

H U D I B R A S,

BY

SAMUEL BUTLER;

WITH VARIORUM NOTES, SELECTED PRINCIPALLY
FROM GREY AND NASH.

EDITED BY

HENRY G. BOHN.

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PART II. CANTO III.



ARGUMENT.

The Knight, with various doubts possest,
To win the Lady goes in quest
Of Sidrophel the Rosy-crucian,
To know the dest'nies' resolution :
With whom b'ing met, they both chop logic
About the science astrologic ;
Till falling from dispute to fight,
The Conj'rer's worsted by the Knight.

PART II. CANTO III.¹



DOUBTLESS the pleasure is as great
Of being cheated, as to cheat;²
As lookers-on feel most delight,
That least perceive a juggler's slight,
And still the less they understand. 5
The more th' admire his slight of hand.

Some with a noise, and greasy light,
Are snapt, as men catch larks by night,³
Ensnar'd and hamper'd by the soul,
As nooses by the legs catch fowl.⁴ 10
Some, with a med'cine and receipt,
Are drawn to nibble at the bait;⁵

¹ As the subject of this canto is the dispute between Hudibras and an astrologer, it is prefaced by some reflections on the credulity of men, which exposes them to the artifices of cheats and impostors, not only to such as lawyers, physicians, and divines, but even astrologers, wizards, and fortune-tellers. Dr James Young, in his *Sidrophel Vapulans, &c.* (p. 35), tells a good tale of an astrologer begging Pope Gregory the Seventh (who encouraged his art) to assign it a patron saint, and being left to choose for himself, did so blindfold, and laid his hand on the image of the Devil in combat with St Michael. He does not say whether the astrologer was content, or whether the Holy Father confirmed his choice.

² This famous couplet is enlarged on by Swift, in his *Tale of a Tub*, in treating of the pleasures of mental delusion, where he says that the happiness of life consists in being well deceived.

³ This alludes to the morning and evening lectures, which, in those times of pretended reformation and godliness, were delivered by candle-light, in many churches, during a great part of the year. To maintain and frequent these, was deemed the greatest evidence of religion and sanctity. The gifted preachers were very loud. The simile is taken from the method of catching larks at night, in some countries, by means of a bell and a lanthorn: that is, by first alarming them, and then blinding them with a light, so that they are easily caught.

⁴ Woodcocks, and some other birds, are caught in springes.

⁵ Are cheated by quacks who boast of nostrums and infallible receipts.

And tho' it be a two-foot trout,
 'Tis with a single hair pull'd out.¹
 Others believe no voice t' an organ 15
 So sweet as lawyer's in his bar-gown,²
 Until, with subtle cobweb-cheats,
 They're catch'd in knotted law, like nets ;
 In which, when once they are imbrangled,
 The more they stir, the more they're tangled ; 20
 And while their purses can dispute,
 There's no end of th' immortal suit.
 Others still gape t' anticipate
 The cabinet designs of fate,
 Apply to wizards, to foresee³ 25
 What shall, and what shall never be ;⁴
 And as those vultures do forbode,⁵
 Believe events prove bad or good.
 A flam more senseless than the roguery
 Of old aruspicy and aug'ry,⁶ 30
 That out of garbages of cattle
 Presag'd th' events of truce or battle ;
 From flight of birds, or chickens pecking,
 Success of great'st attempts would reckon :

¹ That is, though a man of discernment, and one as unlikely to be caught by a medicine and a receipt, as a trout two feet long to be pulled out by a single hair.

² In the hope of success many are led into law-suits, from which they are not able to extricate themselves till they are quite ruined. See Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxx. cap. 4, where the evil practices of lawyers in the Roman Empire are described, in terms not unsuitable to modern times.

³ *Var.* Run after wizards ; in editions of 1664.

⁴ Thus Horace, in his fifth Satire, Book ii. v. 59 :

O son of great Laertes, everything
 Shall come to pass, or never, as I sing ;
 For Phœbus, monarch of the tuneful Nine,
 Informs my soul, and gives me to divine.

⁵ Alluding to the opinion that vultures repair beforehand to the place where battles will be fought. Vultures being birds of prey, the word is here used in a double sense.

