. 175  
 At this he ignorantly smiles, and calls  
 His boy to run and fetch the madrigalls  
 In's satten breeches. But now, James is gone  
 Th' whole cry comes in, and (mad as hee) houle on  
 More wine and lights. I cry tis Grace-time, they 180  
 Know no such word. But I to pay my way  
 Tender my mony. By no meanes sweares hee  
 That mans pander, which brings young company  
 Together and seduc'd mee, By the Lord  
 Not a crosse. Enough Sir, your base word 185

Shall serve. They sitt to theire dayly drinke, and  
 Nightly too and because all cannot stand,  
 They wisely Health it on their knees, one is  
 Now 'ginning a Health to his mistrisse  
 In's Periwig: and perhaps she gave it Him. 190  
 Whilst I downe staires as joyfully swim  
 As Jonas in the Belly of the whale,  
 Or as some Here wold have run in Kinsale.

Harmles society! Mans Heaven Here,  
 How does he make thee Hell? thou which sholdst cheere 195  
 And stroak our greifes and fan our softer ease  
 Glad wine! How art thou turn'd our worst disease?  
 Are there not plagues, famines, and men enow  
 Unles we arme our food against us too?  
 But what talk I of madmen? (come letts goe) 200  
 Tomorrow morning they will thinke soe too.

C[lement] Paman.

#### NOTES

Title] the form of the poem is based on Horace, Satire I, 9 and  
 Donne, Satire IV.

3] marginal note: 'Oh Donne and Horace! Happy!'. John Donne  
 (1572-1631); Horace, the Roman poet (65-8 B.C.), author of  
 'Satires'. The first book appeared in 35 B.C. and the second  
 in 29 B.C.

20 bevie] a company of any kind (OED 2); slang for 'drinking-

party' (OED).

34 Faux] the conspirator Guy Fawkes (1570-1606).

39-40] Samson destroyed the Philistines' cornfields as vengeance on his wife's family by tying firebrands to the tails of three hundred foxes (Judges 15:4-5).

51-55] this is clearly a political allusion to the events of several years, and provides the necessary puns for the satire intended in the poem.

52 Conventicle] a meeting or assembly of a clandestine, irregular, or illegal character (OED 1.3). From about 1633 Archbishop Laud stipulated that there should be no conventicles of non-conformists for divine worship.

53 subsidy] during the short parliament (1640) it was agreed by the council to surrender the claim to ship-money in consideration of a grant of eight subsidies; a demand subsequently raised to twelve.

54-55] the national covenant of 1638 was undertaken by the Scottish national assembly. The 'covenanting party', as they became known, met in defiance of the king's command. Later, in 1643, the English negotiated with the Scottish presbyterians to establish the Solemn League and Covenant in return for military support against the king.

59 Dutch garrison] the English held a popular belief, though unsubstantiated, that the Dutch troops were given to heavy drinking, and popular stories about their drunkenness abounded. Henry Peacham wrote: 'since we had to do in the quarrel of the Netherlands...the custom of drinking and

pledging healths was brought over to England; wherein let the Dutch be their own judges if we equal them not. Yea, I think rather excel them' (The Complete Gentleman (1622), ed. Virgil B. Heltzel (Cornell University Press, 1962), p.153).

71] fable unidentified.

73 Tyrone] puns on 'tyro' meaning a young soldier, a recruit, a beginner (OED), and the Earl of Tyrone, leader of the Irish catholics, who negotiated with Philip III of Spain. In return for help he agreed to accept a Spanish sovereignty in Ireland. Though a Spanish fleet set sail in 1601 intending to support Tyrone and his followers, weather and bad organisation hampered the plan.

95 Escuriall] El Escorial, the Spanish royal palace built by Philip II. In transferred sense to subject to influences like those which prevailed at the Escorial (OED).

97 Houses] i.e. taverns, hence 'Pictures' are the inn signs.

103 Angells] puns on the names of inns and the coin bearing that name.

105 James] presumably a mutual acquaintance.

110] a marginal addition. Don Juan D'Aquila was a Spanish General stationed at the port of Kinsale in Ireland. With only 300 soldiers he was unable to defend the Spanish and Irish interests against the English.

111] marginal addition.

112 Pedling Lesley] possibly a colloquial term for an itinerant vendor.

133] 'Gilberts' is possibly the name of an inn or lodging house

frequented by the 'poore debtors'; 'fore-courts' possibly refers to the debtors' law-courts.

142 Secretaries] scribes (OED).

149] a 'Mountebanke' is an impudent pretender to skill or knowledge, a charleton (OED 2).

150-1] grammatical and literary terms, cited as examples of the 'mountebanke's' pretentions to knowledge.

152 Patent] something to which one has proprietary claim (OED I 2 b).

153 Chronograms] a phrase, sentence, or inscription, in which certain letters (usually distinguished by size) express, when read as Roman numerals, a date or an epoch (OED).

160-2] allusion unidentified.

167 Barclay] the neo-Latin poet John Barclay (1582-1621).

168 Argenis] the eponymous heroine of Barclay's political allegory written in Latin and published in 1621. A lost translation of the Argenis by Ben Jonson was entered in the Stationer's Register 2 October 1623, but was never published.

172-3] 'Nicopompus' and 'Heraleon' have not been identified.

175 Euphormio] the name under which Barclay published his Satyricon. The first part is said to have appeared in London in 1603 of which no copy is extant, but a second edition was printed at Paris in 1607. The second part of the Satyricon was published at Paris in 1607.

183 pander] 'go-between', one who arranges clandestine meetings (OED).

193] on 2 January 1602 the English forces, led by Mountjoy,

overcame the Irish rebell forces, led by Tyrone, and the Spanish forces which were there to conquer Ireland. Many were killed, while others were captured or fled. Tyrone was wounded, and on 30 March 1603 submitted to the Peace terms set out by Mountjoy.

The departure. To Stella.

Fayre

I receiv'd thy letter, But dos't heare,  
It will bee come next midsommer, 3 yeare:  
Yett I don't chafe in verse, Nor sweare I've payd  
More of the Poetts brine, then would have made 5  
Tenne Irish seas, and sigh'd, God blesse us, more  
Then if I had puff'd the compasse up before.  
Thou knowst I ne're could counterfeitt nor sweare  
A scrow'd ill-favour'd looke into a Teare.  
When at thy coach I left thee with Thy Eye 10  
Bigge of a showre ev'n to Delivery,  
I smil'd away the storme, and bad thee shed  
Those drops when thou embalmdst thy Maydenhead.  
Our loves live still, nor doe they dye but sett,  
They like the sun are travaild only west. 15  
Love shold look fresh and younge, All teares disgrace  
As much a well-proportion'd Love as face.  
Had our Crosselove ran foule and troubled, Yett  
Ne're think a durty look could cristall it.  
Noe! when the gloryes of thy cheek are dead 20  
When Beauty's in those wrinkles buried,  
Then will bee Time to weepe, when th' aged eye  
Runs ore, and keeps a constant obsequie.  
Lett's Revell now, And warm'd with love, rehearse  
Houres made as young and bold as love, or verse. 25

Lett those thou dost not love weepe their curst fate  
 Give me the odes soules sing when separate,  
 Confirm'd and glorifide Aires, which trye  
 To free cleare Pleasure from satiety.  
 Grosse Joyes, even in their Pride, sully and weare, 30  
 And still one Tune, though high, surfetts the eare.  
 Kisses although the most spirituall, and  
 Unbodyed pleasures, where the breath which fann'd  
 Just now thy heart, Comes back and pants in mine  
 Yet fade upon the lip, and streight decline: 35  
 Truth is; Wee kisse but Earth, for when folke say  
 That Thisbe kiss'd her youth through chinkes of clay  
 They meant their lips; for soe all are, Nay thine  
 Pardon me Stella, are but Clay in graine.  
 What ever is Corporeall includes 40  
 Labour and Rest, lazy vicissitude,  
 But free, exalled pleasure which d[eath]  
 All servile trade and Commerce with the flesh,  
 Perpetually moves, and turnes, and roules,  
 And's no more tyr'd then Angells, or then Soules. 45  
 Thus busy joyes shold worke And ours, whose might  
 Doubles by Parting, and growes more unite.  
 They're suns and stars can worke at distance; stone  
 And sluggish Earth need application.  
 Clung narrow minds, whose very soule is sense 50  
 Stir only at the fleshes influence:  
 Touch is their highest ayme, who poorely aske

Trifles thou hourelly giv'st, thy glove and maske  
We can spare skin and softnes, Yett make roome  
For soules to meete where bodyes dare not come. 55

Wee'le meete halfe way, and kissing on a wave  
There smile to see Flowres drowne while we are safe.

Wee'le find out Tunes in Thunder; If wee see  
Ships lost ith' Rough Embraces of the sea  
Wee'le cry, this comes of bodyes, when the winde 60  
Walks by the wrack unmoved like a Minde.

And if men perish too, wee'le thinke they're sett  
At large, And are what we [t'ut] counterfeitt  
Here soules may meete and talke, But 'fayth, I feare  
Wee scarce wold wish we had our bodyes There. 65

Lett Bodies goe; They're Monsters patchd and pric't  
Of Twenty things, of fish, of fowle, of beasts.  
And shall I basely kneele to that which owes  
Its growth and being to a Calfe or goose?  
Whose very Getting, and whose Nourishment 70  
Comes but from flegme, and as bad Excrement,  
Which first feeds Earth, that Beasts, they us, who stand  
Grac'd if wee kisse a stink at the 4th hand.

No Stella were thy glories smooth and Terse  
As Beauty e're was fancy'd in a verse; 75  
Were thy Eyes Constellations, whose aspect  
Could Kings and Empires fates Crush or protect,  
(And yett thy Eyes are faire, whose blacks and white

Containe what e're men like in day or night)  
 Yett I'ld not beg the least glance of a gleame 80  
 Did not thy soule come riding on the beame.  
 I'ld entertaine thy hande or pulse; but soe  
 As I'de thy Mayde. To Aske how thou dost doe.  
 But to thy soule I humbly bend as low  
 As Persians to their sun; downe low as thou 85  
 Stoopdst to my shame fac'd Loves, which since refin'd  
 Grow bold and dare move Courtship to a Mind,  
 And Pardon, That's my Evidence, A kisse  
 Or so may stand for livery, But this  
 As my whole Tenure; thy estate and Birth controule 90  
 All Tithes else save what I hold by soule.  
 They are all Equall, Kings and mine, so wee  
 Have what all aske in Love, Equality.  
 Names are but breath and sound. If thou coulst say  
 Thy Eye and smile were drawn from Helena: 95  
 Or That thy cheeks red and white roses were  
 Drawn lineally from Yorke and Lancaster  
 Would that adde to thy Beauty? Why no more  
 Were thy blood Grandame to the Conquerors  
 Will't to thy virtue: the most that blood can 100  
 Is but at best to helpe begett a man,  
 Who's equally begott, brought forth ith' same  
 Excesses both of pleasure and of paine;  
 And when death comes our soules enfranchis'd then  
 Goe out as Equall as they entred in. 105

If then our birth and death bee Equall, Why  
 Claimes not mid life the same equality?  
 Lett statistis then looke after the Estate  
 And marry not a wife but Trick of state:  
 If I'd begett an Empire, I would wed 110  
 Cornelias ghost, or lye with Portias deeds:  
 But since tis but a man, Noble or Poore  
 I care n't; Ist a woman? I aske no more.  
 All men are gott ith' darke at Randome, Noar  
 Knows when he getts to th' spade, when to the Crowne 115  
 Queens can breed fooles and Cowards, when time sees  
 Almighty Kings teem'd from obscurest knees.  
 The Norman line wee brag so much of Came  
 From a dark woman which hath scarce a name.  
 Nor e're did Rome so gloriously show 120  
 As when she fetcht her Sceptlet from the plow.  
 And yet wee talke of blood and dusty names  
 As 'twere Enough our Grandfathers had fame.  
 Yet though thy Father slew an Elephant  
 What's that, If thou beest killed by an Ante? 125  
 Bloods then are like, and cheape; our Heralds can  
 Afford it from an ounce unto a Dramme.  
 Wee'll not Court Syllables, although wee'le owne  
 Illustrious stemms for rich Addition.  
 Vernura, Moore, are precious names yet I 130  
 Methinks could love Thee full as Heartily  
 By any other word: I know 'nt their rules

Who woe a scutcheon daubd azure and gules.  
 They're not my Red and White, nor shal't bee sayd  
 I was farre gone in love with 3 boares heads. 135  
 Soules have no Bulls, Beares, Monsters; yet looke  
 Fairer then all the Ox in th' Herald booke.  
 Desceals are mortall as ourselves; wee see  
 Great Names have quite out-liv'd their Heraldrie,  
 His Grandfather bore Sol and Mars, This same 140  
 Youth beares a Sack or Turfe, by the same name,  
 Wee dayly heare a Lords, a Knights, a Squires  
 Dread name call'd on to make a bed or fire,  
 Allmost a sweeping Conquest drowns our blood  
 And beares away that froth upon her flood. 145  
 While soules, unconquer'd soules in Triumph see  
 How fire and sword but sweate to sett them free.  
 And Stella, at this height lett's rest us now  
 And sitt and see't raine sweat and blood below  
 And all to catch a clowd. Lord how you man 150  
 Comes laden with the Trophyes of a fanne!  
 Another sighs to Ribbans; A third woes  
 And deepe protesteth to his Mistresses shoes.  
 Whose spotted durty strings too must be kisssd  
 Though they're scarce dry since they were last bepist 155  
 Which he with unwashd Teares (forgive my penne  
 This homely zeale) bepisseth o're agen.  
 A fourth kisses the post she lean'd on last  
 Nay and the cushion that she sat on last:

A wiser sort, well warm'd with wine, bestow 160  
 A hymne on chloris walking in the snow.  
 Others are oyleing doores, or that which made  
 A worser noyse by halfe, the Chambermayde.  
 This buyes up Jewells, Rings, and what is worse  
 Forsweares some Ladyes grace to cheate his purse. 165  
 This sues by letters Patents, This by oaths,  
 This by the Cringe and garbe, and This by cloaths.  
 And most by bought or borrowed verse or prose.  
 These are Loves Savages, so Indians hold  
 Our glasse more Orient then their pearle and gold: 170  
 And so lett them: Let them fall downe and nodde  
 To skin; And Take the Temple for the God.  
 Wee on the wings of clearer flame shall see  
 The blind mistakes of their Idolatry.  
 Wee'le tell the Houses which went and shall still goe 175  
 Like the watches pulse which counts them, true through slow.  
 Wee will love open-fac'd, at noone, let sin  
 Looke blind by-corners out to hide her in:  
 Wee won't love 'hind the hangings; No nor feare  
 Though the grim man shold stirre thats pictur'd there. 180  
 Noe: when some busy Tongue leads thee aside  
 And there (as if some treason were descryde)  
 After some Hums and dreadfull whispers, brings  
 Out at last, Pray is there any such thinge?  
 For Gods sake tell her yes. See how sheele wayle 185  
 And sweare she ever thought twas but a Tale

For tell but such folk Truth, they'le ne're beleive,  
 Truth now has the best warrant to deceive.  
 But tell them, Noe, they cry, Tis plaine, for they  
 Read meanings Backwards still, As witches pray. 190  
 And had wee usd this Confidence, wee might  
 Have courted in the dining roome; the light  
 Shold have conceald our Love: while I'le embrace  
 And boldly kisse Thee to thy mothers face.  
 When wee would putt of her, That I by this 195  
 But laught thee all the postures of a kisse.  
 The Cring is french, who 'gins his legge at doore  
 And kisses you some halfe a mile before.  
 The nice Italian, that like some Divine  
 Creeps to the Hallow'd lip as to a shrine. 200  
 The solemne Spaniard in a punctuall gate  
 That makes each Kisse look like an Act of state.  
 The Turke, who stroaks his grim Mustach and stares  
 As if he tooke the kisses prisoners.  
 And in such innocent deceipts as these 205  
 I'de kisse thee through all tongues and languages.  
 Thus we wold love, yet teach our very sence  
 What few Loves now can boast of, Innocence.  
 Wee'ld talk and kisse in breath as chast and cold  
 As Nuns did say theire prayers in, of old. 210  
 The Easterne ayre, which heates and fans, shold blesse  
 Us both from feavers and Lethargicknes.  
 Wee'ld have no Dogday kisses, but like showres

Wee'ld warme and dew each kisse into a flowre.

Let others borrow gold from Sun and Moone 215  
To build a Temple up to pull it downe,  
Who meane thee fowlest when they call thee Faire  
And doe but Curse thee under shew of prayer.

But I who love Thee for thy Chastity  
Ravish myselfe when I unvirgin Thee. 220

For shold I touch thy chastity, why mine  
Wold but be more unchast by having thine.

Nay I shold steale Thee from Mee; lesse I can  
Love Thee when that for which I lov'd Thee's gone.  
I'le Court thee as some soule without a sexe 225  
So thou'lt not blush, when thou shalt see me next.

Enjoy's a sluttish Act, that shuns the light,  
Like Treason, men goe to it in the night.

A thing that's fitt for husbands only, who do't  
For Conscience, 'cause the Church [tells] ty'de them to 't. 230

To lye with one's a Coarse word; Our proud  
Flesh lyes with, and begetts wormes in the shrowd,  
Tis both done 'twene a sheete, Alive and dead;  
Only the grave is chaster then the bed.

Nay holy marriage scarce can make the fact 235  
Good, but not bad, It but protects the Act.

Wedlock's but Physicke, it gives lust some Ease,  
And Physick's nere applyde but to disease.

Lust is a Phrensy where Enraged man  
Runs Equall mad both Till, and when tis done. 240

But spotlesse Virgin state, the Angells life  
Who're free from Wedlock, and soe from its strife,  
First: lett me kisse those hands of thine, which sweat  
Camphire and Julips, At whose touch All heates  
Like spiritts at the name of God, Retire 245

And sacrifice unto thy snow their fire.  
Then, lett me build a Cell, the Hermites nest,  
And live the vowed Anch'orite of thy breast  
That when folke aske for me, Children may say  
Hee lyes at the Hermitage ith' Milkey Way: 250  
Where they shall find mee freely stretcht along  
Upon a couch of odes and modest songs  
All sett unto a consecrated Key  
Which strikes on Stella and Virginitie.

But see the Paper spends; And I shall grow 255  
As tedious as marriage. Faire, Adieu.

Cl[ement] P[aman].

#### NOTES

Title] the poem appears to have been written at the beginning of  
a period of absence, possibly between the years 1635 and  
1638, during which time the poet may have been in Ireland  
(cf. Introduction, p.lxxxiii).

5 Poetts brine] lachrymae, verse.

9-10] cf. Donne 'A Valediction of Weeping' lines 2-7:

My teares before thy face, whil'st I stay here,  
For thy face coines them, and thy stampe they beare,  
And by this Mintage they are something worth,  
For thus they bee  
Pregnant of thee,  
Fruits of much grief they are, emblemes of more.

12-3] 'embalmst' and 'sett' pun on the sense of 'balm' meaning a preservative, and a steadfast or fastening moisture; cf. Donne's 'The Extasie' lines 5-6:

Our hands were firmly cimented  
With a fast balm...

19 cristall] to freeze, congeal with frost (OED).

37 Thisbe] in Ovid's Metamorphoses Thisbe is beloved by Pyramus, a Greek youth. Forbidden by their families to meet, they exchange kisses through a crack in the wall between their houses. The sub-plot in A Midsummer Night's Dream is based on this story.

75 aspect] in an astrological sense 'aspect' refers to the relative positions of the heavenly bodies, and the way in which, from their relative positions, they look upon each other (OED II 4); used here in the transferred sense of 'to look upon'.

95 Helena] daughter of Zeus and Leda, or Nemesis. Homer depicts her as the human wife of Menelaus, who is carried off by Paris to Troy, thereby precipitating the Trojan war. She is renowned in literature for her beauty.

108 statist] those skilled in state affairs, having political

knowledge, power, or influence (OED).

111 Cornelia's ghost] the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and mother of the Gracchi. After her husband's death she refused to remarry and devoted herself to her estate and the education of her sons. She is famous for her virtue and accomplishments.

Portia's deeds] daughter of Cato, her second husband was Marcus Brutus; in Julius Caesar Shakespeare draws on the story that to prove she could be trusted she inflicted a wound upon herself, and thereby gained Brutus' confidence in his political ambitions.

117-8] an allusion to William the Conqueror, the illegitimate son of Robert, Duke of Normandy and a tanner's daughter named Arletta, hence 'dark'.

124] possibly alludes to Scipio Africanus, who after his death, was regarded by Romans as the pattern of virtue and courage.

126 ounce] puns on the name of the animal and a measure of weight.

130 Vernura] a name coined by Paman.

133 gules] the heraldic name of the tincture red.

133-137] refers to the various configurations of colours, flowers, and animals that appear on coats of arms.

160 Chloris] in Greek mythology the daughter of Amphion and Niobe, and wife of Zephyrus, the west wind. She is the goddess of flowers and her name means green or verdure.

168 Indians] an epithet commonly used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to signify treasure, riches and plenty.

169 glasse] mirror.

orient] bright.

174 Houses] noble and established families.

189] to activate a charm, prayers were often recited backwards;  
the poet uses this analogy to convey his belief that because  
people frequently lie, others have to reverse the meaning of  
their statements to elicit the truth.

197 cring] a hostile or derisive name for a bow (OED 1).

212 Dogday] the days about the time of the heliacal rising of the  
Dog-star; noted from ancient times as the hottest and most  
unwholesome period of the year (OED 1).

243 Camphire] camphor, a volatile substance with a bitter  
aromatic taste and characteristic smell; formally reputed to  
be an antaphrodisiac (OED 1).

Julips] here in the sense of something to cool or assuage the  
heat of passion (OED 1b).

Pym.

Proud Cinna, Sylla, Marius make roome  
Hell won't be perfect hell untill I come  
You're fumblers at disorder, nor e're reach'd  
The mysterie to gett Confusion preach't  
Taught, honour'd, like your Gods, or what was high 5  
And sacred above them, your Libertie.  
I set her in the temples, nor left there  
A seate for any Saint or God but Her.  
Noe dayes but were her feasts, No altars flame  
No vows nor prayers were payd but to her name 10  
Where ere shee went and I, the preists stood bare  
And wrackt their lungs to blow the flames we were,  
While th' wandring crowd worship'd and follow'd, and  
In begd petitions beg'd her at my hand,  
Nay thankd my bounty which wold lett them bee 15  
But joynt=projectours in their misery.  
The large=ear'd sages too my cheates devour'd  
And drunk in ruine faster then I pour'd;  
Their fayths were wider then my plotts, and greiv'd  
I could not lye so fast as they beleiv'd, 20  
Rearing me Statues for their illls begun  
And for the illls they hop'd I would have done  
Sad only that I could not stay to see  
Their ruine finished and that by Mee.  
My foes though now they hisse my name, yet ought 25

Their fame and greatnes to the ills I wrought,  
 Their loyalties behind a clowd had ly'ne  
 Like stars asleepe, I bad them wake and shine  
 I made the English armes new fear'd and known  
 They'le beate all Kingdomes else who could their owne: 30  
 For, late them factions, and the world shall kneele  
 Their prisoner, and beg quarter of their steele;  
 Yett these men damned me. Strang! Pym is the first  
 Whom th' injur'd sainted and the gainers curs't.  
 These were my crafts, and pompes; Tis poore to bee 35  
 Dogg'd into mischeifes by necessity,  
 I must be hir'd to 't, the Senate had beene free  
 And (but they beg'd it) happy still for mee,  
 Your rapines cost you deare, playes, corne and wine  
 You bought your crimes, but I was payd for mine 40  
 And though all saw their wealths flock to my store  
 Yett tis decreed, they're blind, and I am poore,  
 The state was my concealer, whose votes know  
 Men might as safe bee rich as keepe me soe.  
 'Tis true you were good at killing, yet d'thee heare 45  
 You sought mens lives and throats, these brought me theirs:  
 Nay, Romans, had I likd the last, I could  
 Have gone each night to bed as drunke with blood  
 As ere with wine, whose deare mists lett mee see  
 Laws, Charles, th' Is'le turne round and reele in me. 50  
 You dyde at others costs, I at myne owne,  
 And scorn'd to waite for my corruption

Deaths leisure or the graves, Noe I stood by  
And saw my flesh doe her mortalitie.

Now full of lice and mischeifes I come downe 55

Pluto sitt fast, or I shall throw thy crowne  
One fall more yett. I hate all Kings, there dwells  
Too much of order in those names for Hell  
Which ne're will bee herselfe, Pure hell, till wee,  
Wee the Post-nati teach her Paritie. 60

And, since all fell alike, why shold not all  
Stand up, and claime the priviledge of their fall?  
My corse still serves the state, imployd to turne  
And slinck our princes from their cleaner urnes.

Poore turmoyle Kings! in life and death opprest 65

Those last, though sacred sleeps, yet take no rest  
I killd you in your peoples harts, and must  
Now kill your ashes too, and shame your dust.

Fame tell the rest; this only secrett hide  
That Pym was wise, 'cause all were fooles beside. 70

Cl[ement] P[aman].

#### NOTES

Title] John Pym (1584–1643), parliamentary statesman from

1614 until his death. In the parliament of 1640 he took the  
lead in the attack on the king's government. With increasing  
national unrest, Pym believed parliament to be the best means

through which to redress the problems arising from Charles' obdurate insistence on his royal prerogative. In Pym's analysis of the misrule that had prevailed, his advice was to seek out and punish those whose objective it had been to alter the religion and government of the country and to bring the country to a better order.

1 Cinna] Lucius Cornelius (d 84 B.C.), he fought in the Social War against Sulla. Having been driven out of Rome and illegally deposed of his consulship by Octavius, he later captured it in 87 B.C.

Sylla] Felix, Lucius Cornelius Sulla (b c138 B.C.), he fought successfully in the Social War and later marched on Rome and took it by force. He was later outlawed by Cinna.

Marius] Gaius Marius (157-86 B.C.), the enemy of Sulla, was Consul seven times.

6] Pym's parliamentary career was motivated by the belief that the 'ancient and due liberties' of the constitution should be defended, and must in turn be acknowledged by the king. He stated that the 'greatest liberty of our kingdom is religion'.

13-14] possibly a reference to the crowds which were becoming a new element in politics in instances such as the pronouncement on Strafford, and the Root and Branch Petition which was presented before parliament in December 1640. This was followed by similar petitions from other counties. After the 'Grand Remonstrance' in 1641, fear of the mob prevented the bishops from attending the House of Lords. Pym's attitude

was that he could not act against the rioters because it was not for the House of Commons to dishearten the people from obtaining 'their just desires'.

29] the Militia Bill of February 1642, was drawn up by parliament to place all the land forces under parliamentary control; this was passed by the House of Lords as the Militia Ordinance and it commanded all subjects to obey.

31 factions] possibly a reference to the Irish catholics, and the supporters of the king.

51-54] this may refer to the illness (an internal abscess), which resulted in Pym's death. His opponents believed that it was a sign of divine judgment. Clarendon wrote that Pym 'died with great torment and agony, of a disease unusual, and therefore the more spoken of, "morbus pediculosus", which rendered him an object very loathsome to those who had been most delighted with him' (Macray, vol.iii, p.321). Daniel Neal wrote 'the News of no Man's Death was more welcome to the Royalists than his, who spread a Report, that he died of the Morbus pediculosus, to confute which his Body was exposed to publick View for many Days, and at last interred in the most honourable Manner in Westminster Abbey. A little before his Death he published his own Vindication to the World, against the many slanders that went abroad concerning him' (History of the Puritans (1738), vol.3, pp.103-4).

56 Pluto] in Roman mythology the king of the underworld, brother of Jupiter and Neptune, and husband of Proserpina.

60 post-nati] the subjects of the king born in Scotland after

James I's accession to the English crown. A judgment in the Exchequer Chamber in 1608 declared those concerned to be the natural subjects of the king of England.

Paritie] equality of rank or status, especially among the members or ministers of a church (OED 2).

63 Corse] puns on 'corpse' and course of action.

To a Watch sent to his Mrs.

Tyme-teller stay when she lookes on,

And her beauty gaze upon

If she blame thy goeing slow

First confesse, then tell her how

Thy circled motion needes must stay

5

'Till she takes her eyes away

Eyes whose fixed influence

Arrest the sphears circumference

'Tis not thy errour but thy skill

Tell her that thy Sun stands still

10

If that faile, pray her gentle grace

Look forward that may mend thy pace.

The truant hand I know will run

Hand in hand with such a Sun

Then if thou be found too slow

15

Tell her thy sender is not soe.

T[homas] B[onham].

#### NOTES

7 influence] here in the sense of the exercise of personal power by human beings, similar in nature to the astral influence which was believed to act upon the character and destiny of man (OED 2a, b), hence 'spheares' in line 8.

Upon a Nightingale ravish'd and devour'd by a Catt.

Ah that well tun'd breath is dead, my Lord,  
Nor can your eares us'd to those straines afford  
Their precious use to such harsh Daws as wee  
Losst is the life and soule of Melody.

How often did the duteous bird appeare 5

With new invented tunes to please your eare  
How often did your Eare regreet your voyce  
With plausefull Museing and Attention choyce

The busy thought lay fetter'd and the Care  
Of ticklish Commonwealth and state-affaire 10

Lay charm'd at the sweet ditty, then the strife

Of clere and laity past sense of life

Taking a pleasing Nappe away did drive

The sad thought of some just definitive

This was your Port when ore that Pap'ry sea 15

Of copious Fathers, sage Divinity

Had Hear'd you, or amongst the Angulous Is'les

Of 'stinctions Thomas, or the schoolmens wiles

Panormitan and Bartolus were glad

Their endlesse lectures such conclusion had. 20

Nor was it fancy that did lead you thus

But judgment to esteeme it precious.

Soon as this voice was heard, Musicks bright God

Unbedded it betimes and tooke no nod

And trewanting amongst our Hemispheare 25

Antipodiz'd it late. So seem'd his Eare  
 Chain'd to that chaunting warbler: All was mute  
 Silenc'd his harpe immortall and his lute.  
 Orecome with pleasing shame (so some have sayd)  
 This caus'd his Westerne blush, this hidde his head. 30  
 But o what Sun could sleepe, when thou didst please  
 To conjure him from his Antipodes?  
 Thou didst untombe his light, his buryed rayes  
 Took life againe to heare thy Rowndelayes.  
 What skills it then to winne the smiling nodde 35  
 T'enchaut the holy breasts of man and God?  
 Hungry Gramalkin softly stalk'd that way  
 And unobserv'd hath seiz'd that bird for prey.  
 Out on thee. Damn'd theefe, dost thou glare and purre  
 And gobble up thy theft with such a stirre? 40  
 Ah! Cruell Catt! The Gods, my lord, and I  
 Must wee bewaile thy bellyes infamie?  
 Nor can the Muses teares nor Phoebus arrow  
 Nor our prayer hitt thine eares? are they so narrow?  
 Feast on: but heare: thy entrailes (ay) shall keepe 45  
 Sufficient cause to make thy hard heart weepe,  
 Thy gutts the monument of that deare wretch  
 Are taugt to sound. And Phoebus now will fetch  
 No more his Harp-string from the Distaffe, He  
 The same swears lute-inventing Mercury 50  
 The bird sings in thy bowells yett, and they

Will rend the strings from thence whereon they play  
Go now and Hunt for mice and such course Deare  
Oh! ever sport our well tun'd Quirister.

T[homas] B[onham].

NOTES (see commentary page 641)

1 well tun'd breath] the nightingale was renowned for its singing.

12 Clere] clerk (OED).

15 Pap'ry sea] alludes to the numerous pamphlets written in defence of religious views (cf. lines 11-2).

16 Fathers] early Christian theologians.

17 Angulous Isles] British Isles.

18 Schoolmens wiles] 'schoolmen' were medieval theologians; the allusion is intended as a jibe about their skills in verbal manipulation.

19 Panormitan] Panormitanus (1386-1445) archbishop of Palermo.

Bartolus] the eminent Italian lawyer born in 1313.

25 trewanting] i.e. truancy.

26 Antipodiz'd] i.e. turned up-side-down.

34 Rowndelayes] songs for several voices.

37 Gramalkin] a name given to a cat.

43 Phoebus arrow] Phoebus, the archer god, was represented in art holding a harp in his left hand and a bow in his right. The harp symbolized the harmony of the celestial spheres, and the bow signified his wasting part of the earth with the arrow of

extreme and intemperate heat.

48-50] Phoebus, identified with Apollo, was closely associated with music; 'Distaffe' probably alludes to the Caduceus, the fabled wand, given by Apollo to Mercury, in exchange for the lyre.

50] the invention of the lyre was attributed to Mercury.

54 Quirrister] chorister (OED).

Eadem Latine. ab eodem The same in Latin by the same

Siceine nigrantes ibis Philomela sub umbras

Vox et praeterea nihil

Sed quod Pierio dedisse monte sorores

Et Phoebi refluxum iubar

Vallibus antipodum; quid et quod vere solebat

5

Musarum columnen pater

Praecipitare diem; medioque assurgere Olympo

Maturas nimium Deus.

Quid quod et deciduo sub carcere serior iret

Et caelo traderet moras

10

Nempe tuos cantus demirabatur Aedon

Et vocem liquidam nimis

Damnabatque fides, atque mortalia fila,

Et divis placidam chelym.

Quin etiam erubuisse Deum atque illustre pudore

15

Abscondisse caput ferunt

Nubibus occiduis. Sed tu resecuta cadentem

Aeternis modulatibus.

Officiosa graves vultus radiosque sepultos

Cantu restituis tuo.

20

O domino dilecta meo Philomela, nec illud

In laudes memorum est tuas

Demeruisse sacras aures, pectusque canora

Demulsisse parodia

Divinum. Tu nempe quies; tibi dicitur uni

25

Curas carnifices dare.  
 Planctoque tu iura fore, tu verbe querellasque  
 Et causas sepelis graves.  
 Tu portus cum vela daret chartacea Praesul  
 Atque atrata per aequora 30  
 Antiquosque patres, sanctique volumina Thomae  
 Nodososque scholasticos  
 Panormitanum, digestaque, duraque rerum  
 Exoras fide simplici.  
 Sola modos dulces non audiit Ascalabotes 35  
 Et voces variables  
 In tetra, nimiumque ista damnanda rapina.  
 Quid praedam anxia devoras  
 Lethali premis morsu lethale cadaver  
 O cor plusquam adamantinum! 40  
 Deliciaene mei domini superumque iacebunt  
 Altum ventriculo? Pudet!  
 Nec te Musarum lacrimae, Phoebive sagitta  
 Lamentum domini mei,  
 Nec nostrae movere preces? Epulare, sed audi 45  
 Vae, vae visceribus tuis.  
 Heu quoties gemitusque dabit res ista doloremque  
 Et luctus tibi sonticos?  
 En volucris monimenta meae resonare docentur  
 Tanti criminis ilia. 50  
 Nec deducuntur molli sua stamina fuso  
 Tu nervos dabis aptius.

Sic, sic instituit chordas sibi Phoebus et olim  
Phoebi Mercurique potens.

I, nunc perniciem strave muribus, confodiasque;  
Parcas alitibus omnibus.

55

T. B.

(See commentary p.642)

A Rapture.

Unsinued sweetnes and the strengthles line  
Of honey-flowing Poesy confine  
With phancies triviall: my tall Muse aspires  
Above the dwarfish levell of these fires  
Others may tipple while their dim brains whirle 5  
Then kisse their fancies and begett a girle  
And shew the world her pure trans-paring white  
Through the thin vayle of Tiffeny Epithite.  
That never calld me Father nor was mine  
Which was not Generous, lofty, masculine. 10  
Such only have my blessings as can move  
The Cyclops hammer, stagger the braine of Jove  
Such as up lifts earth I call Carmen meum  
And tosseth it to Coelum Empyroeum.  
Such as outstrips Sol in his Zodiaq race. 15  
And bids the swift Leviathan A base  
Such as is silent and speaks nought at all  
To his faire Mistress but Cothurni call  
Alphonso who this worlds frame did correct  
Wisht a had consulted with the Architect. 20  
This world (proud Spaniard) you wold ne're have mended  
Though all the black saints thy endeavours freinded  
The Poett only must assume this skill  
To out-doe nature with phantastiq Quill.

To drown this world in Heliconian water  
And conjure new formes from the spongy matter  
To him's a triffle. Tush he makes no sport  
That mends not this, or makes a new one for 't.

25

T[homas] B[onham]

NOTES (see commentary page 644)

2 honey-flowing] Anglicised form of mellifluous.

8 Tiffeny] transparent silk or muslin (OED 2).

Epithite] possibly used here in the sense of 'epithet'.

12] the Cyclopes were the workmen of Vulcan. The allusion is to the tradition that Vulcan was called upon to split Jove's head open to relieve the pain he was suffering, whence sprang Minerva fully grown and armed.

15 Zodiaq] the heavens; Phoebus (Sol) was the only one capable of performing the daily chariot ride across the heavens.

16 Leviathan] Orion, a mythical giant and noted huntsman; he was changed by Diana into a constellation.

18 Cothurni] i.e. elevated, lofty.

19-22] Alfonso X (1221-1284), known as 'the wise', was king of Castile and Leon from 1252 to 1284. The allusion is to the set of astronomical tables that were prepared for him in Toledo, Spain, whose purpose was to enable astronomers to calculate eclipses and the positions of the planets. From about 1320 manuscript copies of the tables circulated throughout Europe and were first printed in 1483. For more

than two centuries they were considered the best available, and were an important source of information for Copernicus, though his own work superceded them in the 1550s.

20 a] he.

Architect] creator, in the mythological sense rather than the Christian.

23] the poet admonishes Alfonso for encouraging 'scientific' discovery in the pursuit of knowledge, believing that enquiry and interpretation of such phenomena should be the domain of those inspired by a muse. The underlying fear is that scientific discovery will inevitably remove the mystery that is an intrinsic part of poetic expression.

25 Heliconian Water] poetic tributes; Mount Helicon was sacred to the muses and hence the source of poetic inspiration.

Song

Great Julius was a Cuckold, and may I

Hope to keepe my sockett dry?

If two consent when may the moapish third

Thrust out his hand to catch the bird?

Or if he could, were it not better for

5

Him not to know, then to abhorre?

If he love not, then where's the damned guilt

Not to save that that's as well spilt?

If love, then oh the insufferable paine

To know he loves and loves in vaine!

10

Though she loves others if not him she scants

Where or what can be his wants?

Who ever found the footsteps of his Pride

That did last lye by her side?

If no parts wanting of her wanted store,

15

Who can who would have more?

He whose vast soule doth reach at more than all

His desires may catch a fall.

T[homas] B[onham]

NOTES

1 Great Julius] the basis for the satire has not been identified.

2] probably alludes to Julius Caesar who was usurped by Antony as Cleopatra's lover.

Songe.

The spring's coming on. And our spiritts begin

To retire to their places merrily home

And every man is bound to lay in

A good brewing of blood for the yeare to come

They're cowards that make it of Clarify'de whey

5

Or swill with the swine in the juyce of graines

Give me the Rosy Canary to play

And the sparkling Rhenish to vault in my veins.

Lett Doctors go preach that our lives are butt short

And overmuch wine quick death doth invite

10

Butt wee'le bee reveng'd before hand for't

And crowd a lives mirth in the space of a Night

Then stand we about with our glasses full crown'd

'Till every thing else to our posture doth grow

'Till our cups and our heads and the house go round

15

And the letter be come where the chamber is now.

Then fill us more wine, wee'le a sacrifice bring

This night full of sack to the health of the King

And tipple and tipple and tipple all out

Till we baffle the stars and the sun face about.

20

Whose first rising raies that are shott from his throne  
Shall dash upon faces as redde as his owne  
And wonder that mortalls can fuddle away  
More wine in the night than he water 'ith'day.

#### NOTES

Title] this anonymous 'song' is possibly an example of puritan satire intended to portray cavalier irresponsibility and excessive drinking. Although drinking-songs were generally associated with cavalier writers, during the Civil War the genre did not remain solely the reserve of the anti-puritans. Civil War writers often satirised their opponents by adopting their style and form, and rendering the verse or song as if spoken or sung in the enemy's voice (see. Margaret Doody, The Daring Muse (Cambridge, 1985), p.32).

4] i.e. build up his strength.

7 Canary] wine.

8 Rhenish] Rhine wine.

18 Sack] a general name for white wine formerly imported from Spain and the Canaries (OED 1a).

Songe.

Beauty and love once fell at odds

And thus revil'd each other

Quoth Love, I am one of ye Gods

And thou waits't on my mother

Thou hast no power on men at all

5

But what I gave to thee

Nor art thou longer fayre or sweett

Then men acknowledg me.

Away fond boy then beauty sayd

We know that thou art blind

10

But men have eyes and can then thou

My graces better find.

Twas I begatt the immortall snow

And call'd the fond desire

I made thy quiver and thy bow

15

And wings to kindle fire.

Love here in anger fled away

And streight to vulcan prayd

That he would tippe his shafts with scorne

To punish this proud mayd.

20

So beauty ever since hath beene  
    But courted for an houre  
To love a day is now a sinne  
    'gainst Cupid and his power.

NOTES (see commentary page 644)

3 Love] Cupid.

4 mother] Venus.

10] Renaissance authors were familiar with the iconography of Cupid as a blind boy, and though classical literature rarely depicted him thus, he had gradually evolved from the 'moralizing mythography' of the Middle Ages with his eyes either covered or blind. His age and blindness symbolized the indiscriminate nature of love, and the childish and senseless behaviour of those affected (see Erwin Panofsky, Studies in Iconography (New York, 1939), section iv 'Blind Cupid', pp.95-128).

18 Vulcan] god of blacksmiths, said to have forged weapons and armour.

Mock-song to the former.

Beauty and love once fell at odds

And thus revild each other

Sayes Beauty, I made thee a God

And Goddessed thy mother

Thy shafts have neither force nor grace

5

But what they have from mee

Take beauty from a womans face

Down falls thy Deity.

Away prow'd Girle then Cupid sayd

How camst thou by thy power

10

That nothing art but oft dost fade

And vanish in an hower

A fancy, flash deceiving sight

Colour'd apparency,

The daughter of reflected light

15

A meere non-entity.

Beauty hereat enraged flings

Such flames from both her eyes

That struck love blind and sing'd his wings

That he nor sees nor flyes

20

And now nor love nor beauty must  
On earth expected bee  
But blinded men burning with lust  
Do court Deformity.

#### NOTES

Title] a reply to the previous poem; companion poems comprising argument through dialogue were a common form in the verse of the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries. Cf. Richard Barnfield's 'Sonnet II' beginning: 'Beauty and Majesty are falne at odds'.

15] some mythologists cite more than one Venus, and the allusion is possibly to the Venus identified by Cicero (he identified four) as the daughter of Coelus and Light. Alternatively, 'reflected light' may refer to Zeus, whose name signified 'Sky' which was widely interpreted as 'bright sky'.

19] Renaissance mythographers depicted Cupid in the form of a blind boy with wings at his shoulders.

Songe.

- 1 Why shouldst thou say I am forsworne  
    Since thine I vow'd to bee  
Lady it is already morne  
    And twas last night I swore to thee  
That fond impossibility. 5
- 2 Have not I lov'd thee much and long,  
    A tedious twelve houres space?  
I should all other beautyes wrong,  
    And rob thee of a new imbrace,  
Could I still doate upon thy face. 10
- 3 Not but all joy in thy browne haire  
    By others may be found  
But I must court the black and faire  
    Like skillfull minerallists that sound  
For treasure in unplow'd-up ground. 15
- 4 But if when I have lov'd my round  
    Thou prov'st the pleasant shee  
With spoyles of meaner beautyes crown'd,  
    I laden will returne to thee  
Ev'n sated with variety. 20

Rich[ard] Lovelace.

(see commentary page 644)

The same done into Latin

Perjurum caput me appellas

Ex quo me tuum vovi

Ablegit iam Aurora stellas

Per quas iuratus (sum) quam te fovi

Quod fieri non posse novi.

5

In nitidis quum visa capillis

Multum est deliciarum

Est tam pulcher et nigellus

Decorque amor, ut gazarum

Multum est visceribus terrarum.

10

Amans te diu et multum

Bis taedis sex horarum.

Quot formosarum damnem vultum

Quo fructu fraudem te formarum

Mihi tuum si sit tam clarum.

15

Per omnes formas sic vagatus

Si firmam te expectabo

Aliarum spoliis oneratus

Ovans ad te tum remeabo

Amore satur variato.

20

J. Cleveland

(see commentary p.644)

The Ranter.

Stay, shutt the gate, tother quart,

'Fayth, it is not so late as you are thinking

The stars that you see

In the Hemispheere bee

But the studds in youre cheeks by your drinking. 5

The sunne's gone to tipple all night in the sea boyes

To morrow, hee'le blush that hee's paler then we boyes

Drink wine, give him water, Tis sack makes us the boyes.

Come fill the glasse, lett it passe

To the next merry lad come away w'it. 10

Come sett foot to foot

And give your minds to't

Tis Hereticall sin that doth slay witt.

No helicon like to the juyce of the vine is

For Phoebus had never had witt nor Divinesse 15

Had his face not been bow-dyde as thine is and mine is.

Come drink your bowles, twill enrich

Both your heads and your soules with Canary

A Carbuncle face

Saves a tedious race 20

For the Indyes about us wee carry.  
Then hang up good faces, lett's drink while our noses  
Gives fredome to speake what our fancy disposes,  
Beneath whose protection now under the Rose is.

Come drink around, d'off your hatts 25

Till the pavement be crownd with your beavers,

A Red-coated face

Frights a Sargeant and 's mace

And the constable trembles to shivers.

In state march our faces like some of the Quorum 30

When the whores do fall down and the vulgar adore them

And our noses like link-boyes run shining before 'um.

Call Honest Will, hang a long

And a tedious bitt, it disgraces

When our Rubyes appeare 35

You safely may sweare

That the reekning is right by our faces.

Lett the Bar boyes goe sleepe and the Drawers leave roaring

Our looks can account without them, had we more to

When each pimple that rises may save a quart scoring. 40

NOTES (see commentary page 645)

Title] this poem, and its companion piece 'The Anti-Ranter', are  
examples of Civil War poems written in the style of cavalier

drinking songs. Drunkenness was frequently represented as the only rational reaction to the increasing Parliamentary influence; it was also popular as a hostile gesture toward the secretaries. 'Ranter' may possibly allude to the religious sect of that name, but the more general meaning of a 'noisy, riotous, dissipated fellow' (OED 2) is clearly intended. (For a full account of the use of drinking songs as a means of political comment see Lois Potter, Secret Rites and Secret Writing (Cambridge, 1989), pp.141-147.)

5 studs] coloured spots (OED 11 5b).

8 sack] a general name for white wine formerly imported from Spain and the Canaries (OED 1a).

14 helicon] a mountain in Boeotia sacred to the muses, and often used allusively to signify poetic inspiration.

15 Phoebus] Apollo, god of poetry.

16 bow-dyde] coloured red, from the sense of 'a scarlet dye' which derived its name from Bow in Essex, the location of many dyers' works in the seventeenth century (OED).

18 Canary] wine.

19 Carbuncle] a red spot caused by intemperance (OED 2b); also puns on the sense of a precious stone (red in colour), particularly to a mythical gem said to emit light in the dark (OED 1), hence 'Indyes' (1.21) from where such stones might be brought.

26 beavers] hats.

27-28] puns on the sense of 'red-coat' meaning an army officer.

29 Sargeant] Sir Thomas Overbury describes a sergeant as 'one of

God's judgments; and which our roarers do only conceive terrible. He is the properist shape wherein they fancy Satan; for he is at most an arrester, and hell a dungeon'; his mace was a weapon used for making arrests.

30 Quoram] puns on the meaning of the members necessary for the proper transaction of business (OED 2), and 'necessary materials' (OED 3).

32 link-boyes] a 'link' was a torch made of tow and pitch, and a 'link-boy' was employed to carry the torch to light people's way through the streets (OED). Again, the poet puns on the luminous quality of the drinkers' faces. Cf. Benlowes' poem 'Theophila or Love's Sacrifice': 'cheeks dyed in claret seem O' the quorum/ When our nose-carbuncles like link-boys blaze before 'em'.

38 Drawers] tapsters, those who draw liquor in a tavern (OED 2).

The Anti-Ranter.

Hold quaff no more, but restore

If you can what you lost by your drinking

Three Kingdomes and crownes

With their cittyes and townes

While the king and his Progeny's sinking.

5

The studs in your cheeks have obscured his star-boyes,

Your drinking and miscarriage in the late war-boyes

Hath brought his Prerogative thus to the Bar boyes.

Throw down the glasse, hee's an Asse

That extracts all his worth from Canary

10

That valour it will sink

Which is only good in drink

Twase the cup made the camp to miscarry.

You thought in this world no power could tame you

You tipled and whor'd, till the foe overcame you

15

Cudnigges and nere-stir-hath quite rowted Goddammy.

Fly from the coast, else you're lost

And the water will run where the drink went

From hence you must slinke

If you sweare and have not chinke

20

Tis the course of the Royall Delinquent.  
You love to see beer Bowles turn'd over the thumb well  
You like 3 faire Gamesters 4 dice and a Drumwell  
But yould as live see the Devill as Farfax or Cromwell

Drink not the round, you'le be drown'd 25

In the source of your sack and your sonnetts

Try once more your fate

For your Kirke gainst the state

And go barter your beavers for bonnetts.

You see how you're charm'd by the Kingdomes inchanters 30

And therefore give place to the peoples supplanters

For an Act and 2 Redcoates will route all the Ranters.

NOTES (see commentary page 646)

Title] a companion poem to 'The Ranter'.

3] the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland.

5] suggests that the poem was written during the latter part of  
the civil war.

6 studs] cf. 'The Ranter' n.5.

8 Bar] puns on 'law-courts', and alludes to the trial of Charles  
I.

10 canary] wine.

16 Cudnigges] a variation of 'ods niggers' which is a corruption  
of 'God's-diggers', a common oath of the period meaning God's  
nails or fingers.

- Goddammy] often uttered as an oath (OED 1), it was also applied to the Cavaliers by Puritans (OED 2).
- 20 chinke] puns on the meanings 'a convulsive gasp for breath' (OED), and money in the form of ready cash (OED 4).
- 21] Charles I.
- 24 Farfax] Thomas Fairfax (1612-71), parliamentary general (DNB). Cromwell] General of the parliamentary forces fighting against the royalist army.
- 26 sack] wine.
- 28 Kirke] the Scottish church.
- 29 beavers] hats; 'bonnetts' were the hats worn by Scotsmen. The allusion is to the presence of Scottish forces in England, following their success in the earlier Bishops' Wars of 1638 and 1639.
- 32 an Act] possibly a reference to the 'Act of Banishment', an Ordinance passed by Parliament in May 1648 (cf. Acts and Ordinances, vol., p.1140).
- 2 Redcoates] probably a reference to Fairfax and Cromwell cf. 1.24.

To the memory of Sr Wm Spring. To his sonne the true preserver  
of his fathers name and spiritt.

Sr.  
The freshnesse of your Fathers memory  
Needs not the thin manuring of my eye,  
To give it bloome, or growth; such dewes wold prove  
But a more duteous blasting and not love. 5  
For though the losse might presse all teares, since thus  
Virtues Pandect and lesson's ta'ne from us:  
Yett only Truants cry when maisters looke  
What they can do by heart without their book:  
We gaine by it, Before his Excellence 10  
Putt out the eye with light, when now the sense  
Spells him more legible, and lesse perplext  
In this his last Analys then the Text.  
Before his Giant virtues were our dread  
Which now we urge and handle conquered. 15  
Alive we see not all our cunning twists,  
And subtle veines; Death makes anatomists.  
I; but hee's lost. Noe. There's no Emptinesse  
In virtue, or in nature more or lesse  
For though that spiritt which took up the space 20  
Be now exhal'd, yours Sir must fill the place.  
Nor is he dead. Kings never dye, nor he  
Who liv'd to see his owne Eternity.

Grown man in you, and least it fayle, begun  
 Or rather still continued in your son. 25  
 Thus deaths but wider prospect letts us see  
 And at once gives us twice Eternity.  
 She is lifes double-dores and easily I  
 Would thinke that those men only live which dy,  
 Indeed for this we live; hither we bend 30  
 For formes perfection, and perfections End  
 Tis the last hand and turne, that names a soule  
 In manufacture; in an urne or bowle.  
 We too are but a better wood or clay  
 And write not perfect man till our last day 35  
 Till then we are 'oth' wheele, but rough Essaies  
 Trialls of life, ever the same wayes  
 Doeing the same things; and learne to bee  
 Thus Prentises unto Eternity:  
 'Till deaths stroak gives us liberty, and then 40  
 We sett up for ourselves, are our owne men.  
 For tis our life to grow, see, or be wise  
 And oake hath more of growth, the sun more eyes,  
 Dead books more wisdome: No, t'aske no more is  
 Truly to live; wee'd live yett aske all these. 45  
 Death only begs no more, and if to live be  
 Not to desire, the way to live's to dye.  
 So sayth the Phoenix ashes, Die and live,  
 But death but only takes away to give.  
 Our soules are dated hence from the last flame 50

And sigh: These give us new being and fame.  
 Thus flowres grow from graves; Thus states and lawes  
 From dead citties and men; Religion drawes  
 Her rules and lines of life from Martyrdome;  
 From dead Apostles, who lived since their tombe. 55  
 Ev'n Rome at full and living sick'd and dy'de  
 (Then when she was lett blood through Caesars side)  
 But since her death she breeds and generates  
 And brings forth lusty issues lawes, and states,  
 Births great as she herselfe, nay stronger still 60  
 Her later labours teem'd a Machiavell  
 Who ere looks at the sun in's noone, and height  
 But in's Eclipse, when hee resembles Death?  
 Why's Virtue prais'd and sometimes look'd upon  
 But only cause shee's dead or drawing on? 65  
 Envy attends our life, Death brings our baies  
 And gives what life ne're gott, unflatter'd praise.  
 Fam'd Johnson (who unmannerly could dye  
 Ere he had writt your fathers Elegie  
 Or left his Epitaph in Propheisie) 70  
 Even he alive dyde with too long alife  
 His Deaths restorative and breeds a strife  
 Who shall give most: Dead Bacon now will be  
 Sent to, as to an University.  
 Your fathers tombe too, when hee's dead enough 75  
 (Which needs not but that Death will have it soe)  
 Shall ope and's glorify'de name putt on

Fresh beames at his fames Resurrection  
 Like those dead Heroes to whom Plutarch gives  
 Life at this day: The Book is still call'd LIVES. 80  
 If then Life's poles, perfection and prayse  
 Move in the urne, hence life should fetch her rayes  
 Nor think this Sir a Paradox. For know  
 To say Many are left who crave and doe  
 Right, who keepe justice both the name and thing 85  
 Who never ask what such a man did bring  
 Besides his suite, (Like your just father) is  
 I feare a lowder Paradox, then this.

Epitaphium

Hic Gulielmus Spring iacet, patri favens 90  
 Et liberorum et patriae, ius invicem  
 Utrisque partiens; justiciarius  
 Et publicae rei suaeque, qui pacis  
 Dedisset (mitis ut fuit) nomen sibi  
 Recensos qui annos post quadraginta novem 95  
 De iure iam totis jubileis vacat.

Cl[ement] Paman.

NOTES

Title] William Spring of Pakenham in Suffolk served as a member  
 of parliament for Suffolk and Bury St Edmunds. In 1611 he was

knighted by James I. He died in 1638 and was buried at Pakenham church on 29 September. His second son William (the first, also called William, died in infancy), to whom the poem is addressed, succeeded him on his death and was created a baronet on 11 August 1641. From 1640 to 1641 he was sheriff of Suffolk and was active as an MP for Bury St Edmunds from 1646 to 1648, and for Suffolk from 1654 until his death in that year. As a parliamentarian he served on several committees during the years 1643 to 1646.

5 blasting] here used in the sense of 'blighting', or 'striking with baleful effect' (OED).

6 teares] verses.

7 Pandect] here used in the sense of a 'complete body of laws' (OED 1b); a book treating of all matters. Cf. Donne's 'Satyre V' lines 49-50:

Thus thou, by meanes which th'Ancient never tooke,  
A Pandect makest, and Universall booke.

14 dread] to hold someone in reverence, or awe (OED 2).

17 anatomists] here in the sense of 'dissection'.

25] William Spring films married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hamond Lestrange of Hunstanton, Norfolk, by whom he had several children, the eldest also called William.

28 Double-dores] plays on the meaning of immortality attained by going to heaven, and the inherent qualities that live on in Spring's son.

34 Wood] celestial goodness in its lowest corporeal form.

clay] associated with life and man; in creation myths flesh is

frequently made of clay; cf. Genesis: 'and the Lord God  
formes man of the dust of the ground' (2: 7).

35 our last day] the end of history, believed to be imminent.

36 Wheele] signified the cycle of existence, destiny, and time's  
passage.

48 Phoenix ashes] the mythical bird that after burning to death  
was able to regenerate itself from the ashes.

50 last flame] the fire expected at the Last Judgment. Cf.  
Revelation 20: 14-15: 'And death and hell were cast into the  
lake of fire. This is the second death. And whosoever was not  
found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of  
fire'.

57] Julius Caesar was assassinated in the Senate House; according  
to Suetonius he received twenty-three stab wounds (Twelve  
Caesars, 82).

66 baies] traditionally bay leaves were associated with the  
burial of the dead, and signified a person's triumph and  
immortality (see J.B. Trapp, 'The Owle's Ivy and the Poet's  
Bays', JWCI, 21 (1958), 227-55).

68 Fam'd Johnson] Ben Jonson (?1572-1637).

73 Dead Bacon] Francis Bacon (1561-1626).

79-80] Plutarch (c AD 50-120), the Greek writer who wrote  
biographies of Greek and Roman soldiers and statesmen  
(translated into English by North, entitled Plutarch's  
Lives).

89] the 'Epitaphium' commemorates Sir William Spring pere; an

English translation is as follows:

Here lies William Spring, supporter of his father,

Apportioning justice on either hand to both

His children and his country; just administrator

Of the public weal and of his own, inasmuch as he had

Bestowed upon himself (merciful as he was) the title of

Peace;

Who after a count of forty-nine years

Now for all time enjoys vacation from law-suits.

Upon Elegies to Ben Jonsons memory.

The Grave is now a favourite, we see,  
All verse waites on the rise of Elegie  
Who now in her late Empire scornes to looke  
Through one poore page or Poem, but a Booke.  
She's now voluminous, A whole churchyard, 5  
Which tother day was one small stone or sheard,  
Death's not more common now then she, who growes  
So vulgar, shortly we sha'nt dye in prose:  
We meet her on the streets, but in such verse  
Such starke dead verse, lines deader then the herse, 10  
Which need an Epitaph themselves. That I  
Think she but tryes her waies to make men dye  
The second death and all: while her rude feete  
In one poore leafe fowle a whole winding sheete,  
And from the sacred refuge of their stone, 15  
Drag priviledg'd bones to th' Inquisition  
Of witt (she thinks) Tis torture, And her prowde  
Hands helpe not dresse but massacre the shrowd  
Her scribes drop brine, not tears, and perhaps weepe  
Nothing but salt to make their pamphletts keepe 20  
Which being read and laughd at shortly bee  
Cry'de up for very merry Elegie.  
Whence tis that first the queasie eye is ledde  
To see who tis that writes, then who is dead.  
Yett satyre's naught to Epicede. Is't meete 25

That every black should goe on cloven feete?  
 Dresse Pageants in your Antiques. But the herse  
 Is nice and bleeds at touch of miming verse  
 Like corps before the murtherer. Her pace  
 Is quiett, and compos'd Her settled face 30  
 Smooth as the waters of a teare. Yett wee  
 (As if a Jig or morrice-dance would bee  
 Fitt quires to the sage Procession)  
 Disturbe the silent traine, by letting run  
 Our squibs of witt, and thinke it funerall weare 35  
 To mourn in Tissue, and to laugh a teare  
     As if because the Hatchments of the Herse  
 Are blaz'd with beasts and fowles, so should the verse.  
 Theire lines are arm'd and grinn, nor can they raise  
 The confus'd pile of this their Hybrid prayse, 40  
 Save out of Rubbish. Else what ist to Donne  
 Though I crie twenty times, Hee's not the sonne  
 Of noyse and schisme, nor did he compose  
 His sermons to be sung unto the nose.  
     Or should I sweare Sejanus glories yett 45  
 Bove him, that Tho' did write of Lancelott,  
 Or that the subtle Mermayd never taught  
 The Fox her arts of musiqu and deceite  
     What's this to Ben? must good beg show from ill?  
 Still are the vales discoverers of the hill? 50  
 Virtue is test to the extreames, not they  
 To her. If you would try a ballad, weigh

That in the scales gainst Johnson, and there try  
 How th' sprawling rime will trice, when you lett fly  
 Ben's crowded ballance downe: But never dreame 55  
 That these can poize him up. Hee's not by them  
 Valu'd, but they by him, whose cause appears  
 At his owne barre, and is tryde with his Peeres  
 (Or should be) with his Horace, or with men  
 Built up to the same story, rather then 60  
 Under-roofes, That were just as I  
 Should write in honour of our Deputie,  
 He lives not downe right Irish: yes, and so  
 We might at this rate praise an Angell too,  
 Because he doth not sin, nor ever erres, 65  
 Not he, In bribes although an officer.  
 Who ever praised his Mistress though in prose,  
 Because she was no whore, or had her nose!  
 Yett inspird soules, whose spiritts dwell as far  
 Above our crawling fancies, as ours are 70  
 Below an Angells, whose all beauteous verse  
 Enamours with a glance, must have their herse  
 Borne up by scriblers, and are prais'd enough  
 If we but coldly say. They write not stuffe,  
 And things and trash, like Parker and the rest 75  
 Who pen but to the wheele or paile at best  
 This in thy rule great Ben was censur'd fitt  
 For finable, and ill condition'd witt  
 When sober greife went veyld, and threw no shine

But wept through a sad clowd, no feminine 80  
 Word laught and wept at once, nor didst thou lay  
 Wormwood amongst thy breath of Cassia.  
 But thy wise greife taught each eye how to beare  
 Itselfe through all demeanours of a teare.  
 No herauld better knew each mourners place 85  
 Then thou the difference of sigh and face  
 For Father Wife or Freind, thus skill'd in all  
 The strict behaviour of a Funerall.  
 Now we but kick the urne and blow about  
 Those ashes into sport which sorrow ought 90  
 Preserve in balme, not Pickle. For though there  
 May be a touch of salt in every teare  
 Yett sure there is more churlishnes in them  
 Which are wrung out and forc'd, then those which streame  
 From full and easy chanells, T'one's art 95  
 Foames from the Teeth, t'others melt from the hart  
 Indeed for such as I am, when you see  
 Us fitt for winding verse (For rime will be  
 Full as essentiall to a Funerall  
 Shortly as Preist or service) lett us all 100  
 Beare up the stroak with Taylor, lett us lye  
 By Gascoigne, or bespeak us billet by  
 Sternold or Hopkins, or what's worse then these,  
 Lett me be layd by dow-bak'd Euphues  
 Soe that the misling flamens (whose soules were 105  
 Scan'd to a verse by nature, whilst we are

But cast in rash and hasty prose) may pace,  
 With demure Exequies unto that place  
 Where poetts equall Kings, and where their tombe  
 Breath from their verse spices about their gumme. 110  
 For me had I beene borne to Poetry  
 Or had an hand or eye were worthy thee  
 (Almighty Johnson) thou shouldst then descend  
 Downe to thy modest shades as Virgins bend  
 Their slow and trembling steps when they must tread 115  
 Those sheets, which must enshrowd their maydenhead.  
 I'de fanne the Eastern windes into a sigh  
 Then sett that sigh unto an Elegie;  
 Which quire being done the weeping ayre,  
 Shold rise a morning clowd then fall a teare. 120  
 Which precious dew congeald at last to one  
 Great Adamant, should draw upon thy stone  
     Here 'tis the Poetts Father Johnson lies  
     In whom now-orphan'd verse once liv'd and dies.  
 This I would doe, and think I had wonne 125  
 Enough might I but be thy Posthume son  
     All now I can; Is't envy Naeuius  
     And thrifty Plautus and Pacuvius  
 Who dy'de at their owne charge, and mourn'd in cheife  
 Themselves, nor were Embalmed by a Breife 130  
 A club and gathering of witts; but have  
 Beene sole Executors to their owne grave.  
 And so mightst thou too Ben, there's not a string

Strook by the Alchymist, but it doth bring  
 Hymns and Elixar'd incense to thy Herse 135  
 Two drams whereof would turne our medlies, verse  
 And by its labourd power change all our old  
 And cankerd Iron lumber into gold.  
 One of whose sublim'd graines had made this rime  
 (Though light and changeable) fitt for the chime 140  
 That suites thy reverend Exequies; But I  
 Weepe those that write; not thee. Tis we that dye.

Clement Paman.

#### NOTES

Title] Ben Jonson died on 16 August 1637 and to mark the occasion  
 a commemorative volume entitled Jonsonus Virbius: or, The  
 Memorie of Ben Jonson Revived by the Friends of the Muses  
 (Oxford, 1638), was published. This particular poem is not  
 included in the volume, and, as the title suggests, comments  
 on the quality of the many poems inspired by Jonson's death  
 rather than the event itself. The tone of the poem echoes a  
 view expressed at the time that English poetry had died with  
 Ben (Masson, Life of Milton (1881), vol.i, p.467), and is  
 reminiscent of Jonson's own statement that 'too much licence  
 of poetasters...hath much deformed their mistress' (Epistle  
 Dedicatory, Volpone). The poem is printed in Herford

and Simpson, vol.xi, pp.481-5, where the text is taken from RP 147.

4 Booke] Jonsonus Virbius.

13 second death] the punishment or destruction of lost souls after physical death (OED 5a); 'and death and hell were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death' (Revelation 20: 14).

13-14] cf. Donne's 'A Funeral Elegie' line 11-12, 16-17:

Can these memorials, ragges of paper, give  
Life to that name...  
Being such a Tabernacle, stoope to bee  
In paper wrap't...

20] 'salt' puns on the meanings 'wit' and 'to preserve'; the poet possibly also has in mind Jonson's own use of the word in 'To Playwright' (Epigrams, 49, lines 3-4):

I have no salt: no bawdry, he doth mean;  
For witty in his language, is obscene.

25 Epicede] anglicized form of Epicidium (OED), in Latin literature a poem in honour of a dead person.

26] the poet queries why every mourner should feel obliged to express his grief in verse, hence 'cloven feete', an allusion to Pan who was traditionally associated with pastoral verse.

28 nice] here used in the sense of 'delicate', 'not able to endure much' (OED 4b).

29] it was believed by some that a murdered body would bleed in the presence of the murderer; the contemporary theory, propounded by Cornelius Gemma, was that an image of the

murderer remained in the victim's blood for three days, causing the corpse to bleed if the murderer was present (cf. 'Vernura and Celeman', p.269, n.58).

35 squibs] smart or sarcastic language (OED I 1).

36 Tissue] a rich cloth often interwoven with gold or silver (OED 1a).

37-8] a 'hearse' was the ornate canopy over an elaborate, and in this instance emblazoned, tomb (OED 2a); 'Hatchments' are the armorial escutcheons or ensigns (OED).

40 Hybrid] here refers to the diverse quality of the verse.

43] alludes to puritanism and the threat of non-conformity to established church practices. 'Noyse', a pejorative term, originated from the tone and style of puritan sermonizing, for which it subsequently became a symbol. This is satirized in Jonson's characterisation of Busy in Bartholomew Fair. When others attempt to stop his 'noise' he replies 'thou canst not; 'tis a sanctified noise. I will make a loud and most strong noise, till I have daunted the profane enemy' (III vi.98-99).

sung unto the nose] another derogatory term of the same origin. When giving sermons, puritans were considered to have a characteristic 'nose-twang' which was out of tune with the Anglican style of presentation. From the description of an individual trait it came to be associated with puritans in general (see H.Wilcox, 'Puritans, George Herbert and "Nose-twange"', NQ, 224 (1979), 152-3). More specifically, the implication is that Donne is not a pretender to poetry,

- unlike the other poets whose metrics jarr the senses.
- 45 sejanus] Jonson's play Sejanus, His Fall was acted in 1603 and published in 1605.
- 46 Lancelott] Sir Lancelot is mentioned in Every Man in his Humour (II.iii) and 'Underwood' (XLIII).
- 47-8] the Mermaid Tavern in Bread Street, London, was frequented by Jonson; an allusion is also intended to the Sirens' music as 'mermaid' was a common designation of the Sirens. 'Fox' alludes to Jonson, and his play of that name (Volpone, or The Fox), which was acted in 1606 and published in 1607.
- 54 trice] to pull; to pluck, snatch, draw with a sudden action (OED V.1.). Mistranscribed in Herford and Simpson as 'tries'.
- 56 poize] to heave, lift (OED).
- 61 Under-roofes] this may be a reference to Jonson's 'Underwood'.
- 63 Irish] Jonson's The Irish Masque at Court was performed on 29 December 1613 and 3 January 1614. It was published in 1616.
- 74-6] the jibe is aimed at 'popular' literature, and Martin Parker (c 1600-52) in particular. Parker was a tavern keeper and for years had the reputation of being the leading influence in ballad writing. Henry Peacham wrote that 'for a peny you may have all the Newes in England, of Murders, Flouds, Witches, Fires, Tempests, and what not, in one of Martin Parkers Ballads' (The Worth of a Penny: or a Caution to Keep Money (London, 1647), p.21).
- 76 wheele or paile] i.e. for money or other imposed limitations and restrictions.
- 79-80] a 'feminine' rhyme comprises two syllables and is

often used to comic effect, particularly when the corresponding rhyme forces a distortion of pronunciation; in this instance the word itself serves as an example.

82 Worm-wood] the plant, proverbial for its bitter taste. An emblem or type of what is bitter and grievous to the soul (OED).

Cassia] a fragrant shrub or plant (regarded in a poetic context as a sweet smelling herb) (OED 3.).

91 balme] believed by some to be the vital essence which existed in all things and operated as a preservative.

92] puns on 'salt' meaning 'wit', and its function as a preservative; 'teare' puns on 'lachrymae', meaning commemorative verse, a title often given to collections of elegies issued by the universities.

98 winding verse] puns on winding sheet, cf. line 14.

101 Taylor] John Taylor (?1578-1653), the Water-poet; he obtained the patronage of Jonson (DNB).

102 Gascoigne] George Gascoigne (c 1534-1577), the poet and playwright (DNB).

103 Sternold or Hopkins] Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins were joint versifiers of the Psalms and a collection first appeared in 1549. By 1640 about 300 editions had been published.

104 dow-bak'd Euphues] the eponymous hero of John Lyly's prose romance published in two parts: Euphues, The Anatomy of Wit (1578), and Euphues and his England (1580); 'dow-bak'd' is used in the sense of 'stodgy'.

105 mislings] the poet may have derived this word from 'mizzler' meaning 'one who complains' (OED).

flamens] in antiquity the term referred to priests devoted to the service of a particular deity (OED 1), but more generally applies to other priests (OED 2).

108 Exequies] plays on the meanings 'train of followers' and 'funeral rites' (OED).

place] Westminster Abbey, where Jonson was buried.

127 Naevius] Gnaeus Naevius the Roman poet (c 270–201B.C.), Jonson quotes his epitaph in Timber (ll.2345–48).

128 Plautus] Titus maccius Plautus (c 254–184B.C.), the Roman comedian.

Pacuvius] Marcus Pacuvius (d 130B.C.), the Roman tragedian.

130–1] refers to Jonsonus Virbius.

134 Alchymist] Jonson, whose verse is equated with the alchemist's gold; his play The Alchemist, was acted in 1610, and published in 1612.

135–8] the satire rests on the comparison of Jonson's verse, his 'Hymns and Elixar'd incense', with the 'medlies' written by less skilled poets, who instead of preserving Jonson's memory are themselves only remembered because it is him they commemorate. Again, the poet is possibly thinking of Jonson's own expression which might equally apply as a warning to the writers of such 'Hybrid prayse' (line 40):

For prayer is the incense most perfumes

The holy altars, when it least presumes.

('Elegy on my Muse', Underwood, 84, lines 187–8).

On the Death of the virtuous Lady Mary Lewkenor late wife of Sr  
Edward Lewkenor and daughter of Sr Henry Nevill.

Though Truth be dangerous, and safer farre  
Men might owne Papists goods or th' Plague then her  
Though Lies have a protection, and beare saile  
Up, like a theife or Ruffian under baile.

Yett greif hath some excuse, sorrow may say 5  
The worlds but one great Faction and that they  
Are best who leave her, since they rise to bee  
By that disunion neerer unitie.

Religion is but a schoole-clock, and sett  
Backward and forward as the boyes will ha't 10  
The Law's a riddle and reduc'd we see  
To that which hath no Law, necessity.

Man is disparkt and the loose herd contest  
Who shall have the precedency at beast;  
And could an holy or a Lewknor's soule 15  
Where order and Religion stood on rolle  
Could she be this and not cry Heaven? or  
Could Heaven heare and not call Lewkenor?

No, so she dyde, most charitably sad  
Not that she left the world, but left it bad. 20

Whilst thou, poore Hectique world, canst feele in all  
Thy parts consume livenes, yett never call  
For thy last feaver, nor at once to dye  
But Mangled in a live Anatomy.

Why here th' hast lost an eye, and yett canst sleepe 25  
 With th' other, which should rather rise and weepe,  
 Thou hast lost armes, legs, hart, all thy witts gone  
 Except some little to be troublesome  
 Yett thou wouldst live. Come hearken to thy story  
 Tis Lewkenors Epitaph, Thy inventory. 30  
     Here lies Religion pure and smooth  
     Whose purenes dazles not her truth;  
     Here lyes those vertues that did grow  
     Which heathen had but did not know.  
     Here lyes in one a treble life 35  
     An husband, widow and a wife.  
     For when her husband dyde, she  
     Marryde agen his memory  
     Father and mother grew unite  
     In her, a true Hermaphrodite. 40  
     Whose tender care and wiser sway  
     Her Children felt and lov'd to' obey  
     Whose sager counsell friends would aske  
     As if she wrought her husbands taske.  
     And made up what he left undone 45  
     As the faire moone supplies the sun  
     Here lyes zeale with wise restraint  
     And more discretion then we want  
 Now, world, after such losse if thou'ldst not dye  
 Thou lov'st thyselpe and life better then I 50  
 Who beg of thee a grave that couch of cares

Whence no insulting schisme domineeres  
 No proud Deuoto reprobates the dust  
 Of him lyes next him, while the meeke and just  
 Prophetts, Apostles, Martyrs, Lewknors rest 55  
 Wrapt in that humble quiett they profest  
 Lay me but here, my ashes will not dread  
 Though the world fight and quarrell o're my head  
 Come fate! For who good company would have  
 I see must either search the Jayles or Grave. 60

Clement Paman.

#### NOTES

Title] Lady Mary Lewkenor, wife of Sir Edward Lewkenor of Denham Hall, Essex. Her father, Sir Henry Neville (1564?-1615), was a courtier, diplomatist, and member of parliament. Lady Mary died in October 1642 and was buried at Denham (Denham Parish Register 1539 to 1850, with Historical Notes and Notices, 1904).

9-12] these lines suggest a personal observation on the political and religious changes brought about by the Long Parliament (convened in November 1640), which was systematically effective in crushing 'Laudianism', and in bringing those believed responsible for 'treasonous' behaviour to trial. Strafford, regarded as the most influential of Charles I's advisors, was executed on 12 May 1641. The sense and tone of 'Necessity' (line 12) echoes the sentiment expressed in

Glyn's speech during the trial of Strafford: 'my Lords for many years past, your lordships know, an evil spirit hath moved among us, which in truth hath been made the author and ground of all our distractions, and that is necessity and danger' (John Rushworth, The Tryal of Thomas Earl of Strafford (London, 1680)).

21 Hectique] consumptive; cf. lines 21-24 with Donne's 'The First Anniversary' (lines 239-44):

And learnst thus much by our Anatomy,  
That this worlds generall sicknesse doth not lie  
In any humour, or one certain part;  
But, as thou sawest it rotten at the hart,  
Thou seest a Hectique fever hath got hold  
Of the whole substance.

40 Hermaphrodite] here used in the sense of one in whom opposite attributes and qualities are combined (OED A 4).

53 Deuoto] Latin, meaning to 'put a spell on, bewitch' (OLD); the intended sense is probably that derived from 'deuotio' meaning a (formal) curse or execration (OLD 2).

On the first report of Mr Ed. Kinges drowning.

It is no Hearse-Hypocrisy makes me

Thus first come cloathd in blacks and Elegie,

I mourne not to bee seene, Whose sorrow lyes

In popular Teares, weepes at anothers eyes:

I come an Early Orator to Fame

5

To be herselfe, that is, still false and lame.

Now False were above True: A lie were well

Twere Pietie to be an Infidell.

Faith would be weak Credulity. And some

Wold think we wishd him dead, shold we so soone

10

Beleive he were so: for was't ever found

That so much Heate and flame were ever drown'd

As circled his quick soule, to whom was lent

Not one poore flash of fire, but th' Element?

He was all Principle and Axiome,

15

And Abstracts know no fate no not of Doome:

And though all arts once perishd by that flood

Except some Pillars, yet the promise stood

They shold doe soe no more: And then shall we

Think he, who had reduc'd the Heptarchy

20

Of Arts to Monarchy, and join'd them all

In th' omen of his name, That he could fall

Like twice=killd Sweden, who was swept away

Just as the Empire crackt, and as the sway

And sceptor begd his hands? no, Ambition

25

Of knowledg sets back fate, pulls it not on.  
 Like too tall masts oreturue with his owne weight,  
 This soule was poys'd and so could never move  
 To sinke below itselpe or ride above;  
 This Soule was flame and as all fire does doe 30  
 Had likened and ensoul'd his body too.  
 What then was here to drowne? unless we can  
 Think heavenly fires are drown'd ith' Ocean?  
 Hadst seen his golden curles first sinke then drown  
 Thouldst think and tell't, He dide not but went down 35  
 And when that Deep head vanishd wouldst confesse  
 The great Deepe lay [ ] in the losse.  
 But hee's not yett descended to his west  
 Nor so untimely landed at his rest:  
 His body was the Arke unto his Soule; and what? 40  
 Shall we take rocks for hills of Ararat?  
 No Good Fame, say he lives, though false, And thou  
 Shalt thus bee Good, although thou beest not True.

Cl[ement P[aman].

NOTES (see commentary page 646)

Title] Edward King, Fellow of Christ's College Cambridge, was  
 drowned in the Irish sea on 10 August 1637. Marginal note:  
 'Elegie on E. King drownd in his passage to Ireland. To J. H.  
 on the report of his death'. 'J.H.' is unidentified, but is

possibly either John Hayward (Chancellor and Canon-Residentiary of Lichfield Cathedral), or John Hoper (of Christ's College), both of whom wrote poems included in Justa Edouardo King. For reasons unknown this, and the following poem 'On His Death', were not included in JEK, published in 1638. Without a date of composition it is impossible to confirm whether they were written in direct response to the news of King's death, as the title of the first poem claims, or after a reading of the published verse.

4 Teares] verses.

7-9] marginal correction (the lines originally included in the text, in this and following examples (including the following poem 'On his Death'), are printed in the commentary).

13 quick] endowed with life (OED 1a), chiefly of qualities and feelings (OED 2d).

14] marginal note: 'sensu popularis'.

17-19] the deluge story (Gen.6: 5-8); afterwards God covenanted never again to destroy the race by flood.

21-2] a commonplace in the verse on King who is acknowledged as the embodiment of all the arts (cf. 'On His Death' line 54).

23 twice=killed Sweden] Gustavos Aldophus (1594-1632), king of Sweden, was killed in battle at Lutzen in November 1632, and his untimely death, like that of King's, was considered a great loss. 'Twice=killed' may refer to the apocryful story that as Adolphus' body was found naked with many wounds (some believed he was both shot and stabbed), treachery on the part of the Duke of Lauenburg was suspected. Another coincidental

comment made about Adolphus is that by Sir Thomas Roe (Ambassador), who stated 'he thinks the ship cannot sink that carries him'.

24 Empire] Holy Roman Empire.

26] marginal addition.

34 golden curls] the colour of King's hair is not known for certain and the expression is most likely used in a figurative sense. Within the context of King's association with art and learning the allusion compares him with Apollo who was represented with blond flowing hair (cf. R. Brown's Latin poem in JEK, pp.14-16).

34-7] marginal correction.

41] the poet assumes the cause of the shipwreck to be a submerged rock and draws an analogy with the deluge story; 'Ararat' was the resting place of Noah's Ark (Gen.8: 4).

On his Death.

No, no, Hee's gone, I hear'd the Angells sing  
And call him Throne there, who was here a King.  
Gone like the Tyde that drown'd him, and in vaine  
We look for him till the world Tydes againe.  
For whole mankind hath ebbd ere since the fall 5  
And two'nt be full sea till the Generall,  
When glory quickens out of mudd and when  
A whales or sea-horse slime shall spawne a man.  
When scatter'd man's summd up, and when the sea  
Brings in her Bills of dead at th' Auditt day, 10  
Then shall this body now some fishes guest,  
Rise from his bed of dust and court the East.  
Till when would but all Gold and pearles which have  
Been drown'd like him, and ly without a grave  
Meete and consult his monument; In this 15  
They shold be their own tomb by being His.  
Diamonds should cutt his Epitaph, Here lyes  
When jewells gave a Tombe, He them their prise.  
But contemn'd Rock! whole be thy Sexton? wee  
But in thy ruines would not bury thee. 20  
The Earth disclaimes thee and each puny wave  
Shall pisse upon thy dust and flout thy grave  
Yett what cars't thou for buryall, who wer't sent  
To th' world a stone, and borne a monument.  
Then weep not stone, thy dust shaln't be despis'd 25

Thou shalt not be interr'd but canoniz'd  
As well as all those Jesuites have been  
Which have sunk Kings like thee, and live unseene  
Yet thou must be a lesser saint, for thou'rt content  
To kill some men, They the commandment. 30

But Ile not curse thee, [wise] and happy too  
Was't for our earth, that he departed so;  
For had the land conspir'd his death, why he had torne  
Her bowells, like his ships to' attend his urne.  
Greatnes can't dye alone. But Oh! you men, 35  
You mariners, whom nature curs'd ev'n then  
When first she made you soe; brought up to dwell  
Probationers here for ferrymen in Hell.

You that ne're prayd since Jonah's time, who ne're  
Are nam'd but in a storme, and then left there. 40

Whose very scapings guilty and who, fall  
Condemn'd, 'cause freed, by the Seas Ordeall  
Had you but fir'd the Vatican, although  
With its owne Manuscripts, there are enough  
Your sin perhaps had turn'd a sacrifice 45  
And you zealotts for burning Heresies.

Or had you but drown'd Frankford; had it bin  
On the mart-day, when th' crowd of bookes comes in  
Like bills o'th' sicknes, where a man may heare  
What controversie sickd and dyde that yeare, 50  
Why I had lov'd you; Bookes inflame, not cure  
And heale an Ague with a Calenture.

But to sinke all the Arts, all Volumes, All  
 The stamps of learning with the minerall,  
 (While you (thee papers principles, ragge) are found 55  
 Floating like leaves false printed and unbound;)

Was not to kill but to annihilate  
 And to teach Arts what they teach to withstand, Fate.  
 For Pallas lyes with Thetis now, and wee  
 Must send for Arts to this Colledg in the sea, 60  
 They'le nere returne till you thee boatswaines call  
 And in vaine whistle to this rock to fall  
 And hide your Guilt, which for your sin not hers  
 Now stands a party at that precious herse.

And now the Roules dissolv'd; unfold the scene 65  
 Where sitts the waters newborne Cherubin:  
 The sea has now her Hierarchy, and brings forth  
 Fayre likenesses of Heaven as well as Earth.  
 Here Neptunes Trident [waies] the scaly powres  
 From Pythagoreans turn'd to Confessours, 70  
 Who sung before but in dumb Anthems now  
 Their voyce paies what their silence did but vow.  
 There the wise Porpoise, and the Dolphins move  
 Sea-Angels both of Knowledg and of Love  
 Here is the Holy Whale which once you know 75  
 Was both a Prophets house and Temple too.  
 Here are cold Virgin Sea nymphs, who are plac'd  
 So, that (like Heaven) the place preserves them chast.  
 Amidst which traine our young sea saint putts on

Those easy robes of Death, Translation, 80  
 As Enoch who because he died before  
 Just time, tis said, That He was seen no more.  
 And ist not pretty Justice there should bee  
 Heaven in the sea, as well as there's a sea  
 In Heaven above? Is not the seas cleare shine 85  
 Neerer of kin to th' Heavenly Christalline  
 Then the dark earths, yett her black face can show  
 Not only shapes of Heaven but hell too  
 (Like tables 'oth' Pope and christ.) It was the sea  
 Lent us all Primitive Divinity. 90  
 From her Heavens cheife discoverers were sent  
 And planters too; but oh they were but lent,  
 She now askes payment, Peter from the maine  
 Rose like the Sun and there goes downe againe  
 In our Apostle here, who at his fall 95  
 Was Text and preacher at's owne Funerall,  
 Whose death was a convincing Text, which we  
 May prove and feele the worlds mortality  
 In his decay, whose lips had power to have  
 Converted all but saylers and the waves. 100  
 I'm sure the passengers all hung about  
 His parting words and soule, as they had thought  
 Were but their soules join'd Patenters with his  
 In his commission, drowning were a blisse  
 He made even shreiks devout while all implore 105  
 And begge by shipwrack to be sett on shore,

When he first drownd in teares, upon his knees  
Dies his own martyr first and then the seas.  
Workes miracles in all, At's parting, where  
His ship turnes Church, his Pulpitt and his biere. 110

But I thus break the slumbers of his tombe  
Who sha'n't be wept in Items but the summe;  
Hee's the History of life and death, where's none  
Found ever liv'd soe long, yet dyde soe soone;  
Glory walk round his dust, and till's Returne 115

Give him the sea's wide vaults but for his urne  
While th' rich of ashes of our mighty spans  
Our balm'd and star-cloth'd land-Leviathans  
Clos'd in their narrow sandboxes, shall lye  
To dry the teares but of his Elegie. 120

Whose life shall overlive their bedrid fame  
And's death baptize the waters with his name.

C[lement] P[aman].

NOTES (see commentary page 647)

Title] directly follows 'On the first report'.

2] Thrones were one of the nine orders of angels in  
Pseudo-Dionysius' angelic hierarchy; the sense of 'throne'  
meaning 'deity seat' also puns on King's name.

4] King's body was never recovered.

5-6] alludes to the deluge story.

7-8] it was believed that the Egyptian sun generated strange creatures from the Nile's mud, which bore resemblance to those included in Noah's Ark. Ovid recounts the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha, the only survivors of a flood, after which the waters receded and the mud brought forth countless life-forms (Metamorphoses, 1, 416-43).

Whale] Hebraic-Christian symbol of the devil.

Sea-horse] steed of Neptune and other sea-gods.

9-10] marginal addition. 'Bills of mortality' were the officially published lists of the dead, stating the cause and number for a particular district (cf. lines 50-1). An analogy is drawn between the civil process of examination ('Auditt day') and the Day of Judgment when the 'books' kept to differentiate between the good and bad souls will be judicially examined (cf. Luke 10: 20; Revelation 5: 1-11).

11-12] marginal correction. The east, the point at which the sun rises, signifies the light of Christ. It is assumed that King, on the Day of Judgment, will rise up and take his place by Christ, who is usually depicted as officiating on this occasion (Rom. 14: 10-12; Matt. 25: 31-4).

19 Contemn'd Rock] the absence of factual information or official records concerning the shipwreck in which King died has stimulated speculation as to the possible cause and location of the sinking, and for this reason the prefatory Tribute in JEK is sometimes cited as supplying the necessary details. In the absence of extreme weather conditions, which presumably would have been remembered by contemporaries, a collision

with a submerged rock is a logical explanation. This rock has been conjecturally identified as 'Coal Rock' by J.K. Franson in an article entitled 'The Fatal Irish Voyage of Edward King, Milton's "Lycidas"', MS, 25 (1989), 43-67. He believes it to be the rock that is situated two miles off the NW shore of Anglesey.

26-30] these lines are clearly an observation on the practices of the Jesuits (many of whom were canonized, including their founder St Ignatius Loyola, and St Robert Bellarmine), and probably allude to their doctrine in which it was claimed to be the right of subjects to depose unsatisfactory kings, and that the Pope could lawfully have kings deposed or assassinated.

31] marginal correction.

33-6] marginal correction.

38 ferrymen in Hell] Charon, the boatman on the river Styx, ferried those across who had received funeral rites on earth and carried the appropriate fare; unwittingly the mariners have similarly transported King from the world of the living to that of the dead.

39-40] alludes to the story of Jonah (Jonah 1: 5, 1: 14).

43 Vatican] library; King is praised as the exemplar of knowledge and learning. In contemporary verse 'Vatican' was frequently used as a synonym for library; cf. Cowley's 'To The Lord Falkland' lines 3-4:

Return him safe: Learning would rather choose  
Her Bodley, or her Vatican to loose,

and Cleveland's 'Upon the death of M. King drowned in the Irish Seas' (line 66):

One Vatican was burnt, another drown'd.

44 sear] dry, withered

Sybill's bough] in mythology the Sibylla was a collection of prophetic utterances reduced to the written form and inscribed on palm-leaves; it was also the name given to prophetesses.

45] marginal correction.

48-53] the German booksellers' fair was held annually at Easter at Frankfurt. The additional sense of 'publishing season' may also be intended (OED 1b). Under Laud strict publishing regulations were imposed upon Puritans, and in 1624 a proclamation had been issued forbidding the printing and importation of any book of a religious nature until it had been approved. In July 1637 this was reinforced in a decree issued by the new Star Chamber, stating that no book or pamphlet should be printed or reprinted unless licenced, and that foreign books must be sanctioned by authorised representatives of the church before they could be sold.

Calenture] here used in the sense of fever, burning passion (OED 2).

54] a commonplace in the poems on King; cf. Cleveland's poem (lines 35-6):

Books, arts, and tongues were wanting; but in thee  
Neptune hath got an University.

59] marginal correction.

60 Pallas] Pallas Athene.

Thetis] a Nereid who was fated to bear a son mightier than his father; she was given to Peleus and bore Achilles.

66 Roules] a quantity of material (especially cloth), rolled or wound up in a cylindrical form (OED II 6a).

71 Pythagoreans] members of a religious society named after the founder, Pythagoras, the sixth-century philosopher and mathematician; membership entailed a strict discipline of purity based on silence, self-examination, and abstention from flesh.

74-5] the porpoise was considered a forecaster and believed to portend storms by its frisking, hence 'wise'. Dolphins, commonly known to sailors as porpoise, have many classical and Christian associations, particularly as regards a triumph over death, and the bringing to shore of those lost at sea (see John Creaser, 'Dolphins in "Lycidas"', RES, 36 (1985), 235-43).

74-7] marginal addition.

81] marginal correction.

81-83] 'translated' is the term used to describe Enoch's removal to heaven without death, because he pleased God (Heb.11: 5); it is assumed that King will be similarly honoured.

85 Sea] puns on the religious sense of 'see'.

87 Heavenly Christalline] in the Ptolemaic astronomical system 'crystalline' was a sphere supposed to exist between the primum mobil and the firmament (OED 5); the term also puns on the sense of 'clear and transparent' (OED 2a), and 'seas

clear shine' in the preceding line.

89] the precise meaning of the allusion is unclear but it possibly refers to the controversy over the designation and position of the ceremonial table (or altar). Laud stipulated that altars should be placed by the east wall of the church and protected from prophanation by altar rails. Puritans objected to this because it implied that the altar was especially sacred.

92 cheife discoverers] Peter, James and John were often considered the 'chief' disciples because of their comprehension of Jesus' mission; before following Jesus they were all fishermen.

94] it is said that Peter was sailing on the Sea of Galilee when Christ called him (Luke 5: 3-11); cf. 'Lycidas' (l. 9), where he is described by Milton as 'the Pilot of the Galilean Lake'. Furthermore, the poet puns on the imagery of Peter's watery origins and his ultimate position as head of the See of Heaven, where King is also destined following his own encounter with the sea.

96-99] a parallel is drawn with King 'our Apostle' and St Peter, and their respective behaviour when death was imminent. According to the Acts of Peter, St Peter was martyred in Rome, and while on the cross gave a discourse explaining the symbolic significance of the crucifixion. It is said that after seeing St Peter in a vision, the Emperor Nero ceased persecuting the Christians. King, similarly, is reported to have given a 'discourse' to his fellow passengers.

102-109] these comments correspond to those in the 'PMS' tribute, but as the poem bears no date of composition it is impossible to know the basis on which they are founded. It may well be from a reading of the published poems rather than an 'eye-witness', who would presumably have been too busily concerned with his immediate future to be recording events for posterity. The earlier comparison with Peter and the sentiments expressed in these lines are an elaborate tribute to the memory of a man whose vocation was in the church.

108-9] marginal correction.

119] the precise meaning of the allusion is unknown, but is possibly a reference to the earthly tributes and verses that serve to preserve King's memory, hence 'balm'd' (i.e. preserved).

120 Sandboxes] boxes with a perforated top for sprinkling sand as a blotter upon the wet ink of a manuscript (OED 1).

121 tears] verses.

123] marginal note: 'The Kings Seas J. Seldens Mare Claussum'.  
John Selden (1584-1654) published Mare Claussum in 1635.

Upon the death of the Earle of Pembroke.

Did not my sorrow sigh'd into a verse

Deck the sad pompe and mourning of thy herse,

I'de think thy death the birth of hasty Fame

Begott to try our sorrow with thy name.

I'll not beleive it yett, it cannot sort

5

With earnest, thou shouldst dye of meere report,

News cannot kill, nor is the common breath

Fate or infection: shall I think that death

Strook with so rude an hand, so without Art

To kill and use no preface to his dart?

10

Come, Pembroke lives, oh do not fright our eares

With the destroying truth, first rayse our feares

And say hee's not well, that will suffice

To force a river from the publick eyes;

Or if he must be dead, o lett the newes

15

Speak in a 'stonisht whisper, lett it use

Some phrase without a voice, twould too much clowd

Our apprehensions should it speak aloud.

Lett's heare it in a riddle, or so told

As if the labouring sense greiv'd to unfold

20

Its doubtfull woe. Hadst thou endurd the gout

Or linger'd of thy Dr (which no doubt

Had beene the worst disease) the publick zeale

Had conquer'd fate, and sav'd thee. But to steale

A close departure from us, and to dye

25

Of no disease but of a Propheſy  
 Is myſtery, not fate; nor wert thou kill'd  
 Like other men, but like a type fullfill'd;  
 So ſuddenly to dye is to deceive;  
 Nor was it death, but a not taking leave. 30  
 'Tis true, the ſhortnes doth forbid to weepe,  
 For ſo our Fathers dying fell aſleepe:  
 For Enoch whiſt he did his God adore  
 Inſteed of ſuffring Death was ſeene no more  
 But o this was too much and we ſhould wrong 35  
 Thine aſhes, thought we not this ſpeed too longe:  
 Methinks a dream had ſerv'd or ſilent breath,  
 Or a ſtill pulse, or ſomething like to death.  
 Now 'twere detraction to ſuppoſe a beare  
 Or the ſad weeds which the glad mourners weare 40  
 Could value ſuch a loſſe, hee that mournes thee  
 Muſt bring an Eye that can weepe Elegie,  
 A look that would ſave blacks, whoſe heavy grace  
 Chides mirth, and weares a funerall in the face,  
 Whoſe ſighs are with ſuch feeling ſorrow blown 45  
 That all the ayre he draws returnes a groane:  
 That greif doth neereſt ſitt that is begun  
 When the yeere ends and when the blacks are done.  
 Thou needſt no guilded tombe, ſuperfluous Coſt  
 Is beſt beſtowd on them whoſe names are loſt 50  
 Had they no ſtatue. Thy great memory  
 Is marble to itſelf, the bravery

Of jett, or rich enamell is mispent  
 Where the brave Corse is its owne monument,  
 In thee shin'd all high parts which falsely witt 55  
 Or flattering raptures for their Lords begett  
 When they will fawne an Epitaph and write  
 As if their greife made leggs when they endite  
 Such dutyfull untruths, that ere he greive  
 The readers first toyle is how to beleive. 60  
 Thy greatness was no Idoll, state in thee  
 Receiv'd its luster from humility.  
 He that will blaze my coate and only lookes  
 He thou wert noble by the Heralds books  
 Mistakes thy linage, and admiring blood 65  
 Forgets thy best descent Vertue and good:  
 These are too great for scutchions, and make thee  
 Without forefathers, thine owne pedigree.

Cl[ement] P[aman].

NOTES (see commentary page 647)

Title] William Herbert (1580-1630) third Earl of Pembroke, died  
 at his house in London on 10 April 1630. His death was  
 claimed to have been foretold; Aubrey records that 'being  
 well in health, he made a feast; ate and dranke plentifully;  
 went to bed; and found dead in the morning....He dyed of an  
 apoplexy, and it fell-out right according to prediction,  
 because of which he made a great supper, and went to his bed

well, but dyed in his sleep' (Aubrey, vol.i, p.318). From January 1617 until his death he was chancellor of Oxford University, and was widely esteemed by contemporaries as an ideal nobleman. There is no evidence to suggest a personal connection between Paman and Pembroke, and the verse is more likely inspired by the opportunity for the poet to practise his elegiac skills, occasioned by the death of a public figure.

2 herse] the framework fixed over a tombe to support the lighted tapers and other decorations over the coffin (OED 2a).

7-8] possibly an allusion to medical opinion of the time which held that contagion was effected by the breath; it was believed that the breath of some men and animals passed on disease and corruption (Lynn Thorndike, History of Magic and Experimental Science (1958), vol.viii, p.26).

33-34] Pembroke is compared with Enoch: 'By faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death; and was not found, because God had translated him: for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleaseth God' (Hebrews 11: 5; cf. Gen.5: 24).

42] puns on 'tears'; 'lachrymae' was the title given to university collections of commemorative verse.

43-4] 'blacks' are the clothes of mourning (OED 5); there is possibly an allusion to the ancient Semitic custom of blackening the face with ashes or dirt, which symbolized grief and submission.

52 bravery] splendour, ostentation (OED 3).

54 brave Corse] puns on the sense of 'brave' meaning 'courageous'  
and 'corse' meaning 'course of action', and the elaborate and  
ornate arrangemants for the burial of the corpse.

63 coate] coat of arms.

The dispraise of Ale.

Thou dregs of Lethe! oh thou dull  
Inhospitable juyce of Hull

Not to be drunk but in the Devills skull.

Depriver of those solid joyes

That sack creates: Author of noyse

5

Among the roring punks and Daring boyes.

On thy account the watch doe sleepe

When they our nightly peace shold keepe

Then theives and cut-throats in at windowes creepe.

The jug-broak pate doth owe to thee

10

his bloody line and pedigree

Now murther and anon the Gallow-tree.

A poett once did drinke thy juyce

But oh how his benumbed muse

Did mire in non-sense and base state abuse?

15

A soldier (one that would have pickt

Strife with the Devill) thy dull broth lickt

That night this renown'd Turdivant was kickt.

T'other night twas the meale man Will

Did lap so largely of thy swill

20

Next morne he lett a fart blow downe his mill.

That Lover was in pretty case

That trim'd thee with a ginger-race

And after belch'd it in his Mistrisse face.

More of thy vertues I could tell

25

But to think of thee half is hell.  
 Here take thy doome by candle book and bell.  
 May bards that soake thee write a small  
 Un-substanc'd line, pedanticall  
 Unsinew'd, senselesse, enigmaticall 30  
 Salt-les and gall-les (bek't thy curse)  
 Numberles, empty, ragged, worse  
 Then the poore poets doublet belly purse.  
 May he that brues thee weare a nose  
 Redder then my Lord Major's cloaths 35  
 The satten cherry, or the velvet rose.  
 May he that draws thee likewise weare  
 A Carbuncle from eare to eare  
 That thatch and linnen may stand of and feare.  
 May some old hagwitch sitt astride 40  
 Thy bung as if she meant to ride  
 And bung to bung out launch thy yeasty tide.  
 May others be but sick as I  
 That drink thee next. Then down and dye  
 Poore ale, a funerall trap for wasp and flye. 45

Tho[mas] Bonham.

NOTES (see commentary page 648)

Title] a companion poem to 'Ale. In Praise of It' (p.176).

1 dregs of Lethe] ale is compared to the waters of Lethe, in  
 classical mythology a river in Hades, which if drunk produced

forgetfulness.

2] puns on the name of the town, and the sense of 'hull' meaning the cuticle of grain (OED 1b).

5 sack] wine.

6 punks] prostitutes, strumpets (OED).

18 Turdivant] tordion, a lively dance (OED).

23 ginger-race] a root of ginger (OED).

27 Candle book and bell] a popular phrase for ceremonial excommunication from the Roman Catholic Church, derived from the procedure in which the officiating cleric closes his book, quenches the candle, and tolls the bell.

31 bek't] controlled, commanded (s.v. 'beck' OED 2).

35 Major] mayor.

38 Carbuncle] a red spot caused by habits of intemperance (OED 3b), used here to signify a red face.



This Day ten yeares to Him and Her did grant 25

What Angelljoy, and joyes which Angells want:

Our Lady-day and our Lords too,

Twere sin to rob it of its due,

Tis of both genders, Hers and His,

Wee stayd 12 months to welcome this. 30

Then lett's rejoyce and by our joy appeare

In this one day we offer all the year.

John Berkenhead.

NOTES (see commentary page 648)

Title] John Egerton (1622-1686), second Earl of Bridgewater, married Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Newcastle, on 22 July 1642 (DNB). The poem celebrates the Earl's tenth wedding anniversary, which was marked by a family festivity. Henry Lawes was commissioned to provide a musical programme for the occasion, including the music to accompany Berkenhead's poem (see W. McClung Evans, Henry Lawes Musician and Friend of Poets (London, 1941), pp.191-4). Marginal note: 'Printed'. In 1634 Lawes had written the music for Milton's Comus, in which John Egerton had acted the part of the Elder Brother.

Ἦν Ἀνακρέοντος εἰς λύραν α.

ὡ λείπῃ Ἀρτέιδας,  
ὡ δὲ Κάμπος ἄδεν,  
Κεβίτος δὲ Χαρδαῖς  
καὶ Μύρονος ἤχει,  
ψαλὸν νεύρα πρῶτον,  
ἢ λύραν ἀποκτεν.