⁶ Aruspicy was divination by sacrifice ; by the behaviour of the beast before it was slain, by the appearance of its entrails, or of the flames while it was burning. Augury was divination from appearances in the heavens, thunder, lightning, &c., also from birds, their flight, chattering, manner of feeding, &c. Cato used to say, somewhat shrewdly, that he marvelled how an augur could keep his countenance when he met a brother of the College.

Tho' cheats, yet more intelligible 35
 Than those that with the stars do fribble.
 This Hudibras by proof found true,
 As in due time and place we'll shew :
 For he, with beard and face made clean,
 Being mounted on his steed again, 40
 And Ralpho got a cock-horse too,
 Upon his beast, with much ado,
 Advanc'd on for the widow's house,
 T' acquit himself and pay his vows ;
 When various thoughts began to bustle 45
 And with his inward man to justle.¹
 He thought what danger might accrue,
 If she should find he swore untrue ;
 Or if his squire or he should fail,
 And not be punctual in their tale, 50
 It might at once the ruin prove
 Both of his honour, faith, and love :
 But if he should forbear to go,
 She might conclude he'd broke his vow ;
 And that he durst not now, for shame, 55
 Appear in court to try his claim.
 This was the penn'orth of his thought,²
 To pass time, and uneasy trot.
 Quoth he, In all my past adventures
 I ne'er was set so on the tenters, 60
 Or taken tardy with dilemma,³
 That ev'ry way I turn, does hem me,
 And with inextricable doubt
 Besets my puzzled wits about :
 For though the dame has been my bail, 65
 To free me from enchanted jail,
 Yet, as a dog committed close
 For some offence, by chance breaks loose,
 And quits his clog ; but all in vain,

¹ The Knight is perpetually troubled with "cases of conscience;" this being one characteristic of the class which he typifies.

² That is, the value of it, in allusion to the common saying—"A penny for your thoughts."

³ An argument in logic consisting of two or more propositions, so disposed that deny or admit which you will you shall be involved in difficulties.

He still draws after him his chain : ¹ 70
 So tho' my ancle she has quitted,
 My heart continues still committed ;
 And like a bail'd and mainpriz'd lover,²
 Altho' at large I am bound over :
 And when I shall appear in court 75
 To plead my cause, and answer for't,
 Unless the judge do partial prove,
 What will become of me and love ?
 For if in our account we vary,
 Or but in circumstance miscarry : 80
 Or if she put me to strict proof,
 And make me pull my doublet off,
 To show, by evident record,
 Writ on my skin, I've kept my word,
 How can I e'er expect to have her, 85
 Having demurr'd unto her favour ?
 But faith, and love, and honour lost,
 Shall be reduc'd t' a knight o' th' post : ³
 Beside, that stripping may prevent
 What I'm to prove by argument, 90
 And justify I have a tail,
 And that way, too, my proof may fail.
 Oh ! that I could enucleate,⁴
 And solve the problems of my fate ;
 Or find, by necromantic art,⁵ 95
 How far the dest'nies take my part ;
 For if I were not more than certain
 To win and wear her, and her fortune,

¹ Persius applies this simile to the case of a person who is well inclined, but cannot resolve to be uniformly virtuous. See Satire V. v. 157.

Alas ! the struggling dog breaks loose in vain,
 Whose neck still drags along a trailing length of chain.

And Petrarch has applied this simile to love.

² Mainprized signifies one delivered by the judge into the custody of such as shall undertake to see him forthcoming at the day appointed. He had been set free from the stocks by the widow, and had bound himself to appear before her.

³ See note at p. 28.

⁴ Explain, or open ; literally, to take the kernel out of a nut.

⁵ Necromancy, or the black art, is the discovery of future events by communicating with the dead. It is called the black art, from the fanciful resemblance of necromancy to *nigromancy*, and because it was presumed that evil spirits were concerned in effecting the communication with the dead.