Καὶ γὰρ μὲν ἦσαν ἀθλῆς  
Ἡρακλῆος, λύρη δὲ  
Ἐρωτῆς ἀντεφώνηται.  
Χαίροιτε λοιπὸν ἡμῖν  
ἄρωτες. ἢ λύρη γὰρ  
Νέμεσος ἔρωτος ἀδελφὴ.

The same in English by John Burkenhead.  
Both set by Sir Henry Lewis.

NOTES (see commentary page 648)

Title] Anacreon, 'The Lute'. The Greek text is identical to the modern version of the text (e.g. Loeb, Greek Lyrics (vol.ii), pp.192-3) except for a few accidentals.

The same in English by John Berkenhead.

Both sett by Mr Henry Lawes.

I long to sing the seige of Troy;  
Or Thebes which Cadmus reard so high;  
But though with hands and voyce I strove,  
My Lute will sound nothing but Love,  
I chang'd the strings but twould not do't 5  
At last I took another Lute;  
And then I tryde to sing the praise  
Of all performing Hercules  
But when I sung Alcides name  
My Lute resounds Love, Love againe. 10

Then Farewell all thee Grecian Peeres  
And all true Trojan Cavaleers:  
Nor Gods nor men my Lute can move  
Tis dumbe to all but Love, Love, Love.

NOTES (see commentary page 648)

Title] a translation of the preceding poem, both of which are set to music and included in Henry Lawes' Ayres and Dialogues (1653), pp.26-7. Marginal note: 'Printed'.

2 Cadmus] son of Agenor, king of Phoenicia. He was responsible for founding the country of Boetia of which Thebes was a prominent city.

8] Hercules, the celebrated hero, was commanded by Eurystheus to perform a number of difficult and arduous tasks; these became known as the twelve labours of Hercules.

9 Alcides] another name for Hercules, from his grandfather Alcaeus.

11-14] Berkenhead embellishes his translation with an allusion to the current political situation; an analogy is drawn with both his personal predicament as a silenced cavalier journalist, and to the fortunes of the cavalier side in general.

Tarrying in London after the Act for banishment, and going to  
meet a Friend, who faild the houre appointed.

Two hundred minutes are run down

Since I and all my greif sate here

(Whom yet you will not save nor drown)

In a long gaspe twixt hope and feare.

Thus Lucians tortur'd foole did cry

5

He could not live and durst not dye.

How full of Mischeif is this coast

Villaines and Fooles peepe every way;

If once these seekers find I'm lost;

I dare not goe, I dare not stay:

10

Here I am rooted till the sky

Bee hung as full of clouds as I.

All Islanders are prisoners borne,

We slaves to slaves in Five-mile chaines;

I theirs, and yours, but most forlorn

15

Where Purgatory Hell out-paines.

I'm in a new third dungeon here

Shackles on shackles who can weare?

Sad and unseen I veiw the rout

Which through this street do ebbe and flow,

20

Some few have busines, most without;

Their pace this Trundling rime does goe

O teare me hence for I am grown

As empty-base as all this Towne.

J. Berkenhead.

NOTES (see commentary page 649)

Title] the 'Act of Banishment' was an ordinance passed by Parliament on 23 May 1648 for dealing with 'London Delinquents'. It stated that 'all papists, all officers and soldiers of fortune, and all other persons whatsoever that have borne arms against the Parliament, or have adhered to, or willingly assisted the enemy in this late Warre, not being under restraint, and not here after expected, shall at, or before the five and twentieth day of this instant May 1648 depart the cities of London and Westminster, and the late Lines of Communication and all other places within twenty miles of the said Lines of Communication.' (Acts and Ordinances, vol.i, p.1140). Berkenhead, an ardent royalist and editor of the royalist weekly newsbook Mercurius Aulicus, would certainly have been classified as having 'willingly assisted the enemy'. He had probably been living in London since leaving Oxford (the royalist headquarters) after it had surrendered to Fairfax in 1646. The friend who 'fauld the houre appointed' is not known. Marginal note: 'Printed'.

5] alludes to Lucian's story of Peregrinus, a religious fanatic,

whom Lucian believed he was exposing as a sham. Peregrinus proposed to burn himself after the Olympic games, because he wished to benefit mankind by showing them the way one should despise death, though he did hope to be saved from actually carrying his plan out by the pleas of the spectators. Berkenhead is thinking particularly of the dilemma in which Peregrinus found himself, as he was torn between the desire for notoriety and a fear of dying (see Loeb, Lucian, The Passing of Peregrinus, p.39).

Good Friday

Almighty Lownesse, whose free power  
Can, as it please, contract or spread  
Thee to Eternity or an Houre,  
Canst be all life and canst be dead.

Where shall I seeke thee? If I hope to have 5  
Thee in thy Heaven, Thou'rt shrunk into a Grave.

Yet low as Graves slow Natures foot  
First sought and found thee out: In flies  
Or wormes, some grasses spire or root  
Ere it durst search the stars or skies. 10

Shall I then ask thy Grave? Oh the deafe stone  
The dumb muffling clothes can say, That thou art gone.

But there's a place hollow and darke  
Hard too, as Tombes in rocks, yet where  
Lifes heat is kept both flame and sparke 15  
Quickning a world with daily care.

Perhaps thou mayst be there, Lend me thy art  
And light to search, That place may prove my Heart.

For hearts are everything, And Thou  
Art everywhere, In hearts which shine 20  
All day sun full, In hearts which show

Nightsome as graves, And such is mine  
Oh might I find thee there, I'd beg thy stay  
Rise what thou wouldst Thou shouldst not go away.

Clement Paman.

#### NOTES

- Title] cf. Donne's 'Goodfriday, 1613. Riding Westward'.  
9 spire] cf. Isaiah 40: 6: 'all flesh is grass'. 'Spire' is here  
used in the sense of a 'blade' or 'shoot' of grass (OED 3b).  
11-12] Luke 23: 53; Matt.28: 6.  
15 heat] here used in the sense of the quality or condition of  
the body (OED 4).  
flame] passion (OED 6a), also vigour of thought (OED 6c).  
sparke] the vital or animating principle in man (OED 3a).  
16 Quickening] animating, endowed with life (OED I 1a).  
18 light] the guiding light of Christ. 'Light' and 'sun' (line  
21) signify the brightness or clearness which guides the  
faithful (Matt.17: 2; John 1: 4).

Capt. Tyrell, of Mrs Winchcombe.

I will not love one minute more, I sweare  
 No not a minute, not a sigh or teare,  
 Thou gettst from me, nor one kind look againe  
 Though thou woldst court me to it or begin.  
 I'le never think on thee but as men do 5  
 Their debts and sins and then I'le curse thee too.  
 For thy sake, Women shall be unto me  
 Lesse welcome, then at midnight Ghosts shold be  
 I'le hate so perfectly, that it shall be  
 Treason to love that man that loves a she 10  
 Nay I will hate the very good, I sweare  
 That's in the sex, because it does lye there.  
 Their very virtue, grave discourse and witt  
 All, all, for Thee, What wilt thou love me yet?

NOTES (see commentary page 649)

Title] 'Capt. Tyrell' is probably Sir Thomas Tyrell (1594-1672),  
 son of Sir Edward Tyrell of Thornton Buckinghamshire. On the  
 passing of the Militia Ordinance he accepted (on 11 May 1642)  
 the office of deputy Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire, first as  
 Captain and afterwards as Colonel of horse, and served under  
 Bedford and Essex. His second wife (he married three times),  
 whom he married in 1654, was the widow of Colonel Windebank  
 (DNB). 'Mrs. Winchcombe' has not been identified, and though

all sources read 'Winchcombe' the name is possibly a  
misspelling of 'Windebank'.

An Answer to the former Paper

by Mr Womack.

Love thee! no shouldst thou fall into a trance  
That nothing would awake thee but a glance  
From me, shouldst thou grow mad and rave  
And pester nature, so that not the grave  
Could silent be in these thy frantick fits 5  
And nothing could reduce thee to thy witts  
But some prevailing charme of mine, I vowe it  
I'd not bestow the poorest frowne to do it.  
No not a scorne shold my compassion give thee  
Nor yet the least contempt could that releive thee. 10  
I'le never think on thee but as men do  
In Hell with horror and to shun thee too  
And yet to shew dislike I will enjoyne  
My self a penance for this thought of mine.  
My hatred shall be rays'd to that degree 15  
That I'le reserve no hatred but for thee  
These deare affections thou hast beene denyde  
Both sexes and all men shall share besides.  
Their very view and folly I'le adore  
All, all, but thee. 'way foole and tempt no more. 20

NOTES (see commentary page 650)

Title] a companion piece to the previous poem.

Lord Mainard to Mrs Kirke.

Oft have I sworne I'le love no more,

Yet when I thinke of thee,

Alas I cannot give it ore

But must thy captive be.

So many sweets and graces dwell

5

Betwixt those lips and eyes

That who soever once is caught

Must ever be thy prize.

Sure Thou hast gott some cunning nett

Made by the God of fire.

10

That doth not only catch mens hearts

But fixeth their desires.

For I have labour'd to gett loose

Some douzen yeares or more

And when I think I am releas't

15

I am faster then before.

Then welcome sweet captivity

I see there's no releif.

Yet though she steales my liberty,

I'le honour still the theife.

20

And since I cannot hope to see  
The mistrisse of my paine.  
My comfort is I hope to love  
Where I am love'd againe.

NOTES (see commentary page 650)

Title] 'Lord Mainard' is probably William Maynard (1623-1699)

(Complete Peerage); 'Mrs Kirke' has not been identified.

9-10] Vulcan, the god of fire especially associated with smiths,  
endeavoured to catch his wife Venus with her lover, Mars, by  
arranging a net of fine bronze chains about their bed.

Epitaph on Mrs Warner who died in Child-birth.

Here shee lies in, who held a strife  
By Death to give another life,  
Who scarce a Mothers Honour gott  
But almost ere she was, was not.  
Who did contend who first shold be  
Christian or Saint Her son or shee;  
Both which they Both attained Have  
Hee by the font shee by the Grave.

5

Clem[ent] Paman.

#### NOTES

Title] though 'Mrs Warner' cannot be identified with certainty,  
she is possibly Mary, the second wife of Thomas Warner,  
Rector of Dalham in Suffolk from 1625; she died, presumably  
in childbirth, on 11 September 1641.

To Ld Windsor courting Mrs Cleopole.

Tis the ambition of your Court

Not the sport

Makes thee to that course wench resort

If it were not for her Father

Thou'ldst go for thy halfcrown rather.

5

Who would then to Greatnes trust

Since it must

Serve to fullfill a daughters lust

The vertue of that great Commander

Should be her pattern, not her Pandar.

10

Tis not a cloth of silver gowne

Nor the Towne

Can make a Lady of a clowne

Hide-park, spring-garden, drinking feeding

May give her boldnes, but never breeding.

15

Vertue youth and Beauty move

The Gods above

And us mortalls all to love

But such rustick affectation

Moves our spleens, and not our passions.

20

H[enry] N[eville].

## NOTES

Title] 'Lord Windsor' is possibly Thomas Windsor Hickman (1627?-1687), who changed his name to Windsor when he succeeded to the title and estates of his maternal uncle who died 6 December 1641. Though the title fell into abeyance with the death of Lord Windsor and was not restored in favour of Hickman until 16 June 1660, Hickman was styled 'Lord Windsor' even by parliament. On 6 December 1682 he was created Earl of Plymouth, and died on 3 November 1687. 'Mrs. Cleopole' is a variant spelling of Claypole, and refers to Elizabeth Cromwell (1629-1658), Cromwell's second daughter who married John Claypole of Narborough, near Peterborough, on 13 February 1646 at Trinity Church Ely.

1 Court] puns on the sense of the courtly circles with whom Windsor was associated, and his personal address to Elizabeth Claypole who became a leading figure in Cromwell's 'court' (see note 6-10).

3 course wench] this comment on Elizabeth Claypole echoes the sentiments expressed by others, for example: 'the animosities of Lambert's and Claypole's ladies grow, within one degree of the fishwives at Billingsgate' (Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers in the Bodleian Library, vol.iii, p.239). Elizabeth was also described as possessing a 'shallow expression of self-will', a quality that did not escape the attention of her father; in a letter (dated 25 October 1646) to his daughter Briget Ireton, Cromwell expressed his worries with the words 'your sister Claypole is (I trust in mercye)

exercised with some perplexed thoughts. Shee sees her owne vanitye and carnal minde...'. He continued 'Whoever tasted that the Lord is gracious, without some sence of selfe, vanitye, and badnesse?' (Harl. MS 6988, f.225). In another letter to his wife, dated 12 April 1651, Cromwell states that he hopes Elizabeth will 'take heed of a departing heart, and of being cozened with worldly vanities and worldly company' (Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, ed. T. Carlyle (London, 1888), p.265).

5 halfcrown] an attributed meaning of 'one who buys his position' may be intended, derived from the sense of 'half-crowner' meaning a person who pays a half-crown for a seat at a performance etc. (OED b). Lord Windsor is said to have been in the Royalist army and may have been the Windsor serving in Bard's regiment of foot who was captured at Naseby 14 June 1645; he was compounded for his 'delinquency in arms' on 30 April 1646 (DNB). It was quite possible that he was 'courting' Elizabeth's favour in order that she would intercede with her father on his behalf. 'Thou'ldst go for' is included in the text twice, presumably erroneously, and is therefore not transcribed.

6-10] many of Elizabeth's friends were royalists and she is said to have often interceded with her father on behalf of political offenders. To onlookers the motivation for her intercession, and Cromwell's wisdom in acquiescence, may have been suspect. A story, probably apocryphal, which has survived as an example of her influence with Cromwell is that

recorded by John Toland in his preface to The Oceana of James Harrington (Dublin, 1737), p.xix. When the licensers refused to pass Harrington's work for the press, he decided to apply to the 'Lady Claypole' who, he observed, 'acted the part of a princess very naturally'. Toland states that she was so well pleased with Harrington's manner of address that he was then allowed to print his book, which he inscribed to Cromwell (cf. W. Clyde, The Struggle for the Freedom of the Press (Oxford, 1934), pp.285-6).

pattern] from the original sense of 'patron' meaning 'an archetype', 'an exemplar' (OED 1a).

Pandar] here used in the sense of one who ministers to the baser passions or evil designs of another (OED 3).

11-15] this stanza reflects the contemporary concern felt by those who viewed the revival of a 'courtly style' of living in the Cromwell household as a deviation from the cause. The celebrations became more lavish in Whitehall and there was 'a constant expense allowed in tirewomen, perfumers, and the like arts of gallantry, with each their maid and servant to attend them, and by their array and deportment their quality might have been guessed at' (Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth Cromwell (London, 1664)).

13 Lady] Elizabeth was styled 'Lady' Claypole. Contemporary comment suggests that Elizabeth aspired to a 'courtly' title and enjoyed her position of superiority: 'at a wedding... whence most of the major-generals' wives were absent, to one who asked where they were, Mrs Claypole replied "I'll warrant

you, washing their dishes at home as they used to do;" the women, consequently, now do all they can with their husbands to hinder Mrs Claypole from being a princess' (Clarendon State Papers, op.cit., p.245). There is also the possibility that the poet is alluding to the proverb 'an ape, is an ape, be she clothed in purple, so a woman is a woman (that is to say) a fool, what so ever she play' (for comment on its origins and uses in contemporary literature see J.A.W. Bennett, 'Donne, "Elegy" xvi, 31', NQ, 211 (1966), 254; Tilley, A 263).

14 Hide-park, spring-garden] in London Hyde Park was the popular resort of the fashionable. 'Spring-garden' originally applied generally to public pleasure gardens but then later became the specific name of popular resorts in Hyde Park.

15] the poet's comment may be compared with the sentiment expressed by Lucy Hutchinson, wife of Colonel Hutchinson, who commented: ...[Cromwell's] wife and children were setting up for principality, which suited no better with any of them than scarlet on the ape; only, to speak the truth of himself, he had much natural greatness, and well became the place he had usurped. His daughter Fleetwood was humble, and not exalted with these things, but the rest were insolent fools' (Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson (London, 1885), vol.ii, p.202).

20] the spleen was regarded as the seat of melancholy and morose feeling and therefore is cited here to convey the transferred sense of indignation and ill humour, as opposed to the more

pleasurable sensations of ones 'passions'.

H.N.] the poet is probably Henry Neville (1620-94), a strong doctrinaire republican who disliked what he believed to be Cromwell's crypto-monarchism. Cromwell banished him from London in 1654, and in 1656 Neville stood as an anti-Cromwellian in Berkshire, though his election was obstructed by the sheriff. The poem was possibly written sometime between 1654 and 1656 (after Cromwell became Protector) as a satirical expression of his hostility towards Cromwell and his daughter Elizabeth's assumed courtly status and style of living. Neville also wrote some coarse lampoons, including 'The Parliament of Ladies, or Diverse Remarkable Passages of Ladies in Spring Gardens', (STC 511), and 'The Ladies a second time assembled in Parliament' (STC 507).

The Scotchmans Story.

When first the Scottish war began

The Englishman they did trepan

With pellet and pike.

The bonny, blith, and cunning Scot

Had there a plot which they knew not

5

To smell out the like.

Although he neither could write nor reade

Yet our General Lesly past the Tweed

With a gay gang of blew-caps tall,

For we came then for new-caps all

10

Wee took Newcastle in a trice

We thought it had been Paradise

It leukt then so bonny and gay

Till we teuke awle their geuds away

Then streight we fell to plunder aw

15

Both great and small for we were aw

Most valiant that day

And Jinny in a satten goon

The best in Toon from heele to croon

Was gallant and gay

20

Our silks and sweets made sike a smother

Next day we knew not een another

For Jocky he did never so shine

And Jinny she was never so fine

In geude fath I gatt a geude bever then 25  
But tis beaten into a blue bonnet agen  
By a redcoate that teuke every rag  
And a red snout, oh the Deelee on his crag.

The English raysd an army streight  
With mickle hate, and we did waite 30  
To face them as well

Then every valiant musketman  
Put fire in pan and we began  
To lace them as well

But before the spark was made a coale 35  
We every man payd for his poale  
And our boughtlands we left them agen  
And to Scotland we marcht with our men.

We were paid by all both peasant and prince  
And I think we have soundly payd for it since 40  
For our siller is wasted all  
And our silkes hang up in Westminster hall.

The godly Presbyterian  
That holy man, the war began  
'gainst bishops and King 45  
And we like waiters at a feast  
And not the least of all the guest  
did dish up the thing.

We made a Covenant to pull down

The Crosse, the Crosier, and the Crown, 50  
    And the rockett the Bishop did beare  
    And the smock that his chaplain did weare.  
But now the Covenant's gone to wrack  
They say it leuks like an aud Almanack  
    For Jinny she is thrust out with hate 55  
    And Jocky he is thrown out of date.

I must confesse this holy ferke  
Did only worke upon the Kerke  
    For siller and meate  
For we did come with awe our breeds, 60  
To spend our bloods for awe your geeds  
    To pilfer and cheate  
But see what covetousnesse doth bring  
We lost our Solls when we savd our King  
    But alack now and wee noe must cry 65  
    Our backs now and bellies must dye  
We fought for gold and not for vain glory  
And there's an end of the Scotchmans story  
    Accurst all for siller and gold  
    Oh! the worst tale that ever was told. 70

#### NOTES

Title] probably a parody of Scottish ballads rather than a satirical attack on the Scots themselves; though the tone is

equivocal, the poem lacks the full force of 'badger-like' biting satire apparent in the more obvious examples, for instance Cleveland's 'The Rebell Scot' and 'The Scots Apostasie', which are clearly written from the stand-point of an English royalist, in favour of the State Church. In 'The Scotsmans Story' the author, if English, does not appear to be particularly partisan.

1] the Bishops' Wars of 1639 and 1640. In response to Charles I's attempt to impose the New Prayer Book on Scotland the Presbyterians formed the 'Covenanting party', the members of which sat in defiance of the king's command and voted for the abolition of episcopacy. In 1638 there was almost unanimous subscription to the Scottish Covenant.

2 trepan] here used in the sense of 'to make holes in' (OED 1-2).

7-8] on 9 May 1639 Alexander Leslie (1580?-1661) was appointed General of all the Scottish forces, some of which crossed the Tweed at Coldstream and routed the English. Contemporary rumour, arising from reports of Leslie's illegible signature, claimed that he was illiterate; Strafford thought him 'no such great kill-cow as they [i.e. the Scottish] would have him' as he could 'neither write nor read'. Other, similar, reports perpetuated the rumour though it was unfounded; David Masson, in his Life of Milton, asserts that Leslie wrote in a 'neat and picturesque hand' (vol.ii, 55 n.).

9 blew-caps] the Scottish soldiers, from the 'blue-bonnet' of Scotsmen (OED 1).

10] marginal correction; the original reads: 'And we marcht with

our Generall'.

11] the Scottish forces gained an easy victory at Newburn on 20 August 1640, resulting in their occupation of Newcastle and five northern counties.

15 aw] marginal gloss: 'i.e. all'.

25 bever] hat (OED).

27 redcoate] the term commonly applied to the parliamentary troops, though each side had red-coated soldiers (OED 1).

28 Dee] the devil.

crag] neck.

34 lace] to entangle, ensnare (OED 1).

36 Poale] a measure of area (OED 3b).

37 boughtlands] possibly refers to the practice of allocating plots of land to protestant settlers.

39] possibly an allusion to the Scottish army's demand of payment of £850 a day (after the war of 1640), until a treaty was brought about. Following the Scottish success in abolishing episcopacy, the English were equally desirous to do likewise, for which they depended upon Scottish military support. On 3 February 1641, as a testimony of 'brotherly affection', both Houses of Parliament voted the Scots a gratuity of £300,000 over and above the £25,000 they were already receiving.

41 siller] marginal gloss: 'i.e. silver'.

42] the precise allusion is unknown, but it possibly refers to the presence of the Scottish commissioners who were negotiating with the English to unite the English and Scottish churches.

49-50] following the success of the Scottish Covenant, the English embarked on a similar process and prepared the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643. The Scottish hoped to replace English episcopacy with presbyterianism and made the acceptance of the oath a condition of their offer of military support against the king's forces.

51-2] alludes to the controversy surrounding ecclesiastical vestments. 'Rockett' was the term given to the linnen vestment worn by bishops and abbotts; the Anglicans favoured the surplice and square cap and generally wore the clerical dress as stipulated in the Rubric of the English Book of Common Prayer. The Calvinists and Puritans, on the other hand, objected to elaborate clerical garments and preferred instead simplicity in public worship. Ministers followed the Genevan tradition and for ordinary services replaced the surplice with the black Geneva gown. Cf. an anonymous poem entitled 'The Scots Curanto' and printed in Alexander Brome's Songs and other Poems (1661), pp.41-3:

Down with the Bishops and their train,  
The Surplice and Common prayers,  
Then will we not have a King remain,  
But we'll be the Realmes surveyers.

(41-4)

53-54] alludes to the failure of the Scottish Presbyterians to unite the Scottish and English churches, arising from the opposing aims of the two parties. The Solemn League and Covenant was eventually agreed upon, though the delay and

controversy over the wording frustrated the Scottish commissioners' plans. It was finally agreed that reform of the Church of England should be carried out 'according to the word of God'; cf. Cleveland's comment on the same matter in 'The Scots Apostasie' (lines 11-2):

Who reconcil'd the Covenants doubtfull Sence?

The Commons Argument, or the Cities Pence?

After the battle of Naseby, in 1645, the English were less dependent on the Scottish for military support and therefore less inclined to acquiesce to their demands for a strict presbyterian system of church government. With the advent of the New Model army the number of sectaries increased and eventually gained control of the army, and the presbyterian soldiers either withdrew or were expelled. Generally there was less support for the Scottish forces who had become unpopular because of their plundering.

54 aud] marginal gloss: 'i.e. old'. 'Almanack' puns on the sense of a book of tables, and the more specific sense of a calendar of ecclesiastical and other anniversaries (OED).

57 ferke] to press hard, drive.

58 Kirke] church of Scotland.

60 awe] marginal gloss: 'i.e. old'.

breeds] race, lineage (OED 2).

61 geeds] goods.

63-4] possibly alludes to the attempts made by the Scots to reconcile the king and parliament. Charles was held by them at Newcastle, and in 1646 John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun and

Lord Chancellor of Scotland, tried unsuccessfully to persuade the king to accede to parliament's demands. Cf. Cleveland's 'The Scots Apostasie' (lines 13-4):

Or did you doubt, Persistence in one good  
Would spoile the fabrick of your Brotherhood.

Farewell to Wine. An Ode Dithyrambique.

Up; come away and leave that drunken roome  
Bid that same Squire of sin and shame

The nimble Drawer come

And er'e he it inflame

Bring us a reckning, while we yet can know 5

Whether it be a reckoning, I, or no.

Before corrupted reason say

Grillus his swines estate is fine and gay

And we be gone while here we bide

False to ourselves and all the kind of man beside. 10

So the bright daughter of the Sun

The ten yeares weary Traveller invites.

His friends bewitchd with dangerous delights

Quaffe of her cups and backward run

Into the lower form of wights 15

Here loughs a new created Bull

After a cow his fellow Trull.

There a feirce Lyon roares and will be King,

Here does a tipling wanton sparrow sing

A foule Hog grunts and wallowes there 20

And each, which is the worst, is pleas'd with his low sphere.

But the sage Ithacan stands by  
And wondring at the potent charmes  
Stands on his guard, and armes  
Himself with Moly wise sobriety. 25

The powerfull witch admires that her great art  
Should find no passage to his heart  
And asks what strange Divinitie possest  
The noble Heroes brest  
Who could his Virtue so untouchd approve 30  
Against two terrible enchantments Wine and Love.

If Julius of old did sober come  
To rant and to debauch the Commonwealth of Rome  
And the House out o'th' windowes turne  
Had he been drunk what had he done, 35  
How would he rage, kill, sack and burne  
When his ore leaven'ed spirits and blood  
Swelld with a double Flood  
Of Wine and of Ambition  
Antonies cups at least his head has crown'd 40  
The Capitoll had shakt and all the world turn'd round.

The youth of Pella had no better fate  
Distemper'd first with Glory then with Wine  
When at his painted mistresse shrine  
(Can Venus fires have such effects of hate) 45  
A fairer and more beauteous Town

In loving rage he sacrific'd  
     And a friend dearer then his crown  
     He knew not being self-disquis'd,  
 Then must old Philips pedigree remove 50  
 To blazon a false Heraldry from Jove  
     His strange uneven phantsie can  
 Make him below a beast, above a man.  
     But this blood and that fire  
     And t'other Giantly desire 55  
     Will one day be payd home  
 When to the Brick-walld Citty he shall come,  
     And all the Ingredients of death  
 To tame and stop his all-commanding breath  
     Hate, poyson, rage, revenge, shall be 60  
 Mixt in a fatall cup, so there dead drunk lies he.  
  
 Wine flies at all, and from Heavens tester takes  
     The' exception at mans frame he makes  
 It beates a Window out even from the Heart  
     As in a mirror there appeares 65  
     Vain joy, Loves, Hopes and Feares  
 And double passion does, as double sight, impart.

Here starts a wild distracted Thought  
There hovers vapouring Pride of nought,  
Here reeks a smothering Lust  
And thence flyes Beauties painted dust.

70

But in the thickest you may bustling see  
The limbs and scatter'd formes of unlickd Poetrie.

Of two strange births Apollo's Prophets tell

That Shake-speare Pallas once did dwell  
Within the Cell of Sire Joves braine

75

Sure it was cleft with wine e're she came forth againe,  
And Bacchus he two dores of birth did trie,  
From his Dams womb and from his Daddyes thigh,

These figures the Grapes juyce befitt,  
Which doth the Head, the Tower of Reason teare  
Till it exclude abortive witt

80

Then slides into the Lower parts and there  
Teeming Sciatica's do dispense  
To th' under region then a reeling influence.

85

Musical Monster! Thou who dost advance

Not in the steady rocks of watry Temperance  
But th' Element of liquid fire  
Thou cruell joy. Thou Kind

Destruction! and death baited with desire  
Which like the Oakes false Lover thy Preists beare  
Imbracing Preist upon the balsam there

90

Like the wise Greek to shun thy charmes

I'le stop my mouth not Eares, and bind my Armes,

Water, that like a fish, ile drink, so there the mermayd ends.

95

Rob[ert] Creswell.

NOTES (see commentary page 650)

Title] Dithyrambs are Greek choral songs, said to have been invented by Dionysus when under the influence of wine. The songs acquired the reputation of being wild and boisterous in character.

8 Grillus] one of Odysseus' companions who were given a magical drink and turned into swine by Circe. When the opportunity came, Grillus refused to be restored to his human state, preferring instead the life of inactivity.

11] Circe, daughter of Helios.

12] Odysseus, after ten years of wandering in his attempt to reach his home (after the Trojan war), was temporarily stranded on the Island of Aea, the home of Circe.

13-21] Circe's house was surrounded by the men whose form was changed to that of wild animals by her magical spells (The Odyssey, x, 244-53).

22 Ithacan] Odysseus; he is often given the epithet 'wise', hence 'sage' (ibid., i, 104-5).

23-31] Odysseus succeeded in defeating the wiles of Circe with the help of the god Hermes, who gave him a herb known as 'moly' and instructed him how to overcome her magical powers.

After making a pledge of peace, Circe restored Odysseus' men to their original form (ibid., x, 306-389).

32 Julius] Julius Caesar.

33-5] Suetonius recounts the activities and political ambitions of Julius Caesar, who was frequently in contention with the Senate because of his involvement in revolutionary plots, and bribery during elections. On several occasions charges were brought against him. In the course of his first consulship he stole 3,000 pounds of gold from the Capitol and replaced it with the same weight of gilded bronze. Many people feared that his ultimate ambition was to be crowned king, a fear exacerbated by Mark Antony's attempts to crown him at the Lupercalian Festival, and one which ended with his assassination (The Twelve Caesars, 9,13,17,20,54,79).

40] unlike Caesar, Mark Antony had a reputation for excessive drinking and the allusion is possibly to his unpopular and scandalous behaviour. Those who witnessed it were particularly offended by his practice, when leaving the city, of having his golden drinking cup carried before him, in the manner of a religious procession. A pun is also probably intended on the sense of 'cups' as a slang term for being drunk.

41 capitoll] the Capitolium, a celebrated temple and citadel at Rome built on the Tarpeian rock. The consuls and magistrates offered sacrifices there when they first entered upon their offices, and the procession in triumphs was always conducted to the Capitol.

42 youth of Pella] Alexander the Great was born in Pella, a town in Macedonia, hence he is sometimes referred to as 'Pellaeus juvenis'.

43-7] probably alludes to the town of Persepolis in Persis which Alexander took in 331 B.C. At the following celebration Thais, an Athenian courtesan and mistress of Ptolemy, encouraged Alexander to set fire to the house of Xerxes. She flattered him and offered to help, and he eventually yielded to her.

48-9] Cleitus (c 380-328 B.C.), a Macedonian of noble birth was a 'friend' of Alexander's for having saved his life at the battle of Granicus. He gained distinction as a commander of Cavalry, but was later killed by Alexander in a drunken quarrel which arose over differing political opinions.

50-1] alludes to Alexander's aspirations to deification. Not satisfied with his mortal lineage (he was the son of Philip II) and military accomplishments, he wished to be worshipped as a god. In 332-1 B.C. he visited the oracle of Ammon, and later announced that he had been recognised as the son of Zeus, though this was probably based on his literal interpretation of the conventional greeting addressed to him by the priests.

56-61] Alexander died at Babylon in 323 B.C. from a fever, though later poisoning and excessive drinking was suspected. Towards the end of his life many of his actions gave rise to disloyalty and unrest among his subordinates. His occasional arbitrary injustice and cruelty was probably considered to

provide the incentive for revenge.

57 Brick-walld city] Babylon.

73] it was believed by some that bear cubs were born unshapen and imperfect, and that it was therefore necessary for the mother to lick them into shape. The poet's comparison of this procedure with that of writing verse was probably suggested by the account of Virgil's method of composition given by Aelius Donatus in his life of Virgil (Vita Donati). Donatus records Virgil's claim that he wrote poetry, like the bear with her cub, by licking it into shape (see G. Campbell, 'Milton and the Lives of the Ancients', JWCI, 47 (1984), 237).

75 Shake-speare] Pallas' aegis.

75-7] traditionally Pallas Athena was believed to have emerged fully grown from Jove's brain.

78-9] Bacchus' entry into the world was similarly unconventional. When Semele, seven months pregnant, was reduced to ashes, Jove (the father) rescued the child and placed him in his thigh, where he remained until full term.

91] allusion unidentified.

93 wise Greek] Odysseus, who in order to hear the sirens' voices but not be drawn by their power, ordered his men to bind him to the mast and ignore his calls for release. The men had their ears stopped to avoid being enchanted by the music.

In Sacroboscum Coriarium et Tribunum militum.

See he that of old has buryed his witts  
With bark to tan lether and stank of the pitts  
Now begins to flea men and change his estate  
And shed blood enough to fill up a fatt  
So enlarg'd that at once he can be with ease 5  
An unjust man of warre, and a Justice of Peace.  
So tough in his valour and stout in his pride  
Like mad Ajax arm'd with a sevenfold bulls hide  
And in the same fury and bustle and hurry  
That butchers good friend doth the silly sheep worry 10  
And not only the sheep but the shepherds withall  
For them as the Egyptians he hates most of all,  
When ever he sees them, a face them he makes  
(But that is so still like the same Sir Ajax  
If sourenesse a fashion with soldiers bee 15  
Let them eate onyons, galick and mustard for mee  
And sing to the drum and trumpet a ditty  
Since safer tis now to be valiant then witty  
And hee's the brave man that learning abuses  
For his Mars must have nothing to do with the Muses 20  
And Religion methinks should soften their spiritt  
Nor Grace our Civility would disinheritt  
Nor like as the flowre men sift from the bran  
To putt on the Christian needs putt off the man  
Nay were he so rich as of Oxe and of Wether 25

To mint out the ancient bullion of Lether  
And he contriv'd by his art and his purse  
Such thongs as old Dido cutt out for her Burse  
Yet to his first trade I'de rather appeale  
Which with more hospitality then this a great deale  
Used Poetts and Preachers in Civiler manner  
For Homer and Peter were lodg'd by a Tanner.

30

Rob[ert] Creswell.

NOTES (see commentary page 650)

Title] Against the accursed sheep-fattening tanner and military  
tribune

1 he] Oliver Cromwell; it was commonly believed that Cromwell,  
before entering Parliament, had followed a career as a  
brewer, and was therefore frequently satirized as such. Cf.  
'The Brewer', printed in Rump: or an exact collection of the  
Choycest Poems and Songs (1662), pp.336-9:

A Brewer may be a Burgess grave,

And carry the matter so fine and so brave.

2 bark to tan leather] bark was sometimes used in the ancient  
processes of treating leather. Tanning was considered an  
odorous and loathsome task.

4 fatt] a dyer's vat (OED 3).

6] Cromwell was a justice of the peace for Huntingdon.

8 mad Ajax] Ovid gives Ajax the epithet 'quick-tempered'; Ajax  
was the son of Telemon, and fought against the Trojans with a

shield made from the hides of seven bulls.

9-10] 'silly' is used as a conventional poetic epithet of sheep (OED A 1c). Ajax went mad and slaughtered sheep (v. Sophocles, Ajax).

12 Egyptians] an analogy is drawn with the plight of the Israelites in Egypt and that of the royalists living under Cromwell's military dominance; the poet is possibly thinking of Exodus 1-12.

18-20] an example of the cavalier view that the parliamentarians were destroyers rather than appreciators of art.

25 Wether] a ram (OED).

26] alludes to the levy of excise on all goods; an 'Ordinance for Continuing the Excise' (dated 17 March 1654) stipulates that 'for all...skins, Leather, upon every twentie shillings value, to be paid by the first buyer, one shilling' (Acts and Ordinances, vol.ii, p.848).

28] alludes to King Iarbas of Carthage, who granted Dido as much land as might be enclosed with the hide of an ox. Dido outwitted him into giving her more land than he intended by cutting the hide into thin strips (Aeneid, i, 367).

31-32] the apostle Peter lodged with Simon the tanner who lived on the shore at Jappa (Acts 9: 43; 10: 6).

Homer] Marginal note: 'Herodot. in vita homeri'. The Greek text of the 'Life of Homer' by pseudo-Herodotus is printed in volume 5 of the Oxford Homer (Homeri Opera, ed. Thomas Allen, Oxford, 1912), pp.192-218.

A Dialogue of Love and Feare.

- F. Who deserves a Princes eare  
But I, the noble Passion, Feare?
- L. Who should first in counsell move  
But I, the sweetest Passion, Love?
- F. Silly thing, thou move'st in vain 5  
Thou mayst counsell, I constrain,  
Peoples Love is never sure  
Feare alone does crowne secure.
- L. Sorry thing, thou cans't not still  
By all thy charmes the free born will 10  
To make it what it hates approve  
The Will is subject but to Love.
- F. So I force them to submit  
What care I how like they it,  
I'le not hunt for popular ayre 15  
Let them hate me, so they feare.
- L. Subjection of th' unwilling mind  
Is neither virtuous nor kind,  
Love may in losse and danger laugh  
Feare makes wary men, not safe. 20
- F. But I am safe while power endures,  
For power whom it protects, assures.
- L. What securitie have they  
When even their own fear'd guards betray
- F. But those by other baytes hee'le win 25

L. Then some of my affection must come in.  
 F. Yet such a one as cannot choose  
 For loosing him, they feare themselves to loose.  
 L. That interesse once gone they part,  
 You have the bodyes, I possesse the hart 30  
 F. Be Queen of Harts, of Bodyes I,  
 L. Kill but the Hart, the Bodyes needs must dy.  
 That I command. F. But I prevaile  
 Heire to myself. L. Without entayle.  
 F. Strength will then sweetnesse longer last 35  
 L. Such bitternesse who longe desire tast?  
 F. Then let us joyne,  
 And both combine,  
 Chorus. That Strength and Sweetness so may serve  
 Either the other to preserve 40  
 While his Inferiors, who allow  
 His Goodnesse, so his Terror bow.  
 And as in the blest powres above,  
 His valour Feare, his virtue Love.

Rob[ert] Creswell.

NOTES (see commentary page 651)

32 Queen of Harts] possibly an allusion to the iconography of playing cards; queens were represented by Juno (Hearts), Judith (Clubs), Rachel (Diamonds) and Pallas (Spades), and signified royalty, fortitude, piety and wisdom. If such an

allusion was intended the political implications would not have been lost on a contemporary audience as playing cards were often used for, or to depict, intrigues, of which a card of Queen Anne's reign (illustrating the end of her friendship with Sarah Churchill) is a later example. Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, was known as the Queen of Hearts in the Low Countries, because of her amiable character.

37-8] in the variant in MS EP 24 a marginal gloss for these lines reads 'Plato and Politico ad. fin. Bacon Adv. Learning p.300'. The scribe is possibly alluding to Bacon's comments on the view that all things by scale did ascend to unity, a doctrine expounded by Plato in Philebus 16 (see Bacon's The Advancement of Learning and New Atlantis, ed. Arthur Johnston (Oxford, 1980), p.93).

'Fair Archabella'

Fair Archabella to thy eyes  
That flame just blushes in the skies  
Each noble heart doth sacrifice.

Yet be not cruell since you may  
When ere you please to save or slay 5  
Or with a frowne benight the day

I do not wish that you should rest  
In any unknown high-way breast  
The lodgin of each common guest.

But I present a bleeding heart 10  
Wounded by love not prickt by art  
That never knew a former smart

Be pleas'd to smile and then I live,  
But if a frowne, a death you give  
For which it were a sin to greive.

15

Yet if it be decreed I fall  
Grant but one boon, one boon is all  
That you would me your Martyr call.

George Lord Digby.

NOTES (see commentary page 651)

9 Lodgin] i.e. Lodging.

'Upon Ashwendsday'

Upon Ashwendsday fifty three  
Neer to the gate calld Temple barre  
It was a joyfull sight to see  
Our City meet the men of warr  
But some disturbd the busines there 5  
Through laughing and scoffing and many a jeare  
    Oh rogues, notable rascalls, cuckoldy Traytors  
    Never the like was seen.

We had ordain'd like men discreet  
The Godly party now prevailing 10  
His Highnes should find every street  
Swept clean and all besett with rayling  
Yet Cavaliers mingled here and there  
Through laughing and scoffing and many a jeare  
    Oh rogues, notable rascalls, cuckoldy Traytors 15  
    Never the like was seen.

Our Aldermen every man in graine  
Made up a rich and glorious show  
Their horses likewise were not in vaine  
Their trappings made them senators to 20  
And thus they ride like Brethren deare

Through laughing and scoffing and many a jeare  
Oh rogues, notable rascalls, cuckoldy Traytors  
Never the like was seen.

When they had made a good long stand 25  
And chew'd upon the neglect some while  
At length appeared in the strand  
Another traine in ranke and file  
But ours stood bold and did not feare  
Through laughing and scoffing and many a jeare 30  
Oh rogues, notable rascalls, cuckoldy Traytors  
Never the like was seen.

Captain Howard brought up the van  
With a troop not cloathd in rags  
Next after came a very small man 35  
Who is said to be master of the nags  
For he lead a palfrey in his reare  
Through laughing and scoffing and many a jeare  
Oh rogues, notable rascalls, cuckoldy Traytors  
Never the like was seen. 40

Twelve footmen then in liveries gray  
With caps of velvet did approach  
They were to attend in close array  
Upon six horses and a coach  
But some said Antichrist sate there 45

Through laughing and scoffing and many a jeare  
Oh rogues, notable rascalls, cuckoldy Traytors  
Never the like was seen.

These Anabaptists are such things  
They love with higher powres to wrestle 50

Protectors please no better then Kings  
I wish they were all in Windsor Castle  
Where Feake and Simson are sent we heare  
Through laughing and scoffing and many a jeare  
Oh rogues, notable rascalls, cuckoldy Traytors 55  
Never the like was seen.

Now being met our grave Recorder  
In sullen manner turned his breech  
And the major for feare of more disorder  
Was forc't himself to make the speech 60  
Which was receiv'd by some too neere  
With laughing and scoffing and many a jeare  
Oh rogues, notable rascalls, cuckoldy Traytors  
Never the like was seen.

The speech being done, our citty toole 65  
Was given into his Highnes hand  
For which the major was thought a foole  
By some that think they understand,  
But sure these men were too severe

With laughing and scoffing and many a jeare 70

Oh rogues, notable rascalls, cuckoldy Traytors

Never the like was seen.

His highnes being on horseback gott

The major endeavour'd to do so too,

Six yeomen assisted him in the plott 75

And yet it was more then they all could do,

It would vex a greater saint to heare

Their laughing and scoffing and many a jeare

Oh rogues, notable rascalls, cuckoldy Traytors

Never the like was seen. 80

At length one took him by the twist

And threw him into his velvet seate

And sure if that attempt had mist

His ghost had vapour'd out in sweat.

But he was deliver'd from that fear, 85

With laughing and scoffing and many a jeare

Oh rogues, notable rascalls, cuckoldy Traytors

Never the like was seen.

And now he's arriv'd unto his place

And marches on in good decorum 90

The Cap of maintenance, sword and mace

And major himself, all of the coram

To Grocers hall their course they sheere

With laughing and scoffing and many a jeare  
Oh rogues, notable rascalls, cuckoldy Traytors 95  
Never the like was seen.

The Feast itself who can relate,  
The dishes, sauces and the garnish  
The wine, the musick, and the state  
The bags, the gildings and the varnish 100  
The sight thereof fild most men there  
With laughing and scoffing and many a jeare  
Oh rogues, notable rascalls, cuckoldy Traytors  
Never the like was seen.

But when two Aldermen kept the dore 105  
Who would have thought it could have bin  
That into such a place, the poor  
Or cut-purses shold be lett in  
But wickednes enters everywhere  
With laughing and scoffing and many a jeare 110  
Oh rogues, notable rascalls, cuckoldy Traytors  
Never the like was seen.

The major of [Esums] jest that day  
Deserv'd particular renown  
But Peters then being out of the way 115  
He took upon him to play the clowne  
And added mirth to our good chere.

With laughing and scoffing and many a jeare  
Oh rogues, notable rascalls, cuckoldy Traytors  
Never the like was seen. 120

You know our Custard is a thing  
Wherein the City spends many crowns  
Good store there of this foole did fling  
Upon our cheifest scarlet gownes  
Embroydering them in liquid geare 125

With laughing and scoffing and many a jeare  
Oh rogues, notable rascalls, cuckoldy Traytors  
Never the like was seen.

Then streight his Highnes drew his sword  
Which put the mayor into a fright 130  
But using a sacramentall word  
He only said, be thou a knight,  
Which will afford much mirth I feare  
With laughing and scoffing and many a jeare

Oh rogues, notable rascalls, cuckoldy Traytors 135  
Never the like was seen.

#### NOTES

1] the year referred to is actually 1654; in the seventeenth century the year was generally recorded as beginning on 25 March. The date is 8 February 'this being the Day appointed

for entertaining his Highness the Lord Protector in the City of London' (The Weekly Intelligencer, 7 Feb.-14 Feb.1654). The entry in John Evelyn's diary for that day reads: 'In Contradiction to all Custome and decency, the Usurper Cromwell feasted at the L. Majors on Ash- Wednesday, riding in Triumph through the Citty' (The Diary of John Evelyn, ed. E.S. De Beer (London, 1955), vol.iii, 1650-72). Cf. 'The Cities Feast to the Lord Protector' (set to the tune of Cook Laurell), printed in Henry Brome's Rump: or an Exact Collection of the Choycest Poems and Songs (1662), pp.374-6; it is a different poem but satirizes the same occasion.

2-4] Temple Bar Gate marked the western limits of the city of London, and from Elizabeth's reign a brief ceremony had taken place there on state occasions when the sovereign wished to enter the city. The custom was that the Lord Mayor granted his permission to enter and then offered his Sword of State as a demonstration of his loyalty. The Sword was then returned to him and carried before the royal procession to show that the sovereign was under the Lord Mayor's protection.

10 The Godly party] the Puritans, who believed they were fighting God's cause.

11 His Highness] Cromwell. As Protector Cromwell became the head of state and expected to be addressed as 'His Highness'. Because of the circumstances in which he was elevated to this position there was considerable uneasiness on the part of fellow heads of state.

11-13] 'in the morning the streets from Grocers hall in the Poultry to Temple Bar, were railed in on both sides the way, and the four and twenty Companies met at their several Halls, and all along the said Rails were set up a great many Flaggs, and streams bearing the Arms of the respective Companies' (Weekly Intelligencer, op.cit.). In view of the tone of the poem a pun on 'rayling' is probably intended. In addition to royalist opposition, the new Protectorate was disliked by many parliamentarians and presbyterians who objected to the powerful influence of the army. The veneer of toleration for these 'men of war' was motivated by economic necessity, particularly amongst the merchants and shop keepers.

17-21] the procession of dignitaries provided an elaborate spectacle: 'first came a Marshal, and after him five Trumpets sounding, then came about sixty Gentlemen in gallant equipage, and well mounted, after them came six Trumpeters, and four heralds at Arms, next after them were carried nine white Flaggs...then came the sheriff, and Aldermen on horseback all in their scarlet Gowns, and next before his Highness the Lord Mayor bare-headed, carrying the Sword himself before him, his Highness having a musk coloured suit, richly imbroydered with gold' (ibid.). The phrase 'Brethren deare' (l.21) suggests an allusion to the more blatant royalist satire in which some puritans were accused of bestiality (cf. 'News from Colchester' (l.50): 'And usd her like a sister').

33 Captain Howard] Charles Howard, Captain of the guard and a

member of the Council of State. In 1657 Cromwell created him Viscount Howard of Morpeth.

35-6] John Claypole, Cromwell's son-in-law, was Master of the Horse during the Protectorate.

41-5] following Cromwell in the procession were 'about three score Collonels, and other Superior Officers in very rich habits, and after them came two rich Coaches of his Highness with six stately Horses a peece, the Postillions, and Coachmen riding bare, only with black velvet caps' (ibid.).

49 Anabaptists] by the seventeenth century the term was often used, as in this instance, as a derogatory generic label for the more extreme members within the numerous independent sects.

51-2] Windsor Castle was used as a prison. An allusion is probably also intended to the fact that Charles I was buried there, in St George's Chapel.

53 Feake] Christopher Feake, a preacher and Fifth-monarchy man. For preaching against the government, particularly Cromwell, he was brought before the Council of State and imprisoned in Windsor Castle (DNB; Dictionary of British Radicals). In his entry for Sunday 18 December 1653, Carlyle records 'a certain loud-tongued, loud-minded Mr. Feak, of Anabaptist Leveller persuasion, with a Colleague...named Powel, have a Preaching Establishment, this good while past, in Blackfriars'. Feake told his congregation that the Protector had deceived the Lord's people, and 'that he is a perjured villain' who 'will not reign long' (Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, ed.

T. Carlyle (London, 1888), part viii, pp.2-3). He had previously described Cromwell as 'the little horn of Daniel's prophacy, who was to make war upon the saints, and whom the saints would finally destroy' (CSPD 1653-4, pp.304-5; L.F. Brown, The Political Activities of the Baptists (1912), p.45). Prior to Feake's arrest Cromwell had met with him and his fellow preachers to remonstrate with them 'for strengthening the enemies of the Commonwealth abroad by dissention at home'. In response Cromwell was accused by them of 'assuming exorbitant powers', and they continued to preach against him believing it to be their duty to 'give voice to the inspirations of the Holy Spirit' (Brown, p.41).

Simson] Sidrach Simson was an independent divine. In 1650 he was appointed Master of Pembroke Hall and received the rectory of St Mary Abchurch, London. He was later imprisoned in Windsor Castle for preaching against Cromwell (DNB; Dictionary of British Radicals). Feake and Simpson were arrested in accordance with the new Ordinance which declared any deliberate attack upon the government to be treason (Brown, p.46). On 28 January 1654 it was ordered that 'Mr.Feake and Mr.Simpson' should be 'committed to prison, in order to the preservation of the peace of this nation'. It was further ordered that Windsor Castle was 'to be the place to which they shall be committed' (CSPD 1653-4,p.371).

57 grave Recorder] the Recorder was the city's senior law officer and played an important part in the ceremonies. On this

occasion the Recorder, Sergeant William Steele, delivered a speech reiterating the qualities necessary for successful government. He concluded his list with the suggestion 'My Lord, There is one help more in Government, which God is pleased often to add to the rest, which is the giving in of Affections of the People' (Mr Recorders speech to his Highnes the Lord Protector at his Entertainment, upon Wednesday 8 Feb. 1653, by R. I. for Matthew Walbancke. STC 5396).

58-61] the poet is possibly alluding to an incident later in the proceedings when the Recorder was sent for 'but had been sent away upon speciall businesse'. According to the news book 'at his Highness coming into Grocers hall, Mr.Recorder had made a speech, which was thought fit rather to be done there then in Fleet Street' (Severall Proceedings of State Affairs 9-16 Feb. 1654).

59 major] mayor.

65 Citty toole] the City Sword.

65-6] at Temple Bar the Lord Mayor took the sword from the sword bearer and 'presented it to his Highness, and then his Highness delivered it back again unto him, and after some other Ceremonies performed, his Highness came through the City' (Weekly Intelligencer, op.cit.).

73-4] 'his Highness came in his coach from Whitehall...[to] Temple Barre, where His Highness alighted out of his Coach and took horse' (The Perfect Diurnall, 6-13 Feb. 1654). He was greeted there by the Mayor who was also on horseback.