I'd go no further in this courtship,
 To hazard soul, estate, and worship : 100
 For tho' an oath obliges not,
 Where anything is to be got,¹
 As thou hast prov'd, yet 'tis profane
 And sinful when men swear in vain.
 Quoth Ralph, Not far from hence doth dwell 105
 A cunning man, hight Sidrophel,²
 That deals in destiny's dark counsels,
 And sage opinions of the moon sells,³
 To whom all people far and near,
 On deep importances repair : 110
 When brass and pewter hap to stray,⁴
 And linen slinks out of the way ;
 When geese and pullen are seduc'd,⁵
 And sows of sucking pigs are chows'd ;⁶
 When cattle feel indisposition, 115
 And need th' opinion of physician ;
 When murrain reigns in hogs or sheep,
 And chickens languish of the pip ;
 When yeast and outward means do fail,
 And have no pow'r to work on ale ; 120

¹ The accommodating notions of dissenters with regard to oaths have already been stated in some preceding cantos.

² Sidrophel was no doubt intended for William Lilly, the famous astrologer and almanack maker, who, till the king's affairs declined, was a cavalier, but after the year 1645, engaged body and soul in the cause of the Parliament, and was one of the close committee to consult about the king's execution. He was consulted by the Royalists, with the king's privity, whether the king should escape from Hampton-court, whether he should sign the propositions of the Parliament, &c., and had twenty pounds for his opinion. See the Life of A. Wood, Oxford, 1772, p. 101, 102, and his own Life, in which are many curious particulars. Some have thought that Sir Paul Neal was intended, which is a mistake : but Sir Paul Neal was the Sidrophel of the Heroical Epistle, printed at the end of this canto. *Hight*, that is, called, is from the Anglo-Saxon *haten*, to call.

³ i. e. the omens which he collects from the appearance of the moon.

⁴ Lilly professed to be above this profitable branch of his art, which he designated the shame of astrology ; but he was accused of practising it, in a pamphlet written against him by Sir John Birkenhead.

⁵ Pullen, that is, poultry, from the French *Poulet*.

⁶ This was a new word in Butler's time, having originated in the frauds committed by a "chiaous," or messenger attached to the Turkish Embassy in 1609. See Gifford's Ben Jonson, the Alchemist, Act i. sc. 1.





Mr. Cooper's portrait

THE HISTORY OF THE WINDSOR CASTLE

By Mr. Cooper.

When butter does refuse to come,¹
 And love proves cross and humoursome ;
 To him with questions, and with urine,²
 They for discov'ry flock, or curing.

Quoth Hudibras, This Sidrophel 125
 I've heard of, and should like it well,
 If thou canst prove the saints have freedom
 To go to sore'ers when they need 'em.

Says Ralpho, There's no doubt of that ;
 Those principles I've quoted late, 130
 Prove that the godly may allege
 For anything their privilege,

And to the devil himself may go,
 If they have motives thereunto :
 For as there is a war between 135
 The devil and them, it is no sin

If they, by subtle stratagem,
 Make use of him, as he does them.
 Has not this present Parl'ament
 A ledger to the devil sent,³ 140

Fully empower'd to treat about
 Finding revolted witches out ?⁴

And has not he, within a year,
 Hang'd threescore of 'em in one shire ?⁵

¹ When a country wench, says Selden in his Table Talk, cannot get her butter to come, she says the witch is in the churn.

² Lilly's Autobiography abounds with illustrations of these lines ; people of all ranks seem to have had faith in his diagnosis of their waters, as well as in his skill in "discovery."

³ That is, an ambassador. The person meant was Hopkins, the noted witch-finder for the Associated Counties.

⁴ That is, revolted from the Parliament.

⁵ It is incredible what a number of poor, sick, and decrepit wretches were put to death, under the pretence of their being witches. Hopkins occasioned threescore to be hung in one year, in the county of Suffolk. See Dr Hutchinson, p. 59. Grey says, he has seen an account of between three and four thousand that suffered in the king's dominions, from the year 1640 to the king's restoration. "In December, 1649," says Whitlock, "many witches were apprehended. The witch-trier taking a pin, and thrusting it into the skin in many parts of their bodies ; if they were insensible of it, it was a circumstance of proof against them. October, 1652, sixty were accused : much malice, little proof ; though they were tortured many ways to make them confess."