93] the destination of the procession was Grocers' Hall, in Princes Street, where the banquet was to be held.

97-100] the procession arrived at Grocers' Hall 'a little after two of the clock' and Cromwell was 'most Royally entertained, with abundance of the choicest delicacies this rich and plentiful City could afford' (Weekly Intelligencer, op.cit.).

113-5] alludes to Hugh Peters the clergyman, a staunch supporter of Cromwell and a regular preacher at Whitehall (DNB; Dictionary of British Radicals). At the signing of Charles' death warrant Hugh Peters had been called upon to stiffen the resolve of the hesitant by preaching to them the text of Psalms clxix 'To bind their kings in chains, and their nobles with fetters of irons; to execute upon them the judgments written: this honour have all the saints'. On 17 January 1652 he was appointed a commissioner on law reform. The allusion in line 113 is possibly to the contemporary jibes that were collected and comprised a work (not published until 1660) entitled The Tales and Jests of Mr Hugh Peters (London), printed for 'S. D.' (STC 1721). Peters was widely attacked in anonymous pamphlets where he was accused of every kind of wickedness, and in Cosmo Manuche's play The Loyal Lovers (1652), he was satirized in a scene where two royalists give an amateur performance for a few friends depicting the punishment of Peters by a butcher whom he has cuckolded.

129-32] during the entertainment the Mayor, Thomas Viner, was knighted by Cromwell, who in turn received 'a present of

forty dozen of silver Plates, to the value of two thousand pound, and knighted the Lord Mayor, to whom he gave a very rich sword in the remembrance of him' (Weekly Intelligencer, op.cit.).

Of our present warr with Spain, and first victory at Sea.

Now for some ages had the pride of Spain  
Made the sun shine on half the world in vain,  
Whilst she bids war to all that durst supply  
The place of those her cruelty made dy;  
Of natures bounty men forbear to tast 5  
And the best portion of the earth lay wast.

From the new world her silver and her gold  
Came like a tempest to confound the old  
Feeding with these the brib'd Electours hopes  
She made at pleasure Emperours and Popes. 10  
With these advancing her unjust designes  
Europe was shaken with her Indian mines.

When our Protectour looking with distain  
Upon the gilded majesty of Spaine  
And knowing well that Empire must decline 15  
Whose cheif support and sinewes are of coine  
Our nations solid virtue did oppose  
To the rich troubles of the worldes repose

And now some moneths encamping on the Maine  
Our Navall Army had beseiged Spaine 20  
They that the whole worlds Monarchy had design'd  
Are to their ports by our bold fleet confin'd.  
From whence our Red-Crosse they triumphant see  
Riding without a Rivall on the sea.

Others may use the Ocean as their Roade 25  
 Only the English make it their abode  
 Whose ready sailes with every wind comply  
 And make a covenant with the unconstant skie  
 Our oaks secure as if they there tooke roote  
 Wee tread on billowes with a steady foot. 30

Mean while the Spaniards in America  
 Neer to the line the sun approaching saw  
 And hop'd their European coasts to find  
 Clear'd from our ships by the Autumnall wind  
 Their huge capacious gallions stuf't with Plate 35  
 The Labouring winds drive slowly to their fate.

Before St Lugar they their guns discharge  
 To tell their joy, or to call forth a barge  
 This heard some ships of ours though out of view  
 And swift as Eagles to the quarry flew 40  
 So heedlesse lambs which for their mothers bleat  
 Wake hungry Lyons and become their meate.

Arriv'd they soon begin that Tragick play  
 And with their smoaky Canons banish day,  
 Night, horrour, slaughter with confusion meets 45  
 And in their sable Armes imbrace the fleets.  
 Through yeilding planks the angry Bullets fly  
 And of one wound hundreds together dy  
 Born under different stars one fate they have  
 The ship their coffin and the sea their grave. 50

Bold were the men which on the Ocean first  
 Spread their new sailes when shipwrack was the worst.  
 More danger now from man alone we find  
 Then from the rocks, the billowes, and the wind.  
 They that had saild from neer th' Antartique Pole 55  
 Their Treasure safe, and all their Vessels whole  
 In sight of their Dear Countrey ruin'd be  
 Without the guilt of either Rock or sea.  
 Whom they would spare our feircer Art destroyes  
 Excelling stormes in terror and in noyse. 60  
 Once Jove from Ida did both hosts survay  
 And when he pleas'd to thunder part the fray  
 Here Heaven in vain that kind retreat should sound  
 The lowder Cannon had the thunder drown'd  
 Some we made prize while others burnt and rent 65  
 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 dig'd for it before. 70  
 What Earth in her dark bowells could not keep  
 From greedy hands lyes safer in the deep.  
 Where Thetis kindly does from mortals hide  
 Those seeds of Luxury, Debate, and Pride  
 And now into her lap the richest prize 75  
 Fell with the noblest of our enemies.

The Marquiss glad to see the fire destroy  
Wealth the prevailing foes were to enjoy  
Out from his flaming ship his children sent  
To perish in a milder element. 80

Then layd him by his burning Ladies side  
And since he could not save her, with her dy'd  
Spices and Gums about them melting fry  
And Phoenix like in that rich nest they dy.

Death bitter is for what we leave behind 85  
But taking with us all we love is kind  
What could he more then hold for terme of life  
His Indian treasure and his more priz'd wife.

Alive in flames of equal Love they burn'd  
And now together are to ashes turn'd 90  
Ashes more worth then all their funerals cost  
Then the huge treasure which was with them lost.

Those dying Lovers and their floating sons  
Suspend the fight and silence all our guns  
Such noble pity in brave English minds 95  
Beauty and youth about to perish finds  
That the rich spoile neglecting and the prize  
All labour now to save their enemies.

How fraile our passions! how soon changed are  
Our wrath and fury to a freindly care 100  
They that but now to gain the Spanish Plate  
Made the sea blush with blood forget their hate  
And their young foes while sinking they retrieve

With greater danger then they fought they dive

With these returns Victorious Mountague

105

With Laurell in his hand, and half Peru.

Edmund Waller

NOTES (see commentary page 651)

Title] the first English victory against the Spanish occurred on 8 September 1656 when the Spanish treasure-fleet was destroyed by Captain Richard Stayner.

3-4] alludes to the Vaudois, a settlement of protestants, against whom the Duke of Savoy began a campaign of persecution in the spring of 1655. Other protestants believed the Duke was incited by priests and Jesuits.

9-10] possibly alludes to Ferdinand III, the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, who negotiated with the Electors to secure peace and the Austrian monarchy. In May 1653 the Electors had guaranteed the succession of the Emperor's son.

12 Indian mines] the source of wealth and riches, hence 'coine' in line 16.

13 Protector] Oliver Cromwell, who had become Lord Protector in December 1653.

22] a Spanish fleet was anchored in Cadiz harbour.

23-4] Cromwell placed great importance on his Navy, and during the Interregnum ship-building was increased; cf. the entry in John Evelyn's Diary (9 April 1655) where he records his thoughts on the launching of the 'Naseby' (renamed the 'Royal

Charles' on 23 May 1660): 'went to see the greate Ship newly built, by the Usurper Oliver, carrying 96 brasse Guns, and a 1000 tunne: In the Prow was Oliver on horseback trampling 6 nations under foote, a Scot, Irishman, Dutch, French, Spaniard and English as was easily made out by their several habits: A Fame held a laurell over his insulting head, and the word God with us' (vol.iii, pp.149-50). The 'Red-Crosse' is the flag of St George.

31] the Spanish fleet bringing treasure from Peru; it comprised two galleons, with two armed urcas or 'hulks', and three merchantmen.

37 St Lugar] St Lucar, Spain.

32-42] a squadron of English ships lay in wait near Cadiz for the return of the Spanish fleet. Though fewer in number, the English 'made their way so fast, that when they got to them.. ..[the Spaniards] rather thought of saving their wealth by flight than of defending themselves' (Macray, vol.vi, p.18). Stayner had been left in charge of the blockade with a frigate squadron, which had put out sea due to a strong west wind (see Julian S. Corbett, England in the Mediterranean 1603-1713 (London, 1904), p.332).

43-51] after several hours' action the Spanish fleet was defeated; one of their ships, carrying the Marquis of Baydes, Governor of Chile, was burnt and others were taken or chased ashore. The attack was a severe blow to the Indian trade and the Spaniards suffered a great financial loss (ibid.).

61 Ida] a reference to Iliad VIII, 45ff.

73 Thetis] goddess of the ocean.

77-82] Clarendon records that the Marquis, travelling in the 'Vice-Admiral' with his wife and family, ordered the ship to be fired to prevent capture, with the result that 'the poor gentleman himself, his wife, and his eldest daughter perished: his other daughters and his two sons, and near one hundred others, were saved by the English, who took the rear-admiral and two other ships very richly laden, which, together with the prisoners, were sent to England; the rest escaped to Gibraltar' (op.cit.).

83-4] traditionally the Phoenix was believed to build its nest from the spices and fragrances of the east. Coincidentally, one of the English ships, a 36-gun frigate, was named the 'Phoenix'.

85-8] these lines are not included in Waller's edition.

101 Spanish Plate] puns on the sense of Spanish treasure and the Spanish Plate fleet, the fleet sailing from South America. Depending on when the poem was written, the allusion is possibly to the events of April 1657 when Admiral Blake attacked the Spanish fleet returning from the Americas and was at the Port of Santa Cruz, in the Island of Tenerife.

105 Victorious Mountague] Edward Montague (1625-72), appointed General-at-Sea, afterwards first Earl of Sandwich.

The new Letany.

From knocking preists and Prelates crowns

Without respect to coates and gownes

From Lanrick wines, ill be their fate

They knockt my dear friend on the pate.

From all such bickring South or North

5

Or in the midst, mixt Tay and Forth.

And all mad pranks of Catharus

Almighty God deliver us.

From withstanding the solemne mention

Of Christs Birthday, Rising, Ascension.

10

From withholding the seales of Grace

When need requires in any place,

From branding the whole Liturgy

Of Popery, whereof its free.

And all mad pranks of Catharus

15

Almighty God deliver us.

From fasting on the Lords own day

Fasting without warrant I say

And fasting which the Lord doth hate

For maintaining strife and debate,

20

From Ancrum-bridg we understand  
Such fasting spread throughout the land.

And all mad pranks of Catharus  
Almighty God deliver us.

From upside down brought in of late 25

Into the Church, into the State,  
Since Emperor Hackets raigne I meane  
The like Twas never heard nor seen,  
From standing without feare of falling  
From extraordinary Calling. 30

And all mad pranks of Catharus  
Almighty God deliver us.

From [weeping] Imaginations

From relying on Revelations

From praying non-sense and from saying 35

That Gods good spirit indites such praying  
From touching of the Lords anointed  
From a poor Church and State disjoynted.

And all mad pranks of Catharus  
Almighty God deliver us. 40

From running headlong to Perdition

From presbyteriall Inquisition

Wherein I was once tost amaine

I hope ne're to come there againe

From hurley-burly powder and shot	45
From tying of one Gordian knot	
And all mad pranks of Catharus	
Almighty God deliver us.	
From vizards, masks, and bayted hooks	
And all pernicious pamphlet books	50
Namely Buchanans Regni jus,	
Which is the most pernicious,	
From mending wrongs with worse and worse	
From stabbing of one poor coach-horse.	
And all mad pranks of Catharus	55
Almighty God deliver us.	
From him that ne're thinks what he saith	
And from a disobedient fayth	
From quoting Acts of Parliament	
Against the Law-givers intent	60
But a base church and stately stable	
From breaking the Communion Table	
And all mad pranks of Catharus	
Almighty God deliver us.	
From long prayers of devout Sisters	65
From in madcaps rotten glisters	
From sermons made to blowe the fire	
All ore the land for Baalams hire,	

From Bishops that betray the cause  
And Advocates that wrest the Lawes 70  
    And all mad pranks of Catharus  
    Almighty God deliver us.

From the tables, nay tables three  
Of Lords, Barons and ministry  
From their decrees and all new glosses 75  
From pitfalls, quagmires and mosses  
From will which is not rul'd with Reason  
From all conspiracy and treason  
    And all mad pranks of Catharus  
    Almighty God deliver us. 80

From setting Church Assemblies free  
From all royall authoritie.  
A free Asssembly falsely nam'd  
Which is not by the King proclaim'd  
And crossing that which he proclaimes 85  
From their most dangerous extremes  
    Ans all mad pranks of Catharus  
    Almighty God deliver us.

From every band of Combination  
Which wants the Princes approbation 90  
And more from manifest repining  
Against his will in such enjoyning

But most of all from standing to it,  
Against all persons who dare do it.

And all mad pranks of Catharus 95  
Almighty God deliver us.

From proud and perverse supplication  
Put up in carelesse Convocations  
From Creeds made up of pure negations  
Enlarg'd with faythlesse explications  
Informations protestations  
The Covenant and all his actions

100

These are the pranks of Catharus  
From which good Lord deliver us.

The second part.

From Pedlar, squire-black, and Pricklouse  
Elders and Rulers of Gods house  
From menders of the Magnificat  
Who know not Quid significat  
From stripling statesmen stout and bold

105

Some 9 some 8 some 7 yeares old 110  
And all mad mates of Catharus  
Almighty God deliver us.

From the Catholicon of Spain  
From the Jesuite Knave in grain

From Henderson, Dickson and Cant 115  
Apostles of the Covenant

From Regg and Ramseys Patriarchs  
And their adherents all mad sparks  
    And all mad mates of Catharus  
    Almighty God deliver us. 120

And the good Christians of the West  
As from a Wasp or Hornets nest  
And namely from the town of Ayre  
And the old Rascall Dumber there  
From all such brats to mischeif born 125  
Some twice banisht, some twice mane-sworn  
    And all mad mates of Catharus  
    Almighty God deliver us.

From preachers that have words in store  
And faces too, but nothing more 130  
From those who when their matter failes  
Run out their glasse with idle tales  
And from lay layrds in pulpit pratling  
And twice a day rumbling and ratling  
    And all mad mates of Catharus 135  
    Almighty God deliver us.

From Jack on both sides, so and so  
Who swears Pro, contra, Contra, pro,

With ventis ut nunc flantibus  
And rebus ut nunc stantibus 140  
And such Camelions and such foxes  
And from the knock down race of Knoxes.  
And all mad mates of Catharus  
Almighty God deliver us.

From pyed preachers with shoulder ruffs 145  
Or shoulder-bands with elbow cuffs  
With trapping, knapping, strapping strings,  
Buttons, bonelace, ribbands, and rings  
Points jangling here, points jangling there  
And brave spangaries every where 150  
And all mad mates of Catharus  
Almighty God deliver us.

With French Jukes and Spanish Capps  
And in one word like Jack-a-napes  
From top to toe, Busket for a sport 155  
From them and from one vicious sort  
Who in their clothing up and down  
Do represent the Countrey clown,  
And all mad mates of Catharus  
Almighty God deliver us. 160

From preachers, Chamberlains, and Factors  
Their Lords-rents-rackers, and exactors

Corn-mungers, usurers and farmers  
 Store-masters, mountebanks and charmers  
 In summer, who imploy both witt and paine 165  
 In trade though ne're so base for gaine  
     And all mad mates of Catharus  
     Almighty God deliver us.

From tospott-preachers, drunk all night  
 And drought again ere day be light 170  
 From he that feasts when he shold fast  
 And from a trenchar-par[aphrast]  
 From busy Bishops without orders  
 As Mister sheriff on the borders.  
     And all mad mates of Catharus 175  
     Almighty God deliver us.

From those that drink drunk to Gods glory  
 And oft tell some pittifull story  
 Of Bishop Laud or of the King  
 Or Pope, or Spain, or some such thing 180  
 Never without grosse Calummie  
 Whereby their faith doth fructifie.  
     And all mad mates of Catharus  
     Almighty God deliver us.

From pupill-pastor, Tutor-flock 185  
 From Tutor-Jonny, Pulpitt-Jock

From all such Head-controuling Tayles  
And from small bargues with too bigg sailes  
From him that Jesus name defaces  
And violates all holy places 190  
    And all mad mates of Catharus  
    Almighty God deliver us.

From covenanting Tagg and Ragg  
Horserubber, Scullion, Scold or Hagg,  
Tinckler, Trove-Lord, Sloven and Slut 195  
Dick, Jack, and Tom, Longtaile and Cutt  
Drunkard and Diver, Theif and Whore  
Infamous rascalls by the score.  
    These are the mates of Catharus  
    From which good Lord deliver us. 200

Cathari Foedus et Confessio Fidei

Inscribat Catharus sua quod molimina foedus  
Desine mirari cuncta ubi foeda vides.  
Admirare magis fidei confessio quidnam  
Proscribat, scriptis est ubi nulla fides. 205  
Nulla fides fateor nulla est confessio, quid tu?  
Et mentitur in quo exiguus labor est.  
Vis dicam verbo Fidei confessio foeda  
Scribenda [est] ut rebus conveniat.

NOTES (see commentary page 651)

Title] the Litany was a symbol of unity and represented institutional and state stability. To the adherents of Anglicanism the gradual erosion of organised worship not only denied them their personal choice of religion but undermined the fundamental basis of the state. Anonymous satire attacking the religion and state reforms flourished during the interregnum, and many poems were written in the form of the litany to convey further contempt for those responsible for restricting the established form of worship. Many examples of this style may be found in the numerous anthologies published after the Restoration.

1-2] episcopacy was abolished by an Ordinance of 9 November 1646.

3 Lanrick wines] unidentified.

4] Archbishop Laud was executed on 10 January 1645.

5-6] the initial unanimity between the Scottish presbyterians and the English puritans soon evaporated over the question of tolerance. No longer united against episcopal supremacy religious feeling polarized creating a new antagonism between the presbyterians and the Independents.

7 Catharus] from 'catharsis' meaning to 'purge', and possibly coined as a personification of puritanism.

9-10] on 8 June 1647 parliament issued an Ordinance abolishing festivals, stating 'for as much as the Feasts of the Nativity of Christ, Easter and Whitsuntide, and the other Festivals commonly called Holy-Dayes, have been heretofore superstitiously used and observed Be it Ordained...[that

they] be no longer observed' (Acts and Ordinances, vol.i, p.945).

13-14] the Book of Common Prayer was suppressed by an Ordinance of 4 January 1645. It was replaced by the Directory for Public Worship for use in all services. The Ordinance stated that because of the 'manifold inconveniences' arising from the Book of Common Prayer, the Lords and Commons 'according to their covenant [intend] to reform Religion according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best Reformed Churches' (ibid., vol.i, p.582).

17-20] the observation of the Sabbath was rigorously enforced by the puritans, and on 8 April 1644 parliament issued 'An Ordinance for the better observation of the Lords-Day'. It was intended to redress the 'prophanities' previously encouraged. The content of the ordinance set out what was forbidden, including travel, trade, recreations and pastimes, and Maypoles, which were particularly condemned because they were considered to be a 'Heathenish Vanity generally abused to superstition and wickedness'. James I's Book (or 'Declaration') of Sports was specifically singled out because it was in contradiction of 'the morality of the fourth commandment' and the Lord's Day. This and all other such works were to be 'seized, suppressed, and publicly burnt by the Justices of the peace' (ibid., pp.420-2).

21 Ancrum-bridg] unidentified.

27 Emperor Hackets raigne] John Hacket (1592-1670), the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. After the opening of the Long

Parliament he became a member of the committee for religion, the object of which was to reform the Church Services and discipline. He was appointed a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines but eventually ceased to attend because episcopal divines had no weight. On 13 December 1645 his living of St Andrew, Holborn, was sequestered (DNB).

33-6] the increase in independent sects arose from a general dissatisfaction with the organized church. The sects soon became the object of suspicion and ridicule because of the behaviour of the more eccentric adherents who showed an irreverence towards the church, and on occasion, even rejected the scriptures. Others claimed legitimacy for their actions from the scriptures or from divine 'revelations'.

37-8] James and Charles' sentiment of 'no bishop, no king' is echoed here.

42] the swearing of the Solemn League and Covenant was extended to all men aged eighteen and over in an Ordinance of 5 February 1646 (*ibid.*, p.376). It was later revised by the Westminster Assembly and framed as the 'Confession of Faith for the three Kingdoms, according to the Solemn League and Covenant'. This was completed on 4 December 1646 and finally approved by parliament on 20 June 1648.

45-6] the 'Gordian knott' is cited as a symbol of the insoluble problem created by the civil war, and the changes made by parliament. The symbol is also representative of a difficulty that can only be removed by force.

49-52] in 1579 George Buchanan (1506-82), the historian and

scholar, published De Jure Regni; the most important of his political writings. It is written in the form of a dialogue and contains a defence of legitimate or limited monarchy, a statement of the duty of monarchs and subjects to each other, and a plea for the right of popular election of kings. The responsibility of bad kings is addressed and tyrannicide is upheld in extreme cases. The tract was suppressed by an Act of Parliament in 1584, but became a standard work for those in the Long Parliament (DNB).

53-4] the 'wrongs' alluded to are probably the attempts made by Charles I to recover the property of the Church in Scotland. The Act of Revocation summarily revoked the grants of Church lands made by James I, but as the lands in question had in many instances passed into other hands, the policy was resisted. When the Earl of Nithsdale was sent to Scotland to explain the procedure of the revocation, he was met by a storm of opposition; those 'who were most concerned in those grants met at Edinburgh, and agreed that...if no other argument did prevail to make the Earl of Nithsdale desist, they would fall upon him and all his party in the old Scotch manner, and knock them on the head' (G. Burnet, History of my own Time (London, 1897), vol.i, p.30). Gardiner recalls another account of how Nithsdale was frightened off, when he was informed that the people of Edinburgh had 'cut in pieces' the coach which had been prepared for his entry into the city, and had also killed his horses, and were 'quite ready to do the same to himself' (History of England, vol.vii,

pp.277-8).

57-62] Anglican hostility towards the puritans was increased by what they perceived as the mindless destruction of church buildings and religious artefacts. Crosses, statues, and communion rails, which to puritan tastes were remnants of 'popery', were particularly singled out for removal. The Earl of Manchester, commander of the armies of the Eastern Association, was officially responsible for overseeing the removal of such objects in the eastern area. At the end of 1643 William Dowsing arrived in Cambridge with instructions to purge the university chapels and churches of Laudian 'superstition', and began with Peterhouse. Many stories are associated directly with Cromwell who was reported to have encouraged the tearing up of the Book of Common Prayer in the presence of Cambridge University clergy, and on another occasion to have forcibly ended a choir-service in Ely Cathedral. The royalist propaganda frequently reported the parliamentary army as being responsible for profane acts, including the use of churches as stables for their horses. Cf. lines 33-8 of 'The Cloaks Knavery' printed in D'Urfey's Wit and Mirth:

It brought in the bagpipes, and pull'd down the organs;

The pulpits did smoak,

The Churches did choak,

And all our religion was turn'd to a cloak;

It brought in lay-Elders could not write nor read,

It set public faith up, and pull'd down the creed.

65 sisters] female members of the Christian Church (OED 3b); the satire rests on its particular adoption by the puritans as a form of addressing one another.

67-8] the thought behind the poet's allusion is summed up by Thomas Heywood who wrote of Balaam 'yet for his person, some have held him for no better than a soothsayer, or a Wizard, and hired for a reward to curse the children of Israel Gods selected people, they by his counsell after inticed to fornication and idolatry, of whom the blessed Apostle Saint Peter...gives him this character (speaking of such whose hearts were exercised in covetousnesse, and children of the curse) who forsaking the right way have gone astray, following the way of Balaam' (The Life of Merlin (1641), p.7). Balaam is cited as a symbol of those who led the more extreme religious sects and advocated that their followers need not be bound by the moral and religious code espoused by the established church. (cf. Numbers 22-24; Jude 11; and Revelation 2: 14.)

76 mosses] swamps, bogs (OED 1a).

81-4] in 1643 the synod, known as the Westminster Assembly, was appointed by the Long Parliament to reform the English Church. The bill ratifying its formation was passed on 15 October 1642 but failed to receive the Royal Assent. The following June parliament issued an Ordinance to the same effect.

105-6] after the abolition of the episcopacy, church ministers were titled Elders. The satire is aimed at the increase and

prominence of lay preachers who lacked the formal learning of the bishops.

Pricklouse] slang term for a tailor.

107] the Magnificat formed part of the worship set out in the Book of Common Prayer.

113-4] a 'catholicon' is a comprehensive treatise (OED 2b); also possibly alludes to the Jesuit involvement in the Spanish Inquisition, and their doctrine, shared by the Presbyterians, which accepted the right of subjects to depose unsatisfactory kings.

115 Henderson] Alexander Henderson (c 1583-1646) was the recognised leader of the Scottish Presbyterians during the years 1637-40. In 1643 he prepared the draft of the Solemn League and Covenant for both Scotland and England, and in 1644 he prepared the Directory of Public Worship. The last months of his life were spent debating the presbyterial and episcopal systems of church government with the king.

Dickson] Andrew Dickson, one of the Scottish commissioners appointed to oversee the introduction of the Solemn League and Covenant in England.

117 Regg] possibly a reference to Regulus, the Scottish Saint and legendary founder of St Andrews.

Ramseys] Andrew Ramsay (1574-1659), the Scottish divine. In 1637 he became a leader of the party which eventually became known as the covenanters. In September of the same year he started to rouse people against the new liturgy and canons. By 1638 he was active in preparing people for the signing of

the national covenant, and for many years he worked as Henderson's right-hand man (DNB).

121-6] an allusion to Gavin Dunbar (d 1547) the Archbishop of Glasgow. Instances of his notorious behaviour are recorded by John Knox, who states that he was 'known a glorious foole'. In 1545, when a preacher called George Wishart visited Ayr, Dunbar 'by instigation of the Cardinale came with his gatherings to the toune of Ayre, to mack resistance to the said Maister George, and did first occupy the kirk' (The Works of John Knox, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1864), vol.i, p.125). The intention was to deprive Wishart of an audience, but Dunbar was outwitted because the preacher delivered his sermon from the market place and attracted a large crowd, leaving Dunbar to talk to 'his jackmen, and to some old bosses of the toune' (ibid., p.127).

139-40] With winds blowing as now

And matters standing as now

142 race of Knoxes] the followers of John Knox (c 1513-72) the Scottish reformer.

145-58] puritan behaviour, and particularly their style of dress, provided their critics with an endless source for ridicule and satire. Lucy Hutchinson, a fierce partisan of the Puritan Party, observed that 'such false logic did the children of darkness use to argue against the hated children of light [i.e. the Puritans], whom they branded besides as an illiterate, morose, melancholy, discontented, crazed sort of men, not fit for human conversation; as such they made them

not only the sport of the pulpit, which was become but a more solemn sort of stage, but every stage, and every table, and every puppet-play, belched forth profane scoffs upon the Puritans; the drunkards made them their songs; and fiddlers and mimics learned to abuse them, as finding it the most gameful way of fooling' (Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson (London, 1885, vol.i, p.115).

145-6] ruffs and bands are collars, and the larger examples were styled to spread over the shoulders. A hand ruff was a cuff trimmed to match the neck ruff, with which it was worn. The puritan ministers are 'pyed preachers' because they conducted ordinary services wearing the black Geneva gown with white bands or ruff.

147-49] a catalogue of assorted trimmings which, in various combinations, were worn as decorations. Band-strings were the tasselled ties used to fasten the collars, and 'Points' were the ribbon decorations used to trim certain styles of breeches. A pun is also probably intended, in line 149, on the Puritan ministers' particular style and tone of 'sermonizing' and 'lecturing' their congregation; John Taylor summarises Anglican feeling in his poem 'The Praise of Cleane Linnen':

It figures forth the Churches puritie,  
And spotlesse Doctrine, and integritie,  
Her State Angelicall, white innocence,  
Her nursing love, and bright magnificence.  
Yet some for Linnen doe the Church forsake,

And doe a Surplize for a bug-beare take.  
But alwayes to the Church I bring mine eares,  
Not eyes to note what roabes Church-men weares.

(The Workes of John Taylor (1630), pp.65-72)

- 148 bonelace] the name given to lace worked on bobbins or bones.
- 150 spangaries] a 'spangle' is a small round thin piece of glittering metal (usually brass) with a hole in the centre to pass a thread through, and used for decoration (OED 1a).
- 154 Jack-a-napes] ape-like, behaving in a ridiculous way (OED 2c).
- 169-72] the severity of puritan legislation served to alienate even those originally disposed to support their cause. The extreme laws concerning social and moral behaviour resulted in the clergy being accused of hypocrisy. Ordinary people were subject to repressive legislation and inquisitorial practices in all aspects of their private lives. The general feeling was that only the soldiers and the clergy benefited from such restrictions, and their motives were called into question. Such feelings were summed up by Milton's nephew, John Phillips, in his poem ridiculing a minister, his flock, and his sermon, entitled 'A Satyre against Hypocrites'.
- 189-90] another reference to the iconoclastic reputation of Cromwell and his supporters (cf. note 57-62).
- 193 Tag and Ragg] 'riff-raff', the rabble (OED A a).
- 194 Scullion] used in the context of a person of the lowest order (OED).

196 Longtaile and Cutt] used with the same connotation as riff-raff (OED 1a).

201] an English translation of the concluding stanza is as follows:

The Covenant and confession of faith of Catharus

That the puritan writes down his covenant, the (result of)

His toil,

Cease to marvel, where you see that everything is foul.

Rather be amazed that a confession of faith proclaims

Anything,

Where there is no faith in written words.

No faith, I declare, is no confession- what is your view?

And he lies, in which little effort is required.

Do you want me to express it in words? A confession of faith

Is foul

When to be written merely to fit the circumstances.

Foedus] there is a play on the noun meaning 'covenant' and the adjective meaning 'foul' or 'filthy'.

On the Countesse of Strafford her picture, shutt up in the case  
of a looking-glasse.

So Gods almighty fingers hurld  
The Curtains by, and shew'd a world  
As this face opens; when six dayes  
Could not make, nor millions prayse  
But stay! Though it be tempting fair, 5  
That look will make it blush: forbear  
Subdue your eyes and tame them: fitt  
To view a picture-Anchorite.

A Recluse face, whose picture showes  
The piety she payd, yet owes 10  
To martyr'd Vertue: Whilst she is  
And was the picture but of This  
She dyed in Strafford, and you see  
Now is buryed in effigie.

To whose shrine if Envy, Hate 15  
Faction, each disease of State  
Would but kneel: They might go hence  
Heald of their disobedience

Hither ill wives and mothers come  
And beg your cures at her Tombe 20  
Here where might be more Rarities  
Done truly, then Loretto lyes.  
For, wouldst not have full fortune swell?  
Wouldst live at Court as in a Cell?

Wouldst thy malicious stars beguile,

25

And teach misfortune how to smile?

Reade o're this constant Look and then

Learn it, And close the Tombe agen.

#### NOTES

Title] Elizabeth Rodes, third wife of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford; the poem is addressed to her picture and is presumably written after her death.

22 Loretto lyes] alludes to the legend that the House of Loreto, the reputed home of the Virgin Mary at Nazareth, was miraculously moved by angels to Italy, to preserve it from destruction by the Turks. At Recanati it stood in a grove of laurels, from which it takes its name.

Ode. Upon Orindas Poems.

1

Wee allow'd you Beauty; and we did submit

To all the Tyrannies of it.

Ah! Cruell sex! Will you depose us too in Witt?

Orinda does in that too reigne;

Does Men behind her in proud triumph draw;

5

And cancell great Apollos Salique Law.

We our old Title plead in vaine;

Man may be Head, but Woman's now the Brain

Verse was Loves Fire-arnes heretofore;

In Beauties Campe it was not known;

10

(Too many Armes beside that Conquerour bore)

Twas the great Canon we brought down

T' assault a stubborn Town,

Orinda first did a bold sally make

Our strongest Quarter take

15

And so successfull prov'd, yet shee

Turn'd upon Love himself his own Artillerie.

2

Women, as if the Body were their whole,

Did only that, and not the Soule,

Transmit to their posteritie

20

If in it sometimes they conceived

The abortive Burden never lived.



Thy numbers gentle and thy Fancies high  
 These, as thy Forehead smooth, these sparkling, as thine Eye  
     Tis solid, and tis Manly all; 50  
     Or rather tis Angelicall,  
     For (as in Angels) wee  
     Doe in Thy verses see  
 Both improved Sexes Eminently meet,  
 They are then Man more stronge, and more then Woman sweet. 55

4

They talk of Nine I know not who,  
 Femall chymeras that or'e Poets reigne,  
     I ne'er could find that Fancy true:  
 But have invokt them oft (I'm sure) in vaine.  
 They talke of Sappho; but (alas the shame!) 60  
 Ill manners soile the lustre of her Fame.  
 Orinda's inward virtue is so bright  
 That like a Lanterns fair inclosed Light  
 It through the Paper shines where shee does write;  
 Honor and Friendship, and the generous scorne 65  
     Of things for which we were not born,  
 (Things that do only by a fond Disease  
     Like that of Girles our vicious stomacks please)  
 Are the instructive subjects of her Pen;  
     And as the Roman Victorie 70  
 Taught our own land Arts and Civilitie  
 As once she' Orecomes, Enslaves, and Betters Men.



included William Cartwright, Henry Vaughan, Jeremy Taylor and Abraham Cowley.

6 Salique Law] a law excluding females from dynastic succession (OED). It was derived from an ancient code of laws attributed to the Salian Franks, and is generally applied to the provision which precluded women from certain kinds of inheritance. The poet is assuming that Apollo, as the personification of poetry, traditionally represents poetry as an exclusively male art.

32] Cybele, the mother-goddess of Anatolia, and primarily a goddess of fertility, was held to be the queen or mistress of her people and responsible for their well-being in all respects.

42-3] alludes to Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, whose seven younger children were born in regular succession between the years 1623 and 1632.

48 numbers] verse.

56 Nine] the nine Muses, who presided over poetry, the arts, and sciences.

57 Chymeras] Chimera, a 'she-goat', often depicted as a triple-headed monster.

60-1] the poetess Sappho, was born c 612 B.C. Many of her poems express intense feelings of love for other women.

75] the female nation of warriors whose most famous actions were their expeditions against Priam, and afterwards the assistance they gave him during the Trojan war.

83 Merlin] the legendary prophet and enchanter, believed to have

lived in the sixth century; in the twelfth century he became a prominent figure in the Arthurian legend.

87-90] in response to the Romans' treatment of her and her family, after her husband's death, Boadicea led the Iceni in revolt against the Roman forces. After the defeat of the Iceni, and the establishment of Roman supremacy, Boadicea poisoned herself (DNB).

Ovids Amores. lib.2 eleg.19

Made English by Giovanni Junctino.

If for your own sake you'le not shutt your dore;

T' encrease my longing, shutt it on my score.

Commons we scorn, enclosures give delight

Permission dulls an iron Appetite.

Tis blended Hopes and Feares gives Love a tast 5

Repulses makes conquest fit to be embrac't

Ne're-changing fortune never lovely is.

How can we love the Thing we cannot misse?

Cunning Corinna soon this humour spyde

And proper charmes accordingly applyde 10

Oft would she th' head-ach feign and thereupon

Command me of, when readiest to go on.

Something to crosse my hopes would still b'ith way

Whilst faulty she, the fault elsewhere would lay.

Thus vext she first my warm flame 15

Then yeilding pliable againe became

Jove then! what words and courtships would she powre

On me! of melting kisses what a showre!

Do thou the same new Empresse of my hart,

Deny, seem coy, encounter Art with Art 20

Make me by groveling 'fore thy bolted Dore

Thy threshold a whole winters night t' adore

This heeps my Love in breath and makes it last

This! this! preserves my Appetite and Tast

Too-coming Girles do appetite destroy 25  
 As too much sweetmeats do the stomach cloy  
 Had Danae ne're ben in brazen Towre  
 She' had ne're ben pregnant by a brazen showre  
 Io being garded by a hundred eyes  
 Made Jove her more a 100 times to prize 30  
 Who courts what's not denyde; As well from Trees  
 May long for leaves, or water for the seas.  
 To heep Loves Empire up, Arts must be us'd  
 What though I be by mine own rules misus'de  
 I dy if not 35  
 Happen what will, connivence I despise  
 I fly what followes, and pursue what flyes  
 Of Beauty then thou Gardian too secure  
 Be wise and learn at length to shutt your dore  
 Descend at last to ask why the dogs bark 40  
 And who raps at your windowes in the dark  
 What errand the shy chambermaid's upon  
 Why her good Lady lyes to night alone.  
 Give place unto these thoughts sometime, that I  
 May have occasion t' use my subtlety. 45  
 To cuckold a tame foole, 's to take in hand  
 By stratagem to rob the shore of sand  
 This let me tell you unless your wife may prove  
 Worthy your care, she is not worth my Love.  
 I've sufferd much and long and still did waite 50  
 Your vigilance shold challenge my deceit

But you are patient still and give me leave

And I what's easy granted scorn to' receive.

Unlucky fate! no fright to light upon

One check, or single prohibition!

55

[ ] to break my sleep, or vex my head!

Do something that may make me wish thee dead.

Who can endure so tame a wiltall-Bawd ?

Thus to Bestow, is plainly to Defraud.

If Rivall of this mind you'll have: seek one.

60

If me, forbid me that I may go on.

#### NOTES

Title] the identity of 'Giovanni Juncitino' remains uncertain, but is possibly that of one John Juncatius who gained an MA at Cambridge in 1632 and was incorporated from Bourges (Venn).

27-28] Danae was imprisoned by her father, Acrisius king of Argos, in a tower of bronze. Zeus, enamoured with her, entered the tower by transforming himself into a shower of gold; she subsequently bore Perseus.

29-30] Juno, jealous of Jove's love for Io, commanded Argus, who possessed a hundred eyes, to guard her from his further advances. Jove, concerned for Io's safety, ordered Mercury to kill Argus and steal Io away.

News from Colchester.

or

A Proper new ballad of certain carnall passages between a  
Quaker and a Colt,

To the tune of Bedlam.

All in the Land of Essex

neare Colchester the Zealous

On the side of a Banck

was playd such a pranck

As would make a stone horse jealous.

5

Help Woodcock, Jos and Naylor

For Brother Green's a stallion

Now alas what hope

Of converting the Pope

When a Quaker turnes Italian.

10

Even to our whole profession

A shame it will be counted

When tis talkt with distaine

Among the Prophane

How Brother Green was mounted

15

And in the good time of Christmas

Which though our Saints have dam'nd all

Yet when did you heere

That a dam'd Cavaleere

Ere play'd such a Christmas gamball.

20

Had thy flesh o Green bin pamperd  
     with any Cates unhallow'd  
 Hadst thou sweetend thy gums  
     With pottage of plum's  
 Or prophane minct-pies had swallow'd 25  
     Rowld up in wanton swines flesh  
     The find might have crept into thee  
     The fullnes of gutt  
     Might have sent thee to rutt  
 And the Divell had so gon through thee. 30

But alas he had bin feasted  
     With a spirituall collation  
 By our frugall Mayr  
     Who can dine on a prayer  
 And sup on an Exhortation 35  
     Twas meare impulse of spirit  
     Though he us'd the weapon carnall  
     Silly fole quoth he,  
     My bride shalt thou be  
 Now how tis lawfull learn all. 40

For that no respect of parsons  
     Is amoangst the sons of Adam  
 In a large extent  
     Then by may be meant  
 A mare is as good as a Madam 45

Then without more Ceremony  
Nor bonnet vayle, nor kisst her  
He took her by force  
For better for worse  
And usd her like a sister. 50

Now when in such a saddle  
A saint will needs be riding  
Though we dare not say  
Tis a falling away  
May there not be some backsliding 55  
No surely, quoth James Naylor  
Twas but an Insurrection  
Of the Carnall part  
For a Quaker in hart  
Can never loose perfection. 60

For as our Masters teach us  
The intent being well directed  
Though the Divell Trapan  
The Adamicall man  
The Saint stand uninfected. 65  
But alas a Pagan Jury  
Ne're Judges what's intended  
Then say what wee can  
Brother Green's carnal man  
I doubt will be suspended. 70

And our adopted sister

Will find noe better quarter

But when we him inroll

For a saint, silly fole,

Shall passe at least for a Martyr.

75

Help Woodcock, Jos and Naylor

For Brother Green's a stallion

Now alas what hope

Of converting the Pope

When a Quaker turnes Italian.

80

NOTES (see commentary page 652)

Title] the subject of this poem was a familiar one in Cavalier propaganda attacking puritans and presbyterians. In 1647 John Berkenhead had chosen a similar one for his obscene ballad entitled 'The Four Legg'd Elder'. The joke proved popular and was often repeated. A variation entitled 'The Four Legg'd Quaker', to the tune of 'Four Legg'd Elder' may be compared with Denham's 'News From Colchester':

In Horsley Fields near Colchester

A Quaker would turn Trooper;

He caught a Foal and mounted her

(O base! below the Crupper)

(5-8)

Ralph Green (it was this Varlet's Name)

Of Colchester you'ld swear,

For thence the Four-legg'd Elder came'

Was ever such a Pair!

(ll. 13-16)

2 Zealous] often used in the seventeenth century as a pejorative term for Puritans.

5 stone horse] stallion (OED).

6 Woodcock] T.H. Banks, in his edition of Denham's poems (p.91), gives his identity as Francis Woodcock, who was educated at Oxford, and later became a Parliamentarian, and member of the Assembly of Divines (see D. Neal, History of the Puritans (London, 1738), vol.4, pp.56-7). Neal adds that he had the 'Esteem of being a good Scholar, and an excellent Preacher'. In view of the context of the allusion, and the reference to Nayler, the correct identity is more likely to be one Thomas Woodcock who was associated with the more extreme religious sects and became a follower of Nayler (see William Sewel, History of the Quakers (London, 1723), p.139).

Jos] unidentified, and probably an erroneous transcription; all other variants read 'Fox', an allusion to George Fox (1624-91), founder of the 'Society of Friends' which subsequently became known as the Quakers (DNB).

Naylor] James Nayler (1617-60), a quaker whose example of 'Quakerism run mad' was the source of Cavalier ridicule. In 1655 he visited London and acquired a following of quaker women. (see DNB; Masson, Life of Milton, vol.v, p.68). William Sewel, in his account, says that Nayler's followers exalted him as the 'Everlasting Son of Righteousness; Prince

of Peace; The only begotten Son of God; the Fairest of Ten Thousands'. On 24 October 1656 he entered the city of Bristol with his followers and 'one Thomas Woodcock went bare-headed before him; one of the women led his Horse, Dorcas, Martha, and Hannah spread their Scarfs and Hankerchiefs before him, and the company sang 'Holy, Holy, Holy...the Lord God of Israel'. For this behaviour they were examined by the magistrates and sent to prison. Nayler was dealt with particularly harshly as he was sentenced to be pilloried, branded, and have his tongue pierced with a hot iron (op.cit., p.139; see pp.140-3 for a detailed account of his punishment; Dictionary of British Radicals).

7 Brother Green] probably Ralph Green, another quaker; cf. line 13 of Berkenhead's poem entitled 'The Four Legg'd Quaker': Ralph Green (it was this Varlet's name)' (Rump: or an exact Collection of the Choycest Poems and Songs (1662), pp.358-362). A Theophilus Green is recorded by Sewel as having entered the Society of the Quakers in May 1654 (op.cit., pp.83, 116).

10 Italian] in England buggery was often considered the 'Italian vice'; it also puns on the widespread belief that Jesuit propaganda had encouraged Scottish dissatisfaction with the State Church (cf. n.61).

20 gamball] a frolic, merrymaking (OED 2c).

16-20] on 19 December 1644 parliament issued an ordinance stating that 'Whereas some doubts have been raised whether the next Fast shall be celebrated, because it falleth on the day which

heretofore was usually called the feast of the Nativity of our Saviour. The Lords and Commons...doe order and ordain...that this day in particular is to be kept with the more solemn humiliation, because it may call to remembrance our sinnes'. Their justification for such strictness was that the feast had been reduced to an 'extreme forgetfulnesse of him, by giving liberty to carnal and sensual delights, being contrary to the life which Christ himselfe led here upon earth' (Acts and Ordinances, vol.i, p.580). Many anonymous Cavalier poets satirized this ordinance, cf. 'A Christmas Song' (lines 10-11), 'For they that do despise and scorn/ To keep the day that Christ was born' (Political Ballads of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century, ed. W.W. Wilkins (London, 1860), vol.1, p.118).

21-5] cf. 'A Song in Defence of Christmas' (lines 5-8):

To feast at this season, I think tis no Treason  
I could give you a Reason why;  
Though some are so pure, that they cannot endure,  
To see a Nativity Pye.

(A Collection of Loyal Songs...1639-61 (1731), p.99)

26 wanton] puns on the sense of 'rude, ill-mannered' (OED 1c), and 'unchaste' (OED 2); swine were considered 'unclean' (cf. Prov. 11: 22; II Peter 2: 22; Luke 15: 15).

27-30] an allusion to the story told in Matt. 8: 28-34, and Luke 8: 26-39; 'So the devils besought him, saying, If thou cast us out, suffer us to go away into the herd of swine (Matt.8: 31).

32 Spiritual collation] puns on the sense of a sermon or homily, and a light meal or repast (OED).

31-5] further satire attacking the puritan belief in fasting, and presumably focusing on Sir Isaac Penington (1587-1660), the Lord Mayor of London. He became alderman of London, and high sheriff in 1638, and was a member of the Short and Long Parliaments. He was an ardent puritan and succeeded the royalist Sir Richard Gurney as Lord Mayor. He was a member of the council of State from 1648 to 1651, and though he sat as one of the king's judges he did not sign the sentence. At the Restoration he was accused of treason and committed to the Tower, where he died in 1660.

50 sister] a satire on the puritan practice of addressing one another as 'sister' and 'brother'.

61 our Masters] marginal gloss: 'Jesuits'. The eccentric practices of many Quakers, and their frequent habit of interrupting regular sermons caused 'Quakerism' to become 'a synonym for all that was intolerable'. A belief spread that 'subtle and dangerous heads, Jesuits and others, had begun to creep in among them, to turn Quakerism to political account, and drive on designs of disturbance' (Masson, Life of Milton, vol.v, p.69). Jesuits and Presbyterians shared the doctrine that subjects had the right to remove unsatisfactory kings, and during the Bishops' Wars it was believed that Jesuit propaganda had increased the disaffection of the Scots; a royalist rhyme summarises contemporary suspicions:

A Scot and Jesuit, hand in hand,

First taught the world to say,  
That subjects ought to have command,  
And monarchs to obey.

63 Trapan] trap, ensnare.

74 silly] deserving of pity and compassion (OEC A 1c).

On November.

Thou sun that shedst the dayes look down and see  
A month more shining by events then thee  
Departed saynts, and souls signd it before,

But now the living signe it more

Persons and Actions meet, All meant for joy 5

But some build up and some destroy,

Bate us that ushering curse, for dearly known

And then the month is all our Own

Soe at the first darknesse was thrown about

The unshapen earth and light was thence strook out. 10

Draw the first Curtain, and the scene is Then  
A Triple State of Culld and trusted men.

Men in whose hands twas once to have giv'n us more

Then our bold Fathers askt before

Who had they usd their Princes grace had got 15

What noe Arms could and theirs will not

What more then Witchcraft did our blessings curse

And made the Cure make evills worse

Tis the third day throw in the blakest stone

Marke it for Curst and let it stand alone. 20

But hold speake gentler things, this 4th was seen

The softest Image of our beauteous Queen

Bring me A Lamb not used to Elder Flood

That hath as yet more milke then blood  
 That to the honour of this early bride 25  
 (Like Thetis joynd to Peleus side)  
 Some tender thing may fall, though none can be  
 So white soe tender as is shee  
 Whiles wee at home our little Turf debate  
 She spreads her glories to another state 30  
  
 Next veiw A treason of the worst intent  
 Had not our owne done more then strangers meant  
 Religion is the thing both sides pretend  
 But either to A different End  
 They out of Zeale labour to reare their own 35  
 These out Zeale to pull all down.  
 Blesse us from these, as them, but yet compare  
 Those in the vault these in the Chaire  
 Though the just Lot of unsuccessfull Sinne  
 Fix theirs without, you'le find worse heads within. 40  
  
 But harke? what thunders that? and who those men  
 A lying towards heav'n but falling agen!  
 Whose those black corps cast on the guilty shore?  
 Tis sinne that swims at its own Dore  
 Tis the third scourge of Rebels which allow'd 45  
 Our army like the Prophets cloud,  
 Did from A handfull rise untill at last

Their sky was by it over-cast  
But as snakes hisse after they have lost their sting  
The Traitors call this treach'ry in the King. 50

Away and veiw the Graces and the Howers  
Hov'ring aloft and dropping mingled Flowers  
Upon A cradle where an infant lay  
More Grace, more Goddesse, then were they  
Thrice did they destine her to passe the seas 55  
Love made her thrice to passe with ease  
To raise A strenght of Princes first, and then  
To raise another strenght of Men  
Most fruitfull Queen wee boast both quists and thus  
The day was meant to you the joy to us. 60

Next to this Mother stands A Virgin Queen  
Courting and courted wheresoever seen.  
The peples Love first from her troubles grew  
Her Raigne then made that Love her Due  
That comely Order which did then adorne 65  
Both fabricks now by factions Torne  
That form by her allowd of Common Prayer  
Is styld, vain beating of the Ayre  
How doe they honour, how forsake her Crown  
Her Times are still cryd up, but practisd down. 70

Reach last the whitest stone the World yet knew  
 White as his soule to whom the Day is Due  
 Son of the peacefull James, How is he blest?  
     With all his blessings but his rest?  
 Though undeservd Times call all his Powers 75  
     And troubles season other Houres,  
 Let this Day flow to him as voyd of Care  
     As feasts to Gods and Poets are  
 The wish is Just, oh' Heav'ns! As our strife  
 Hath added to his cares, add yea to his Life. 80

And now since his large Heart with hers is met  
 Whose Day the stars on Purpose neer his sett  
 November shall to me forever shine  
     Red in its Inke, Redder in Wine  
 And since the Third (which almost hath made shift 85  
     To absolve the Treason of the Fift)  
 Cannot be well remembred, or forgot,  
     By Loyall hearts as if twere not,  
 The last extreme against the first wee'le bring  
 That gave us many Tyrants this A King. 90

NOTES (see commentary page 653)

Title] the poem depicts events of a national significance which  
     occurred (in various years) in the month of November. A  
     marginal ascription reads 'Will. Carthewaite', a variant

spelling of William Cartwright (1611-1643), dramatist and divine. The subject of each stanza is introduced with a marginal caption (transcribed in the notes); the topic is then developed in the stanza to create the impression of a tableau (the poem is annotated by G.B. Evans in The Plays and Poems of William Cartwright, (1951) p.762).

3 saynts, and souls] 1 November, All Saints day; 2 November, All Souls day.

10] possibly an allusion to Genesis.

11] marginal note: 'The 3rd day the Ass: of This Parl.' Parliament reconvened on 3 November 1640, and the main objective of the leaders was to redress what they believed to be the abuses perpetrated during the king's eleven year period of personal rule. Though the accusations were targeted at the 'treasonous' behaviour of Charles' chief advisors, the procedure inevitably called into question the nature and bounds of the royal prerogative.

12 Triple State] the three estates of the realm: the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, the designation of which became another contentious issue. Royalists argued that these three estates were under the jurisdiction of the Crown, whereas the parliamentarians became increasingly insistent that the three estates comprised the king, the Lords and Commons, forming a co-ordinate and complementary system of mixed monarchy.