Some only for not being drown'd,¹ 145
 And some for sitting above ground
 Whole days and nights upon their breeches,²
 And feeling pain, were hang'd for witches ;
 And some for putting knavish tricks
 Upon green geese and turkey-chicks, 150
 Or pigs, that suddenly deceast,
 Of griefs unnatural, as he guest ;
 Who after prov'd himself a witch,
 And made a rod for his own breech.³
 Did not the Devil appear to Martin 155
 Luther in Germany for certain ?⁴
 And would have gull'd him with a trick,
 But Mart. was too, too politic.
 Did he not help the Dutch to purge,
 At Antwerp, their cathedral church ?⁵ 160

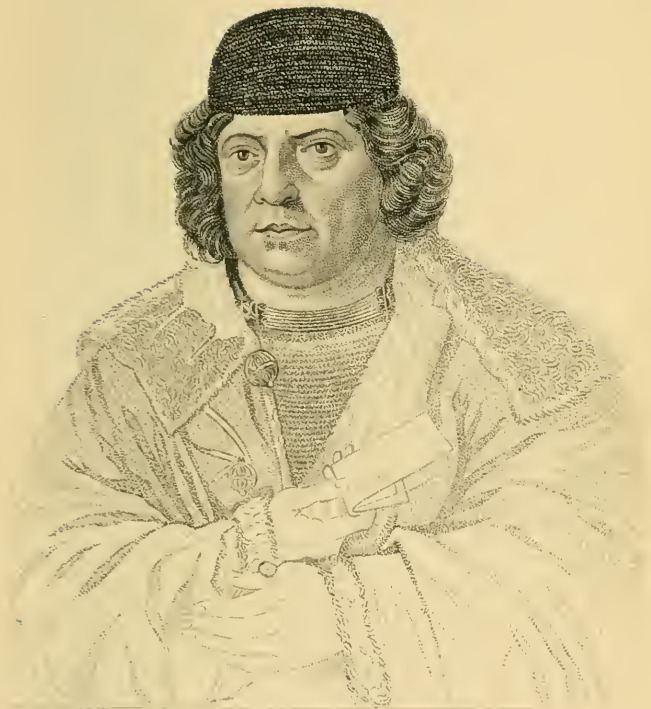
¹ See Part II. Canto I. line 503, note.

² One of the tests of a witch was to tie her legs across, and so to seat her on them that they were made to sustain the whole weight of her body, and rendered her incapable of motion. In this painful posture she would be kept during the whole of the trial, and sometimes 24 hours, without food, till she confessed.

³ Dr Hutchinson, in his *Historical Essay on Witchcraft*, page 66, tells us, "that the country, tired of the cruelties committed by Hopkins, tried him by his own system. They tied his thumbs and toes, as he used to do others, and threw him into the water ; when he swam like the rest."

⁴ Luther, in his book *de Missâ privatâ*, says he was persuaded to preach against the Mass by reasons suggested to him by the Devil, in a disputation. Melchior Adam says the Devil appeared to Luther in his own garden, in the shape of a black boar. And the *Table Talk* relates that when Luther was in his chamber, in the castle at Wartsburg, the Devil cracked some nuts which he had in a box upon the bed-post, tumbled empty barrels down-stairs, &c. There is still shown at this castle the mark on the wall, made by Luther's inkstand, which he hurled at the Devil's head, when he mocked the Reformer as he was busied on the translation of the Bible. But he generally rid himself of the tempter by jests, and sometimes rather unsavoury ones. See some anecdotes of Luther's belief in witchcraft in *Luther's Table Talk* by Hazlitt, p. 251, &c.

⁵ In the beginning of the civil war in Flanders, the common people at Antwerp broke into the cathedral and destroyed the ornaments. Strada, in his book *de Bello Belgico*, says, that "several devils were seen to assist them ; without whose aid it would have been impossible, in so short a time, to have done so much mischief."



R. Cooper sculp.

MARTIN LUTHER.

From a drawing by Holbein.

Sing catches to the saints at Mascon,¹
 And tell them all they came to ask him ?
 Appear in divers shapes to Kelly,²
 And speak i' th' nun of Loudun's belly ?³
 Meet with the Parliament's committee,
 At Woodstock, on a pers'nal treaty ?⁴ 165
 At Sarum take a cavalier,⁵
 I' th' Cause's service, prisoner ?
 As Withers, in immortal rhyme,
 Has register'd to after-time. 170

¹ Mascon is a town in Burgundy, where an unclean devil, as he was called, played his pranks in the house of Mr Perreaud, a reformed minister, ann. 1612. Sometimes he sang psalms, at others licentious verses, and frequently lampooned the Huguenots. Mr Perreaud published a circumstantial account of him in French, which at the request of Mr Boyle, who had heard the matter attested, was translated into English by Dr Peter de Moulin. The poet calls them saints, because they were of the Genevan creed.

² See notes to lines 236-7-8. The persons here instanced made great pretensions to sanctity. On this circumstance Ralpho founds his argument for the lawfulness of the practice, that saints may converse with the devil. Casaubon informs us that Dee, who was associated with Kelly, employed himself in prayer and other acts of devotion, before he entered upon his conversation with spirits.

³ Grandier, the curate of Loudun, was ordered to be burned alive, A. D. 1634, by Judges commissioned and influenced by Richelieu; and the prioress, with half the nuns in the convent, were obliged to own themselves bewitched. Grandier was a handsome man, and very eloquent; and his real fault was that he outdid the monks in their own arts. There was, in reality, no ground but the envy and jealousy of the monks, for the charges against him. See Bayle's Dictionary, Art. Grandier; and Dr Hutchinson's Historical Essay on Witchcraft, p. 36.

⁴ Dr Plot, in his History of Oxfordshire, ch. viii., tells us how the devil, or some evil spirit, disturbed the commissioners at Woodstock, whither they went to value the crown lands directly after the execution of Charles I. A personal treaty had been very much desired by the king, and often pressed and petitioned for by great part of the nation; the poet insinuates that though the Parliament refused to hold a personal treaty with the king, yet they scrupled not to hold one with the devil at Woodstock. Sir Walter Scott has made the tale familiar by his novel. The whole of the attacks upon the commissioners, in the form of ghosts and evil spirits, which finally drove them from the place, were planned and in great part carried into effect by a roguish concealed loyalist, Joseph Collins, or Funny Joe, who was engaged as their Secretary, under the name of Giles Sharp.

⁵ Withers, who figures in Pope's Dunciad, was a puritanical officer in the Parliament army and a prolific writer of verse. He has a long story, in doggrel, of a soldier of the king's army, who being a prisoner at Salisbury, and drinking a health to the devil upon his knees, was carried away by him through a single pane of glass.

Do not our great reformers use
 This Sidrophel to forebode news; ¹
 To write of victories next year, ²
 And castles taken, yet i' th' air?
 Of battles fought at sea, and ships 175
 Sunk, two years hence? the last eclipse? ³
 A total o'erthrow giv'n the king
 In Cornwall, horse and foot, next spring? ⁴
 And has not he point-blank foretold
 Whats'e'er the close committee would? ⁵ 180
 Made Mars and Saturn for the Cause, ⁶
 The moon for Fundamental Laws,
 The Ram, the Bull, the Goat, declare
 Against the book of Common Prayer?
 The Scorpion take the Protestation, 185
 And Bear engage for Reformation?
 Made all the royal stars recant,
 Compound, and take the Covenant? ⁷
 Quoth Hudibras, The case is clear
 The saints may employ a conjurer, 190
 As thou hast prov'd it by their practice;
 No argument like matter of fact is:
 And we are best of all led to
 Men's principles, by what they do.

¹ Lilly was employed to foretell victories on the side of the Parliament, and was well paid for his services.

² Lilly tells us himself how he predicted a victory for the king about June, 1645, which unluckily proved to be the time of his total defeat at Naseby. He says that during Cromwell's campaign in Scotland, in one of the battles, a soldier encouraged his comrades by reading the month's prediction of victories to them, out of "Anglieus."

³ Lilly grounded lying predictions on that event. Grey says, his reputation was lost by his false prognostic of an eclipse that was to happen on the 29th of March 1652, commonly called Black Monday. But in 1656, the Royalists at Bruges were greatly inspirited by a prediction of the king's restoration in the following year, which he had communicated to one of Charles' secretaries.