18 cure] puns on the meanings of 'duty, office'(OED 3), and 'remedy'(OED 7).

- wills] a pun on the meanings 'request, petition'(OED 3b), and 'intent, determination'(OED II 5b).
- 21] marginal note: '4th the birth of Princesse Mary'. Mary, the eldest daughter of Charles and Henrietta Maria, was born on 4 November 1631 at St James' Palace.
- 23 Elder Flood] possibly an allusion to the increase in Presbyterian Elders after the abolition of episcopacy.
- 25 early bride] for diplomatic reasons Charles negotiated the marriage of Mary to William, the fifteen year old son of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange (see Lord's Journals iv, 157). Though the marriage was celebrated on Sunday 2 May 1641 (at Whitehall), the treaty included a provision enabling Mary to remain in England until her twelfth year. She was eventually installed in her marital home in February 1644.
- 26] Peleus, obeying Jove's instructions, married Thetis, a water goddess, who later bore Achilles.
- 30 another state] the United Provinces.
- 31] marginal note: '5th our delivery from the Pa: consp:' the famous Gunpowder Plot, a papist conspiracy to blow up the king and parliament, was discovered on 5 November 1605.
- 38] those in the 'Vault' are the papists; those in the 'Chaire' are the puritan members of parliament.
- 41] marginal note: '12th. the K. Victory at Brainford.'
- 42-8] on 12 November 1642 Prince Rupert attacked the parliamentary outposts at Brentford (Brainford) and sacked the town, a victory that 'proved not at all fortunate for his majesty' (Macray, vol.ii, 392-5). Prior to the attack there

had been a tentative approach to the king to arrange an opportunity for negotiations between him and the parliamentary leaders, and to aid their success Essex, holding Brentford, was ordered by parliament to abstain from all acts of hostility. The Venetian ambassador reported that Rupert 'attacked the parliamentary troops so suddenly that he gave them no time to prepare a defence' and that he subsequently 'sacked the place as punishment for having attached itself to the side of the rebels' (CSPV 1642-3, 200-2). (Cf. Gardiner, History of the Civil War, vol.i, p.56-7.) 'Scourge' (1.45) is used here in the biblical sense of a calamity or plague sent for punishment; the 'Rebells' are the parliamentary soldiers, in contrast to 'Our army' which comprises the royalist supporters. The allusion compares the parliamentary forces to the plague of locusts that swept over Egypt and Palestine causing vast devastation of the land, 'and there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth' (Rev. 9: 3).

49-50] the battle was followed by an outcry from parliament who accused Rupert of dishonouring a truce agreement (see Gardiner, *op.cit.*, pp.56-7). Clarendon records that parliament looked on 'this entering of Brainford as a surprize contrary to faith, and the betraying of their forces to a massacre under the specious pretence of a treaty for peace.' The reaction to it was that 'the alarum came to London...and the king accused of treachery, perfidy, and blood, and that he had given the spoil and wealth of the city

as pillage to his army, which advanced with no other  
(op.cit., vol.ii, 395).

- 51] marginal note: '16th Birth of our Queen.' Refers to Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I, born on 25 November 1609 according to the French calendar, which is in English reckoning 15 November, not 16 November.
- 55] possibly alludes to her journeys to and from the Continent.
- 57] refers to her three sons, Charles, James, and Henry.
- 58] possibly refers to her political involvement and her attempts to raise money and support for Charles' cause.
- 59 quists] quests.
- 61] marginal note: '17th the beginning of Q. Eliz: Raign:' Elizabeth I was proclaimed queen of England on 17 November 1558.
- 66 Both fabricks] refers to the state government and state religion, derived from the sense of 'fabric' meaning 'a frame, structure'(OED 3a).
- 67-68] during Elizabeth's reign though the Book of Common Prayer was officially enforced as part of the state religion, leniency was often shown to those who diverged from its use. Under Laud's influence use of the Book of Common Prayer was stipulated and all ceremonial practices were reinstated, reversing the trend of leniency toward puritanism which had increased during James I's reign. The Book of Common Prayer remained in use until after the abolition of episcopacy, when it was replaced by the Directory for Public Worship.
- 70] the story of the Armada and the sense of English supremacy

was a common topic in the ballads of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

71] marginal note: '19th the Birth of K. Charls.' Charles, the second son of James and Ann of Denmark, was born on 19 November 1600 at Dunfermline. He became heir to the throne after the death of his elder brother, Henry, in 1612.

73 peacefull James] James' reign was characterised by his preference to avoid foreign wars. On his accession he suspended hostilities with Spain and a peace treaty followed in 1604. England was also involved in the negotiations for the Truce of Antwerp in 1609, which resulted in peace for twelve years.

81-90] the poem was written sometime between November 1642 (after the battle of Brentford) and November 1643, when Cartwright died. The poet's sympathies are clearly with the royalist cause, and like many others who shared his views, he believed the machinations of the Long Parliament to be as treasonous as those who instigated the Gunpowder Plot.

Upon the L. C. Hyde

Uno pacto, binis thalamis, bello triformi,  
Regnum perdidit.

Lege empta, Gallia repetundis, Teloni fraude,  
Aedem condidit.

Edicto Principis, prece populi, voce Senatus, 5  
exuit ostrum.

Regnum perdidit, aedes condidit, exuit ostrum.

1 Uno pacto, binis thalamis, belloque triformi

2 Lege empta, Galli repetundis, fraude Teloni.

3 Principis edicto, populi prece, voco Senatus. 10

1 Regnum perdidit, 2 Aedes condidit, 3 Exuit ostrum.

#### NOTES

Title] Lord Chancellor Edward Hyde.

An English translation is as follows:

By one treaty, two marriages, threefold war, he destroyed the  
kingdom.

By a law bought (corruptly), by (unjust) expenses from France,  
by fraud he established a house.

By edict of the Prince, by prayer of the people, by the voice  
of Parliament he took off the purple (robe of office).

He destroyed the kingdom, established a house, took off the  
purple.

The poem is another satire directed at Clarendon's perceived misdemeanors cf. notes to 'The Riddle', pp.507-510.

New Instructions to the Painter.

Draw England ruind by what was giv'n before  
Then draw the Commons slow in giving more  
Too late grown wiser, they their treasure see  
Consumd by fraud, or lost by treachery;  
And vainly now would some account receive 5  
Of the vast summs which they so idly gave  
And trusted to the management of such  
As Dunkirke sould, to make war, with the Dutch,  
Dunkirke once design'd to A nobler use  
Then to erect A petty Lawyers house. 10  
But what account could they of them expect,  
Who to grow rich themselves, the state neglect,  
Men, who in England have no other lott  
Then what they by betraying it, have gott,  
Who can pretend to nothing, but disgrace, 15  
When either birth, or meritt finds A Place:  
Plague, Fire, and Warr, have been the nations curse  
But to have these our Masters is A worse.  
Yet draw these causers of our Englands woe,  
Still urging Dangers, from our growing Foe, 20  
Asking new aides for warr, with the same Face  
As if (when giv'n) they meant not to make Peace.  
Meane while they cheat the publicke with such hast  
They will have nothing that may ease it, past.  
The Law gainst Irish Cattell they Condemn, 25

As shewing distrust ith King (that is) of Them.  
 Yet they must now swallow this bitter Pill  
 Or money want; which were the greater ill,  
 And thus the King to Westminster is brought  
 Imperfectly to speake the Chance'lors thought, 30  
 In which (as if no Age could shew A Parabell  
 A Prince, and Councell that had ruld so well.)  
 He tells the Parliam't he cannot brooke,  
 What ere in them like Jealousy doth looke:  
 Adds, that no greivances the Nation load; 35  
 Whilst wee're undone at home, despisd abroad,  
 Thus past the Irish, with the Money, Bill  
 The first not halfe so good as th' other ill  
 With these new millions, might wee not expect  
 Our foes to Vanquish, or Our selves protect, 40  
 If not to beat them of th' usurped seas  
 At least to force an honourable Peace,  
 Although the angry Fates or Folly rather  
 Of our perverted state allow'd us neither,  
 Could wee hope lesse then to defend our shores! 45  
 Then guard our harbours, Forts, our ships, our shores?  
 Wee hop'd in Vain; of these remaining are,  
 Not what wee sav'd; but what the Dutch did spare:  
 For see our Rulers generous Stratagem,  
 A Policy worthy of none but them; 50  
 After two Millions more laid on the Nation

The Parliament grows ripe for Propagation;  
 Thus rise, and now A treaty is confest,  
 Gainst which before these state=cheats did protest:  
 A Treaty which too well made it appeare 55  
 Theirs; (not the Kingdomes interest) is their care.  
 Statesmen of old thought Arms the way to Peace,  
 Ours scorne such thred-bare Policys as These.  
 All that was given for the states defence  
 They thinke too little for their own Expence, 60  
 Or if from that they any thing can spare  
 Tis too buy Peace; not to maintain A warr;  
 For which great work Ambassadors must goe  
 With base submissions to our arming Foe:  
 These leaving A defencelesse state behinde 65  
 Vast Fleets preparing by the Belgians finde,  
 Against whose Fury what can us defend  
 Whilst our great Polititians here depend  
 Upon the Dutch good nature, for when Peace  
 (Say they) is making, Acts of warr must cease 70  
 Thus were wee by the name of Truce betray'd  
 Though by the Dutch; nothing was like it made.  
 Here Painter let thy art describe A story  
 Shaming our warlicke Islands glory,  
 A scene which never on Our seas appeard 75  
 Since our first ships were on the Ocean steerd.  
 Make the Dutch fleet, (whilst wee supinely sleep,

Without opposer) Masters of the Deep:  
 Make them securely the Thames mouth invade  
 At once depriving us, of that, and Trade; 80  
 Draw thunder from their floating Castles sent  
 Against our Forts, weak as our Government;  
 Draw Wollage, Deptford, and the Towre  
 Meanly abandon'd to A forreigne Power.  
 Yet turne there; First attempt another way 85  
 And let their Cannons upon Sheerenesse Play  
 Which soon destroy'd; their lofty vessells ride,  
 Bigg with the hopes of the Approaching Tide:  
 Make them more help, from our remissnesse finde  
 Then from the Tide, or from an Eaterne wind; 90  
 Their Canvas swelling with A prosperous Gale  
 Swift as Our Feares, makes them to Chattham sayle  
 Through our weak chain their fireships break their way  
 And our great ships unman'd become their Prey,  
 Then draw the fruite of our ill manag'd cost 95  
 At once our honor, and our safety lost;  
 Bury those Bulwarks of our Isle in Smoake  
 Whilst their thick flames the neighbouring countrys choake,  
 The Charles escapes the raging Element  
 To be with triumph into Holland sent 100  
 When the glad People to the shores resort  
 To see their feares, now to become their sport.  
 But Painter fill not up thy Peice before  
 You Paint confusion on our troubled shore

Instruct then thy bold Pencill to relate 105  
The saddest markes of an ill governd State,  
Draw the injurd seamen deafe to all command  
Whilst some with horror and amazement stand,  
Others will know no enemy but they  
Who have unjustly robd them of their Pay, 110  
Boldly refusing to appose A Fire  
To kindle which our errors did conspire;  
Some (though but few) perswaded to obey  
Uselesse for want of Ammunition, stay;  
The Forts design,d to guard our ships of war 115  
Void, both of Powder, and of Bulletts are  
And what past Reignes, nere did in Peace omitt  
This, whilst wee are invaded, did forgett.  
Surpassing Chattham, make Whitehall appear  
If not in danger, yet at least in Fear, 120  
Make the defection (if thou canst) seem more  
Then the Pride, Sloth, and Ignorance there before;  
The King of Danger now shews far more feare  
Then he Did ever to prevent it, Care;  
Yet to the City doth himselfe Convey 125  
Bravely to shew he was not run away;  
Whilst the Black Prince, and our Fift Henrys warrs  
Are only acted on our Theaters.  
Our statsmen finding no Expedient  
Ith feare of Danger, But A Parliament. 130  
Since would avoid by clapping up A Peace

That cure to them, as ill as the Disease,  
But Painter end here till does appear  
Which most, the Dutch, or Parliament, They fear.

Incerti Autoris.

NOTES (see commentary page 653)

Title] this poem is one of several in the genre known as 'advice-to-painter' poems prompted by Edmund Waller's tribute to the duke of York (entitled 'Instructions to the Painter') celebrating his sea battle against the Dutch in 1655. The model for its introduction into English poetry was the poem by Giovanni Francesco Busenello, celebrating a Venetian victory over the Turks in 1655, and translated in 1658 as 'A Prospective of the Naval Triumph of the Venetians'. The satirical tone of this poem echoes that of the original responses to Waller's poem, Marvell's 'Second', 'Third' and 'Last Instructions', which endeavoured to supply the details omitted from the first account of events. This poem covers events between the years of 1661 and 1667, and as with much political satire of this period it is anonymous (for an account of the genre, and specific details of this poem see Poems on Affairs of State (1963), ed. G. de F Lord, vol.i, pp.21-1, 140-6).

1-6] in February 1665 Parliament voted to grant the king a sum of two-and-a-half million pounds to finance a war with the Dutch. Such a large amount was proposed so that the 'supply

ought to be such as might as well terrify the enemy as assist the king', but the initial response of the House was silence as they 'sat in amazement' at such a sum (Clarendon's Life and Continuation, vol.ii, 542). In a speech delivered on 9 February 1665, the Speaker announced 'I do, in the name of all the Commons of England, present unto your Majesty a royal aid of £2,477,500 to be paid in 3 years, by 12 quarterly payments, to begin from 25 December last' (Cobett's Parliamentary History (London, 18080), vol.iv, 308). In September 1666 a further £1,800,000 was voted by Parliament via a Poll Bill and an Act of Assessment. In view of the sums involved it was proposed by Parliament that a commission of both Houses should be appointed to examine the expenditure of the previous sum (see Pepys, Diary, 10 Oct.1666). Pepys commented 'Parliament begins to be mighty severe in examining our accounts and the expence of the Navy' (Diary, 30 Sept., 2,10 Oct.1666). On 8 February 1667 Charles prorogued Parliament promising to appoint his own commissioners to investigate for 'fraud and cozenage'.

7-10] Clarendon, the Lord Chancellor, was popularly believed to have encouraged and effected the sale of Dunkirk for personal gain. The ostentatious style of his new house drew upon him the charge that he had financed it with the profits from the sale, and subsequently it became known as 'Dunkirk House' (cf. 'Clarendon's Housewarming', Lord, loc. cit., pp.88-96; see also Pepys, Diary, 20 Feb.1665). Dunkirk had been acquired by Cromwell and was important because of its

strategic position. The patriotic feeling it stimulated arose from the past belief that with its possession Cromwell had 'carried the keys of the Continent at his girdle' (C.H. Firth, The Last Years of the Protectorate (1909), vol.ii, 218).

21-2] during the negotiations for more money, Charles was already making advances to Holland concerning an alliance. His desire for peace was encouraged by the need to economize and avoid Parliament enquiring too deeply into his financial handling of the money granted for the war effort. The public felt betrayed because of the lack of success in the wars, and the belief that the money granted for its funding had been misappropriated.

25-8] at this stage the frustrations of both public and politicians were vented against other issues, including the Irish cattle trade, over which political opinion was divided. Buckingham chose to make an issue of the Irish Cattle Bill, which aimed at prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle, on the grounds that it reduced the price of English beef. Though the king was not in favour of this measure he finally advised members to vote according to their conscience after William Coventry had warned him that the House would 'never enter upon the debate of money till that had passed the house and was sent to the Lords'. A further incentive was that the Commons would then 'have credit enough to divert the bill of accounts, and presently to dispose every body to enter upon the matter of supply' (Clarendon's Life and Continuation,

vol.ii, 961). The bill was passed on 18 January 1667.

29-39] on 8 February 1667 the bill for the supply of more money was presented to the king in Parliament, to which he gave his assent. He assured them that the money 'should be laid out for the ends [for which] it was given' but added that in the future he hoped to have bills of this nature in 'the old style with fewer provisos'. Charles concluded by proroguing Parliament and instructing the members to return to their counties and use their influence to settle the 'unquiet spirits' working against him. He told them that he expected them to 'use their utmost endeavours to remove all those false imaginations out of the hearts of the people, which the malice of ill men had industriously infused into them, of he knew not what jealousies and grievances' (Clarendon, *op.cit.*, 1012, 1013).

40-2] having been granted the extra money the king assured the Commons that he would make preparations against the enemy as fast as he could, but that if any 'good overtures were made for an honourable peace, he would not reject them; and he believed all sober men would be glad to see it brought to pass' (*ibid.* 1012).

55-6] an important factor in Charles' desire for peace negotiations was his need to save money.

63-6] the peace negotiations were instituted at the beginning of 1667 when Lord St Albans visited Paris in January to establish an understanding with Louis XIV. The Dutch were invited to negotiate, and by March it was agreed upon to hold

the peace talks at Breda. On 7 June Henry Coventry landed at Dover bearing the preliminary articles for peace from Breda. Although peace was the prime consideration during this period it was known in England that the Dutch were actively preparing for another campaign, and, on the same day as Coventry's return, Dutch ships were sighted off the North Foreland. The imminent danger of the Dutch presence was perceived as particularly treacherous because Charles had instructed the reduction of Naval defence. (see David Ogg, England in the Reign of Charles II (1934), pp.308-9; CSPD 1667, pp.9, 62-3, 118, 156-7)

70-2] during the peace talks a truce had not been agreed and therefore the nations remained officially at war (see A.W. Tedder, The Navy of the Restoration (1916), p.181).

75-82] on 12 June 1667 the Dutch fleet was in the Medway and proceeded to attack the hurriedly prepared defences set up by the English. Pepys recorded 'the dismay that is upon us all in the business of the kingdom and Navy at this day, is not to be expressed otherwise then by the condition the citizens were in when the City was on fire, nobody knowing which way to turn themselves' (Diary, 14 June 1667). (see Ogg, *op.cit.*, pp. 309-13; Tedder, chapter v)

83] the chief dockyards of the Restoration Navy.

86 Sheerness] a naval seaport and garrison town on the Isle of Sheppey. On 11 June the Dutch bombarded Sheerness and landed 800 men on the Island of Sheppey.

88-93] Pepys records that circumstances favoured the Dutch: 'the

easterly gale and spring-tides' aided their 'coming up both rivers and enabling them to break the chain' (Diary, 14 June 1667). Chatham, the Kentish seaport, was a chief naval station in the time of Charles.

94-6] the men were so disheartened by their treatment that even when under attack they would not co-operate: 'and it was so at Chatham...the Duke of Albemarle having related that not above three of 1100 in pay there did attend to do any work there' (ibid).

99 The Charles] the Royal Charles, formerly named the Naseby, and the flagship of the fleet, was captured and towed away by the Dutch.

109-116] 'in the Medway the fireships were unmanned, the guardships half manned, the forts without guns' Tedder, p.183). Ogg writes that 'our fleet had been found in a state of almost complete defencelessness; our blockhouses wanted guns, platforms, and ammunition; some of them had bullets too large for their cannon, and a lurid light had revealed embezzlement and mismanagement in our greatest naval dockyard' (op.cit., p.312).

123-4] a view echoed by Burnet, who observes that 'the business of Chatham was a terrible blow: and though the loss was great, the infamy was greater. The parliament had given above five millions towards the war: but, through the luxury and waste of the court, this money was so squandered away, that the king could neither set out a fleet nor defend his coast' (History of my own Time (1897), vol.i, p.447).

125-6] Burnet continues that on hearing the news of the Dutch attack, the king did not appear in person to encourage his people, but rather was 'intending to retire to Windsor, but that looked so like a flying from danger, that he was prevailed on to stay'. Instead he spent the evening with his mistress, for which he was 'compared to Nero who sung while Rome was burning' (ibid., p.448; cf. Pepys, Diary, 21 June 1667).

127-8] the Black Prince (1672) and Henry V (1677) are tragedies written by Roger Boyle, first Earl of Orrery (1621-79).

131] the Peace of Breda; a treaty was signed at Breda on 31 July 1667. Because of the outcome of the final Dutch attack, England lost its bargaining power and had to concede to the demands of the Dutch.

The Riddle.

Misterious Riddle of the State,  
To make Kings great by Subjects hate;  
To Huddle up a Match between  
A Pregnant King, and Barran Queene;  
T' entail the scepter to the gowne, 5  
And fix the goose quill to the Crowne;  
By Parliament the Kingdomes fleece,  
And force a warr, to beg a Peace;  
Navies betrayd, and Townes are sold  
To stuffe a Lawyers Hide with gold. 10  
Taxes upon Taxes lay'd,  
Where all men pay, but no man paid;  
To Dreyne the Chequer by the Purse,  
To starve the House to feed the Nurse;  
The Commons Club, to make a Lord 15  
Dictator of the Law, and sword;  
Who seales all pardons but his owne,  
Resolved to stand or fall alone,  
By nice distinction of state Reason,  
High Misdemeanours, but noe Treason. 20

NOTES (see commentary page 653)

Title] a political satire aimed at Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor to Charles II (for a detailed account of his career see R.W. Harris, Clarendon and the

English Revolution, 1983).

- 2] the public's general dissatisfaction with the king's behaviour is summed up by Pepys who recorded in his diary for 26 April 1667 his conversation with John Evelyn with whom he discussed the 'badness of the Government' and the wickedness commanding the king which arose from the 'sickliness of our Ministers of State'.
- 3-4] Clarendon was instrumental in drafting the terms of the marriage treaty between the king and Catherine of Braganza. The wedding took place at Portsmouth on 21 May 1662. Rumours soon circulated that the queen was barren, and that Clarendon had known of her barrenness before the marriage (cf. n.9). The doubts cast on Clarendon's motives for advancing the match were exacerbated by the scandal surrounding his daughter's marriage to the duke of York, an alliance thought by some to have been positively encouraged by him. The term 'Pregnant King' is probably intended as a jibe aimed at the fact that though Charles had several illegitimate offspring, he had not yet fathered an heir.
- 5] refers to the 'Clarendon code' (1661-5), a series of parliamentary measures re-establishing the position of the Anglican church after the Restoration.
- 6] possibly alludes to Clarendon's writings on the Civil War which were later published as History of the Rebellion.
- 7-8] cf. n.1-6, pp.000-000. The straitened circumstances of England, arising from the effects of war, plague, and the Great Fire, coupled with Charles' desire to avoid

Parliament's close scrutiny of where the money granted to him by Parliament had gone, caused him to seek negotiations with the Dutch.

9] after Charles was granted the extra money he made the error of attempting to economise by laying up the fleet, which began in October 1666, and relying solely on a fortified coastline as a means of defence. The outcome of this was that the Dutch navy siezed its opportunity for securing a conclusive victory over the English. In June they attacked the main naval sites in the Thames, burned many ships and captured the 'Royal Charles'. The popular opinion that the Dutch had dishonourably attacked the English during a period of truce was unfounded because it was known and accepted that the war should continue during the negotiations. Popular opinion was also against Clarendon and he became the subject of open hostility. Pepys records that 'some rude people...have cut down trees before his house and broke his windows; and a Gibbet either set up before or painted upon his gate, and these words writ-"Three sights to be seen; Dunkirke, Tanger, and a barren Queen"' (Diary, 14 June 1667). The general view was that, along with other misdemeanours, Clarendon had negotiated the sale of Dunkirk for personal gain and that his house, nicknamed 'Dunkirk House', had been paid for with the proceeds. That he had advised and effected its sale was one of the charges later brought against him by parliament at his impeachment.

10] a pun on Clarendon's name. Another of the charges brought

against Clarendon was that he had acquired his great estate too quickly for it to have been lawfully gained.

11-12] the fleet had been hampered for a long time by lack of money, and the general dissatisfaction was increased by the cost of the war compared with the limited achievements. Through want of pay some men defected to the Dutch navy and Pepys records that they were heard to shout 'We did heretofore fight for tickets; now we fight for Dollers!' (Diary, 14 June 1667; cf. CSPD 1667, p.323). Pepys continues that several seamen 'came this morning to tell me that if I would get their tickets paid, they would go and do all they could against the Dutch; but otherwise they would not venture being killed and lose all they have already fought for'. Even the sailors' wives 'cried publicly, "this comes of your not paying our husbands"' (ibid.; see A.W. Tedder, The Navy of the Restoration, 1916).

13-14] possibly an allusion to the money that was misappropriated from the war supply and used for Charles' personal interests.

19-20] Clarendon's impeachment, comprising of seventeen charges, was presented to the House of Commons on 6 November 1667. Many of the complaints were unconvincing, and all, even if proved true, did not amount to treason. On 11 November the House voted against Clarendon and the impeachment was sent to the House of Lords. On 15 November the Lords replied that there was no specific evidence of treason.

Upon the Citie Venice

Viderat Adriacis Venetam Neptunus in undis

Stare urbem, et toti ponere iura mari.

Nunc mihi Tarpeias quantumvis Jupiter arces

Objice, et illa tui moenia Martis ait.

Sic pelago Tybrim praefers; urbem aspice utramque

5

Illam homines dices, hanc posuisse Deos.

Thus Englished.

When as the sea God, Venice first had seene

Triumphant on the Maine, the Ocean's Queene:

Now Brother Jove, quoth shee, bragg on Thy fill

10

Of Mars his bulwarke, Thy Tarpeian Hill:

Dares Tiber brave the Maine! Lo, heer's the Odds,

Men may build Rome, my Venice none but Gods.

D. Colbron

#### NOTES

Title] for an English translation of the poem see p.654.

7] an English version of the previous poem.

8 sea God] Neptune.

9 Ocean's Queene] possibly Tethys, in mythology the sister of Ocean; in some instances she is cited as the consort of Ocean.

10 Jove] brother of Neptune.

11 Tarpeian Hill] the Tarpeian rock was a sheer cliff on the side of the Capitolian hill, whence Tarpeia was hurled to her death for betraying her country.

D. Colbron] unidentified.

On a Sophister of Caius Colledge who lay all night in his boots.

Resolve me you cothurnick Muses why  
A hott=spurr'd Sophister in boots did lye  
A whole nights space? a journey he would ride  
To Castalis, and Pegasus bestride,  
Of Aristotles well he once did sippe 5  
But tooke nought downe, it only wett his lippe  
And yet enough he dranke, no more wold hee,  
Sure 'twas too deepe for his capacitie.  
Wherefore the winged horse he now wold mount  
And drinke his morninges Liquour at the Fount 10  
Of sweet Prinplaea, and that ere the day  
Approach't, he might have ridden halfe his way.  
One night he cap a pe himselfe did dresse,  
Tis allways good to be in readynes.  
But e're that he awaked, see the Fate 15  
The Chappells summons cry'de it was too late,  
And well it was for him, for had all hitt  
As he desir'de, he might out rode his witt.  
Younster take heed, your bootes are not espy'de,  
Lest in the Butt'ry you a Hogshead ride. 20

S[amson] Briggs

## NOTES

Title] at Cambridge a 'sophister' was a student in his second or third year (OED 3).

1 cothurnick] from the Latin 'cothurnus' meaning of a tragic or elevated style (OED 1.b). The poet puns on the sense of cothurnus also being the name given to the thick-soled boots worn by the actors in ancient tragedy to increase their height (OED). The poet satirizes the unfortunate and potentially 'tragic' consequences arising from the student's drinking too much.

2 hott=spurr'd] fiery-spirited, hasty, rash (OED 3).

4 Castalis] of or connected with 'Castalia', the proper name of a spring on Mount Parnassus which was sacred to the Muses; hence it is often used allusively in association with poetry.

Pegasus] the winged horse who carried the thunder bolt of Jove, and became a symbol of immortality. He is also representative of poetry and the muses.

5 Aristotles well] i.e. his teachings; there is also possibly a (jocular?) inference from Aganippe's well, a fountain at the foot of Mount Helicon, sacred to the muses. Cf. 'I never drank at Aganippe well', Astrophil and Stella, stanza 74.

11 Prinplaea] unidentified.

13 Cap-a-pe] 'head to foot', in reference to arming or accoutring (OED).

15-16] the early morning call to worship.



On a Bile.

Psyche sole Empresse o're the Isle of Man  
Seing her Kingdomes peace disturb'd, began  
Wisely to looke about, and forthwith sent  
Summons of an intended Parliament.

Nobles and Commons all did meete in one, 5

The house admitted no distinction  
Of high or lower, Reason there was chose  
Speaker, she standing up, did soone disclose  
The royotous humours which were crept within

The Bodyes pale, and sleyly did beginne 10

To interpose the Common Peace, and trye  
To make a discord 'midst an Harmony,  
This sayd, they fell to counsaile, and concluded  
Those who had thus their soveraignes lawes abused

Should from the Court receive the fatall doome 15

Of exile, without hope of cominge home.  
They thus agree'd, Nature forthwith was sent  
To drive out this tumultuous excrement,

Which flew amaine, not able to abide  
Dame natures force with Justice on her side, 20

Then to my Left hand in continued flight  
They bent theire course, where in rebellious plight  
A head was rays'd with purpose and intent  
To thwart the doing of the Parliament.

Then to depose Queene Psyche from her throne, 25

And on my Left=Hand to bestow the crowne,  
 My hand with such a golden bayte beguil'd  
 Seem'd of a Kingdome streight to bee with child  
 And soe high swell'd with Pride that she did scorne  
 To doe those functions whereto she was borne 30  
 But these sinister doeings from the state  
 Not longe lay hid, 'twas first thought fitt t'abate  
 My Left=hand's Pride, and after in due season  
 T' atach both hand and humours of high treason.  
 The Rebels when they saw they were discover'd 35  
 Grew fiery red with anger, and close hover'd  
 All in a lumpe of faction: but my hand  
 Still opposite to right, decreed to stand  
 And in unjust intentions to persist,  
 Wherefore she clos'd herselfe into a fist 40  
 For greater strength; But all this nought avayl'd  
 Right still was right, and Nemesis prevayl'd.  
 Rebellious humours for their treason bled  
 And in the end lost their pale guilty head,  
 My hand for her assisting the designe 45  
 Was justly hang'd in a black silken twine.

S[amson] Briggs.

#### NOTES

Title] in Renaissance physiology bile was one of the four humours  
 and represented melancholy. The poem is a political allegory

of national feeling at the beginning of the Long Parliament which convened on 3 November 1640, and of the events which followed as a consequence of Parliament's determination to establish itself as the governing body.

1 Psyche] the animating principle in man, particularly the soul or spirit, as distinguished from the body (OED 1).

5-12] when parliament met there was a general unanimity, reflecting popular opinion, that the nation's current problems were a result of previous mismanagement of state affairs. The debate of 7 November raised a series of complaints and grievances, and the removal of evil councillors was one remedy suggested as a solution to the problems. Many believed these problems resulted from the 'corrupt' advice given to the king by his favourites, though popular feeling was probably aroused more by the fear of 'popery' in the Laudian regime and the many rumours which circulated concerning various foreign 'intrigues'.

10 pale] a territory within determined bounds (OED 4a).

13-16] parliament endeavoured to bring to account those believed to have acted against the national good. The parliamentary leaders drew up a list of those who should be called to account for abusing or misusing their responsibilities; they were Strafford, Laud, Hamilton, and Cottington, together with some of the judges and some of the bishops. Strafford, in particular, was impeached for treasonous behaviour, the justification of which was founded on the belief that he was prepared to employ his Irish army against the English. Others

also feared for their safety including Windebank, the Secretary of state, who 'having been questioned for relieving Jesuits and priests, and suspected of worse matters, to prevent any further trial he escaped into France, where he remained to his death (as is reported) a professed papist'. The Lord Keeper Finch also fled the country and did not return until the Restoration (Bulstrode Whitelock, Memorials (1853), vol.i, p.113).

21 Left hand] ill-omened, sinister, or underhand (OED 3).

22-4] the allusion is unclear, but the lines probably refer either to Strafford's advice (in 1640) that the king should anticipate the course of parliament and accuse the parliamentary leaders of treasonable relations with the Scots, or to the army plot of March 1641, an attempt to ensure that the army would support the king if parliament opposed him.

42 Nemesis] Nemesis, the goddess of retribution and vengeance, was responsible for checking the presumption attendant on immoderate good fortune and for punishing extraordinary crimes; hence retributive justice (OED 2).

On Eumorphe his fancyed Mistris.

Blind were those Poetts who a threefold grace  
Barely reported: in my Mistris face,  
Thousands reside, on whose divinest feature  
Nature outstript herselfe, and made a Creature  
Forc'd Venus blush to see her Deitye 5  
Dimme, and Eclipsed by mortalitye.

When Phoebus drye with travayle baths his head  
In the all common fount, and takes his bed  
In Doris lap, her curtaine night displayes  
Ore the worlds chamber, which with little rayes 10  
Bespangled glimmers, where if so by chance  
Bright Cynthia doth her silver horne advance  
Starlight seemes nought: So when Eumorphe's seen  
Circled with Virgins, as Nights Glorious Queen  
With lesser stars; their beauty nought appeares 15  
And nought it is if paralleld with hers  
Whom in full Pride Dame Nature did designe  
To bee th' Eclipse and glory Feminine.

Her golden hayre, like the inticinge Ball  
Forc't Atalanta stoop, and brought her thrall 20  
To wise Hippomends, the winds doth stay  
And makes rough Boreas wantonlyke to play  
With that so precious twine, as might cause Jove  
Turne covetous, or greedy Pluto love.  
With which as chaines she can great Monarcks state 25

To her triumphate beauty captivate.

The Hill where sportfull Venus did delight  
With graces to reside is Paphos height.  
But greedy plow hath zipt up Paphos wombe  
And freckled Ceres makes it now her home. 30

Where's Venus then? Where's beuty's gracefull Queene  
She's in my Mistris rising forehead seene,  
And there more lovely sitts in all mens eyes  
Then when in Ida she for beautyes prize  
Strove with the Goddesses before the boy 35  
Whose wanton heates prov'd fyerbrands to Troy.

O Fayre with smiles here Venus still deteine  
Let not the ungentle plow of thy distaine  
Draw furrowes on the Hill, she will forsake it  
As Paphos if with frownes you rugged make it. 40

Two temples by this Hill are seituated  
To Dian, and Minerva consecrated.  
One maketh Venus innocent as her Dove,  
The other guards the harmles Queene of Love,  
Whilst chast Diana downe lust's flames doth beate 45  
Minerva stirreth up true wisedomes heate.

Hir browes are bowes, as oft as she doth dart  
Through them her glaunces, they do peirce the heart,  
If amorously she shoote, with open breast  
That arrow wee receive, and thinke us blest 50  
In hugging such a wound; just spanniel like  
To fawne on those who oftneest us do strike.

But if she draw her arrow to the head  
Tipt with distaine, she galls the slender thread.  
Which weakly life unto our heart doth tye 55  
Which being once dissolv'd wee streightway dye.  
Cupid, goe breake thy shafts, and burne thy bow  
And for them use my Mistris eye and brow.

Her cheeke in happy union doth unite  
With pleasing grace the red rose and the white. 60  
Yett turned on her passions bringe, a strife  
Sometimes she sowes betwixt them, then the life  
Of th' one by th' other is conspir'd, and there  
Now white, againe the red doth domineere.

But if that virgin modesty ore her face 65  
Sprinkle a maidens blush, Aurora's grace  
When sprightly she from Tithons dewy bed  
Riseth, would truly saffron bee, not redd.

Like to the Rose when Candidate it stood  
For the sweet Empire, thorn-prickt Venus blood 70  
In token that it had obtain'd the crowne  
For farther grace gave it a scarlett gowne,  
Or like to Ivory stain'd with purple dye:  
Eumorphe's such in blushes livery.

Massagers milke mingled with horses blood 75  
Ne're colour shew'd like hers, or halfe so good.

Have you e're seen Favonius gentle blast  
Two pendant cherries separate, which hast  
Againe to meete in lovinge sympathie:

Looke on my Mistris ruby lips, and see 80  
 A Breath more sweet then the Panchaian feild  
 Or the Arabian Phoenix nest can yeild  
 Divorce those ruddy twins, happy in this  
 Who only are divorc'd againe to kisse.  
 Would I Carnation were, so that for meede 85  
 On her breath's moysture I might ever feede,  
     Her parts unseene I will not touch, those kind  
 As they are out of sight, so out of minde,  
 As for her virtues which within are sett  
 Whereof her body's but th' rich Caskanett, 90  
 They're infinite, such as to number will  
 Puzzle Arithmeticke, much more my skill.

S[amson] Briggs.

NOTES (see commentary page 654)

Title] a name coined by Briggs, presumably derived from  
 'eumorphia' the Greek word for 'beauty of form'. The poem is  
 in the form of the Neo-classical convention known as 'poetry  
 of place', in which literal detail is transformed into the  
 embodiment of ideals apparent in the place, or as in this  
 instance, the person addressed. In pastoral love poetry the  
 convention was often adopted as an invitation to love, and  
 the 'idealized' imagery served to distance the act of love  
 from the realities of contemporary moral constraint, and  
 therefore make the seducer's intentions appear innocent. The

technique generally comprised a catalogue of the woman's physical attributes; for example, after complimenting his beloved on the 'ripe Cherries' in her lips, and for 'the Apples of thy Cheek', Thomas Randolph coaxes her to

Come let me touch those breasts, that swell  
Like two faire mountains, and may well  
Be stil'd the Alpes.

(*'A Pastoral Courtship'*, lines 65-7)

In *'On Eumorphe his fancyed Mistris'* Briggs is more restrained and confines his address to an appraisal of her face and hair, eschewing those 'parts unseene' and claiming that as they are 'out of sight' so are they 'out of minde' (lines 87-8).

1 a three-fold grace] the three Graces were Euphrosyne (Mirth),  
Aglaia (Brilliance), and Thalia (Bloom).

9 In Doris lap] in the sea.

12 Bright Cynthia] the moon; another name for Diana.

19-21] alludes to the story of Atalanta and the means by which Hippomenes won her as his wife. In order to win Atalanta's hand, her suitors had to beat her in a race knowing that death was the consequence of failure. Venus, to ensure Hippomenes' success, presented him with three golden apples with which to distract Atalanta. During the race he threw them, one at a time, on the ground and eventually won because Atalanta was curious and stopped to pick them up.

22 Boreas] the north wind.

28 Paphos] a city in Cyprus where Venus was especially

worshipped; also the name of her temple, hence 'height' meaning 'named'.

30 Ceres] goddess of corn, hence 'freckled'.

34-6] it was on Mount Ida that Paris was called upon to judge between the beauty of Juno, Minerva, and Venus. He awarded the prize to Venus because she had bribed him with the promise of Helen. His abduction of Helen initiated the Trojan wars.

37-40] the emphasis had shifted from a literal description of the topographical detail of Paphos to a figurative comparison with Eumorphe's facial contours; Eumorphe is praised as the embodiment of perfection, for which the classical world is cited as the model, hence 'the Hill' alludes to her forehead.

41 Two temples] her eyes.

42 Dian] Diana, goddess of chastity.

Minerva] Roman goddess identified with Pallas Athena, the goddess of wisdom and war.

43] Renaissance mythographers depicted Venus in a wagon drawn by two white swans and a pair of white doves. The doves signified mildness, chastity and continuance.

46 Minerva] the goddess of wisdom and war.

66-8] Aurora is the dawn and is depicted as 'rosy-fingered' in Homer. Tithonus, the son of Laomedon, king of Troy, was carried away by Aurora when she became enamoured with him because of his beauty.

77 Favonius] Roman personification of west wind (in Greek, Zephyrus); he promoted the growth of crops.

81 Panchaian feild] Panchaia was celebrated for the myrrh,  
frankincense, and perfumes it produced.

81-2] the Phoenix was believed to build its nest from the  
fragrances of the east; cf. Thomas Carew's poem 'A Song'  
(Ask me no more):

Ask me no more if East or West,  
The Phoenix builds her spicy nest.

(17-8)

85 meede] recompense (OED 1).

90 Caskanett] casket (OED).

Procris.

When Cephalus from hunting breathles came  
He sigh'd, and call'd for ayre, that ayrey name  
Streight with suspicion Procris heart did blast  
Thinking her Cephalus was now unchaste,  
And to her bed disloyall, which to prove 5  
She sayd, His Love-sick soule sigh'd for his love.  
Fond hayrebraine fooles, whose saffron tainted eye  
Sees nought but yellow, looke on Jelousy  
On what a weake foundation it is built,  
Meerely on ayrey vapours; where no guilt 10  
At all doth lurke, there the suspicious mind  
Finds Iliads of faults, right spiders kind  
Whose venom'd rancour is good hearbs abuse  
Turning to poyson theire most wholesome juice.  
Procris was jealous, and suspected there 15  
Where for suspicion, was no ground, but ayre.  
She marks her husband and lookes on him now  
As Argus did on the Jove-loved Cow.  
He cannot cloath his thoughts in vocall sounds,  
But misconstruction makes his words rebound 20  
On the conceited Paramour: doth his eye  
Hang like a plummett; there she doth descrye  
Not a sweet selfe-contenting Melancholly  
But thoughts inamour'd through a Lovers folly;  
If smiles sitt on his brow, tis then suspected 25

He hath enjoy'd her whom he soe affected.  
 And thus each descant which his passions quire  
 Doth tune, adds fewell to her jealous fire.  
 Scarce had Aurora smil'd upon the Day  
 When Cephalus green as the moneth of May 30  
 Hasted unto the woods with bended bow  
 To chace the fallow deere, or rouse the roe.  
 His hound was needlesse, Procris serv'd for one  
 Who dog'd him close at heeles, herselfe alone  
 Except those furies which within her breast 35  
 Tooke up their chamber, and impayr'd her rest.  
 Sure some Alecto envyinge mans blisse  
 From her black knotty haire, where serpents hisse  
 Hath flung this yellow-foaming snake, whose sting  
 Where once it hurts, doth all disasters bring. 40  
 Or else I deeme tis some Circean cuppe  
 Which turneth man to beast, and swallowes up  
 His better part where reason doth abound  
 Transforming him as Procris to a hound.  
 'Unhappy girle, it shew'd a silly mind 45  
 'To hunte for that which you'ld not willing find.  
 When to the forrest Cephalus drew nigh  
 And look'd about him with an Eagles eye  
 For greedy prey, then Procris sleyly squatt  
 In a greene brake of ferne, and there she satt 50  
 Weeping, yett wrathfulll: so by the banks of Nile  
 Weepes the false hearted ruthles Crocodile.

The heate increasing, pleasure turn'd to toyle  
Hunting to labour, Cephalus blood did boyle  
Within the conduits of his veynes, his heart 55  
Being fired, nor lungs sufficed on their part  
To coole the flame, then he his voyce did turne  
To th' Ayre, and cry'de O coole me Ayre, I burne.

Burn'st thou? quoth she, and must that wanton Dame  
Coole your inflamed blood? O blush for shame 60  
Thou eye of Heav'n, and thy bright visage shrow'de  
Distayning this to see, in some pitch clowd.

This sayd, she 'gan to rise, but through the noyse  
Partly by stirring caus'd, partly by voyce  
Her husband drew his bow, thinking some beast 65  
Had in the brake of ferne tooke up his neast.

When he in that most fatall posture stood  
He look'd like Cupid, so doth that purblind God  
Deale forth his shafts as Cephalus doth his,  
Which though at randome shott ne're marke doth misse 70  
And so he shott, when Maia's wanton child  
Sporting with life of man, sleyly beguil'd  
Grim death and him, and to them those darts gave  
Which brought to old men love, to younge a grave.

Thus Cephalus now shott, a dart of love 75  
He should have drawn, but that did fatall prove  
Which from his bow did fly, and stopt her breath  
Appearing then too sure a dart of death.  
Procris fell wounded, and her dyeing tongue

This mournfull Dirge in swanlike Musicke sunge.

80

Oh foole how in my folly thus I perish!

Lovers take heed this biting snake you cherish.

Farewell, and thus ingrave upon my tombe

'Suspect not, death is jealous Lovers doome.

S[amson] Briggs

NOTES (see commentary page 654)

Title] Procris was the wife of the Attic hero Cephalus. The poem paraphrases the story in which Procris, jealous of her husband, is accidentally killed by him when he is out hunting (see Ovid, Metamorphoses, vii, 806-62).

7 saffron tainted] i.e. coloured yellow (OED).

12 Iliads] series (OED 2b).

17-8] Argus, who possessed a hundred eyes, was commissioned by Juno to keep a constant watch on Io, whom Jove had changed into a heifer.

22 plummett] a weight (OED 4b); possibly puns on the sense of a criterion of rectitude or truth (OED 1c).

30 green] used here in the sense of youthful (OED 7).

37-40] Alecto, one of the furies, was depicted with her head covered with serpents, and breathing vengeance, war, and pestilence. Jealousy is also often depicted as a snake whose poison destroys those it infects.

41 Circean cuppe] a magic potion; Circe imprisoned men by giving

them a drugged potion and then turning them into animals.

45 silly] deserving of pity and compasssion; usually used of animals, particularly sheep (OED).

51-2] ancient travellers reported that crocodiles shed tears while devouring their prey, hence 'crocodile tears' symbolizes hypocrisy and unfounded grief.

68 purblind] quite or totally blind (OED 1).

70] the javelin which Cephalus had been presented with, as a gift from the gods, was claimed to never miss its mark.

71 Maia's wanton child] Mercury; 'wanton' is used here in the sense of 'undisciplined' 'unruly' (OED 1a).

80] it was believed that the swan sang immediately before its death, hence the expression 'swansong'.

Danae.

Happy Acrisius when first a child  
Him with the joyfull name of Father stil'de:  
And long he might have lived fortunate  
Had he not div'd into his hidden fate,  
And with the plummett of his braine that deepe 5  
Sounded, which brake the quiet of his sleepe.

Good dull Acrisius what didst thou intend  
When thou thy noblest Argive Peeres didst send  
To the Propheticke Oake? was it to know  
What wold betide thee, whither weale, or woe? 10  
O foole what newes expect you from that tree  
Which will not ruine both thy hopes and thee?

Suppose Apollo to pronounce you blest  
With future fortune? is your heart at rest?  
Will you not still with overwearyed minde 15  
Expect that happy day when fortune kind  
Should smile, and you on her wheeles too erect  
'Veiwng all things beneath you? thus t'expect  
'Adjourned sweets is but a toylesome doome  
'Which halfe consumes our joyes before they come. 20

What if the Oracle should cleanly play  
At fast and loose with you, and one thing say  
Meaning another? when it list, it can  
Leade you in such a Labarinth as no man  
Nor Ariadne with her subtle clue 25

Can lead you out, 'till you have payd your due  
'To Minos urne; is't not a silly thinge,  
'To hope for that which tyme can never bringe?

Suppose no pleasing answere it send backe  
But you pronounce unhappy, and the wracke 30  
Of all your fortunes shortly to bee nigh;  
These things to know were before death to dye.  
You'le say perhaps you did it to prevent  
Wayward disasters; can you thwart th' intent  
Of the three fatall sisters, whose decree 35  
Maugre all humane witt, or policye  
'Admitts no alteration? This is just  
'To wash an Ethiopie white, or limbe the dust.

The Peeres are now arrived at the place  
From whence Apollo often doth uncase 40  
Close cover'd fate; before the God they stand  
With supple hamms, and oft obsequious hands.  
Praying his deity he wold unfold  
Theire Masters fortune, how he stands inroll'd  
In the impartiall sisters bookes: Apollo 45  
From the trees entrayles told them what shold follow  
And thus is was From Danae shall springe  
A child which unto death shall grandsire bringe.

This answer made Acrisius fiery eyes  
Like sparkling meteors hanging in the skyes 50  
Forthwith a brazon towre he doth erect  
In hope himselfe with brasse walls to protect

And there he safely locks his fatall daughter  
So that no amorous suitour might come at her.

O solid Kinge, and solid-like invention! 55

Was it a peice of brasse could make prevention  
Of your impendant fate? it seemes you were  
As good t'have built your castle in the ayre.

What thinke you 'twas the way to quench loves fyres

In women, or to coole their loose desires 60

By strict restraint, by locks, by bolts, by wards?

No: double braze your Castle, and your guards

Ingeminate, yet a weake womans skill

Putt to the test can breake through both at will.

Learne hence you hornemad husbands, whose suspicion 65

Makes your owne house worse then the Inquisition,

Spaines tyranny sett lately up, on paine

Of [ ] lofty hornes, not to restraine

Your Bed-fellowes: for though they are more chast

Then th' unblown rose, from whom Favonius blast 70

Ne're ravisht lushious kisse, or Titan proud

Hath seene without her five-leav'd Virgins shrowd

Yet if they be kept in unchastity

Will governe there where late reign'd modesty

The reason is distaine doth highly swell 75

Their brest with angers fire, that they should dwell

So chaste, and yet theire chastity bee brought

Unto the touchstone without prooffe, this thought

Breeds such a tumour in them, as the zone

Which chastly tyed them to one man alone 80  
 Now not sufficeth for their high swolne veines  
 But must unloosed bee to loose their paines.  
 Well done Acrisius 'twas a fine device  
 To cage thy daughter up from the entice  
 Of oyle-speecht men, whose supple sleeky tongue 85  
 Sooner persuades maydes, then a Sirons songe.  
 Jove from his tower, the star-bespangled skye  
 Thus at thy folly laughes, Wise Kinge, I'le trye  
 Which is the better metall brasse or gold  
 And which can most prevaile, it hath bin told 90  
 That when the earth stands much in need of rayne  
 Phoebus doth Vesta's health drinke from the maine  
 Now I will turne my selfe into a showre  
 And enter by a tyle the brazen towre  
 But ile raine gold, therefore to Tagus streame 95  
 Go on my pleasures, and to Danae's name  
 Swill five carouses, 'tis my only joy  
 To father the forespoken lusty boy.  
 'Twas as soone done as sayd, and he as soone  
 Approacht the glistring tower, e're that the Moone 100  
 Had dropt a pearle of dew upon the earth  
 He there stood listening, Danae gave a birth  
 To these like words, which with a sigh or two  
 First deepely fetht she wing'd and bad them goe.  
 Go words unto my Father, peirce his eare 105  
 Tell him he hath a daughter prisoner here

With that she groan'd and wept, and then againe  
 Thus tun'd her vocall pype: O what a traine  
 Of meager sorrowes dayly doe I see  
 In steed of servants wayting upon mee? 110  
     Am I sole daughter to a potent Kinge  
 And heire apparent to that Golden thinge  
 Studded with gemms, but stuff'd with weighty cares  
 Men call a Crowne? surrounded tis with feares  
 More then with diamonds sure, else why am I 115  
 Thus mew'd up like a Hawke which may not flye?  
 I ne're remember yett the minute past  
 Wherein I was disloyall, I ne're cast  
 A ball of discord betweene Freinds and Freinds  
 Or ever practiz'd evill for my ends. 120  
 Why am I barricade'd from the sight  
 Of lovely men? why am I barr'd delight  
 Which basest groomes usurpe? You Countrey swaines  
 I envy now the pleasure which your plaines  
 Affords, O tis a farre more happy thinge 125  
 A rurall thatch, then palace of a Kinge  
 Each Corydon sitting in some greene bower  
 Which nature hath well fenc'd 'gainst storm and showr  
 Can court his Phillis and take up a theame  
 Of pleasing love ev'n from the watery streame 130  
 Which in the neighbouring brook doth gently glide  
 And the smooth pebbles murmuring seemes to chide  
 For stopping of her current.