⁴ The direct contrary happened; for the king overthrew the Parliamentarians in Cornwall.

⁵ The Parliament appointed a licenser of almanacks, and so prevented any from appearing which prophesied good for the Cause.

⁶ Made the planets and constellations side with the Parliament.

⁷ The author here evidently alludes to Charles, elector palatine of the Rhine, and to King Charles the Second, who both took the Covenant.

Then let us straight advance in quest 195
 Of this profound gymnosophist,¹
 And as the fates and he advise,
 Pursue, or waive this enterprise.

This said, he turn'd about his steed,
 And eftsoons on th' adventure rid ; 200
 Where leave we him and Ralph awhile,
 And to the Conj'rer turn our stile,
 To let our reader understand
 What's useful of him beforehand.

He had been long t'wards mathematics, 205
 Optics, philosophy, and statics,
 Magic, horoscopy, astrology,
 And was old dog² at physiology :
 But as a dog, that turns the spit,³
 Bestirs himself, and plies his feet 210
 To climb the wheel, but all in vain.

His own weight brings him down again ;
 And still he's in the self-same place
 Where at his setting out he was ;
 So in the circle of the arts 215

Did he advance his nat'ral parts,
 Till falling back still, for retreat.
 He fell to juggle, cant, and cheat :⁴
 For as those fowls that live in water
 Are never wet, he did but smatter ; 220

¹ The Gymnosophists were a sect of philosophers in India, so called from their going with naked feet and very little clothing. They were extreme abstinent, and much respected for their superior sanctity. Butler seems to use the word as equivalent to recluse or ascetic.

² A humorous employment of the proverbial term for an experienced or knowing person.

³ Prior's simile seems to have been suggested by this passage :

Dear Thomas, didst thou never see
 ('Tis but by way of simile)
 A squirrel spend his little rage
 In jumping round a rolling cage ?
 But here or there, turn wood or wire,
 He never gets two inches higher.
 So fares it with those merry blades
 That frisk it under Pindus' shades.

⁴ The account here given of William Lilly agrees exactly with his Life written by himself.

Whate'er he labour'd to appear,
 His understanding still was clear ;¹
 Yet none a deeper knowledge boasted,
 Since old Hodge Bacon, and Bob Grosted.²
 Th' intelligible world he knew,³ 225
 And all men dream on't, to be true,
 That in this world there's not a wart
 That has not there a counterpart ;
 Nor can there, on the face of ground,
 An individual beard be found, 230
 That has not in that foreign nation
 A fellow of the self-same fashion ;
 So cut, so colour'd, and so curl'd,
 As those are in th' inferior world.
 He'd read Dee's prefaces before 235
 The Devil, and Euclid o'er and o'er ;⁴
 And all th' intrigues 'twixt him and Kelly,
 Lescus and th' emperor, would tell ye :⁵

¹ Clear, that is, empty.

² Roger Bacon was a Franciscan friar, who flourished in the thirteenth century, and was commonly regarded as a conjurer or practitioner of the black art, on account of his knowledge of natural science and philosophy. His *Opus Majus* is one of the most wonderful books of the times in which he lived. He was acquainted with the composition of gunpowder, and seems to have anticipated some of the great discoveries of later ages. Robert Grosstête, bishop of Lincoln, a contemporary of Bacon, was a man of great learning, considering the times, and was declared to be a magician by the ignorant ecclesiastics. He distinguished himself by resisting the aggressions of the Papacy on the liberties of the English Church, for which he incurred the anathemas of Pope Innocent IV.

³ The intelligible world was the model or prototype of the visible world. See P. i. c. i. v. 536, and note.

⁴ Dr John Dee, the reputed magician, was born in London, 1527, and educated at Cambridge as a clergyman of the English Church. He enjoyed great fame during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., by his knowledge in mathematics ; Tycho Brahe gives him the title of præstantissimus mathematicus, and Camden calls him nobilis mathematicus. He wrote, among other things, a preface to Euclid, and to Billingsley's Geometry, to which Butler apparently alludes. He began early to have the reputation of holding intercourse with the Devil, and on an occasion when he was absent, the populace broke into his house and destroyed the greater part of his valuable library and museum, valued at several thousand pounds.