See my Deere

My dainty Ducke, my Phillis, this streame here 135  
Running betweene the bankes, sure it should bee  
Some fickle nymph, who when posterity  
In a full gale did blow upon hir lover  
Hung on his lappe and close to him did hover,  
The feild I meane, which in the winter tyme 140  
When moyst it was, this watrey Nymph did climbe  
Up to his bed, but now in Summers tyde  
When his exhausted moysture is cleane dry'de  
By inflammation of that parchinge starre  
For ravenous heate termed Canicular, 145  
She flyes from him, the banks do represent  
His armes which he outstretches with intent  
T'embrace her, but she leaves the dry-suckd ground  
And he forsaken with greene willow's crown'd  
Then after this discourse before they rise 150  
They can with kisses sweetely sympathize  
But what talke I of kisses? O that blisse  
Is quite denide me, here are none to kisse  
Nay, none to see, but an old doating croane  
Who may yeeres silhence her teeth hath worne 155  
But, on hard brown-loafe crusts, and now's no lesse  
Forsooth then mine unweildy Governesse.  
With that she smil'd, and at this cue great Jove  
Fell in her lap, now nought but gold and Love.  
This showre unlook'd for, did her soone affright 160

Her eyes were dazeled at so rich a sight  
 But feare not Girle though this an eye-sore bee  
 Yett rub your eye with this, you'le cleerer see  
     Her snow-white hand imprisoned in her glove  
 She then enfranchis'd, there if Venus Dove 165  
 In feathered surprisse were, it wold not stand  
 In the contest, but yeild to such an hand.  
     She stretcht it out, to touch the gold, and prove  
 The truenesse of it, streight the gold did move  
 And spake these words. I'me true, trye mee, and see 170  
 I'le still bee gold, so you'le the toughstone bee.  
     Can gold speake then, yes certainly it canne,  
 And lowder sometime then an honest man  
 It to a Lawyer gives both eares and tongue  
 Who ne're had understood his clyents wrong 175  
 Had not this soveraigne med'cine wip't his eye  
 That now the case he clearely can espye.  
 It gives a tongue to Poetts, and to stones  
 Which in the Churchyards cover dead mens bones.  
 Nothing gives what it hath not. Then what gave 180  
 A tongue to these, a tongue itselife must have.  
 So this gold spake: at which unlook'd for voyce  
 The grave Protectresse hearing soone a noyse  
 Came stumbling in; her two legs were scarce good  
 Wherefore a third she borrow'd from the wood, 185  
 What though she could not trott a full pace? yett  
 This made her oft the best foot forward sett.

Her face with Phoebus beames and sweat did shine  
 Like unto shrivel'd well smoakt bacon rine.  
 Her foure eyes to describe would well nigh pose 190  
 My penne, the best I'me sure were on her nose  
 Which like th' ill favour'd noses of this age  
 Was not sett forth with Courtmoles, by some Page  
 Clipt from cast breeches, when my Lords tayle-case  
 Was last promoted to my Ladyes face. 195  
 But with Carbuncles deck'd, and at the tippe  
 A liquid pearles hung dangling to her lippe  
 Which lippe hitting her gums, you'ld think had beene  
 Some flyflap made of an old horses skin.  
 Though she no musicke relished or savour'd 200  
 Her hand in palsey notes division quaver'd.  
 And thus she entred where she gold did find,  
 That which made others see, strook her starke blind.  
 Then Jove did from his golden maske uncase  
 Himselfe, and told to Danae who he was 205  
 And why he came; needlesse was all discourse  
 To winne her love, when Gold's bewitching force  
 So charm'd her with its ravishing delight  
 That now nought pleas'd, but what with Gold was dight.  
 Doth Gold in all Courts then prevayle? I'de thought 210  
 Love had beene free and never could bee bought,  
 But now I see as at some mart or fayre  
 Men cheapen loves, not asking what they are,  
 But what's their worth, and is not this fine sport

Into a horsefayre to remove Loves Court 215  
 Bee wise fayre Mayde, and thus much learne of mee  
 Such poyse their gold, but weigh not this by thee.  
 Nor do I much admire it since tis seene  
 Thus maydens oft to gaine have married beene  
 And Danae-like no suiters entertaine 220  
 But those who do in golden showers rayne.  
 O gilded folly! can the force of gold  
 Kindle affections flame? or gently mould  
 Two harts in one, I hardly can beleive it  
 That gold, though powerfull, ever can atcheive it 225  
 Where gold and love in one have equall part  
 There questionlesse doth lurke a double heart  
 And where is such an one, can there ought bee  
 Within that breast but much disloyaltye,  
 And a disloyall couple in one bedde 230  
 Causeth harte-burning, or an akinge heade.  
 Farewell all such, tis she must bee my mate  
 Who's not allured with a golden bayte.  
 But where shall I hope such a love to find?  
 I may as soone go catch the blust'ring wind, 235  
 And in a bird-cage penne it up, as looke  
 To angle in loves streame without a hooke  
 Of that most glist'ring and refined ore  
 Which in the worlds esteeme is sett before  
 Meritt and virtue, or what else so ere 240  
 In th' infancy of gray-lockt time was deere.

Then since things this way square, it is in vayne  
 For mee conceite to foster in my braine  
 Of finding a true love, sith nought I have  
 But that which art and nature to mee gave 245  
 Farewell Love then. To Cambridg I will hye  
 And court my Mistriss in Philosophie.  
 And now and then it may bee in that place  
 I'le overveiw my Eumorphe's fancy'd face,  
 Or in my study for my recreation 250  
 I'le painter turne, draw Cupid ith' new fashion  
 He shall no more be naked, least the cold  
 Frieze him to nothing: rather cloth of gold  
 Or wooll, such as from Colchos Jason Wonne  
 To keepe in vitall heate he shall putt on. 255  
 Eyes I'le allow him none, his purblind sight  
 Shall bee clos'd up in an eternall night,  
 And Justice tis, who willingly resign'd  
 His eyes to Pluto, lett him still bee blind,  
 What if in stead of quiver at his side 260  
 A purse I hang, whose bowells vast and wide  
 Shall pregnant bee with all commanding coyne  
 Rifled from th' entralls of the richest mine?  
 Shall I do right, if thus I picture love!  
 Doubtlesse I shall, for otherwise greate Jove 265  
 Would not have chosen gold above the rest  
 To worke upon a pliant womans breast,  
 Of which his showres he downe so freely sent

That Danaes lap was fill'd before he went,  
And spinner like so well their webbe they spunne 270

That after nine months end a Joviall sonne  
Smild on his blushing Mother. Long-wingd Fame  
Did this with trumpett shrill abroad proclaime  
And in Acrisius eares with horror told

This day is borne a child which shall unfold 275  
Apollo's words, who from the Delphick tree  
Threatned by him destruction unto thee.

This unexpected checke did soone abate  
The Kings secured pride, and gave a mate  
To all content and quiett of the mind 280  
Which he in pleasures lull'd before did finde.

Have you e're heard how a beleaguerd boare  
Foames at the mouth, when as the purple goare  
Runns down his brawny sides, and how he beares  
His raysed bristles like so many speares 285

And not enduring to bee kept at bay  
Rushes before him down all in his way?  
So did Acrisius foame, and so his hayre  
With choller he inflamed, up did reare,

Venting his burning rage on all came nigh 290  
Sparing nor age, nor youth, nor Infancy.

When this tempestuous storm was overblown  
And he in anger lost, was made his owne  
Againe, by Reasons helpe: in pensive plight  
With folded armes he satt still, that the night 295

Draw on her sable mantle, all which space  
He neither spake, nor stirrd from out his place.

The lowring clouds which in his brow did rise  
A brinish showre did menace from his eyes.

His breast a clock-house seem'd, his panting heart 300

Throbd with so many stroakes, that boasting art  
Yeilded to conquerd nature; every thought

So heavy was that it a plummett brought  
To his oppressed hart-strings, whose sleight racke  
With unaccustom'd weight did well-nigh cracke. 305

At last his working fancy such a deepe  
Project did find, as brought his eyes asleepe.

Scarce had Aurora blusht, when he did rise  
To putt in practice the sad enterprise.

Which his black thoughts unto him did suggest 310

He streight prepares a hollow empty chest  
Which on the foaming seas he setts afloate

Trusting his fortunes to so small a boate  
In that he putts mother and child together

And so committs them to the wind and weather. 315

The trembling mother in this dangerous plight  
Sometime look't on her sonne who Perseus hight,  
Sometimes she cast her eye to's Father Jove,  
And thus his helpe implored from above.

Thou great commander both of God and men 320

Stand to thy promise which you mad'st me, when

My blushes thou with golden kisse didst smother  
And madst me an untimely teeming Mother  
I'm now a touchstone, lett thy fayth proclaime  
Thee to bee gold and evermore the same. 325

Stretch forth thy helping hand, O do not fayle  
Our hopes, within an inch of death wee sayle  
By all the pleasures which that blessed howre  
Did yeild, when thou didst crop my virgin flowre.

By this thy pretty boy, who in my lappe 330  
Smiles, as uncapable of all mishap.  
By thy sweet loved selfe I thee conjure  
From the waves fury, that thou us secure.

Scarce had she spake these words, when Joves great hand  
Tooke the small keele and thrust it to the land. 335  
Where Danae a happy life did leade  
Till that the Parcae's cizers cutt her thread,

And Perseus when Medusa he had killd  
His grandsires fate unhappily fullfilld.  
Who looking on that Gorgons fatall head 340  
Was to a statue Metamorphosed.

The dedication to Mistriss A. Darell.  
Admitt I pray my daughter here to bee  
Your most obsequious handmaid, but if she  
Do fayle in ought which from her is expected 345

Pardon the Father, cast her by neglected,  
And after, him command, who to his power  
Will, while he breaths this ayre, bee allwayes your

Devoted Servant S[amson] Briggs

NOTES (see commentary page 655)

Title] the poem is based on the story of Danae, the daughter of Acrisius, king of Argos (cf. Ovid's Metamorphoses, iv, 605-707).

1-12] Acrisius, whose only child was a daughter, consulted an oracle to learn how he might procure a son, and in reply was told he would not have a son but that his grandson would kill him. To prevent this occurring Acrisius imprisoned Danae in a brazen tower.

11 Propheticke Oake] in ancient times the oak was sacred to Jove because it was believed to be more likely to be struck by thunder, and has consequently been held in veneration by later generations as the king of trees. One of the oldest forms of divination was that of interpreting the voice of the supreme deity in the rustling of the oak. The poet appears to have conflated the classical tradition associated with the oracle at Delphi and the folk-lore surrounding the oak (cf. line 276: 'Apollo's words, who from the Delphic tree').

24-6] the complex labyrinth, designed by Daedalus, to secure the Minotaur. After killing the beast, Theseus was able to find

his way out of the labyrinth by following the thread provided by Ariadne, Minos' daughter.

27 Minos Urne] possibly a reference to the tradition that Minos exercised rule among the dead.

35] the three Fates, Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos, were believed to be present at birth, at which time Clotho would spin the thread of life, which was then measured by Lachesis and eventually cut by Atropos.

36 Maugre] 'in spite of'.

38 Limbe] limn, meaning 'to paint' (OED).

39-41] of Apollo's oracular shrines, Delphi was the chief.

45] cf. note 35.

66-7] the Spanish Inquisition was established by Ferdinand II and Isabella in 1479.

70 Favonius] the Roman personification of the west wind (in Greek Zephyrus); he promoted the growth of crops.

71 Titan proud] Phoebe, traditionally associated with Diana.

72] possibly alludes to the fine garments she was depicted as wearing.

78 touchstone] that which serves to test or try the genuineness or value of anything (OED 2b).

86 Sirons songe] the Sirens were believed to live on an island near Scylla and Charybdis; with the charm of their singing they lured sailors to their death.

92] alludes to the tradition that the sun 'drank' from the sea.

95 Tagus streame] a river in Spain (now Tajo), the sands of which were traditionally believed to be covered with gold.

116 mew'd] i.e. caged. A 'mew' is a cage in which hawks are kept while moulting or 'mewing' (OED 1).

127 Corydon] the conventional name for a shepherd, originally used by Theocritus and Virgil.

129 Phillis] the conventional name for a shepherdess, or one beloved by a shepherd.

145 Canicular] Sirius, the dog-star, the influence of which was associated with hot weather (OED).

149 green Willows] willow is a symbol of grief for unrequited love, or the loss of a mate (OED 1d).

158-61] Jove entered the tower in which Danae was imprisoned, disguised as a shower of gold. They became lovers and Danae later bore a son called Perseus.

164-7] Renaissance mythographers depicted Venus travelling in a chariot drawn by two white swans and a pair of white doves; cf. Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis, lines 1189-92:

Thus weary of the world, away she hies,  
And yolks her silver doves; by whose swift aid  
Their mistress, mounted, through the empty skies  
In her light chariot quickly is conveyed.

The simile is used here to signify the whiteness of Danae's hand, cf. Pericles, iv, chorus, lines 32-3: 'With dove of Paphos might the crow/ Vie feathers white'.

192-5] a reference to the practice of attaching patches to the face, which were thought to enhance the beauty.

196-201] cf. Suckling's poem 'The Deformed Mistress':

Her nose I'de have a foot long, not above,  
With pimples embroder'd, for those I love;  
And at the end a comely Pearl of snot,  
Considering whether it should fall or not:  
Provided next that half her Teeth be out,  
I do not care much if her pretty snout  
Meet with her furrow'd chin, and both together  
Hen in her lips, as dry as good whit-leather.

(13-20)

209 dight] decked.

249 Eumorphe] a name coined by Briggs, a pseudonym for his beloved, presumably derived from from the Greek word 'eumorphia' meaning 'beauty of form'.

253-4] in Greek mythology Colchis was the location of the Golden Fleece sought by Jason and the Argonauts.

255 vitall heate] life, or the animating principle of life (OED).

256 purblind] partial or complete loss of sight.

259] Pluto] god of the underworld.

309-37] on learning that his daughter had borne a son, Acrisius cast both mother and child to sea in a chest in which they drifted to Seriphus, where they were received by Polydectes, the king.

337 Parcae] the three Fates (cf. n.35).

338-41] the poet deviates from the story in Ovid in which Perseus, when grown, kills the Gorgon Medusa and returns with its head. Anyone gazing on the head was turned to stone, and

Perseus used this device to punish Polydectes for persecuting Danae. Traditionally Perseus killed Acrisius when the discus he threw, when taking part in some funeral games, accidentally struck him.

342 Mistress A. Darell] Anne Darell, daughter of Sir Samson and Lady Elizabeth Darell. Cf. MS RP 210 which contains other poems addressed to the family, including 'To Mrs Anne Darell on her Sodaine blushing' (f.62), and 'Obsequies of the Lady Eliz Darell' (f.59v). In MS RP 116, f.71 (rev.) lines 342-8 occur as a separate poem and follow 'Procris' (RP 116, f.72v (rev.)).

Song.

See See

See Phoebus falne from his coach

And in Eclipse at Eumorphe's approach

Sicke hee's gone unto his bed

With a sable cover

5

A cappe of clouds upon his head

Mists about him hover

Wretched mortalls well might feare an everlasting night

Did not shee

Bright as hee

10

From her eyes resplendanced

Promise unto them new light.

Close, Close

Close up myne eyes do not gaze

Upon so bright and celestiall rayes

15

Say my love an Eaglett bee

It dares not aspire

Fearing doome of bastardie

To gaze on such a fire

Wherefore eyes you shall bee to a dripping fountaine turn'd.

20

I'le goe weepe  
Or else sleepe  
Thus perhaps I shall you keepe  
From so bright a sun unburn'd.

S[amson] Briggs.

#### NOTES

- 2 Phoebus] the sun; alludes to his daily drive across the heavens.
- 3 Eumorphe] a name coined by Briggs, presumably from the Greek word 'eumorphia', meaning 'beauty of form'.
- 18 bastardie] possibly used here in a figurative sense to suggest baseness (cf. OED 3).

Loves Duell.

Cupid once I did defye

When I saw his little arme

Call'd him Boy, gave him the lye

Sayd he could do mee no harme.

On this he gag'ed, who wold wist

5

A child should prove a Martialist?

Wee appointed streight the feild

Twas in my fayre Mistris face:

At first incounter I did yeild

Seeing soone how strong he was

10

There he left me to adore

His deity, I scornd before.

Now I feele (ay me) too late

His rod, whom I before neglected,

Sith to love her tis my fate

15

From whom no love dares bee expected

Yett alas! still must I

Bee to this Saint a votary.

By the magicke of her eye

She enchanted hath my hart

20

By her beauteous Majesty

Captivated is each part.

Yett my soule dares not disclose

In verse, who 'tis she loves in Prose.

The fyre which in my breast doth burne

25

Like the Phaetonlike flame,

Quickly would to cinders turne

My little world, and leave't no name.

Did not she sometime provoke

It to vapour this in smoake.

30

S[amson] Briggs.

NOTES (see commentary page 655)

6 Martialist] a pun may be intended on the sense of 'one skilled in warfare' (OED 2), and the poetic style of Martial.

25-8] the simile is based on the consequences of Phaeton's fatal journey across the heavens, which resulted in the world being set on fire.

Song.

When as the Nightingale chanted the Vesper,  
And the wild forresters couch'd on the ground  
Venus invited me in th' eveninge whisper  
Unto a fragrant feild with Roses crown'd.

Where she before had sent 5

My wishes complement

Who to my soules content

Joy'd with mee on the greene

Never Marke Antonye

Dally'de more wantonly 10

With the fayre Egyptian Queene.

First on her cherry cheeke I mine eye feasted

Thence feare of surfetting made me retire

Unto her warmer lippe, which when I tasted

My spiritts chill were made active as fyre, 15

This heate againe to calme

Her moyst hand yeilded balme

When wee joyn'd palme to palme,

As if they one had beene,

Never Marke Antonye 20

Dally'de more wantonly

With the fayre Egyptian Queene.

Into her golden hayre I mine arme twined  
She her hand in my locke hoisted againe  
As if hayre had beene for fetters assigned 25  
Great-little Cupids loose Captives to change  
Then wee did often dart  
At each anothers hart  
Arrows which knew no smart  
Sweet looks with smiles betweene 30  
Never Marke Antonye  
Dally'de more wantonly  
With the fayre Egyptian Queene.

Wanting a glasse to plate those amber tresses,  
Which for a bracelett deckt richly mine arme 35  
Gawdier then Juno weares, when as she blesses  
Jove with embraces more stately then warme.  
Shee sweetly peept in mine  
Eyes Humour Christalline  
And by reflexive shine 40  
I in her eye was seene  
Never Marke Antonye  
Dally'de more wantonly  
With the fayre Egyptian Queene.

Mysticall Grammer of amorous glaunces,	45
Feeling of pulses, the Physicke of love,	
Rhetoricall courtings, and musicall daunces	
Numbring of kisses Arithmeticke prove.	
Eyes light Astronomy,	
Streight limbs Geometry	50
In these arts Ingenye	
Our witts were sharpe and keene.	
Never Marke Antonye	
Dally'de more wantonly	
With the fayre Egyptian Queene.	55

S[amson] Briggs

NOTES (see commentary page 655)

6 complement] to make complete or perfect (OED 1).

17 moyst hand] a symbol of lustfulness, cf. Donne's 'The Extasie'  
 (lines 5-6): 'Our hands were firmly cimented / With a fast  
 balme, which thence did spring' (cf. 'Vernura and Celeman',  
 pp.266-7, n.47-51).

38 Eyes Humour Christalline] the transparent fluid of the eye  
 which allows the transmtion of light upon the retina.

51 Ingenye] i.e. ingenuity.

Sine caede et vulnere bellum.

Wars more then Civill on Pease-markett Hill  
And men to loosends given, my bolder quill  
Presumes to wright, inspire me all thee nine  
And with sweet smiles grace each succeeding line.

Nere to the king where stiff-neckt bulls are tyde 5  
The angry Mastiffs fury to abide  
Is site a castle of great strength and state  
Arm'd with a red Portcullis at the gate,  
Ycleped Alehouse, which on every side  
With strang Artillery is fortifide. 10  
Instead of double canons there's prepar'd  
A volley of double juggs, who ere hath dar'd  
With saucy foote to touch this desperate ground  
Hath seen the shott discharg'd about him round  
And ugly fireworks full of stench and vapour 15  
Lighted in Pipes with candle or with Paper  
Each single fort hath his black pott or cup  
Like chambers ramm'd to blow the assailants up.  
The parching sun to make the place more horrid,  
Stands there as Porter, on each cheeke and forhead 20  
To belch his flaming rage, come freinds or foes, his  
Sparkles they beare on their Carbuncle'd noses  
Before the gates like Dragons arm'd with scales  
Are fishwives plac't, whose tongue sharp as their nailes  
Doth wound the ears of passengers that come 25

More than the bellowing of a Christmas drum.  
 And afarre of is heard the more to skare um  
 Alc Peeters beating her her perpetuall 'larum  
 An ugly Giant dwells within this place  
 Hight constable, the budge about whose face 30  
 Wold serve to dresse all honest tradesmens gownes  
 Who live in Cambridge or the Neighbouring townes  
 A knotty club a weilds in brawney hand  
 With which his rigour awfully bids stand  
 And in the covert of the silent night 35  
 He lyes in waite to catch the wandring wight.  
 Upon his club t'affright the gazing eye  
 As trophyes of his horrid crueltye  
 Hangs not one head or limb alone (O pity)  
 But crests and arms of a whole town or citty 40  
     One night as he in ambuscado lay  
 With guard of brown bills watching for his Prey,  
 The squire oth' roasted Regiment did chance  
 To passe that way without or sheild or lance,  
 Or ought offensive save his rusty knife 45  
 Which as the sure companion of his life  
 Stuck at his girdle; he no other sword  
 Requires to th' furious service of the board  
 Whereon like sturdy Hercules he dresses  
 The slaughter'd Bull and carves him into messes. 50  
 His doublett sauct with fees of dripping, shone  
 Like compleate armour by the light oth' moone

His hatt with mutton Taffata orespread  
 Appeared like a Helmett on his heade.  
 His fingers ruffe, with fatt and skalding bann'd 55  
 Seem'd like a gauntlett on a soldiers hand,  
 Arms he gave none but did a foote display  
 Which lookt as if twold run another way  
 And leave its fellow: Now faire chance befall  
 My sprightfull Muse, for she must sing their brawle 60  
 Soon as the Gyant cast his flaming eye  
 Upon this dowty squire then passing by  
 Deceived by pale Cynthia's glimmering light  
 He took him for some well-accomplish't Knight  
 Arm'd cap a pe, but drawing a little nigher 65  
 He saw it was Kings Colledge Kitchen squire  
 His profest foe, in that he did frequent  
 The casles round about and thither sent  
 Provision, store of bruis and see beefe,  
 And to the Gyant yeilded no releife. 70  
 Glad of this opportunity he flyes  
 Ith' squires face, (impute this chance to's eyes  
 Which to discern his Enemy did faile  
 Having been steep'd all the day long in Ale.)  
 And ere he could provide to make resistance 75  
 He captiv'd was by th' Gyants feirce Assistants  
 And to the Castle led to bee their skuffe  
 Where first in triumph double jugs went of  
 Each fortresse had flagg-on, mirth grew ripe

For there was seen in every mouth a Pipe 80  
 Their noses all with oyle of mault were guilt  
 And for meere joy the barrells ran at Tilt  
 But midst of all their mirth and jolly rouse  
 Like as the catt plays with the Captive Mouse  
 Soe long that sometimes she doth loose her prey, 85  
 The squire gott loose and stoutly ran away;  
 Thus fares it with most conquerors they know  
 How to or'ecome, but not to use their foe  
 A slippery fellow could they not suspect  
 He needs must bee whom so much grease bedeckt? 90  
 Thus he escap'd, but stung with the disgrace  
 He vows to squirt revenge ith' Gyants face,  
 And full of fury 'gainst the ensuing night  
 He getts all things belonging to his fight.  
 Down in a Cell right ore against St Maryes 95  
 Whose path is beaten by those rambling fayreies  
 Who from the Miter dance their nightly round,  
 There dwells a dapper dwarf for skill profound  
 In use of Herbs stones, mineralls and potions  
 Unguents, pills, glisters, Electuaries, Lotions, 100  
 Well can he wash the garment of the soule.  
 And scoure the sink oth' body when tis foule,  
 Hither our angry Squire doth wend and wills  
 The dwarfe to make him up a dose of pills,  
 Now is he valiant, now hath he putt man on, 105  
 And with these bulletts chargeth natures canon,

Who knows not natures Canon? whose blew breath  
The strongest noses quickly vanquisheth?  
At whose report the Irish rage and thinke  
It is their priviledg alone to stinke. 110

Being thus provided ere the weary sun  
His round careere about the world had runne  
Up getts the Squire breathing out indignation  
And 'fore the castle rayseth his plantation  
Wold thee know how? aske heraulds, for they can 115

Tell how the picture of the double man  
Ith' scutchion of Tobacchonists displayde  
To lett those secretts bee by her descryde  
Which wiser nature hath thought fitt to hide  
Just so he pitcht himself, and in this state 120

Range a loud peale of non-sense at his gate  
When it was heard out did the Gyant come  
Like him who in the tale cryde Fee Fa Fum  
But O the smell proved not halfe so good  
As his, whose nose sented sweet English blood 125

For at first onsett he receiv'd the brace  
Of Pothecaries bulletts in his face  
Astonied with the blow and loud report  
Of this charg'd canon, he cryde unto to th' fort.  
For helpe, Helpe soldiers, O this greazy Squire 130

Arm'd with a gun hath treacherously giv'n fire  
And wounded me to death. The rabble route  
Hearing these exclamations streight ran out

And eagerly began their Lord to handle  
 To feele the blood; I have it now, quoth one, 135  
 That grop't about his face, and thereupon  
 He bad his fellow feele how it 'gan crusty  
 I feel't, quoth he, but wonder t'smells so musty  
 With that a third replied Upon my soule  
 The powders damp or else the peice was foule. 140  
 At last a candles light itself display'd  
 And he appear'ed most stinkingly bewrayed  
 Their eyes before with pittie overspread  
 Grew now with mickle laughter plump and red  
 A Mason said the mortar lay so thicke 145  
 That in it might bee sett a row of bricke.  
 The soyle is so well dung'd 'twill serve with sallads  
 Replyde a gardner all the Townsmens pallatts  
 It lookes like lees, quoth a Brewer, that hath bin  
 In a musty barrell or stale kilderkin. 150  
 Could you but take it of, and nere be- you  
 Twold be rare low wines for your Aqua Vitae  
 Say what you will good Neighbours but a nerd  
 Replide a fourth tis like nought but a T-  
 The constable with shame almost confounded 155  
 Ran in and left them, glad he was not wounded.  
 And next day when his case he did report

Much laughter rose in the Vice-chancellors court  
And fourteen shillings made a happy day  
Whereat the Muses smild and came away.

160

S[amson] Briggs

#### NOTES

Title] War without slaughter and wounds

1 Pease-Markett Hill] the town is Cambridge and the streets Pease Market and Market Hill led into the Market Place from opposite directions. This area was the heart of the town and contained all the principal buildings, including the numerous inns and major trades.

3] Muses, of which the canonical number is nine, and who were differentiated in late antiquity according to their functions.

5-6] in 1604 king James issued an order, restating that of the Privy Council in 1575, whereby 'unprofitable and idle games' were disallowed in the town. The edict specified bull-baiting, bear-baiting, commom plays, public shows, interludes, comedies and tragedies in the English tongue, and 'loggets and nine holes'. In defiance of this order the towns-people made a bull-ring on Pease Hill in 1604, which was set up again in 1633. The phrase 'stiff-neckt bulls' applies equally to the animals and the orders issued forbidding the sport. Similarly, 'angry Mastiffs' refers to

both the dogs and to the officials ensuring that the orders were obeyed.

8-9] the poet is probably thinking of a specific inn, which has not been identified; inns generally had a narrow front onto the street which incorporated a large gateway leading into a narrow courtyard. Within this were open galleries from which the main rooms were entered.

14-18] a comment on the practice of pipe smoking.

28 Alc Peeters] presumably the landlady of the inn, or a local 'character'.

30 Hight] named, called.

31-2] 'budge' is a kind of fur consisting of lamb's skin with the wool dressed outwards (OED 1). It was often used to trim the gowns of various officials or dignitaries, and the term 'budge-face' was attributed to those of the company, so dressed, who took part in the procession on the Lord Mayor's Day (OED 2). The poet satirically alludes to the constable's pompous aspirations to authority and prominence; the jibe also appears to question the integrity of the local traders.

34 a] he

41 ambuscado] ambush (OED).

42 bills] a pun on the sense of the weapons used by constables of the watch (OED 2b), and official or formal documents by which regulations were issued (OED sb.3); cf.n.5-6.

43 roasted Regiment] the kitchen staff (cf. 1.66).

48] i.e. preparing food.

49-50] Hercules, for his seventh labour, captured a wild bull

which had laid waste the island of Crete.

messes] portions of food (OED 1).

63 Cynthia] the moon.

65 cap a pe] head to foot, in reference to arming or accoutring  
(OED).

81] i.e. shining due to inebriation.

82 Tilt] puns on the sense of the angle at which the wine and  
beer barrels are positioned, and the chivalric connotation of  
a jousting tournament or public combat usually associated  
with a 'well-accomplish't knight' (cf.l.64).

95 St Maryes] the university church, formerly called the Church  
of Saint Mary-by-the-Market.

97 Miter] presumably the name of an inn.

98-9] a marginal note gives the name Sam Taylor, a character  
presumably well known to the locals.

100 glisters] the obsolete form of 'clysters' meaning medicinal  
enemas or suppositories (OED 1).

Electuaries] an electuary is a medicinal conserve or paste,  
consisting of a powder, or other ingredient, mixed with  
honey, preserve, or syrup of some kind (OED 1).

148 pallatts] a bundle or bed of straw (OED).

149 lees] the dregs or sediment deposited from wine and other  
liquids (OED).

150 kilderkin] a cask of a definite capacity (OED 1).

A Choise.

Not that I would bee counted coye  
As was the selfe-enamour'd boy,  
Wright I these lines, though men may guesse  
By them that Ile dye Husbandlesse.

But as the Kingly Eagle tryes 5  
Her airey by theire sun-prooffe eyes,  
So by these marks have I design'd  
What servant tis that likes my mind

First then my fancie liketh him 10  
Whose stature tall, and comely limbe  
Keeps such proportion, that the eye  
May thence pick lines of Poetrie.

Next I wold have him as the spring 15  
Youthfull and sweetly flourishing  
For then his breast is soft and fitt  
For Cupids golden shaft to hitt.

I will not nicely care to seeke 20  
For blooming Roses on his cheeke  
They are for mee, a manly grace  
Sitts bravely on a swarthy face.

Yett I could wish him natures crowne  
Both black and soft as Ravens downe  
High forehead and a dark gray eye  
Sparkling with love and Majestie.

And neatnesse which takes eyes and hearts 25  
Shold well sett out these comely parts  
But not Phantastickly like those  
Whose meere creation is theire cloaths.

Yett these alone win not my mind  
Unlesse I inward beauty find: 30  
For who can love a serpents skin  
Whose outside's faire, but foule within?

His heart I looke shold ever bee  
Replete with truth and loyaltie  
That soe his very thoughts may prove 35  
Spottlesse as Venus milkey Dove.

Courteous to all, ungracious Pride  
Must not with my true love abide,  
In smoothest mansion goodnes dwells  
Corrupted ulcers only swells. 40

Quick apprehension, free discourse  
Which doth not affectation nurse  
Directed with true wisdomes love  
Inflames that hart which froze before.

To touch the violl well, and singe 45  
Sweet answers to the warbling stringe,  
Chains up the eare with rich content  
And strikes the soule with wonderment.

Twill adde unto our choice delight  
If his neat quill can verses write, 50  
They force affection, and have wonne  
Down from her sphere the silver Moone.

To whisper like an amorous lute  
Sweet tales of Love, doth fittly sute  
With our soft nature, words well sayde 55  
Win the affection of a Mayde.

Each gentile virtue I'de have rest  
Compleatly in his heroiqu breast,  
Boldly on great attempts to dare  
Scorning acquaintance with pale feare. 60

'Twould much affect me when I spie  
His sword ride bravely on his thigh  
But more when with it he presumes  
To winne from Victory her plumes.

Nimble to mount the fleetest steed  
And cutt the ayre with winged speede  
Or make the Barb'ry horse to sound  
His rampant measures on the ground.

65

And when Bellona hath layd by  
Her ensignes of deepe scarlett dye,  
Lett him unlace his helme and meete  
His Ladyes lips with kisses sweete.

70

S[amson] Briggs.

#### NOTES

Title] the poem is a catalogue of the qualities expected in an  
'ideal' courtier, and is a variation on the more conventional  
theme of the characteristics expected in a mistress or wife.

2 self-enamour'd boy] Narcissus.

16] in poetry Cupid was often depicted as bearing two types of  
arrows; those of gold induced love in the recipient, while  
those tipped with lead caused aversion.

36] Venus was depicted with a pair of white doves, which  
signified chastity, mildness and continuence.

67 Barb'ry horse] a small but swift animal; it was highly  
esteemed during this period.

69 Bellona] Roman goddess of war.

Songe.

Keepe your distance sawcy swaine

What bold intrusion's this?

Dare you presume with lips profane

So pure a Mayd to kisse?

Kind nature arms to her did lend

5

To drive away such geese

Like two tough-pike staves at the end

Tipt with five grains a-peice.

Away bold groome

You may not come

10

Her hands will make resistance.

Her tongue complyes

With hands, and cryes

Sir Woodcocke keepe your distance.

Perceive you not how Heavenly wide

15

Her mouth itselife dilates

As if from either eare it cryde

Knock not at these broad gates

And if her arms shall prove too weake

To stave you off her face

20

The valiant breath which thence doth break

Will make you quitt the place

Away bold groome

You may not come

Her breath will make resistance 25  
Her tongue complies  
With hands, and cries  
Sir Wood-cocke keepe your distance

Behold with what a comely grace  
Her nose like to a speare 30

Trayld in the middle of her face  
Doth warne you to forbear  
Then presse not on, or if you like  
To purchase a mischance  
You will be foyld at push of pike 35

If she her nose advance  
Away bold groome  
You may not come  
Her nose will make resistance.  
Her tongue complies 40  
With hands, and cries  
Sir Woodcocke keepe your distance.

Then stand aloofe, draw not too nigh  
But checqu your wild desire  
Where such perfections are, the eye 45  
Should teach you to admire  
But if unruly thoughts arise  
Pressing to mingle breath  
With the two bulletts of her eyes

Shee'le pistoll you to death 50  
    Away bold groome  
    You may not come  
Her eyes will make resistance  
    Her tongue complies  
    With hands, and cryes 55  
Sir Woodcocke keepe your distance.

S[amson] Briggs

NOTES (see commentary page 656)

8] puns on the sense of 'grain' meaning a particle of gun-powder  
(OED 7b).

Castitas martyrium sine sanguine.

How slippery is youths path, how hardly can  
He stand upright who's newly stil'd a man  
Those sinfull seeds by Adam sowne begin  
To sprout and bud together with our chin  
The poyson of vain talke with cunning art  
Steales in, and through the eare infects the heart.

5

Intemperance in our livers fans desire  
Breathing into our veines adulterate fire.  
Each beautuous object offred to the sence  
Blows up the sparkles of concupiscence,  
To an unruly flame, whose smoake first fills  
Our minds with darknes, then misleads our wills  
Like that fooles fire which doth by right display  
And leads the wandring traveller astray.

10

Thrice happy he, whose body can indure  
These sinfull flames, yet inwardly is pure  
And doth his soule with thoughts more chast adorne  
Then dew which hangs at the' eyelids of the morne.  
For who in flames thus constantly hath stood  
Is as a Martyr though he shed no blood.

15

20

S[amson] Briggs

NOTES (see commentary page 656)

Title] The purity of martyrs without blood

5-6] cf. Jonson's 'Epode' (The Forest, 11, lines 5-9):

Which to effect, since no breast is so sure  
Or safe but she'll procure  
Some way of entrance, we must plant a guard  
Of thoughts to watch and ward  
At the eye and ear, the ports unto the mind.

For the use of the same imagery in love poetry see Suckling's

'Loves Siege' (lines 9-12):

Proceed on with no less Art,  
My Tongue was Engineer:  
I thought to undermine the heart  
By Whispering in the ear.

The significance of the ear may arise from the theory of 'conceptio per aurem' (see Ernest Jones, 'The Madonna's Conception through the Ear: A Contribution to the Relation between Aesthetics and Religion', in Essays in Applied Psychoanalysis (London, 1951), II, 266-357).

10 concupiscence] the coveting of 'carnal' and worldly things (OED 1).

13 fool's fire] Ignis fatuus, a phosphorescent light seen over marshy ground and caused by the spontaneous combustion of gases given off by decaying vegetation. The phenomenon gave rise to the superstition that it was an evil spirit, designated 'Will o'th Wisp' or 'Jack a' Lantern', whose purpose was to lead unwary travellers astray; hence the

expression signifies any delusive guiding principle.

19 flames] the passions fired by physical desire; the poet probably has in mind Paul's warning that it is 'better to marry than to burn' (I Corinthian 7: 9). Lines 15 to 20 echo Paul's view that although marriage is acceptable in the eyes of God, as a measure of expediency, chastity remains the superior state enabling undivided devotion to God. 'Chaste puns on the sense of 'purity' and 'restrained'.

A Groane.

Had I a voyce like to a dying swan  
Or mournfull Pellican,  
Could I out sigh the winds, or melt my flowre  
Of youth into one showre  
It were too small attonement for my sin 5  
So poore this means, so mighty that hath beene.

I dare not read my Annalls, nor once looke  
Upon that dismall booke  
Tis a depraved peice bound up together  
In this my living leather 10  
Where faults are read in lines at length; but good  
Dasht and retracted is not understood.

All-seeing Critick, thou who canst refine  
every corrupted line.  
Oh take thy sponge of mercy and, with this 15  
blott out what ere's amisse.  
Then read me through and the imperfect good  
Write out at length in my sweet Saviours blood.

S[amson] Briggs

NOTES (see commentary page 656)

1 dying swan] the swan was believed to sing immediately before

dying, hence the expression 'swansong'.

2 Pellican] the pelican signified melancholy; the christian symbolism of atonement and resurrection is also implied.

7 Annalls] the narrator's life's deeds; the central conceit of the poem rests on the description of his body as the 'living leather' which in turn binds 'every corrupted line' that comprises his life, a 'book' that only God can read and understand.

13 All-seeing critick] God.

Caius Coll. Plate lost. Jan. 1657/8.

'Twas a sad peice of newes I heard of late  
That Key's Colledg Butler hath lost his plate.  
I hope tis as false as Pembroke-hall Proctor  
Is able to confute a learned Doctor.  
Perhaps twas a diaper napkin alone, 5  
Or the Colledge Godfathers silver spoon.  
A napkin d'ee say? but most men do think  
They're wipt of their cups in which they did drink  
For why? an Advertisement came from the Town  
Whence Politick mercury sends up and down 10  
News party per pale, truth quarter'd with lyes,  
That the colledg was robd by sabbath-night spies.  
The Legerdemain I'le tell you in short,  
For so it was done, and there was the sport.  
There is a Long-Lane leads horses to water, 15  
Where mett true Brokers 'bout half a night after:  
A new sort of Foxes, that quickly spyde out  
A back dore to th' kennel where lay the old rout.  
They sett hand to engine and did the wall break,  
Not slowly yet slyly, like Guzman d' Alfrake. 20  
They broke up two bars that stood somewhat neer,  
Not to guard plate, but to shew it was there.  
Two bars they broke up, but let them beware,  
Lest the third prove but a fatall Barre.  
So with much ease through a Loop-hole they gott 25

And every of them went freely to Pott.  
 Each man took his Dose, and toss'd up his share  
 With wishes of health to the Carryer.  
 But young silver spoons, these crafty spittles  
 Gently swath'd up in Diaper whittles. 30  
 Thus it went ill with their silver mettle,  
 As who should have said, In dock out nettle.  
 Next morn the thirsty Butler came creeping  
 Not thinking his keys had nothing in keeping.  
 He fumbles to find them, but without doubt 35  
 He had sooner gott in, if he had gone about  
 At last he gott in; 's foot what has bin here  
 There's a hole; some rogues ha' drunk up my beere.  
 But stay, I'me drawn lower: where is my plate?  
 With that his foot stampt and finger scracht pate. 40  
 My napkins too are gone in this storme,  
 There's not one left to hang on my arme.  
 'T should seem King Oberon supt here last night,  
 And after supper he took away quite.  
 Could I meet Queen Mab, mol-Cutpurses mother 45  
 I'de tell her such a tale sh'ad ne're such another.  
 Rogues! Colledg-plate! ay and I'de tell her  
 They've left the fresh beere and took the salt seller.  
 Precious rogues, must they drink out of Plate  
 Rope take their theiveships and Ladder of state. 50  
 D'ee think my young masters lov'd not their cups?  
 Yes, quite as well as our neighbouring Tups.

And now Mr Whatchicums dream is out,  
 That told me but now of such a sad bout.  
 Methoughts (quoth he) to my chamber came one 55  
 With Dagger in one hand, and t'other Gun  
 With pitchy fingers and roguish face on,  
 He lookt like a Tinker, thats worse than a mason.  
 He bid me stand, though I was then lying  
 But had I'm sure more mind to be flying 60  
 He bid me deliver my money and what-  
 So ever else I had worth a groat.  
 I took heart of courage and bid him take all  
 But go down softly, lest he shold wake all.  
 He took up my plate and down staires he went, 65  
 And hy'd out of colledge sans complement.  
 Well; I'le to the fellowes, and resolve to mind them  
 Hereafter to take up their cups (if they find them)  
 So then to the fellowes as light as a fly  
 Though heavy in heart, the Butler did hye 70  
 Wat the what Sirs? The Colledg is plunderd,  
 (Twas a strange word, at which they all wonderd)  
 For it happen'd right (as no body knowes  
 What may happen, when he has putt off his clothes)  
 That all the cups I had in command 75  
 Were carryed away by slight of hand.  
 Sirs, unlesse we can keep our walls stronger  
 The world will count us Foxes no longer.  
 Strong bears and weak walls will make men think

We care not for cups so much as for drink. 80

The butler had hardly told his sad tale

But all his Auditors grew very pale

They fretted, they fum'd, they stutter'd, they stumbled,

Askt where, when, and how? and still they grumbled

Besides (quoth the Butler) a Dog I found there 85

But let him run out, like [tub] of dead beare.

At this the fellowes their tune did alter

And took him up like Dog in a halter,

Thou whoreson ninny! couldst thou not

Lay hold on th' dog that was in th' plot? 90

Alas what writ or authority can

A dog apprehend instead of a man?

But th' dog coming in a question did start,

Which streight was resolv'd on every part;

Whether this cur was one of the crue 95

Consenting the Foxes kennel t'undoe,

At last he was found guilty by th' Jury

And sentenc'd to dy (could they catch him) in fury.

The reason was, for within their bounds

None would adventure but sharking hounds. 100

Amidst the strife, one wisely did speake

And open'd his mouth and silence thus break.

You know what walls our Plate did environ

Yet they did gett them *κλοπιμων απο χειρων*

Lets look to ourselves, I'le do what I can 105

Lest next they sett on our Vatican.

Tush, quoth another, they care not for papers,  
 For those will pay nor Vintners nor Drapers.  
 They care so little for learning or letter,  
 That they think the cups without them were better, 110  
 They'le scrape out ex dono, whoever gave it,  
 To spoile the plate, is their best way to save it:  
 Such men do cheifly desire to be owners  
 Of none but illiterate plate, like the Doners.  
 To practice they came, not to learn their Art, 115  
 They have it at fingers ends and by heart.  
 Yet steale by rote, and cannot imagine  
 The secrets of Cardan or John ab Indegin,  
 Since then they care not for Papers or Books  
 Nor any thing like a study that looks 120  
 Y'ave very well said: and therefore I think  
 Our cups were not stole by him that sells Inke.  
     But tis a noble experiment  
     Not solitary but by consent,  
     That some Proficients i' th' Colledg nere 125  
     Gott more in an houre, then some in a yeare.

Wills Price.

Lusimus Octavi.

#### NOTES

2 Keys Colledg Butler] unidentified.

3 Pembroke-hall Proctor] marginal gloss: 'Dr. Clifford'. Abraham  
 Clifford was Proctor in 1656; in this capacity he was

involved in the administration of university affairs, and among other duties he was responsible for buying 'vestments, bell-ropes, and candlesticks, and had charge of the University Chest'. He may also have 'patrolled the streets to repress disturbances, and exercised jurisdiction over improper persons' (see H.P. Stokes, Ceremonies of the University of Cambridge, 1927).

4 a learned Doctor] marginal gloss: 'Dr Jer. Tayler'. Jeremy Taylor, the Anglican Divine, was a Fellow of Caius College from 1633 to 1636 (Venn; DNB). Though his formal links with the college ceased in about 1636, his Treatises on The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living and Holy Dying (1650-1) were widely known (see C. Brooke, A History of Gonville and Caius College (Boydell Press, 1985), pp.124-5).

5 diaper] a linen fabric, woven to create a pattern from the different directions of the thread (OED 1).

6] the satire of this poem is focused on the diverse assortment of college valuables, including items such as important documents, books, and silver, and which were often secured in oak chests. The chests also functioned as 'loan-chests', in which instance students deposited a valuable item as a pledge (see Stokes).

9 Town] marginal gloss: 'London'.

10 Politick Mercury] alludes to the newsbooks which invariably included 'Mercurius' in their title. Due to the strict licensing laws only 'official' newsbooks were legitimately published (i.e. Mercurius Politicus), and their accuracy was

inevitably doubted by those of differing political views, hence 'truth quarter'd with lyes' (line 11). 'Mercury' also puns on the name of the Roman god of commerce and gain; his conflation with the Greek Hermes endowed him with the additional quality of persuasive eloquence and an inclination for fraud, perjury, and even theft. He was also regarded as the messenger of the gods, hence the ubiquitous use of his name in the titles of newsbooks.

12 Sabbeth-night spies] those responsible for enforcing the strict Sabbath day laws. During the period of puritan dominance three successive Ordinances were passed for the 'better observation' of the Lord's day, each one more restrictive in its terms. The Ordinance of 19 April 1650 included an additional clause stating that 'it is hereby further Enacted, That every Justice of the Peace, Head-Officer or Officers of every Town Corporate or place, and every constable...are hereby required and enjoyned to make diligent search for the discovering, finding out, apprehending and punishing of all offenders against this and other Lawes' (Acts and Ordinances, vol.ii, p.383).

16 Brokers] middle-men, often used contemptuously for petty dealers (OED 1 and 3).

19 engine] puns on the sense of artfulness and ingenuity (OED 2a), and an instrument of force, for example a battering-ram (OED 5a).

20 Guzman d'Alfrake] Guzman de Alfarache, the eponymous hero of a picaresque novel by the Spanish author Maleo Aleman (part one

appeared in 1599 and part two in 1602). The allusion is to Guzman's devious practices because though he is a repentant sinner, he made his living by deception and theft. The novel was popular in Europe during the seventeenth century, and James Mabbe's translation (The Rogue (London, 1622)) had reached a fourth impression by 1656.

24] i.e. courts of law.

30 whittles] a term applied to cloaks, blankets, and napkins (OED).

45 Queen Mab] the fairies' mid-wife.

mol-Cutpurse] Mary Frith, a notorious thief, fortune-teller, and forger (c 1584-1659), she is the heroine of Middleton and Dekker's The Roaring Girl.

52 Tups] marginal gloss: 'Trin. Coll.'.

104] by thieving hands.

106 Vatican] library.

111 ex dono] i.e. donated by.

118 Cardan] the Anglicized form of Gerolamo or Girolamo Cardano (1501-76), the Italian physician, mathematician, and astrologer. The allusion is probably to his works, particularly Ars magna ('Great Art'), and De Subtilitate rerum ('The Subtlety of Things'), a collection of physical experiments and inventions, interspersed with anecdotes.

John ab Indegin] unidentified.

122] marginal gloss: 'Jack the Inke-Boy, who was suspected'.

Epithalamium. on Mr Westons marriage.

by Rich[ard] Williams.

Rumour is but a vision, dead

Or living in anothers head.

But see but see your blisse.

He that sees double now, sees not amisse.

While hand in hand they go

5

Blest Turtles one in two.

Here humblenes and state are mixt

And there both love and beauty fixt.

Look look where each Grace lyes

How blest were Cupid to receive his eyes

10

And loose them for to gaze

In this true Lovers maze.

O earth, once spendthrift grow, and shew

What predecessors never knew

So mayst more children bring

15

And live long married to the youthfull spring

So may this Pair long tread

On thy (then happy) head.

Spare Spare now Philomel to plain

'gainst [Terrors] of thy virgin staine

20

Here may thy notes rays'd higher

With the still musick of the fether'd quire  
Here senses charme and hitt  
His eares the wrights of witt.

With what a sweet proportion'd grace 25

They dart forth beames to every place  
With what soft blushing flames

Each weares high honours in the badg of shame.

While each desires to shroud

Their brightnes in a clowd. 30

May all your blisse in fleeting stay

Successively like night and day.

Small wishes were a sin

And mirth which ends were better ne're begin

May quick but chast desire 35

Make yours a Vestall fire.

Bridegroom:

Prithee when I depart let no sigh raise

An earthquake in thy little world. (Bride) tis

prays to be sollicitous. (Bridegr.) But I shall find 40

my sailing crost with such like gales of wind.

Shut those bright eyes if thou wilt have me stay

And then I shall not see to go away.

Bride. Nay but for thy successe I will invoke

The Sea-born Venus with the purest smoke  
And prey, and prey that we the sooner meet  
Cupid may shoot his wings into thy feet.

45

#### NOTES

Title] Jerome Weston (1605-1663), second son but principal heir of Richard Weston (Duke of Portland). On 25 June 1632 Jerome married Lady Frances Stuart, a sister of the third Duke of Lennox and a cousin of the king. Such an alliance did not pass without comment, and the Venetian ambassador remarked that the astonishing feature of the marriage, which was a 'very unequal one, the young duchess being very much above him in fortune and birth', was that the king acted as 'mediary and manager by his personal interposition' (CSPV 1629-32, 623). Onlookers interpreted this as confirmation of the king's 'esteem and favour for the Lord Treasurer' (*ibid.*).

The ceremony took place in the chapel at Putney Park, Weston's country home, where Bishop Laud officiated. The proceedings were attended by the king, queen, and the court. In addition to a wedding present of £10,000 the king further honoured the family by handing the bride to her husband. Following the ceremony the guests were provided with a 'sumptuous and solemn banquet' (*ibid.*, 637). The occasion was also acknowledged in verse by Ben Jonson, William Davenant and Thomas Shirley.

19-20] alludes to the story of Philomela who was seduced by her brother-in-law, Tereus. He removed her tongue to prevent her telling anyone, but she finally managed to inform her sister and secure her release. After revenging themselves on Terseus, the sisters were changed into birds by the gods; Philomela into a swallow and Procne into a nightingale, though later tradition has reversed these and Philomela is generally represented by the nightingale.

35 quick] living, endowed with life (OED 1a).

36 Vestall fire] the fire tended by the Vestal Virgins burned continually.

43 Venus] Roman goddess of love, associated with Aphrodite, whose birth was from the sea.

To the Lord Treasurer Weston.