⁵ Kelly was an apothecary at Worcester, and Dee's chief assistant, his seer or "skryer" (that is, *medium*), as he called him. A learned Pole, Al-



R. Cooper del. & sculp.

MR JOHN BEE

From a portrait painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller

But with the moon was more familiar
 Than e'er was almanack well-willer ;¹ 240
 Her secrets understood so clear,
 That some believ'd he had been there ;
 Knew when she was in fittest mood
 For cutting corns, or letting blood ;²
 When for anointing scabs and itches, 245
 Or to the bum applying leeches ;
 When sows and bitches may be spay'd,
 And in what sign best cider's made ;
 Whether the wane be, or increase,
 Best to set garlie, or sow pease ; 250
 Who first found out the man i' th' moon,³
 That to the ancients was unknown ;
 How many dukes, and earls, and peers,
 Are in the planetary spheres,
 Their airy empire and command, 255
 Their sev'ral strengths by sea and land ;

bert Laski, whom Mr Butler calls Leseus, visiting England, formed an acquaintance with Dee and Kelly, and when he left this country took them and their families with him into Poland. Next to Kelly, he was the greatest confidant of Dee in his secret transactions. They were entertained by the Emperor Rodolph II., to whom they disclosed some of their secrets, and showed the wonderful stone ; and he, in return, treated them with great respect, knighted Kelly, but afterwards imprisoned him. Dee received some advantageous offers, it is said, from the king of France, the emperor of Muscovy, and several foreign princes, but he returned to England, and, after great vicissitudes, died in poverty at Mortlake, in the year 1608, aged 81.

¹ The almanack makers styled themselves well-willers to the mathematics, or philomaths.

² Respecting these, and other matters mentioned in the following lines, Lilly, and the old almanack makers, gave particular directions. Astrologers of all ages have regarded certain planetary aspects to be especially favourable to the operations of husbandry and physic, and the influence of the moon is still pretty generally recognised. See Tusser's Five hundred Points of Good Husbandry.

³ There are and have been, in all countries and ages, different popular beliefs respecting the man in the moon. He is a stealer of firewood, according to Chaucer ; according to others, a sabbath-breaker, or the man who was stoned for gathering sticks on the sabbath, whilst the Israelites were in the wilderness (see Numbers xv. 32). The Italian peasantry have for ages called him Cain, and as such he is alluded to in Dante, Paradiso II. (Wright's translation, page 309). See Daniel O'Rourke's Dream, in Crofton Croker's Fairy Legends, for a truly Hibernian representation of his love of solitude.

What factions they 've, and what they drive at
 In public vogue, or what in private ;
 With what designs and interests
 Each party manages contests. 260
 He made an instrument to know
 If the moon shine at full or no ;
 That would, as soon as e'er she shone, straight
 Whether 'twere day or night demonstrate ;
 Tell what her d'ameter to 'n inch is,¹ 265
 And prove that she's not made of green cheese.
 It would demonstrate, that the Man in
 The moon's a sea mediterranean ;²
 And that it is no dog nor bitch
 That stands behind him at his breech, 270
 But a huge Caspian sea or lake,
 With arms, which men for legs mistake ;
 How large a gulph his tail composes,
 And what a goodly bay his nose is ;
 How many German leagues by th' scale 275
 Cape snout's from promontory tail.
 He made a planetary gin,³
 Which rats would run their own heads in,
 And come on purpose to be taken,
 Without th' expence of cheese or bacon ; 280
 With lute-strings he would counterfeit
 Maggots, that crawl on dish of meat ;⁴
 Quote moles and spots on any place
 O' th' body, by the index face ;⁵

¹ The determination of the diameter of the moon was so recent an event in Butler's time, that scientific pedants rendered themselves fair butts for his satire by the use they made of this knowledge of it.

² It used to be supposed that the darker shadows on the moon's surface were seas ; and the old astronomers gave them various names, some after a fancied analogy in their distribution to the principal seas of the eastern hemisphere of the globe ; others, purely arbitrary. They are now known to be merely depressions on the surface ; the closest observers having failed to detect any trace of either water or air !