Behold, dear Lord, amongst the populous row  
Which with auspicious presents ebbe and flow.  
I, like the peasant, in my poor hand bring  
This water offering from the Thespian Spring.  
But with as rich a hart as ere did live, 5  
Or ever knew how to receive or give  
Since Roman Tattius (who these rites allowes)  
First hem'd his temples in with happy bowes  
With hart adores, but not your place, nor yet  
Your honor in yourself, but you in it. 10  
You who were alwaies in an eminent seate  
For he that once is good was ever great.  
You who were born a publike man, and brought  
Into the world without a private thought.  
He that a garland for your head will twine, 15  
Must with mysterious search know and define  
The soule of goodness; and his layes begin  
Not from an outward object, but within,  
Where he may view a fruitfull brain, still bent  
To work all others but its own content, 20  
An uncorrupted stream of noble blood  
A hart still panting for the generall good.  
And feel a pulse, whose beat doth speak the health,  
And equall temper of the commonwealth.  
Tis blisse to see a man so good so wise 25

And carries all our soules into our eyes.

Shine like the orbs, great Lord, and so keep under  
All bleak malicious winds, and envyes thunder.

There will not want your virtues to repeat

When you want breath, some one will strike a heat 30

Upon the muses anvile, whose large sound

Shall fill with Eccho all this spacious round,

Give you a second being, bear you higher

Then if an Eagle fan'd your funerall fire;

O my propitious stars, that I were he 35

As you a second being are to me.

Rich[ard] Williams.

NOTES

Title] Richard Weston (1577-1635), Earl of Portland, was appointed to the dual position of Lord Treasurer and Treasurer of the Exchequer on 15 July 1628. As holder of this office, Weston succeeded in establishing himself as one of the king's foremost advisers, but was never quite able to replace the Duke of Buckingham as the supreme favourite. He did, though, succeed Buckingham in the public displeasure, and in being widely regarded as unscrupulous and motivated by personal greed and ambition.

4 water offering] verse.

Thespian spring] cited as the source of poetic inspiration,

derived from Thesbis, the Attic poet, reputed to be the father of Greek tragedy.

7 Roman Tatius] traditionally a Sabine king but the poet may be alluding to the belief that he was also a king of Rome, based on evidence that he enlarged the city and established several cults.

11] Weston's early career involved a diplomatic trip in 1620, for which the king rewarded him with the position of Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer. Weston then took an interest in naval affairs, particularly naval finance, and on 23 September 1621 was made a member of the Privy Council. He soon became a leading figure whose primary allegiance was to the king, though he was generally popular with the other councillors, and some contemporary comments at this stage are favourable. David Lloyd says of him that 'his activity in Parliament made him considerable at court, none fitter to serve a Prince than he who commands the humour of the people', he continues that in his 'Foreign Employments, his judgement was searching, and reach admirable' (The Statesmen and Favourites of England (1665), p.684). Even Clarendon concedes that as chancellor he 'behaved himself very well' in the office, gaining the good opinion of the House, but concludes that once established as the Lord Treasurer he soon lost the appearance of being a 'bold, stout and magnanimous man', and instead was reproached for being a man of 'big looks and of a mean and abject spirit' (Macray, vol.i, p.62; for a detailed and more recent account of the life and career

of Weston see Michael Van Cleave Alexander, Charles I's Lord Treasurer (London, 1975)).

19-20] this opinion contrasts sharply with Clarendon's who writes 'he took more pains in examining and inquiring into other men's offices than in the discharge of his own; and not so much joy in what he had as trouble and agony for what he had not' (op.cit., p.62). At the time of Weston's appointment as Lord Treasurer the 'extreme visible poverty of the exchequer sheltered that province from the envy it had frequently created, and opened a door for much applause to be the portion of a wise and provident minister' (ibid., p.61). Intending to be such a minister, Weston determined on a course to reduce the level of government spending and the king's patronage to others. Where Weston was not so 'wise and provident' was in the obvious accumulation of his personal wealth while stopping the benefits of others. Lloyd is more magnanimous in his account of Weston's actions, and says of him 'the necessity of the Exchequer put him upon some ways of supply that displeased the rabble; though his three particular cares, viz. the paying of the Navy, the satisfying of the city, and the Queen of Bohemia's supply...obliged the wiser sort of men' (op.cit., p.684). These actions, coupled with his sense of his own importance, soon earned him the suspicion and enmity of many other influential people, as well as the scorn of the populace. Gardiner writes that petitions brought before him were received with 'the ponderous inertia of the Lord Treasurer, to whom it was the

highest of arts to leave difficulties alone, and who was well satisfied if he could leave to a future generation the problems which he was himself incapable of solving' (History of England, vol.vii, p.134), a view which contrasts with that expressed by Lloyd, who credits him with possessing an aspect that was a mixture of 'authority and modesty' and who in his apprehensions exhibited 'quickness and solidity'.

21] Clarendon says that he was 'a gentleman of a very good and ancient extraction, by father and mother' (op.cit., 59).

28] possibly alludes to the attempts made by Laud and Holland to discredit Weston in the king's opinion. Laud made allegations of corruption against Weston who was subsequently ordered by the king to submit a record of his receipts since taking office as Treasurer. Though the king was satisfied with Weston's accounts, and refused to listen to Laud's complaints, Weston's influence at court gradually diminished as the general feeling rose against him. He was considered to be the chief proponent of several of the government's most unpopular policies, including the knighthood fines assessed in his home county. There was also a growing belief that he shared his second wife's sympathy for Roman Catholicism. This was interpreted as the possible reason for the perceived leniency towards recusants. It had previously been raised in the parliament of 1624-6 as to whether the Weston family should themselves be made subject to the recusancy laws. A later incident, which attracted widespread suspicion as to Weston's integrity, was his alleged involvement in the

cutting of timber in the forest reserved for the king's ships, and the subsequent fines. Weston claimed his innocence in the affair and sacked from his household a man called Gibson, whom he claimed to be responsible. This only served to convince his critics that he was the principal culprit in these events.

To the right vertuous Lady the Lady Weston.

Madam, were th' aged world now in his prime  
And these last daies the first begot of Tyme,  
Or lay all stories which we take on trust  
With our forefathers blended in the dust,  
So that cheif goddesses and nymphs of fame 5  
Had left no monuments of praise, no name.  
We might create them all again from you,  
And find more Graces then they ever knew.  
'Mongst which (and it most rare in women) one,  
Is that you take no pride to have them known. 10  
But as a fixed star, which seemes the lesse  
The higher; so your perpetuall dresse  
Is sweet humility, you have no high look  
Can serve for index to your inward book.  
No boasting title page, yet may we find 15  
In you a Lecture for all womankind.  
And Ladyes may, which cannot read you, see  
In seeing what you are, what they shold be.  
You with your stock of vertue purchase Fame,  
Which who so falsly woos to get a name, 20  
Makes it take wing, and if it seem to stay  
Tis but to gather breath, and fly away.  
Now lest you such a one on earth, shold misse  
Of any much desired heavenly blisse  
The giver of all good hast given you store, 25

Of modells of yourself, that were you poor  
In fortune, you were rich in issue, you  
Your lease of life in many lives renew.  
In all of which some part of you we spie  
As if you had given your goods before you dy. 30  
But they will pay you back what they partake  
And once a glorious Constellation make  
Whose bright reflection shall farr put down  
The radiant shine of Ariadne's Crown,  
But may you lighten long our dark orbe here 35  
And make this mansion which you blesse, your sphere  
Till all the gloomy world your beams descry  
And owe unto their heate as much as I.

Rich[ard] Williams.

#### NOTES

Title] Frances Waldegrave, Richard Weston's second wife. They were married in or before 1605.

2 these last daies] it was widely believed that the end of the world was imminent and that Christ was 'shortly expected'. Augustine, in his theory of Christian history, outlined six ages (from Adam to the Last Judgment) and the seventeenth century was accepted to be the sixth age, which would terminate in the second coming.

11 fixed star] traditional symbol of constancy.

25-26] Frances Weston had eight children; the two eldest, Jerome and Thomas, are also commemorated in Williams' verse.

34 Ariadne's Crown] abandoned by Theseus, Ariadne was comforted and aided by Bacchus who set her crown as a constellation in the sky to bring her eternal glory. The poet suggests that Lady Weston's children will similarly guarantee her recognition in posterity.

To the vertuous Mr Tho: Weston, upon his Ague.

So let my muses prosper, as my layes  
Desire no other crown, no other bayes  
Then your acceptance, you and yours inspire  
My better man with a Pierian fire,  
And I return these sparks; for light and rain 5  
So heavens take nought but vapours back again.  
But I that give you this (my only wealth)  
Wish, Sir, I could as easily give you health  
Without all Recipe's; and quit your brest  
From that unbid, unwelcome Christmas guest. 10  
That trecherous Ague, which your spirits spends  
And makes you oft shake hands though never frends  
That riddle for Physicians, for of it  
They ne're knew what to make, but money, yet.  
O that Apollo, who by power divine 15  
Is Lord Protector o're the sacred nine  
And great Physician too, wold but impart  
Unto these lines his medicinalle Art  
That every word or title were a charme,  
To do no others but your sicknes harme, 20  
That here were inspirations, which to view  
Might make your Ague quake, as it makes you.  
Nay I'de turn Exorcist to lay that spright

Which dares torment you so both day and night  
And 'cause in such a Heaven he strives to dwell  
I'de make him keep his new yeares day in Hell.

25

Yours in all serviceable endeavors.

Richard Williams.

#### NOTES

Title] Thomas Weston, third son of Richard Weston, Earl of Portland, was baptized 9 October 1609 at Roxwell, Essex. He matriculated at Wadham College Oxford in May 1626. On the royalist side he was with Goring in Portsmouth during the seige, and finally, as a colonel in the royalist army, he was taken prisoner at Rowton Heath on 24 September 1645. He inherited the family estate at Skreens, Roxwell in 1635, but sold it in the same year (Complete Peerage). The date of his illness is unknown.

2 bayes] bay leaves were regarded as the foliage most suitable for the coronation poets, as a tribute to their skill and labour.

4 Pierian fire] alludes to poetic skill, derived from Pieria, a district in northern Thessaly which was the reputed home of the muses (OED 1).

15-18] at Rome Apollo was primarily regarded as a god of healing, and was addressed by the Vestals as 'Apollo medici' or 'Apollo Paeon'.

Song. (see commentary page 494)

I state here used in the sense of circumstances as required

What means this strangenes now of late

Since Tyme doth truth approve

This distance may consist with State

It cannot stand with Love.

Tis either cunning or distrust

5

That do such waies allow.

The first is base, the last unjust

Let neither blemish you.

But if you do't to draw me on

You over-act your part.

10

Or if you faine wold have me gone

There needs not half this art.

Say but a word or do but cast

A look that seems to frown,

I'le give you all the love that's past,

15

The rest shall be my own.

And such a fair and equall way

On both sides none can blame

Since every man is bound to play

The fairest of his game.

20

NOTES (see commentary page 656)

3 state] here used in the sense of circumstances as regards  
health of mind and body (OED I 1b).

An Epigr. on the Princes birth. May. 29. 1630.

And art thou born, brave Babe? blest be the day  
Hath crown'd our hopes with Thee! our spring, and May,  
The bud of the chast lilly and the Rose!

What moneth then May was fitter to disclose  
This Prince of flowers? soon shoote thou up and grow 5

The same that thou art promised; but be slow,  
And long in changing! Let our nephews see

Thee quickly come, the gardens eye to be.

And still to stand so. Haste now, envious Moon

And interpose thyself! (care not how soon.) 10

And threat the great Eclipse! Two houres but run

Sol will recline. If not, Charles hath a Sonn.

Ben. Jonson

Non displicuisse Meretur

Festinat Caesar qui placuisse tibi.

NOTES (see commentary page 657)

Title] Prince Charles, later Charles II.

3] the flowers of France and England, symbolising Henrietta Maria  
and Charles I.

7 nephews] descendants (OED 4).

9-11] there was an eclipse of the sun two days after Charles'  
birth. The event was recorded by Thomas Fuller who wrote 'His

birth was accompanied with two notable accidents in the heavens. The star Venus was visible all day long, as sometime it falls out heer her greatest Elongation. And two days after there was an Eclipse of the Sun, about eleven digits, observed by the greatest mathematicions' (History of the Worthies (1662), Westminster, p.237).

13-14] 'He deserves not to displeas you, Caesar,who hastes to please you' (Martial, 'Epigram I xxxi').

Lord Gorings verses.

The Authors preface to his much honourd friend

Mr Bennett.

Sr. since no man knows [apart] then yourself, with how much  
zeale I have made my applications to Fortune: what lampes I  
have wasted: what Treasures I have offred, what Hecatombs of  
cards I have sacrificed, with what watchings, fastings, sighs  
and groans I have prosecuted this Devotion and yet how unequal 5  
a return I have found: she having us'd me (as a man may say)  
rather like a Bitch then a Goddess, It will not seem strang to  
you, first, that I trust no longer to her, secondly that I  
publish that Defiance in an Heroick Poem, but before I proceed  
further, give me leave to present unto your view the modern 10  
Heroick-gamsters, as sea-marks, which seem rather to shew the  
Rocks and Shelves, then channell, and with all the quarell,  
which the living, namely Sir Wm Davenant, Mr Denham, and Mr  
Crafts, have to the dead; by name Sr John Suckling, Mr Montague  
etc. and in the end to propose a safe deep medium, between 15  
those errors, where we may ride safe from the blasting winds of  
envious persons, and gulfs of malignant fortune: as for  
example, by writing in other mens words, and betting on other  
mens hands and of all this in order.

Cant. 1.

Presse me no more, dear Play, and I'le confesse 20  
I love thee still, nay rather more then lesse  
I do not go for wearyness of thee  
Nor in hope to find a fitter Love for me.

Cant. 2.

Thou every day thy man dost kill  
And I as often dy. 25  
We are not then divided by my will,  
But by thy cruelty.

Cant. 3.

Yet when you please, you are as fair,  
As light: as smooth and gentle as the ayre,  
No wrinckles nor no frownes are in your face, 30  
You move with swift, but with an aiery pace.

Cant. 4.

Those whom you favour, are calmer farre  
Then in their sleeps forgiven Hermites are;  
But since you are not so to me,  
What care I to whom you be. 35

Cant. 5.

I had a summons but thou alas  
At the last blow hast shiver'd it like glasse  
And as in broken glasses show  
An hundred lesser faces, so  
I have some Raggs and snipps in store  
For betting, but for play no more.

40

NOTES

Title] George Goring (1608-57), the eldest son of Lord Goring.

Goring's reputation as a soldier and gentleman was undermined by his renowned debaucheries. Sir Richard Bulstrode, who served under him in the West, wrote of him that he was 'a person of extraordinary Abilities, as well as Courage, and was, without dispute, as good an Officer as any served the king', but had 'his blind side, for he strangely loved the Bottle, was much given to his Pleasures, and a great Debauchee (Memoirs and Reflections, vol.ii, p.134). This view is confirmed by Clarendon who wrote that Goring was not able to resist the temptation of debauchery, even in the middle of the enemy. He adds that Goring would 'without hesitation have broken any trust, or done any act of treachery, to have satisfied an ordinary passion or appetite, (Macray, vol.iii, pp.444-5).

Mr.Bennett] Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington (1618-85), was the second son of Sir John Bennet. In 1643 he was at Oxford in

Lord Digby's employ; he joined the royal forces as a volunteer and fought at Andover. He was knighted in March 1657 and created earl in 1672 (DNB; Complete Peerage).

3 Hecatombs] a large number or quantity (OED 2).

11 Herroick-gamsters] Cavaliers, Goring's fellow poets and gamblers.

sea-marks] i.e. examples.

13] Sir William Davenant (1606-68), succeeded Jonson as poet Laureat. Along with Suckling, Goring, and others, he was involved in the Army Plot of 1641, and after several attempts managed to escape to France. He later returned and fought on the royalist side at the siege of Gloucester. He became the butt of many jokes because, according to Aubrey, he 'gott a terrible Clap of a black handsome wench that lay in Axe-yard, Westminster,...which cost him his nose, with which unlucky mischance many wits were too cruelly bold' (Aubrey, vol.i, pp.205-6). Goring's name appears in the list of young nobles who took part in Davenant's masque 'The Temple of Love', which was presented in 1635.

Mr.Denham] John Denham (1615-69), poet and royalist. A renowned gambler, he tried to alleviate his father's fears about his inclination by writing 'an essay against gambling', but after his father's death Denham soon reverted to his former habits and squandered his inheritance.

14 Mr. Crafts] the identity of 'Mr. Crafts' is not certain but it is possibly John Crofts, the son of Sir John Crofts of Saxham in Suffolk. He would have been known to Goring because there

is a family connection with Henry Bennet whose mother was Croft's sister. Furthermore, he is associated with Suckling as they were fellow cup-bearers to the king. Both Herrick and Davenant addressed poems to him, and he was the author of some minor verses which were set to music by Henry Lawes and included in his second book of Ayres and Dialogues (1655).

Sir John Suckling (1609-42), courtier and poet. He was a friend of Goring and they fought together in the first Bishops' War. Suckling was also an intimate friend of Davenant.

Mr. Montague] though his identity cannot be confirmed with certainty (Goring lists him as dead) he is possibly Walter Montague (1603?-1677), son of the first Earl of Manchester. He wrote a pastoral comedy entitled 'Tho. Shepherd's Paradise' which was performed before Charles by the Queen and her women on 8 January 1633. Suckling alludes to the play in his 'Sessions of the Poets' (lines 80-1).

15-17] the suggestion echoes the comments made by Henry Peacham, who wrote 'now the city being like a vast sea, full of gusts, fearful-dangerous shelves and rocks, ready at every storm to sink and cast away the weak and unexperienced bark with her fresh-water soldiers, as wanting her compass and her skillful pilot....' (The Art of Living in London (1642), ed. Virgil B. Heltzel (1962), pp.243-4).

22-3] cf. Donne's 'Song' (lines 1-4):

Sweetest love, I do not goe,  
For wearinesse of thee,  
Nor in hope the world can show

A fitter Love for mee.

24-5] cf. lines 15-16 of Suckling's poem 'Sonnet 1':

She every day her Man doth kill,

And I as often die.

28-9] cf. lines 9-10 of Davenant's poem 'To Thomas Carew':

Not but thy Verses are as smooth, and high,

As Glory, Love, or Wine from wit can rayse.

37-41] cf. Donne's 'The broken heart' (lines 24, 29-32):

At one first blow did shiver it as glasse...

And now as broken glasses show

A hundred lesser faces, so

My ragges of heart can like, wish, and adore,

But after one such love, can love no more.

Sent with A Pair of Gloves

To his Mrs G L.

Bee not fairest Nymph mistook

Nor doe for A present look

Tis your Name that I intend

Only G, and love, to send

I wish the gloves as well would fitt 5

Your hands, as they your name have hitt

However my excuse is this

I neare took measure with A sciffe

And who'ere receives that pleasure

Happy be beyond all measure 10

Epitome of lovely Faces

Who in one containst 3 Graces

Like A Saint with in her shrine

Your presence makes the Temple Pine

Whilst the jealous Levite feares 15

You'll draw more Eyes, then he shall Ears

Heere the Angells words take place

Hay'le O Mary full of Grace

The graces owe an handmaid Duty

To the Queen of Love and beauty 20

Which A wonder now would prove

Since you are Grace and yett are Love

Custome wrongd you sweetest Faire

Which enjoyneth gloves to wear

Nakednesse had you befreinded 25  
 And their own white your hands commended  
 Which all help as needlesse scorning  
 Are Eclipsd by such adorning  
 Such adorning as doth shew  
 Theyre only twined when worne by you 30  
 When your glove you hold before  
 That pretty double corall Dore  
 Fortune so may favour me  
 That your lips may printed be  
 In some place I kist and soe 35  
 By proxy I may happy grow  
 Though I much unworthy deem them  
 Lord that you should esteeme them.  
 And my selfe unworthy more  
 Who should such A Saint adore 40  
 If you shall vouchsafe to take them  
 Worne by you twill precious make them  
 For your prising them alone  
 Gives A value where theres none.

#### NOTES

Title] possibly addressed to Grace Love (the daughter of Richard Love, appointed Master of Corpus Christi College Cambridge in 1632, and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in 1649 (DNB)).  
 5-6] 'gloves' is clearly the clue to the woman's name and

strengthens the possibility of it being 'G. Love'; cf. an anonymous poem addressed to 'G. Love' (Grace Love) entitled 'Glove':

If that from glove you take the letter G  
Then glove is love, and that I sent to thee.

(Wits Interpreter (1671), p.293)

12 3 Graces] puns on the associated attributes of the three Graces: Euphrosyne (Mirth), Aglaia (Brilliance), and Thalia (Bloom), and the woman's name. This, and further puns on Grace (lines 18, 19, 22) suggest this to be her Christian name.

15 jealous Levite] a priest; a term used contemptuously for a clergyman (OED 3).

17-8] puns on the Angelic Salutation and the opening words of the prayer to the Blessed Virgin Mary: 'Hail Mary, full of Grace'.

### COMMENTARY

#### ON THE PRINT OF HIS LADY'S FOOT (p.1)

Occurs in MSS RP 210, f.49 ascribed 'Geo.Goad', and anonymously in RP 116, f.42v. In the latter, lines 5 and 6 are omitted but as there are no other substantive variations, and all MSS are in the same scribal hand, this difference is most likely the result of scribal error. The poem is printed in Wit and Drollery (1661), p.34.

#### ON A MAN STEALING A CANDLE (p.3)

Occurs in MS RP 210, f.49; there are no substantive variations.

#### WIT IN A TEMPEST (p.4)

Occurs in MSS RP 210, f.49, and A 36, f.173v attributed to H. Molle; there are no substantive variations.

#### ON HIS MISTRESSE WHOSE NAME WAS BARBARY (p.5)

Occurs in MS RP 210, f.52 where the ascription 'H. Vintner' is crossed through and replaced with the initials 'N H' then 'forte Nic Hob[ ]'. The full name is obscured because the paper is torn, but the poet is probably Nicolas Hobart, who was admitted to King's College Cambridge in 1621 where he proceeded BA in 1624, MA in 1627, and was a Fellow from 1624 until 1650. He died in May 1657 (Venn).

ON FUCUS (p.9)

Occurs in MS RP 210, f.51 with no substantive variations; it is printed in E.E. Kellett's Book of Cambridge Verse (Cambridge, 1911), p.406. There are two manuscript copies of 'Fucus Histriomastix': Bodleian MS RP 21 and Lambeth Palace MS 828. The play was probably written by Robert Ward whose authorship is substantiated on several accounts: he played the title role, there is internal evidence in the play, and it is implied in the comments of a letter from William Beale, fellow of Jesus College, to William Boswell, secretary to the Lord Keeper. The date of 1623 for the royal performance is also based on circumstantial evidence. In the same letter Beale refers to a play written by Hacket and Stubb, which is probably 'Loyola'. That 'Fucus' and 'Loyola' were of the same season is further supported by the phrase 'Hac veinit quadregesima' in 'Fucus' (1.49). Finally, there is only one cast list which is in the Lambeth Palace MS and the dates of residence for the players is mainly compatible with 1623 (for a full account see G.C. Moore-smith, MLR, vol.3 (1907-8), p.152; Gerard Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage (Oxford, 1956), vol.v, pp.1236-39; John Twigg, A History of Queens' College Cambridge (Boydell Press, 1987), pp.107-8).

That the king visited Cambridge on 12 March 1623 and saw a comedy is confirmed by Joseph Mead in his letter of 15 March 1623 to Sir Martin Stuteville where he remarks 'the king heard our comedy on Wednesday but expressed no remarkable mirth thereat; he laughed once or twice toward the end'. Though the name of the play is not mentioned it is probably 'Loyola'. Chamberlain, in

his letter of 8 March 1623 to Sir Dudley Carleton, also reports that when the king and his party visited Cambridge they were 'lodged at Trinitie College where they were invited to a play' (The Letters of John Chamberlain, ed. N.E. McClure (1939), vol.ii, p.483). Henry Molle's poem contains comments which imply that the royal performance of the two plays was during the same season. In 'On Fucus' he refers to the Oxford play 'Technogamia' (1.41), which was also performed before James (on an earlier visit), and he concludes with a direct reference to the Trinity College play. That Molle was not only interested in the celebrations and entertainments of visiting dignitaries during this period, but directly involved, is confirmed by the fact that on 25 February 1623 he gave a Latin oration in the King's chapel in honour of the Spanish and Austrian ambassadors' visit ('The Oration of Master Henry Molle, Fellow of King's Coll. uttered in the Kings Chappell 25 Feb. 1622/23' (London), printed by W. Stansby for Rich. Meighen).

ON DR. JEGONS (p.15)

Occurs anonymously, and without variation, in MS RP 210, f.50; and with slight variations in RP 117, f. 271 rev.

AN EPITAPH and HIS ANSWERE (p.17)

Occur anonymously in MSS RP 210, f.50, without variation; and with minor differences in EP 14, f.89 rev., where they are included with several other distichs.

UPON A BILE (p.19)

Occurs in MS RP 210, f.50 ascribed 'Henry Vintner'; it is printed in Wit and Drollery (1661), p.144. Substantive variations are as follows:

1 capps] cups

5-6] omitted

24] For nought but corrupt matter here doth rest.

ON A MATRON (p.22)

Occurs in MS RP 210, f.46 ascribed 'Isaack Olivier'; there are no substantive variations.

ON THE CIRCUMCISION (p.24)

Occurs in MS RP 210, f.46 ascribed 'Is. Ollivier'; there are no substantive variations.

ON TWELFE DAY (p.27)

Occurs in MS RP 210, f.46 ascribed 'Is Ollivier'; there are no substantive variations.

TO A GENTLEWOMAN WITH ONE EYE (p.34)

Occurs in MS EP 152, f.105v where it has an additional line following line 3:

Looke well with one and you'l not looke amiss.

AN OLD MAN TO HIS YOUNG MISTRESS (p.35)

First published among verse 'By other Gentlemen' in Poems Written by Wil-Shake-speare Gent. (London, 1640), entitled 'To a Gentlewoman, objecting to him his Grey Haires'. It also appeared in several contemporary verse miscellanies including Henry Lawes Ayres and Dialogues (1653), with a musical setting, and an anonymous variant entitled 'Age not to be rejected' printed in Wits Interpreter (1671). For MS and publication details see Beal, vol.II, part 1, p.550. For a commentary on the poem see Patrick, pp.90-1.

ON A GNATT WHICH WAS BURNT IN A CANDLE (p.36)

Occurs in MS RP 210, fol.57 attributed to Thomas Vincent. There are no substantive variations, and it is possible that both variants originate from the same source because both MSS are in the hand of the same scribe. A variation entitled 'Upon a Gnat Burnt in a Candle', and beginning 'Little-buzzing-wanton elf', occurs in MS T 465, f.44v. There are several minor differences in the texts, but these are probably more indicative of scribal misreading than of positive evidence of another source. Though the poem appears anonymously in the text of T 465, the page number on which it is written (164) is included in the index relating to Crashaw's verse. No title is given and further confusion arises from the scribe's use of the symbol 'v' after the page number. In the text the facing page (165, i.e. MS f.45) contains a poem ascribed 'R.Cr.' but this page number is not included in the index. On the basis of this 'evidence' Grosart

included the poem for the first time in the Crashaw canon. Martin, the most recent editor, does not believe it to be the work of Crashaw and consigns it to the appendix of his edition (pp.ixv, 413-4). Vincent's authorship is the more likely.

ON A LONDON TAYLER (p.41)

Printed anonymously in Wit and Drollery (1661), p.141; there are no substantive variations.

TWILIGHT. AT FOURE A CLOCK IN WINTER (p.57)

Probably the work of Henry Molle and appears to be a companion piece to 'Twilight'. Both poems occur in MS RP 210, ff.47-47v; there are no substantive variations.

TO THE QUEENES MTY ON THE BIRTH OF JAMES D. OF YORK (p.64)

Occurs in MSS RP 210, f.57v ascribed 'H. Molle', and EP 50, f.71v where it is attributed, in the index, to T. C[arew]. There are no substantive variations. A volume of verse marking the occasion was published in 1640 entitled Voces Votivae Ab. Academicis Cantabrigiensibus, Pro Novissimo Caroli and Mariae etc. It comprises Latin and English verse; this poem is not included.

UPON THE DEATH OF A FREIND (p.84)

Occurs anonymously in T 465, f.65. It was first included in the Crashaw canon by Grosart who erroneously interpreted the Tanner index, which cites page numbers of some of Crashaw's work thus: '202.v.206', to include page 205, the page on which this poem is

written. He overlooked the specific reference to the poem, by title and page number, in the section of the index listing verse by other authors. Martin includes the poem in his edition in the section headed 'Poems from MSS included in previous modern editions', p.393. There is no substantive evidence to suggest or confirm Crashaw's authorship. It is included in Williams, pp.477-8.

ON THE DEATH OF MR HOLDEN (p.86)

Occurs in MS T 465, f.66 ascribed 'Mr Culverwell', with a corresponding attribution in the index; there are no substantive variations.

AN EPITAPH (p.88)

Occurs anonymously in MS T 465, f.73 where it appears to be the concluding 'epitaph' and continuation of a poem entitled 'An Elegy on the Death of Mr.Christopher Rouse Esquire'. 'An Epitaph' is not specifically cited in the Tanner index but the title of its companion elegy is included in the list of poems by authors other than Crashaw. On the evidence of a manuscript in the Folger Library (c 1630), John Yoklavich confirms Philip Cornwallis to be the author; he cites MS Loseley L.b.675 in which the poem entitled 'An Elegy upon his most worthy, learned and truly vertuous kinsman, Christopher Rouse, Esq.' appears with 'An Epitaph' and is ascribed 'Phil.Cornwaleys'. He cites evidence of a family connection between Rouse and Cornwallis (see MLR, 59 (1964), 517-8). On internal evidence alone Martin has included

both poems in the Crashaw canon, though he acknowledges that authorship remains uncertain. In the light of the external evidence, though by no means conclusive, and the equivocal nature of internal evidence, Cornwallis' claim to authorship remains the more probable (see Beal, vol.II, part 1, p.275).

AN ELEGIE ON THE DEATH OF DR PORTER (p.89)

Occurs anonymously in T 465, f.70. It was first attributed to Crashaw by Grosart on the basis of his reading of the Tanner index in which the page number, on which it is written, is included in the list of Crashaw's Latin verse. A closer inspection suggests that the page number more likely applies to the Latin poem that shares the same page and is ascribed to Crashaw. Martin similarly believes that on this evidence authorship may more confidently be attributed to Crashaw, though there is no substantive evidence to support his claim (see Beal, vol.II, part 1, p.274). It is included in Williams, pp.476-7.

ON FELTON HANGING IN CHAYNES (p.92)

Occurs in MSS Ash 38, p.20; Ash 47, f.48; CCC 328, ff.11v and 62; EP 14, f.12v; M 21, f.4v; M 23, p.210; RP 84, f.114; RP 160, f.53; RP 199, p.56; and T 465, f.71v. A variation with some additional lines occurs in A 15, f.28, ascribed 'H. Ch.', whose identity is probably that of Henry Chohnley. The poem was first printed in Wit Restor'd (1658), p.56 entitled 'Upon John Felton's hanging in Chaines at Ports-mouth, for killing the Duke of Buckingham', and was subsequently included in numerous political

miscellanies. Substantive variations from the 1658 printed text are as follows:

8 payre] faire

9 Of] And

11 that is not us'd] which is not brib'd

AN ELEGIE ON THE DEATH OF THE LADY PARKER (p.96)

Occurs anonymously in T 465, f.72, and is included in the Tanner index in the list of poems by authors other than Crashaw; the page number is erroneously given as 235 instead of 233. Martin, on the basis of internal evidence, includes the poem in the Crashaw canon (see Beal vol.II, part 1, p.274).

AN EPITAPH ON THE DUKE OF LENOX (p.99)

Occurs anonymously, and similarly headed, in MSS Ash 38, p.173; Ash 47, f.59; RP 160, f.23v; EP 10, f.116v; EP 14, f.24; and T 465, f.73v. Another example occurs in EP 50, f.59 headed 'An Epitaph on the Duke of Richmond who died Sodainly on the First Day of the Sittinge of the Parliament' and ascribed 'Sr John Eliott'. The MS index records the date of the Duke of Lennox's death as 17 February 1624. There are numerous minor variations in the MS copies but RP 147 is the only example to differ significantly. The poem was first printed in Camden's Remains (1637), p.400; substantive variations from the printed text are as follows:

3 'Twas even so] It was even thus

4 end] death

6 Only] Meerly  
7] Noe lesse then all the Bishops, might suffice  
9] The Court the Altar was, the waiyters Peers  
10 great Censers teares] great Caesars teares  
11] A funerall, for the greater pompe or state  
12 did ever] could ever

AN ELEGIE UPON THE DEATH OF MR WM CARRE (p.101)

Occurs in T 465, f.63 where it is ascribed 'P. Cornwallis' in the text and attributed to Pet. Cornwallis in the index. On the basis of internal evidence Martin believes the poem should be more correctly assigned to Crashaw, and includes it in the canon for the first time. Substantial evidence has not been found to confirm this claim or lessen the legitimacy of Cornwallis' claim to authorship (see Beal vol.II, part 1, p.275).

ON THE SPRING (p.112)

Wotton's poems were first printed in Reliquiae Wottonianae, 1651, a collection of his verse and prose; this was followed by three later editions. The poems have subsequently been reprinted in Poems by Sir Henry Wotton, ed. A.Dyce (London for the Percy Society), and in Poems by Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Walter Raleigh, and others, ed. J.Hannah, 1891 (see Pearsall Smith, vol.ii, p.416). 'On The Spring' was first printed in Reliquiae Wottonianae (1651), p.524 entitled 'On a Bank as I Sate a Fishing, A Description of the Spring'. (Reprinted in Hannah, p.101.) Pearsall Smith dates the poem 1639, Wotton's

seventy-first year (op.cit., p.416). Isaac Walton included the poem in The Complete Angler as an example of Henry Wotton's peace and contentment. He says of Wotton that he was 'a man with whom I have often fish'd and convers'd' and continues 'I know, that when he was beyond seventy years of age he made this description of a part of the present pleasure that possess him, as he sate quietly in a summers evening on a bank fishing' (The Complete Angler (1653-76), ed. Jonquil Bevan (1983), pp.76-7; see Beal, vol. I, part 2, p. 569). Substantive variations from the printed text are as follows:

7 Or else] There stood

8] Attending of his trembling quill

11] The Groves already did rejoyce

14] The morning fresh; the Evening smil'd.

16 sanded] sand-red

19 Both] The

20 Crocus, Tulip] Tulip, Crocus

23 was] look't

24 new-liven'd] New-liveri'd

A SONG. ON THE NEW COMMENCEMENT (p.114)

Cleveland's verse has more recently been edited by B. Morris and E. Withington (Oxford, 1967), in which the variants are collated, and a detailed account of contemporary printed editions of his work is given (see pp.56-7, 147-9).

UPON DR SANDCROFTS SONNE (p.119)

Occurs anonymously in RP 160, f.41; and T 465, f.73v ascribed 'J. Jefferies'. Though his authorship cannot be confirmed with certainty, it is strengthened by their Suffolk connections. There are no substantive variations.

ON THE DEATH OF MR.WM. HENSHAW (p.121)

Occurs in T 465, f.62v, ascribed 'P. Cornwallis'; the Tanner index reads: 'pet. Cornwallis on Wm. Henshaw of EC.'. On the basis of internal evidence Martin believes Crashaw to be the more likely author, though conclusive evidence has not been found to confirm his claim, or reduce Cornwallis' legitimate claim to authorship (see Beal, vol.II, part 1, p.285).

ON A CHILDS DEATH (p.146)

Occurs anonymously in MS T 465, f.74. Substantive variations are as follows:

18] That hee should die so soone, we live soe long.

21 Danced] Doubted

ON MR KING OF CHRIST'S COLL. (p.148)

Occurs anonymously in T 465, f.74 entitled 'On the Death of Mr Edw. King of Christ Coll. in Cambr. Who was drowned as he was going into Ireland'; a shorter variation headed 'On Mr. Kings death' and ascribed 'Booth, T' occurs in RP 142, f.22.

A SONGE (O Love whose force and might) (p.151)

Printed anonymously in Wit and Drollery (1661), p.32 with four additional stanzas; a companion piece entitled 'Answer' is included on page 34.

A GUIDE TO FORTUNE (p.153)

Printed anonymously in Parnassus Biceps or Several Choice Pieces of Poetry (London, 1656), p.124 entitled 'Fortunes Legacy', and in Sportive Wit: The Muses Merriment (London, 1656), p.39 entitled 'The Impartial Doom'. Both variants omit the fourth line of each stanza and the whole of the last stanza; there are also numerous minor variations.

AN ELEGIE ON THE DEATH OF MR STANNINOW (p.167)

Occurs anonymously in T 465, f.63v. where in the index the page number on which it is written is included in the list of Crashaw's verse, though a title is not given. Grosart first included this poem in the Crashaw canon, and Martin similarly believes that on this evidence it may be attributed to him. There is no other evidence to support the claim. It is included in Williams, pp.473-4.

THE COMPLAINT OF A WOMAN WITH CHILD (p.175)

Occurs anonymously in MS Ash 47, f.35, and T 465, f.44; there are no substantive variations.

ALE. IN PRAISE OF IT (p.176)

Occurs in MSS S, p.32 entitled 'Then Give Me Ale'; EM, f.85v where it is headed 'In Praise of Ale' and ascribed 'Dr [ ]'. In both instances the poem consists of only five stanzas, the first four corresponding to those in RP 147, and the concluding stanza beginning 'Grandchild of Ceres'. The poem was first printed in The Academy of Compliments (1650), and subsequently in numerous contemporary anthologies. It has more recently been included in Wayside Poems of the Seventeenth-Century (1963), compiled by Blunden and Mellors, and Norman Ault's Seventeenth-Century Lyrics (1928), where he incorrectly identifies the author as the Thomas Bonham who died in 1629. This Bonham was a physician, educated at St John's College Cambridge and practised medicine in London. He died in about 1629 leaving various books and papers to his servant, who subsequently had them published (see DNB). Ault refers the reader to John Aubrey for corroboration. The correct identity of the poet is the Thomas Bonham from Essex. Aubrey states that Mr. Thomas Bonham 'the poet', was sold Sir Henry Blount's chamber in Gray's Inn (Aubrey, vol.i, p.108), and in MS Wood F.39, fol.199 Aubrey refers to him as 'Tom Bonham, of Essex, that has made many a good song and epitaph...when the shrill scirocco blowes'.

SONG (Oh faythlesse world) (p.180)

Printed in Reliquiae Wottonianae (1651), p.516 entitled 'A Poem Written by Sir Henry Wotton, in his Youth' (Reprinted Hannah, pp.87-88). It was included in Poems of Pembroke and Ruddier

(1660), p.34, and wrongly attributed to Rudyard (see Beal, vol.I, part 2, pp. 575-6). Substantive variations from the 1651 printed text are as follows:

1 this most] thy more

9 looks] eys by] my

15 is] was

17-18] this couplet is omitted.

19 then] by

20 To see] To make

21 on] 'on' omitted

23 not now] no more nor her nature] but for cure

26 thy] 'tis

#### TO LADY DIANA CECILL (p.182)

Occurs in numerous MSS and was first printed in Edward Herbert's Occasional Verses (1665), p.34; his work has more recently been edited by G.C. Moore Smith (Oxford, 1923); see Beal, vol.I, part 2, pp.176-7.

#### ON STRAFFORD (p.184)

Corresponds with a variant in MS EG 21, f.39 (rev) headed 'Upon My Lord Strafford'; another variant, with additional lines, entitled 'On The Earl of Strafford's Tryall and Death' was first printed in John Denham's Poems and Translations (London, 1668), p.65 (see Banks, pp.153-4; and Beal, vol.II, part 1, pp.339-40).

TO MY LORD FALKLAND (p.187)

Occurs in MSS Don d, f.35v; M 13, p.63; and RP 174, p.46; it was first printed in Edmund Waller's Poems (1645), p.138. Waller's verse has more recently been edited by George Gifillan, (Edinburgh) 1857, and G. Thorn Drury, (London) 1901.

A PARADOX (p.191)

Occurs in numerous MSS and was first printed in Works of George Herbert, ed. W. Pickering (1835). Herbert's verse has more recently been edited by F. Hutchinson (1941) where variants of 'A Paradox' are collated (pp.209-11); and C.A. Patrides (1974). Evidence does not exist to positively confirm Herbert's authorship, so the poem remains consigned to his 'doubtful' verse (see Beal, vol.I, part 2, pp.209-10).

IN THE PRAYSE OF MUSICKE (p.194)

Occurs in MSS CCC 8, f.31v; Douce 5, f.3; M 21, f.79; and H 7, f.32 entitled 'The Commendation of Musicke'; it was first printed in Wit Restor'd (1658), p.95. William Strode's verse has more recently been edited by B. Dobell (1907).

'TIS LOVE' and SONG. ECCHO (pp.196-8)

Occur here and elsewhere as companion pieces but, for reasons unknown, in RP 147 they are copied in reverse order. They occur in MSS H, ff.22v-23v; EP 9, pp.133-4; RP 31, f.30; and RP 116, f.50 attributed to the Earl of Pembroke ('Song') and Sir Ben.

Ruddier ('Tis Love'). A variant in RP 117, f.199-200 (rev) is headed 'A Dialouge between Sir H. Wotton and Mr Dunne'. These conflicting attributions are presumably the reason for the altered ascriptions in the text of RP 147. Contemporary printed editions of the poems similarly perpetuated the conflicting claims to authorship; the poems first appeared in Poems by John Donne, with elegies on the authors death, 1635 (printed by M.F. for John Marriot), p.195 headed 'A Dialogue between Sir H. Wotton and Mr Donne'. In 1660 they were included in the Poems of Pembroke and Ruddier, p.4, headed 'P'. This edition was published by John Donne, son of the poet, who states that many of the poems are 'answered by way of Repartee, by Sr Benjamin Ruddier Knight'. More recently the poems have been assigned to Wotton and Donne by Pearsall Smith who includes them in his list of Wotton's verse (vol.ii, p.415). Grierson, in his edition of Donne's verse, prints the poems but includes them in an appendix of spurious verse and attributes them to Pembroke and Rudyerd (Poems, 1912, vol.i, pp.430-2, and vol.ii, cxxxix). The poems may be more confidently attributed to Pembroke and Rudyerd on the basis that Donne junior did not believe them to be his father's and Wotton's work, and Wotton did not include the poems in any of the editions of Reliquiae Wottonianae (see William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Poems 1660, ed. Gaby E. Onderwyzer (Augustan Reprint Society. Publication No.79), University of California, 1959).

AN ANSWERE TO DR DONNES CURSE (p.200)

Occurs in numerous MSS and was first printed in Original Poems, never before published, by William Browne of the Inner Temple, Gent, ed. Sir Egerton Brydges (1815), pp.26-7; it was subsequently included in Poems of William Browne of Tavistock (1894), ed. G Goodwin, vol.II, p.197. In both instances it appears without a title (see Beal, vol.I, part 1, pp.134-5).

DR CORBETT TO HIS SONNE VINCENT (p.202)

Occurs in numerous MSS and was first published posthumously in Certain Elegant Poems (London, 1647); Richard Corbett's work has more recently been edited by J. Bennett and H. Trevor-Roper (1955); see Beal, vol.II, part 1, p.195.

THE SAME TRANSLATED BY MR STRODE (p.204)

A Latin version of 'Dr Corbett to his Sonne Vincent'; it occurs in numerous MSS attributed to Strode (see Beal s.v. Corbett). An English translation is as follows:

Let none know how much wealth I leave to you.  
All will say that I have well prayed for you,  
Vincent, my son; before weight of gold  
I beg there may be sound mind in sound body;  
Of possessions no excess, nor of intellect excess;  
You may perish from a surfeit of either.  
I ask for learning which is not arrogant  
But born for understanding and for teaching.  
Not such as gentlemen require

Where either the table chatters, or fire burns.

I pray for you your mother's graces

And will transmit the fortune passed down from your father.

Let not your friends be few, and from your patrons

Let one be a link between your prince and you.

Not from whence an ancestral power of rank may rise,

But from which established status may be supported,

Not from whence you may go forth unharmed, and arrogantly rule

By inflicting evil while not suffering it.

I pray for peace through all your ways

And a life filled neither with idleness nor lawsuits.

And when old age shall free you from the bonds of flesh,

May you depart as innocent as in boyhood now you are.

#### EPITAPH (p.205)

Occurs anonymously in MSS RP 31, f.21v; and Firth 7, f.118 headed 'Of a gentleman of the Temple that dyed about the age of 24'. The title page of Firth 7 reads 'Miscellanies by Tho. Flatman, ex Interiori Templo Londini. Sic imperantibus fatis. Nov 9 1661, 13 Carli 2d'. Flatman, a poet-painter of the latter Caroline period, was presumably the collector; 'Morrison', to whom the poem is ascribed in the text of RP 147, has not been identified.

#### ON MARY. A HUMOUR. (p.206)

Occurs anonymously in MSS EP 14, f.58v, and RP 210, f.45v; there are no substantive variations.

BEN JOHNSON TO NOY THE LAWYER (p.207)

Occurs in MSS RP 210, f.68 ascribed 'Benjamine Johnson'; Rawl D 947, f.82 (rev); and RP 26, f.143. Aubrey says of Noy 'Mr attorney-generall Noy was a great lawyer and a great humorist, There is a world of merry stories of him' (Aubrey, vol.ii, pp.98-9). In Archdeacon Plume's notes on Jonson (see Herford and Simpson, vol.i, p.185), the following account of the poem is given: 'Seargant Noy was presented with these verses from Ben Johnson while he was himself at his commencement dinner for his degree of sergeant at law, that so he might take notice Ben stood without expecting but a call to come to dinner,

When the world was drowned, No Venizon was found,

bec: there was no park.

Here wee sit and get never a bitt,

bec: Noy has all in his Arke.

The poem is not included in modern editions of Jonson's verse.

SONGE THE COUNTRY DANCE. (p.208)

Printed anonymously in Wit and Drollery (1661), p.210 entitled 'A Song', and Pills to Purge Melancholy (1719-20), vol.ii, p.19 where it is set to music and headed 'A Ballad of Andrew and Maudlin'. The numerous minor variations between RP 147 and the printed texts, including the omission and addition of words, suggests that the scribe did not have a specific musical setting in mind; as with many popular 'songs' and ballads the words often circulated independently of the music. Substantive variations from the 1661 printed text are as follows:

16 swindgled] cudgel'd  
18 While the Mayds] And here  
19] in the printed text stanzas 4 and 5 are reversed  
21] The sweat it ran down their face to be seen.  
28] As if her Chops had been made of Bellmetal  
30 Aloud she did second] She presently answers  
33 gloyte] lout  
36] While their skirts and their breeches went a flickett a  
flackett.  
38 smacke] smerk  
41] Thus every young man gave each a greene mantle  
42] While their breasts and their bellyes went printle a pantle.

SONGE (Your love if virtuous) (p.211)

Occurs anonymously in MSS RP 152, f.27, and RP 116, f.60; in both instances lines 15-28 are presented as a separate poem in the form of an answer to lines 1-14. A variant (including a different stanzaic arrangement) is printed in Thomas Jordan's A Royal Arbour of Loyal Poesie (1663), pp.32-3, with lines 1-14 entitled 'The Repulse writ by a Lady. The Air composed by Mr Wm. Lawes, servant to his late Majesty', and lines 15-28 in the form of an answer headed 'The reply by the Author'.

SONG (Old Hag, Old Hag) (p.216)

Does not occur in other MSS and is not included in any of the contemporary anthologies of verse or songs. The date of composition is not known but is probably between the years 1629

and 1640 when Thomas Stevens was at Cambridge. The tone of the poem was probably influenced by a popular genre known as the 'Paradoxical Encomium', or the 'praise of ugliness'. It was based on a classical tradition which received a revival in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the purpose was to praise unworthy, unexpected, or trivial objects. While many poets experimented with the genre to good effect (cf. Donne's 'The Anagram'), others were less convinced of its merits. Sir Philip Sidney wrote in 1595 'We know a playing wit can praise the discretion of an Asse, the comfortableness of being in debt, and the jolly commodities of being sicke of the plague...neither shall any man or matter, escape some touch of these smiling Raylers' (An Apology for Poetry, ed. G. Shepherd (1965), p.121, ll.14-22). For an account on this genre and its influence on English poetry see H.K. Miller, 'The Paradoxical Encomium', MP, liii (1954-5), 145-78.

A SONG MADE BY MR HENRY NOEL (p.219)

Occurs in MSS RP 116, f.37v; LM, p.422 entitled 'Doctor Loves Verses upon his Daughter Grace Love'; EP 152, f.107v entitled 'On His Mistresse: A Love Song by Doctor Love'; and Don c, f.81 with music. It is printed and set to music in Ayres and Dialogues, For One, Two, and Three Voyces, by Henry Lawes (1653), p.15, where it is attributed to Henry Noel. It is printed anonymously in Wits Interpreter (1671), p.154 entitled 'Beauty Extoll'd'. The conflicting claims to authorship are confused further by the ascription in RP 147 which, though crossed through, appears to

read 'Cr[uik]shanke' (the identity of whom remains unknown); and the fact that Grosart later attributed the poem to William Strode. Dobell, in his edition of Strode's verse, includes it with the 'doubtful pieces', but states that it is more probably the work of Henry Noel. As conclusive evidence does not exist the authorship of the poem cannot be confirmed with any certainty.

THE PLATONIQUE LOVER. (p.221)

See The Poems of John Cleveland, ed. B. Morris and E. Withington (1967), pp.54-6, 146-7.

Ἡ γῆ μέλαινα πένεε etc. (p.225)

Occurs in MS EP 50, fol.33v, with a marginal note 'Ebrii vox'. The entry in the index to the MS (written in a later hand), reads '"Ebrii vox", 16 lines from Cowley. beg. The fruitfull earth doth drinke; a different version pr. Catch that Catch Can, Playford, p.178', though in the text of the MS the poem comprises only eight lines and is quite different from Cowley's translation included in The Works of Abraham Cowley (1668), p.32, beginning 'The thirsty Earth soaks up the rain'. There are numerous translations of this ode including variants by Cleveland, John Cotton (BM Add.MS 1037, f.5), and Thomas Stanley who, in 1651, published a nearly complete translation of all the odes (see Crump, pp.74, 390). The 'Anacreontea', as the Greek odes are collectively known, are believed by some to be the work of a later poet in about the third century, rather than the genuine work of Anacreon. Poets throughout the seventeenth century were

influenced by the Greek and Latin (translated in the sixteenth century) versions of these poems and they are a frequent source of allusion, paraphrase, and translation into English. The version included in RP 147 is printed in Playford's Catch that Catch Can (1667), with music by Silas Taylor, and in Henry Lawes' Select Ayres and Dialogues, 1669.

AN ODE UPON KING CHARLES'S RETURN (p.226)

Occurs in MSS Don c, f. 29v set to music, and T 465, f.61v attributed to Sir Henry Wotton. It was first published in Ben Jonson's Underwood in Works (London, 1640), entitled 'On the Kings Birthday', but is elsewhere attributed to Wotton; Jonson's authorship is doubtful (see Herford and Simpson, vol. viii, p.267; Ben Jonson, ed. I. Donaldson (Oxford, 1985), pp.516, 734). It was later printed in Reliquiae Wottonianae (1651), p.521 (see Beal, vol.I, part 2, pp.568-9).

SR H. W. (ON THE DUKE OF SOMER.) (p.228)

Printed in Reliquiae Wottonianae (1651), p.522 entitled 'Upon the Sudden Restraint of the Earl of Somerset, then falling from Favor' (Beal vol. I, part 2, pp.579-81).

'SONGS OF SHEPHERDS' (p.230)

Printed anonymously in Sportive Wit: The Muses Merriment (London, 1656), p.27 entitled 'The hunting of the Gods'; there are numerous minor variations.

A MEDITATION (p.238)

Printed in Reliquiae Wottonianae (1651), p.515 entitled 'A Hym to my God in a Night of my Late Sicknesse' (see Beal vol.I, part 2, p.568).

ON THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM SICK OF A FEVER (p.240)

Printed in Reliquiae Wottonianae (1651), p.519 entitled 'To a Noble Friend in his Sicknesse' (Beal vol.I, part 2, p.577).

THE FAEREY KING (p.242)

Occurs in MSS RP 160, f.168v; EP 50, f.45v and f.60; and Ash 38, p.99 entitled 'King Oberon's Apparell', and attributed to Sir Simeon Steward. It occurs anonymously in Firth 4, p.20 headed 'Oberon Attired'; and in M 16, p.1 with the title 'The Clothing of Oberon King of the Fairies by Sr Simeon Steward'. The poem was first printed in 'A Description of the King and Queen of the Fairies' (London, 1635), and subsequently (unattributed) in Musarum Deliciae (1655), pp.32-4. Philip Bliss included the poem in his Biographical Miscellanies (1813), pp.67-9, taken from a manuscript in 'his possession', though it is not clear which particular manuscript this is as the poem does not correspond exactly to any of the variants listed above. Bliss collated the poem with the printed text of 1635. There are several variations from RP 147 which are shared by all other texts:

10] In highest robes, for revelling.

16 white] fine

22 wrought] wove

23 First] New

26] Made of the four-leav'd true-love grass

30 for the] every

36 Frye] eye

51 Made of] All of

TO BEN JOHNSON. ON GILLS RAYLING. (p.247)

Occurs in MSS A 38, p.58 entitled 'Mr. Souch Townlye to Mr. Ben Johnson against Mr. Alexander Gills verses wrighton by him against the play called the Magnettick Ladye'; and CCC 309, fol.68v. It was first printed in Wit and Drollery (1656), headed 'Mr. Townsends Verses to Ben Johnson'; Herford and Simpson print it from MS Ash 38 (vol.xi, p.348). This poem, and Gill's lines on Jonson's play, highlight the seventeenth-century use of verse to attack a contemporary's work or personal integrity. A feud existed between Jonson and the younger Gill which originated in the elder Gill's association with the poet George Withers. Hostility arose after the elder Gill, in his work 'Logonomia Anglica' (1619), favourably cited examples of Withers' use of metaphor, and referred to him as the English Juvenal. Jonson caricatured Withers in his masque 'Time Vindicated' which was performed at court in 1623, and there is also a clear reference to the elder Gill (see Masson, Life of Milton, vol.i, pp.435-9). In 1632, when Jonson's play 'Magnetick Ladye' proved a failure on the stage, Gill seized his opportunity for revenge and wrote his poem entitled 'Upon Ben Johnsons Magnettick Ladye, Parturient Montes Nascetur (ridiculus Mus)' (Masson, vol.i, pp.528-9;

Herford and Simpson vol.xi, pp.346-9). On reading these lines Townley was moved to defend Jonson and penned his poem using Gill's recent humiliation as an ideal vehicle for retaliation. Not wishing to leave the reply solely to others, Jonson wrote his own reply beginning 'Shall the prosperity of a pardon still/  
Secure thy railing rhymes, infamous Gill', to express his contempt for Gill (see Jonson's 'Ungathered Verse', 39).

ON A CATT WHICH GNAWED LUTESTRINGS. (p.250)

Occurs in MSS RP 206, f.59 entitled 'On My Lute Strings Cattbitten' ascribed 'Tho. Masters of New Coll.'; M 21, f.85, entitled 'On Lute-strings Catt-gnawne' ascribed 'Mr. Masters'; Ash 47, f.24 entitled 'On Lute Strings Bitten by a Catt. T.M.'; S 53, p.30 entitled 'On his Lute Strings Catt-bitten' (this is an anonymous and shortened version ending at line 28); and Harl 6917, f.40 entitled 'On Lute Strings Catt-eaten' ascribed 'T.Maisters'. It is printed in Musarum Deliciae (1655), pp.52-5.

ON THE DEATH OF SR ALBERTUS MORTON. (p.259)

Printed in Reliquiae Wottonianae (1651), p.528 entitled 'Tears at the Grave of Sir Albertus Morton (who was buried at Southampton) Wept by Sir H. Wotton' (Beal vol. I, part 2, p.576).

UPON A NIGHTINGALE RAVISH'D AND DEVOUR'D BY A CATT (p.305)

A shorter variant (lines 1-24) occurs in MS Firth 7, f.191 entitled 'Upon a Nightingale devourd by a Catt'.

EADEM LATINE. AB EODEM (p.309)

A Latin version of 'Upon a Nightingale', ascribed 'T[homas] B[onham]'. An English translation is as follows:

So thus, Philomela, you will go beneath the gloomy shades,  
A voice, and besides that nothing;  
But what the sisters have given from their Pierian mountain  
And the spreading radiance of Phoebus  
From the valleys of the Antipodes. What that in spring  
The father, the chief sustainer of the Muses  
Was wont to hurry forth the day: to raise to heaven's height  
You haste too much, o god.  
What that he sank tardily to his sunset gates  
And lingered in the heaven.  
To be sure, Aedon he was marvelling at your song  
And your too liquid notes,  
And was cursing his lyre, and its perishable strings,  
And the tortoise-shell instrument dear to the gods.  
Furthermore they say that the god blushed, and in shame hid  
His shining head behind  
The western clouds. But you pursued him as he set  
with you immortal melodies.  
Tenderly with your song you bring cheer to his sorrowful features  
And sunken rays.  
O Philomela, beloved of my lord, it is not contrary to  
The praise of those who remember you  
To have deserved well of the ears of the gods; and to have  
Soothed with your tuneful music the divine breast.

You indeed are a haven of rest; to you alone it is said  
That hangman pay respect.  
You shall give judgment for the sufferer; you lay to rest  
Arguments and quarrels, and harsh disputes.  
You were the harbour, when the Master set sail over the  
Papery and blackened seas;  
To the ancient fathers, the volumes of Saint Thomas,  
The schoolmen knottily obscure,  
Panormitanus, and the Digest and complex themes  
You bring solution by your simple honesty.  
Ascalabotes alone did not listen to your melodies and ever  
Changing notes,  
She to be accursed for that shocking and too painful snatch.  
Why in haste do you devour your prey  
And crush with mortal bite the dying corpse  
O heart harder than steel!  
Shall the darling of my lord and of the gods lie  
Deep in your intestines? For shame!  
Have not the Muses' tears, or Phoebus' arrow, my lord's lament,  
Or our own prayers moved you? Feast away, but listen!  
Woe, woe to your digestive tract.  
Alas, how many times shall this misdeed give rise to groans and  
Grief and desperate pain within you?  
See, you guts, a monument to my dear bird and your great crime,  
Will be taught to make music.  
No more shall threads be drawn from their soft spindle;  
You will provide better strings.

Thus, thus has Phoebus set up his chords, and so shall soon  
Phoebus' power and Mercury's combined.

Go now, among the mice spread ruin, and slaughter them;  
But be sure to spare all birds!

A RAPTURE (p.312)

Occurs anonymously in MS Firth 7, f.189; there are no substantive variations.

SONGE (Beauty and love) (p.318)

Printed anonymously in John Cotsgrave's Wits Interpreter: The English Parnassus (1655), pp.155-7 with five additional stanzas; substantive variations in stanzas 1 to 6 are as follows:

11] But men have knowing eyes, and can  
13 immortall snow] mortals know  
14 fond] Blind

SONGE (Why shouldst thou say) (p.322)

Occurs in numerous MSS and was first printed in Lucasta (London, 1649), p.15 entitled 'The Scrutinie'; Lovelace's verse has more recently been edited by C. H. Wilkinson, (Oxford) 1930.

THE SAME DONE INTO LATIN (p.324)

A Latin version of Lovelace's 'Song' (Why shouldst thou say) and ascribed 'J[ohn] Cleveland'. It is printed in Morris (p.71). An English translation is as follows:

You call me a soul forsworn

Since I vowed that I was yours.  
By now the Dawn has driven off the stars  
By which I swore how much I cherished you;  
Which I knew could not be sustained.

Loving you deeply and long  
For twice six tedious hours  
Of how many beauties have I wronged the face,  
With what profit should I cheat you of pleasures,  
If it is so clear that your (face) belongs to me?

When seen in your shining hair  
Great is the delight;  
So handsome and dark is  
Beauty and love, as there is great quantity  
Of treasure in the bowels of the earth.

Having thus roamed among all these beauties  
If I await your constancy  
Laden with the spoils of other women  
In triumph I will then return to you  
Sated with love's variety.

THE RANTER (p.326)

Variations occur in MSS RP 26, f.152, and Ash 47, f.131v. A  
variant, with numerous minor differences, comprising stanzas 1-4  
is printed in Thomas Jordan's Claraphil and Clarinda: In a

Forrest of Fancies (1650), Sig.D6 entitled 'A Ramble by Mr A. B.', and in Alexander Brome's Songs and Other Poems, 1661, pp.49-50 entitled 'The Good Fellow'. It is printed anonymously in Sportive Wit: The Muses Merriment (London, 1656), p.46 entitled 'A Song'.

THE ANTI-RANTER (p.330)

Variations occur in MSS RP 26, f.152v; RP 216, f.152; and Ash 47, f.137v and 138v. It is printed as a companion piece to 'The Ranter' in Thomas Jordan's Claraphil and Clarinda (1650), Sig.D6v entitled 'The Answer', and in Alexander Brome's Songs and Other Poems (1661), pp.51-2 entitled 'The Mock Song by T. J.' Both printed variants appear to share the same source; substantive variations from the 1650 printed text are as follows:

- 16] Cuds Nigs and Nere-stir-Sir, hath vanquish'd God Damme
- 28 Kirke] King
- 31] Therefore pack hence to Virgini for planters

ON THE FIRST REPORT OF MR ED. KINGES DROWNING (p.355)

This poem, and 'On his Death', do not occur in other MSS or printed collections of seventeenth-century verse. There are numerous alterations to the text and the 'corrected' version has been transcribed, however, because of the extensive changes the original lines are recorded here; they are as follows:

- 7-9] Lye here were above Truth, and would agree
  - Like Pious infidelity in mee.
  - For Fayth were weak credulity, and some

34-37] Hadst seen that head bound up in waters, yett  
Like th' Sun, thou'ldst sweare it dyde not, but did sett,  
And when that vast deepe vanisht wouldst confesse  
The greater deepe lay buryed in the losse.

ON HIS DEATH (p.359)

11-12] When too this aery body now impal'd  
In the seas armes shan't rise but be exhal'd  
31] But we forgive thee. Blest and gainfull too  
33-36] Had th' land contriv'd his grave, He there as here  
Had torne her ribs, and rent with him the sphere  
Isles are but natures barkes, as his our Isle  
Had shipwrackt in the Sea and faln his Pile  
45] With the Seare leaves snatcht from the Sybills bough  
59] And to force destiny on arts and fate;  
81] Deaths easyest robes of sea-translation.  
108-109] While he first burnt in zeale then drown'd in teares  
Dyes his owne Martyr and descends the spheres,

UPON THE DEATH OF THE EARL OF PEMBROKE (p.370)

Printed anonymously in Parnassus Biceps or Several Choice Pieces of Poetry (London, 1656), p.40 entitled 'On the Earle of Pembroke's Death'. This volume has more recently been reprinted and edited by G. Thorn Drury (London, 1927) who attributes the poem to John Earle, Bishop of Salisbury, though he does not give the source of his attribution. Although it cannot be confirmed with confidence, Paman remains the more probable author.

THE DISPRAISE OF ALE (p.375)

Occurs, with minor variations, in MS S, pp.28-9.

AN ANNIVERSARY...OF JOHN E OF BRIDGWATER (p.378)

Printed, with music, in Henry Lawes' Ayres and Dialogues (1653), p.33 (see W. McClung Evans, Henry Lawes, Musician and Friend of the Poets (1941), pp.191-4). There are no substantive variations.

Ἰθέλω λέγειν Ἀτρείδας (p.380)

Printed and set to music by Henry Lawes in his Ayres and Dialogues, 1653, p.26. An English translation is as follows:

I wish to tell of the sons of Atreus, I wish to sing of Cadmus; but my lyre-strings sing only of Love. The other day I changed the strings, indeed the whole lyre, and began singing of the labours of Heracles: but in answer the lyre sang of the Loves. So farewell, heroes: my lyre sings only of the Loves.

THE SAME IN ENGLISH (p.381)

Occurs, without variation, in MS Mus S, f.81, with music by Henry Lawes. It is also printed in Lawes' Ayres and Dialogues (1653), p.27, entitled 'Anacreon's ode, call'd The Lute, Englished and to be sung by a Basse alone'. The poem was written some time during 1649-53. According to Wood, once the newsbook Mercurius Aulicus ceased to be published, Berkenhead retired to London and 'lived by his wits in helping young gentlemen out at dead lifts in making poems and songs'. Wood writes that Berkenhead 'hath also several scatter'd copies of verses and translations extant, to

which are vocal compositions set by Henry Lawes, ...Anacreon's Ode called the Lute, Englished ' (Ath. Oxon., 1203). P.W. Thomas believes that Berkenhead's prime motive for writing verse was for it to be included in a cavalier literary enterprise during a period of censorship (Sir John Berkenhead 1617-1679 (Oxford, 1969), pp.185-6; cf. W. Mc Clung Evans, Henry Lawes Musician and Friend of Poets, pp.164-5). Cf. Thomas Stanley's translation (Crump, pp.74-5) entitled 'The Lute I':

Of th' Atrides I would sing,  
Or the wandring Theban king;  
But when I my Lute did prove,  
Nothing it would sound but Love;  
I new strung it, and to play  
Herc'les labours did essay;  
But my paines I fruitlesse found,  
Nothing it but Love would sound;  
Heroes then farewell, my Lute  
To all strains, but Love, is mute.

TARRYING IN LONDON AFTER THE ACT FOR BANISHMENT. (p.383)

Printed in Henry Lawes' Ayres and Dialogues (1653), p.34 (for comments on the circumstances of the poem's composition see Thomas, p.186). There are no substantive variations.

CAPT. TYRELL, OF MRS WINCHCOMBE. (p.388)

Occurs anonymously in MS A 49, p.78 entitled 'Love Turn'd to Hatred', and was included (with the same title) in The Last

Remains of John Suckling (London, 1659), p.3, printed for Humphrey Moseley. Suckling's authorship is doubtful as the poem does not occur in other manuscripts or printed collections of his verse. Clayton includes the poem in the section of 'Dubia' (p.88).

AN ANSWER TO THE FORMER PAPER by MR WOMACK. (p.390)

The poem is not extant in other manuscripts or printed sources, though the title clearly indicates that the poem was written as a companion piece to 'Capt. Tyrell'. This suggests that the source from which the RP 147 scribe made his copy included both poems, and was circulated independently of the variant of 'Capt. Tyrell' entitled 'Love Turn'd to Hatred' which eventually was included with Suckling's work (see Clayton, Appendix A, p.187).

LORD MAINARD TO MRS KIRKE. (p.391)

Printed in Henry Lawes' third book of Ayres and Dialogues (1658), p.3 entitled 'Constancy Protected' and attributed to Henry Hughes. Without substantial evidence, authorship cannot be established with any confidence.

FAREWELL TO WINE. AN ODE DITHYRAMBIQUE. (p.408)

Occurs anonymously in MS EP 24, f.24, where an additional line follows line 93, it reads: 'And to preserve indangered Friends'.

IN SACROBOSCUM CORIARIUM ET TRIBUNUM MILITUM. (p.416)

Occurs anonymously in MS EP 24, f.32; there are no substantive

variations.

A DIALOGUE OF LOVE AND FEARE. (p.419)

Occurs anonymously in MS EP 24, f.30; there are no substantive variations.

'FAIR ARCHABELLA' (p.422)

Occurs anonymously and without title in MSS RP 65, f.23v; and RP 116, f.41v; and in EP 152, f.108v entitled 'Sr Hammond L'Strange to his Mistress'. There are numerous minor variations. Digby's authorship cannot be confirmed with any confidence.

OF OUR PRESENT WARR WITH SPAIN (p.437)

Printed in S. Carrington's History of the Life and Death of...Oliver, Late Lord Protector (London, 1659). Waller's verse has more recently been edited by George Gilfillan (1885), p.69; and G. Thorn Drury (1901), vol.ii, pp.23, 199-202.

THE NEW LETANY. (p.444)

Does not occur in other MSS or printed sources though similar verses, written in this style, abound during the Interregnum. By necessity the poem was anonymous and it is impossible to speculate as to the likely author. Topical satire of this nature mainly circulated in MS form as it provided a safer means of retaining anonymity; after the Restoration these poems were gathered and published in numerous anthologies.

ODE. UPON ORINDAS POEMS. (p.466)

Occurs in several MSS and was first published in Poems by Several Persons (Dublin, 1663). Cowley's verse has more recently been edited by A.C. Waller (1905); for full MS and publication details see Beal, vol.ii, part 1, p.257.

NEWS FROM COLCHESTER (p.476)

Occurs anonymously in MSS H 91, ff.49v-51 headed 'The Quaker and the Mare', and Ash 36, f.88; it was first published as a single work (BL 669.f.21.(35.)) in 1659 entitled 'Relation of a Quaker'. In 1662 it was included in an anthology of verse entitled Rump: or an exact collection of the choycest Poems and Songs, pp.354-7. It was also included in Denham's Poems and Translations published in 1668. More recently Denham's work has been edited by T.H. Banks (1928). Other variants present the poem in five line stanzas, but differ as to the final stanza. In the printed editions the lines which correspond with 76-80 in RP 147 are replaced with

Rome that spiritual Sodom,

No longer is thy debtor,

O Colchester, Now

Whose Sodom but thou,

Even according to the Letter?

Further variations occur in the MS copies: in H 91 the final stanza corresponds to the last five lines of RP 147 but the additional lines are included as the penultimate stanza; and in MS Ash 36 the poem concludes with the line 'Shall passe at least

for a Martyr', omitting both the last five lines of RP 147 and the additional lines. There are numerous minor variations in the texts but they are not recorded here. For additional MS and publication details see Beal, vol.ii, part 1, pp.337-8.

ON NOVEMBER. (p.484)

Occurs in a broadside dated 1671 (Wood 416, p.120). Cartwright's verse has more recently been edited by G.B. Evans (1951), where the poem is annotated (pp.560-63).

NEW INSTRUCTIONS TO THE PAINTER. (p.495)

Occurs in numerous MSS and printed sources and has more recently been included in Poems on Affairs of State, ed. G.deF. Lord (1963), vol.i, pp.141-6, 454, where it is annotated and the variations collated (RP 147 is not included). In some texts eight additional lines are included between lines 128 and 129.

THE RIDDLE. (p.507)

Occurs anonymously in MSS Ash 48, f.12v, without a title; RD 4, f.321, entitled 'Clarendon's Villanies Unriddled'; and T 306, f.372 (with eighteen additional lines), where the poem is entitled 'Hide Hidden'. The title page of Add A 48 states that the MS was printed in the year 1668 and is 'The True Englishmens Complaints' to their representatives in the parliament sitting in February 1668. There is no reason to doubt this date as being the year in which the poem was written.

Substantive variations from RP 147 occur only in the text of RD

4; they are as follows:

9 Townes] kingdomes

11] Tax on taxes still are laid

9-12] the order of lines 9-10 is reversed with that of 11-12

14] To feed the children and starve the nurse

15 Club] Dyed

19 nice] True

UPON THE CITIE VENICE (p.511)

An English translation is as follows:

Neptune had seen the city of Venice standing upon the Adriatic waves, and imposing its rule upon the entire ocean.

Now, Jupiter, he says, boast to me as much as you like the Tarpeian citadels, and those walls of your (brother) Mars.

Thus prefer the Tiber to the open sea; regard each city:

The one you will say men have founded, the other the gods.

ON EUMORPHE HIS FANCYED MYSTRIS. (p.520)

Occurs anonymously in MS RP 116, f.73v (rev.); there are no substantial variations.

PROCRIS. (p.527)

Occurs anonymously in MS RP 116, f.72v (rev.); there are no substantive variations.

DANAE. (p.532)

Occurs anonymously in MS RP 116, f.71 (rev.); there are no substantive variations.

LOVES DUELL. (p.552)

Occurs anonymously in MS RP 116, f.67v (rev.); there are no substantive variations.

SONG (When as the Nightingale) (p.554)

Occurs, without ascription, in MSS Ash 47, f.39 entitled 'A Sonnet'; EP 25, f.65 entitled 'The Nightingale'; and A 79 entitled 'A Song of Marke Antony'. A four-stanza variant (lines 16-24 are omitted) occurs in H 11, and lines 1 to 10 are transcribed in A 38. In two of the MSS the poem precedes a companion piece (EP 25 and A 79). The four-stanza variant (the third stanza is omitted) was first printed in John Cleveland's The Character of a London Diurnal: with Several Poems by the author. Optima Novissima Editio (1647), p.8 entitled 'Marke Antony', and was included in all subsequent contemporary editions of his poems, with the exception of the four editions of John Cleveland Revived: Nathaniel Brooke. This early appearance in the printed collections of Cleveland's verse is the basis for the poem's assimilation into the Cleveland canon. N. Ault prints the four stanza variant, taken from the first printed edition, and ascribes it to Cleveland (see Seventeenth-Century Lyrics, pp.199, 503). Morris and Withington include this poem in their edition of Cleveland's verse and collate the variants (p.40), though they

make clear that Cleveland's authorship is by no means certain (ibid., pp.xxxv, 132-3; for Saintsbury's observations on the poem see The Caroline Poets, vol.iii, pp.8, 10-12, 71-2). RP 147 is the only example of the poem's ascription to Samson Briggs; all other variants are unattributed.

SONG (Keepe your distance) (p.571)

Occurs anonymously in MS RP 210, f.62 (rev.); there are no substantive variations.

CASTITAS MARTYRIUM SINE SANGUINE. (p.574)

Occurs anonymously in MS RP 210, f.60 (rev.); there are no substantive variations.

A GROAN. (p.577)

Occurs anonymously in MS RP 210, f.60v; there are no substantive variations.

SONG (What means this strangenes). (p.602)

Occurs, with minor variations, in A 08, f.4, a collection of Sir Robert Ayton's verse, entitled 'What means this nyceness now of late'. It is also included in RP 116, f.46v ascribed 'Sr R Aston'. A four-stanza variant is included in EP 50, f.76v, where in the index (written in a later hand) it is recorded '"What means this Strangeness", Ayton, pr. Playford, Select Ayres (1659), p.48'. This example differs substantively from the RP 147 text; the first two stanzas correspond but stanzas three and four

are as follows:

Explayne with unsuspicuous lookes

The riddles of your minde

The eyes are Cupids fortune bookes

Where Love his fate may finde

If kindnes crosse your wisht content

Dismiss it with a frowne

Ile give you all the Love is spent

The rest shall bee my owne.

The poem is printed in Playford's Ayres and Dialogues (1659), p.48, where it is set to music by Henry Lawes.

AN EPIGRAM ON THE PRINCES BIRTH MAY 29 1630 (p.604)

Occurs in numerous MSS; variants are collated in Herford and Simpson, vol.viii, pp.237-8; for their commentary on the poem see vol.xi, p.93 (see Beal, vol.1, part 2, pp.242-3). The birth of Prince Charles was acknowledged with a torrent of celebratory verse. Thomas Fuller recorded that 'great was the general rejoicing thereat. The University of Oxford congratulated his birth with printed poems, and it was taken ill, though causelesly, by some, that Cambridge did not do the like: for then the wits of the University were sadly distracted into several Counties, by reason of the plague therein. And I remember, Cambridge modestly excused herselfe in their poem made the year after, at the birth of the Lady Mary,...made by my worthy friend'. A marginal note gives the name of his friend as 'Master

Booth of C.C.C.', the author of a poem on Edward King included in  
RP 147 (History of the Worthies, 1662, Westminster, p.237).

## BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

SIR ROBERT AYTON (1570-1638)

Born at the castle of Kinaldie, in the parish of Cameron near St Andrews, he proceeded to St Leonard's College at the University of St Andrews in 1584, and took his MA in 1588. He found favour with both James I and Charles I. A manuscript volume of his poems, dedicated to his mother, is in the British Library, Add MS 10308, and a printed edition of his verse entitled Poems of Sir Robert Ayton (Edinburgh), was edited by Charles Rogers in 1844 (DNB).

JOHN BERKENHEAD (1616-1679).

The son of Randall Berkenhead of Northwich, Cheshire. He matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford in 1634, where he proceeded BA in 1637 and was created MA in 1639. He was a Fellow of All Soul's College from 1639 until he was ejected in 1648. From 1643 to 1648 he held the post of Reader in Moral Philosophy. For the years 1642 to 1645 he was editor of the royalist newsbook Mercurius Aulicus. In 1662 he was knighted. Aubrey says of him that 'after the surrender of Oxford he was put out of his fellowship by the Visitors, and was faine to shift for himself as well as he could. Most part of his time he spent at London (Aubrey, vol.i, pp.104-5; see Foster; Venn; Ath. Oxon., iii,1203; DNB; P.W. Thomas, John Berkenhead 1617-79 (Oxford, 1969); Matthews; Le Neve).

THOMAS BONHAM (d 1678)

The son of William of Paternoster Row, a merchant Vintner of Valence in Essex. He matriculated at King's College, Cambridge in August 1622, where he was a Fellow from 1625 until 1629. He was admitted to Gray's Inn in November 1629, and in 1634 served as a Captain of Trained Bands. He died in May 1678 (Harwood; Venn).

THOMAS BOOTH (d 1687)

From Norfolk, Booth matriculated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in 1631, where he proceeded BA in 1635 and MA in 1638. He was ordained Deacon at Norwich on 24 May 1635 and from 1637 to 1687 he was Rector of North Pickenham, Norfolk; he was also Rector of Houghton (Venn).

SAMSON BRIGGS (1612-1643)

Born at Epsom on 11 February 1612. His father, John, was the Rector of Fulmer in Buckinghamshire from 1601 to 1614. From 1620 to 1625 Samson attended Merchant Taylors' school, and from there he went on to Eton. The entry in Harwood records that he was a 'good scholar and a good poet'. He was admitted to King's College in 1630 and proceeded BA in 1634 and MA in 1636; he was a Fellow from 1633 until his death in 1643. Along with many other students who supported the royalist cause, Briggs chose to fight for the king; he was killed at the siege of Gloucester in 1643 (King's College History, 1899, p.125; Merchant Taylors' School Register, 1561-1934, vol.i; Harwood; Venn).

ALEXANDER BROME (1620–1666).

A London attorney and poet who attached himself to the royalist cause during the civil wars. He wrote many songs and epigrams which were printed in the numerous contemporary miscellanies; in 1653 he edited a volume entitled Five New Playes by Richard Brome (apparently not related), and in 1659 another volume of five more New Playes. His Songs and Poems were collected, including commendatory verses, in 1661 by Isaak Walton and others (DNB; Poetry of the English Renaissance, ed. J.W. Hebel and H.H. Hudson, 1929; Langbaine).

WILLIAM BROWNE (1590?–1645?)

Entered Inner Temple in 1612 from Clifford's Inn, and in 1624 matriculated at Exeter College Oxford where he was created MA (DNB; Foster; Beal)

WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT (1611–1643).

Born at Northway near Tewkesbury and was the son of William of Heckhampton, Gloucestershire. He attended Westminster and matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford in 1632 where he proceeded BA in 1632 and MA in 1635. He was appointed Reader in Metaphysics, and Proctor in April 1643. He died at Oxford of 'camp fever' on 29 November 1643 and was buried in Christ Church Cathedral. Cartwright's plays and poems were collected, in one volume, in 1651 by Humphry Moseley, entitled Comedies, tragi-comedies with other poems (STC 709). (See Foster; DNB; Evans; Langbaine; Matthews.)

JOHN CLEVELAND (1613–1658)

Born at Loughborough in 1613, the eldest son of a country clergyman. In 1627 he was admitted to Christ's College, Cambridge, and proceeded BA in 1631 and MA in 1635. In March 1634 he was elected to a fellowship in St John's College, where he remained until 1645 when he moved to Oxford after being ejected as a royalist supporter. There he joined the royalist army and was promoted to the office of judge-advocate under Sir Richard Willis. He died at Gray's Inn in April 1658 (Venn; DNB; Morris; Matthews).

RICHARD CORBETT (1582–1635)

Matriculated from Christ Church in 1598 where he proceeded BA in 1602, MA in 1605, and BD and DD in 1617. He served as Proctor in 1612 and as Dean from 1620 to 1628. He was appointed Chaplain to James I and later held several livings. From 1628 to 1632 he was Bishop of Oxford, and of Norwich from 1632 until his death. The first edition of his poetry was published in 1647 and was entitled Certain elegant poems, written by Dr. Corbett, Bishop of Norwich. His poems have more recently been edited (1955) by J.A.W. Bennett and H.R. Trevor-Roper (Foster; DNB; Le Neve; Beal).

PHILIP CORNWALLIS (d 1680).

Son of Sir William of Burnham Thorpe, Norfolk. He was admitted to Emmanuel College, Cambridge in 1631 where he proceeded BA in 1635 and MA in 1638. He was ordained Deacon at Norwich on 2 September

1644. From 1643 he was Rector of Burnham Thorpe, and in 1647 he acquired the living of Little Ellington, though he resigned from it in the same year. He died on 30 December 1680 and was buried at Burnham Thorpe (Venn).

ABRAHAM COWLEY (1618–1667)

Admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge in 1636 where he proceeded BA in 1640 and MA in 1643. He was a Fellow from 1640 to 1644 when he moved to St John's College Oxford after being ejected by the parliamentary visitors. From there Cowley left the country to live in France. He died at Porch House, Chertsey on 28 July 1667 and was buried at Westminster Abbey. A small collection of his verse entitled Poetical Blossoms was published in 1633; his collected works were published posthumously in 1668 (Venn; Foster; DNB; Waller; Beal; Matthews; Le Neve).

RICHARD CRASHAW (1612–49)

Matriculated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge in 1631 where he proceeded BA in 1634 and probably, in the following year, was elected Fellow of Peterhouse. His sympathies were with the royalist side, and parliamentary intervention as to the style of worship at the university caused him to leave Cambridge in 1643. In 1644 he was expelled from his Fellowship for not being resident when summoned. He died at Loreto in August 1649 (Venn; DNB; Martin; T. Healy, Richard Crashaw (Leiden, 1986); Beal; Matthews).

#### ROBERT CRESWELL

Attended Westminster and matriculated from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1632 where he proceeded BA in 1636 and MA in 1639. While at Trinity College he shared a chamber with Abraham Cowley. He was a Fellow from 1637 until 1644, when he was ejected. In 1653 he was incorporated at Oxford. He became a Master at Aldenham School in Hertfordshire from 1646 to 1649. In 1650 he was appointed Vicar of Ruislip in Middlesex (Venn; Foster; Matthews).

#### NATHANIEL CULVERWELL (c 1618-c 1651)

The Cambridge Platonist, he was the eldest child of Richard and Margaret Culverwell. He was baptized on 13 January 1619 at St Moses Church in London where his father was a minister in the parish. He attended St Paul's school during the Mastership of the elder Gill and in 1633 was admitted to Emmanuel College where he proceeded BA in 1637 and MA in 1640. He was a Fellow from 1642 until his death in c 1651. He was a contributor to Irendia Cantabrigienses, and he wrote several treatises which were published by his contemporary William Dillingham, the most famous being 'An Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature'. This work has recently been edited (1971) by R.A. Greene and H. MacCallum, who include a detailed biographical account in the introduction (DNB; History of Emmanuel College, p.83).

SIR JOHN DENHAM (1615-69)

Born in Dublin and educated in London. In 1631 he matriculated at Trinity College Oxford, though there is no record of his gaining a degree; he then moved to Lincoln's Inn. He supported the royalist cause and many of his poems were satires against the presbyterians. The first edition of his collected poems was printed in 1668 and many subsequent editions followed. The most recent is edited by T.H. Banks, 1928 (Foster; DNB; Aubrey; Ath. Oxon., iii,823; Beal).

GEORGE DIGBY, EARL OF BRISTOL (1612-1677)

Admitted to Magdalen College, Oxford in 1628 and created MA in 1636. In 1640 he was elected MP for Dorset, and was created Baron Digby in 1641. From 1643 to 1649 he served as secretary of State to the king at Oxford. He also served as high Steward of the University of Oxford from 1643 until 1646, and was restored to the position in 1660 until 1663 (Foster; DNB; Ath. Oxon., iii,1100).

SIR JOHN ELIOTT (1592-1632)

Born in Cornwall, he matriculated from Exeter College, Oxford in 1607, where he remained for three years but did not take a degree. He began his parliamentary career in 1614 when he was elected MP for St Germans in Cornwall. He was knighted in 1618, and in the following year was appointed vice-admiral of Devon by the favour of Buckingham. He opposed the tolerance of Catholics which King Charles appeared to favour, and was eventually

imprisoned at the Gate House Westminster. He died in the Tower on 28 November 1632 (Foster; DNB; Ath. Oxon., ii,478; Dictionary of British Radicals; J. Forster, Sir John Eliot: A Biography, 1864; H. Hulme, The Life of Sir John Eliot, 1957).

GEORGE GOAD (d 1671)

The nephew of Dr. Collins, Provost of King's College, Cambridge was admitted to King's college in 1620 and proceeded BA in 1624, MA in 1627, and was a Fellow until 1647. In 1638 he was appointed Proctor. Harwood records that in 1646 Goad became Rector of Horsted and Coltishall, in Norfolk, which were in the gift of King's College, and that he was Chaplain to Judge Banks. He became Master, then soon afterwards Fellow, of Eton. While there Goad continued the catalogues of the members of Eton, from those of Thomas Hatcher and John Scott, to 1646, 'of which Fuller and Wood made considerable use' (Harwood pp.77-8,220; for the catalogues see Add.MSS 5814-175955). During the Commonwealth Goad was compelled to resign his ecclesiastical preferments; Harwood records that he was 'complained of to the sessions during those unhappy times, and being unable to resist their proceedings, he resigned to the college in 1658'. At the Restoration the legitimacy of Goad's fellowship at Eton was challenged by Nicholas Cordell, who petitioned the king claiming Goad to be a 'rich man and a complier with the late times' (CSPD 1660-61, p.175). Goad contested the challenge and his election was pronounced valid on the grounds that it had occurred a few months before the king's execution. (W. Sterry, Annals of Eton College,

1898, pp.134-5; Maxwell Lyte, History of Eton College, 1911, p.250; Venn; DNB; Le Neve).

GEORGE GORING (1608-57)

The eldest son of Lord Goring, he served as colonel of a regiment in the Bishops' War in 1639, and by the latter part of the Civil War was one of the principal royalist generals. In 1639 Goring was appointed governor of Portsmouth. In the hope of becoming lieutenant-general he involved himself in the Army Plot of 1641 which eventually failed, partly due to his own disclosure of information. Gardiner memorably describes him as a 'man born to be the ruin of any cause which availed itself of his services' (History of England, vol.9, p.313; Venn; DNB).

MARTIN HARVEY (b c 1611)

The son of Stephen, a merchant of Weston Favell, Northamptonshire, he was admitted to Christ's College, Cambridge aged 16, in 1627 where he proceeded BA in 1630. He was admitted to the Middle Temple on 10 October 1629 (Venn; Middle Temple Register, vol.i, p.122).

EDWARD, LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY (1583-1648)

The elder brother of George and William. His verse was published posthumously by his brother, Henry, in 1655 entitled Occasional Verses; his English and Latin poems have more recently been edited by G.C. Moore Smith (DNB; Beal).

GEORGE HERBERT (1593-1633)

Educated at Westminster School, he matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1609, where he proceeded BA in 1613 and MA in 1616. He was a Fellow until 1616, and Public Orator for the years 1619-27 (Venn; DNB; Beal; Le Neve).

WILLIAM HERBERT, THIRD EARL OF PEMBROKE (1580-1630)

The first edition of Pembroke's verse was published posthumously in 1660 by John Donne, son of the poet. The text was reprinted in 1817 by Sir S. Egerton Brydges; for further comment on his verse see Augustan Reprint Society, 1959, Publication No.79 (DNB; Dictionary of British Radicals).

ROBERT HERRICK (1591-1674)

Born in 1591 and educated at Westminster school. In 1613 he was admitted to St John's College, Cambridge, but migrated to Trinity Hall in 1616. He proceeded BA in 1617 and MA in 1620. During the years 1629 to 1647 he was vicar of Dean Prior in Devon but was ejected from his living in 1647 and returned to London. He was eventually restored to his living in 1662. He died on 15 October 1674 at Dean Prior, where he is buried (Venn; DNB; Patrick; Ath. Oxon., iii,250; Beal; Matthews).

JOHN JEFFERIES

Probably the son of Simon Jefferies from Bedfield in Suffolk, he was admitted to Emmanuel College, Cambridge in 1636, and later at Gray's Inn on 22 February 1641 (Venn).

JOSHUA JONES

Born at Mells in Somerset and was admitted to King's College, Cambridge in 1651 where he proceeded BA in 1655, MA in 1659, and was a Fellow from 1654 until 1667. He was ordained Deacon at Lincoln on 23 December 1661. He served as Chaplain to John Coke in Norfolk, and held the offices of Rector of Huntingfield, Suffolk in 1666, Rector of Cookley and Prebend of Norwich from 1670 to 1675 (Venn; Harwood).

BEN JONSON (1573?-1637)

See Ben Jonson, ed C.H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1925-52).

THOMAS JORDAN (1612?-1685)

Actor and poet, he was born in London, and became a player at the Red Bull Theatre in Clerkenwell. His earliest known work, entitled Poeticall Varieties, or Variety of Fancies was published in 1637. After the suppression of the theatre he appears to have concentrated on commendatory verse, which he blatantly plagiarised (DNB; Langbaine).

RICHARD LOVE (1596-1661)

Born in Cambridge on 26 December, and was educated at Clare Hall, Oxford, where he was a Fellow before 1628. In 1628 he was made Proctor and also Chaplain-in-ordinary to Charles I, who on 27 October 1629 presented him to the living of Eckington in Derbyshire. In 1631 he proceeded DD on the king's command. By a

mandate from Charles he was made master of Corpus Christi College on 4 April 1632. From 1633 to 1634 he was Vice-Chancellor, and in 1649 he was made Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. After the Restoration he was appointed Dean of Ely (Venn; Foster; DNB; Masters, History of Corpus Christi College Cambridge, 1831, p.170, App.72,73; Le Neve).

RICHARD LOVELACE (1618-1658)

Educated at Charterhouse and at Gloucester Hall, Oxford, where he matriculated in June 1634. In 1636 he was created MA during the king's visit to Oxford; in 1637 he was incorporated at Cambridge (Foster; Venn; DNB; Wilkinson; Ath. Oxon., iii,460).

THOMAS MASTERS (d 1643)

The son of William, rector of Coates in Gloucestershire. He matriculated at New College, Oxford in November 1622 where he proceeded BA in 1625, MA in 1629, and BD in 1641. He was a Fellow from 1622. The entry in Wood records that he was 'esteemed a vast scholar, a general artist and linguist, a noted poet, and a most florid preacher'. He died in 1643 and was buried in the outer chapel of New College; a commemorative epitaph, in Latin, was written by Lord Herbert (Occasional Verses, p.94). Masters lived with Herbert until 1642, and assisted him in writing (Foster; Ath. Oxon., iii,83).

WILLIAM MAYNARD (1623-1699)

Admitted to St John's College, Cambridge in 1638 and created MA in 1639. In 1640 he succeeded as second Baron Maynard of Wicklow. For the years 1640 to 1642 he served as Lord Lieutenant of Cambridge. He was one of the Lords impeached for high treason on 8 September 1647 but the prosecution was later dropped; later he was one of the peers who rejected the ordinance for the trial of Charles I. After the Restoration he was appointed Comptroller of the Household to Charles II and James II, for the years 1672-87; he was later made a Privy Councillor. He died in 1699 and is buried at Little Easton, Essex (Venn).

HENRY MOLLE (c 1597-1658)

Born at Leicester, the son of John who was arrested in Rome by the Inquisition and remained imprisoned for thirty years until his death. In 1612 Henry was admitted to King's College, Cambridge where he proceeded BA in 1617 and MA in 1620. From 1615 to 1650 he was a Fellow until ejected for refusing the oath of engagement. During these years he also held the positions of Vice-Provost, Senior Proctor (1633-4), and Public Orator (1639-50). He was reinstated in his fellowship at King's on 29 August 1654. He died there on 10 May 1658 and is buried in the first vestry on the north side of the chapel (Venn; Harwood; Matthews; Le Neve). He is recorded as being a fine musician and he composed some services for the chapel (T.A. Walker, Admissions to Peterhouse, p.682). Henry was a cousin of Dorothy Osborne, and she refers to him in her letters of 7 and 22 May 1653 (Letters,

ed. G.C. Moore-Smith; for an account of his life and family see pp.305-9).

HENRY NEVILLE (1620-1694)

The second son of Sir Henry Neville of Billingbear in Berkshire; his grandfather was Sir Henry Neville (1564-1615) whose daughter (Henry's aunt) was the Lady Mary Lewkenor addressed by Clement Paman. In 1635 he matriculated at Merton College, Oxford, and later migrated to University College, but after some years' residence he left the university without a degree. After touring Europe he returned to England in 1645 and was elected a recruiter member for Abingdon. Though he was not in parliament he sat on the Goldsmiths' Hall Committee on delinquents in 1649, and was placed on the Council of State in 1651. He had strong republican ideals and his views caused Cromwell to banish him from London in 1654. In 1656 Neville stood as an anti-Cromwellian in Berkshire, though his election was obstructed by the sheriff of the county. After Cromwell's death he was elected a member of parliament for Reading on 30 December 1658. Neville was a political and miscellaneous writer and his work includes some coarse lampoons and the more serious work entitled Plato redivivus, 1681, (Foster; DNB; Ath. Oxon., iv,409; Dictionary of British Radicals).

HENRY NOEL (c 1615-1643)

The second son of Edward Noel (later Viscount Campden) and was baptized at Brook, Rutland on 30 August 1615. He and his family

were royalists and a 'humble petition and remonstrance' was made by him, dated 14 March 1643, which detailed an attack on his house at Luffenham by the parliamentary forces under Lord Grey (Hist. MSS. Comm. 5th Report, pp.78,79; Lords Journals, v, 645, 650; Commons Journals, ii, 989). He was taken prisoner by these forces and later died in their quarters on 21 July 1643. He was buried at Cambden. A memorial plaque in North Luffenham church records the death of his wife, Susan, on 10 October 1640, who died in childbirth. Their daughter, Susanna, died three days later (DNB s.v. Noel, Edward).

WILLIAM NORRIS (b c 1606)

From Exeter, he was admitted at King's College, Cambridge aged 17, on 25 August 1623 where he proceeded BA in 1627, MA in 1631, and was a Fellow from 1626 until 1642. He returned to Eton as a lower Master from 1631 until 1636, and was Headmaster from 1636 to 1646 (Venn; Harwood).

ISAAC OLIVER (d 1687)

Admitted to King's College, Cambridge by Royal mandate in 1630. He proceeded BA in 1634, MA in 1637, and was Fellow from 1633 to 1686 (Venn). Harwood records that 'he was a Senior Fellow, and lived at Isleworth, in Middlesex, in an unhappy state of insanity'. He died in January 1687. It is possible that he was the son of Isaac Oliver the miniature portrait painter, who being of French origin often signed his name 'Ollivier' or 'Olivier', a form similarly adopted by the scribe of RP 147. Such a connection

would also explain the reason of his entry to Cambridge by Royal Mandate.

CLEMENT PAMAN (1611-1664)

Born at Chevington in Suffolk on 24 August, the eldest son of Robert Paman. He spent seven years at Lavenham Grammar School and one year at Bury St Edmunds. In 1628, aged 16, he was admitted to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, where he proceeded BA in 1632 and MA in 1635. From 1648 to 1653 he was Vicar of Thatcham in Berkshire. In 1661 he was created DD and held the offices of Prebend of St Patrick's in Dublin from 1661 to 1663, and Dean of Elphin from 1662 to 1664 (Venn; Thatcham, ed. J. Parker (London, 1901)).

WILLIAM PRICE

Admitted to King's College, Cambridge from Eton in 1648. He proceeded BA in 1652, MA in 1655, and was a Fellow from 1651 to 1666. He became assistant Master at Eton, and later Rector of Samford Courtenay, Devon, from 1666 until his death in 1684 (Venn; Harwood).

HANANEEL ROGERS (b 1635)

Born at Messing in Essex, the son of Nehemiah. He attended Eton and matriculated at King's College, Cambridge in 1652 where he proceeded BA in 1657, MA in 1660, and was a Fellow from 1655 to 1664. He married but died soon after of smallpox (Harwood; Venn).

SIR BENJAMIN RUDYERD (1572-1658).

A politician who gained contemporary repute as a poet and a critic of poetry. The son of James of Hartley in Hampshire, he matriculated from St John's College, Oxford in 1588, and was created MA during the king's visit in 1613. On 18 April 1590 he was admitted at the Middle Temple. He was knighted on 30 March 1618, and in the same year was appointed Surveyor, for life, of the Court of Wards. He served as MP from 1620 to 1640. Prior to the Civil War he enjoyed patronage from the Court and especially from the Earl of Pembroke. He died on 31 May 1658 and is buried at Westwoodhay Church. His abilities were praised by Ben Jonson in Epigrams 121-3. (Foster; Venn; DNB; Manning, Memoirs of Sir B. Rudyerd, 1841; Ath. Oxon., iii,455; Dictionary of British Radicals).

SIR SIMEON STEWARD (d 1629?)

The son of Mark of Stuntney, Cambridgeshire, he was educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge; on 29 January 1593 he was admitted to Gray's Inn. On 23 July 1603 he was knighted, while still a Fellow of the college. He served as an MP for several years and was later appointed Sheriff of Cambridge (Venn; DNB).

THOMAS STEVENS (d 1677)

From Kent, he was admitted to Jesus College, Cambridge in 1629 where he proceeded BA in 1634 and MA in 1637. He was Master of Bury St Edmunds Grammar School from 1638 to 1645, and 1647 to 1663. He was ordained priest at Norwich on 20 October 1640, and

was Rector of Lackford in Suffolk (1662-77), and Rector of Fen Ditton in Cambridgeshire (1665-77). He died in Cambridge on 2 July 1677 (Venn).

WILLIAM STRODE (1602-1645)

The only son of Philip of Newham, Devon. He was educated at Westminster and at Christ Church College, Oxford where he proceeded BA in 1621, MA in 1624, BD in 1631, and DD in 1638. He served as Proctor in 1629 and Public Orator from 1629 to 1645. For a time he was Chaplain to Richard Corbett, Bishop of Oxford. He died at Christ Church on 10 March 1645 and is buried in Christ Church Cathedral. His play, entitled 'Floating Island' was produced at Oxford in 1636 before the king and queen, though it was not a success. Several examples of his verse are included in contemporary song-books and miscellanies, but a greater proportion remains in manuscript (Venn; Foster; DNB; Ath. Oxon. iii,151-3; Le Neve; Langbaine; Dobell).

ZOUCH TOWNLEY

Matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford in 1618 and proceeded BA in December 1618 and MA in 1621. He served as deputy Public Orator for the University (Foster).

THOMAS TYRRELL (1594-1672)

Third son of Sir Edward Tyrrell of Thornton in Buckinghamshire. In November 1612 he was admitted to the Inner Temple, where he was called to the Bar in 1621 and elected Bencher in 1659. On 11

May 1642 he accepted, from Lord Paget, the office of deputy-lieutenant of Buckinghamshire, first as Captain and afterwards as Colonel of horse. He stood for Parliament, for Aylesbury, in 1645 but was not elected (DNB).

THOMAS VINCENT (d 1633)

Attended Westminster and matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1618. He proceeded BA in 1622, MA in 1625, and BD in 1632; he was made a Fellow in 1624. In 1631 he was appointed minister of St Edward's, Cambridge, then Vicar of Blyth, Nottinghamshire in 1633. He was buried there on 28 September 1633. A Latin comedy written by him, entitled 'Paria', was performed before the king on 3 March 1628 (Venn).

HENRY VINTNER (c 1606-1678)

Born in Weston Turville, Buckinghamshire, the son of John, and was admitted to King's College, Cambridge, aged 17, on 25 August 1623 where he proceeded BA in 1627, MA 1631, BD 1638, and DD 1660. He was a Fellow from 1626 to 1649. Harwood records that he was Prevaricator and Reader in Rhetoric in 1633. He became Rector of Stamford Courtney in Devon, and later Rector of Weston Turville from 1650 to 1678. His father, a previous incumbent, was ejected from the living in 1645 (Venn; Harwood; Matthews).

EDMUND WALLER (1605-1687)

Matriculated from King's College, Cambridge in 1621 and was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in July 1622. He served as an MP but

was expelled from parliament in 1643. Opposed to the raising of troops by parliament, he led a plot to seize London for the king, an exercise which subsequently became known as 'Waller's plot'. He acquired considerable contemporary renown as a poet, and Langbaine's comments express the sentiments of many: 'a Gentleman...whose Name will ever be dear to all Lovers of the Muses. His Compositions are universally applauded; and they are thought fit to serve as a Standard, for all succeeding Poems'. He died on 21 October 1687 and is buried at Beaconsfield (Venn; DNB; King's College History, p.139; Langbaine).

RICHARD WILLIAMS (c 1607-1642)

From Brentwood in Essex, he was admitted to King's College, Cambridge, aged 17, on 30 May 1624 where he proceeded BA in 1628 and MA in 1631. From 1627 to 1636 he was a Fellow of the College. In 1635 he was appointed Prebend of Lincoln and Vicar of Middle Rasen, Lincolnshire. From 1637 to 1642 he was Vicar of Gainsborough, where he died and is buried (Venn; A. Stark, The History and Antiquity of Gainsburgh (London, 1817), p.249).

LAURENCE WOMOCK (1612-1686)

Born in Norfolk, the son of Laurence, Rector of Lopham, and matriculated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in 1629 where he proceeded BA in 1633, MA in 1636, and DD in 1661. He was ordained Deacon at Norwich on 21 September 1634, and over the years held several livings. In 1660 he petitioned the Archdeacon of Suffolk with a testimonial confirming that he was a royalist

chaplain, and had been imprisoned four times and had his goods plundered during the Civil War. He was appointed to the offices of Prebend of Ely, Prebend of Hereford (1660-73), and Archdeacon of Suffolk (1660-83). From 1683 until 1685 he was Bishop of St David's. He died at Westminster on 12 March 1686 and was buried at St Margaret's (Venn; Foster; DNB; Ath. Oxon., iii,946; Matthews).

HENRY WOTTON (d 1639)

Poet and diplomat, he gained a BA from Queen's College, Oxford in 1588, and was a student of Middle Temple from 1595. He served as secretary to Robert, Earl of Essex and was three times the ambassador to the Republic of Venice. In 1624 he was appointed Provost of Eton (Foster; DNB; Pearsall Smith; Le Neve).





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