³ The horoscope, which looks like a net or trap, and in which places for the planets are duly assigned.

⁴ The strings of a fiddle or lute, cut into short pieces, and strewed upon warm meat, will contract, and appear like live maggots.

⁵ "Some physiognomers have conceited the head of man to be the model of the whole body ; so that any mark there will have a corresponding one on some part of the body." See Lilly's Life.

Detect lost maidenheads by sneezing, 285
 Or breaking wind of dames, or pissing ;¹
 Cure warts and corns, with application
 Of med'cines to th' imagination ;²
 Fright agues into dogs, and scare,
 With rhymes, the tooth-ach and catarrh ;³ 290
 Chase evil spirits away by dint
 Of sickle, horseshoe, hollow flint ;⁴
 Spit fire out of a walnut-shell,⁵
 Which made the Roman slaves rebel ;
 And fire a mine in China, here, 295
 With sympathetic gunpowder.

¹ Democritus is said to have pronounced more nicely on the maid-servant of Hippocrates. Lilly professed this art, and said that no woman, whom he found a maid, ever twitted him with having been mistaken.

² Warts are still "charmed away ;" and there are few persons who cannot recite numerous examples of the efficacy of "medicines applied to the imagination," for the removal of those unseemly excrescences.

³ Butler seems to have raked together as many of the baits for human credulity as his reading could furnish, or he had ever heard mentioned. These charms for tooth-aches and coughs were well known to the common people a few years since. The word *abracadabra*, for fevers, is as old as Sammonicus. *Haut haut hista pista vista*, were recommended for a sprain by Cato, and Homer relates that the sons of Autolyceus stopped the bleeding of Ulysses' wound by a charm. Soothing medicines are still called *carminatives*, from the Latin *carmen*, a magic formula. But the records of superstition in this respect are endless, and Grey quotes several which are very amusing. He says, "I have heard of a merry baronet, Sir B. B., who had great success in the cure of agues by charms. A gentleman of his acquaintance applying to him for the cure of a stubborn quartan, which had defied the doctors, he told him he had no faith, and would be prying into the secret, and then, notwithstanding the fit might be staved off awhile, it would certainly return. The gentleman promised him on his word of honour he would not look into it, but when he had escaped a second fit he could resist his curiosity no longer, and opened the paper, when he found in it no more than the words *kiss — —*." Another story of the kind is told by Selden in his *Table-Talk*. He cured a person of quality, who fancied he had two devils in his head, by wrapping a card in a piece of silk with strings, and hanging it round his neck. But those who delight in such stories will find an abundance of them in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, 3 vols. post 8vo.

⁴ There is scarcely a stable-door in the country (none certainly at Newmarket) without a horseshoe nailed on it, or on the threshold.

⁵ This refers to the origin of the Servile war in Sicily, when Eunus, a Syrian, excited his companions in slavery to a revolt, by pretending a commission from the gods ; and filling a nutshell with sulphur, breathed out fire and smoke in proof of his divine authority. See Livy, Florus, and other Roman historians.

He knew whats'ever's to be known,
 But much more than he knew would own.
 What med'cine 'twas that Paracelsus
 Could make a man with, as he tells us ; ¹ 300
 What figur'd slates are best to make,
 On wat'ry surface duck or drake ; ²
 What bowling-stones, in running race
 Upon a board, have swiftest pace ;
 Whether a pulse beat in the black 305
 List of a dappled louse's back ; ³
 If systole or diastole move
 Quickest when he's in wrath, or love ; ⁴
 When two of them do run a race,
 Whether they gallop, trot, or pace ; 310
 How many scores a flea will jump,
 Of his own length, from head to rump, ⁵
 Which Socrates and Chærephon
 In vain assay'd so long ago ;
 Whether his snout a perfect nose is, 315
 And not an elephant's proboscis ; ⁶

¹ Paracelsus was born in 1493, in Switzerland ; and studied medicine, but devoted himself most to astrology and alehemy. He professed to have discovered the philosopher's stone, and the elixir of life, but nevertheless died in poverty. One of his doctrines was that man might be generated without connexion of the sexes, an idea which was humorously but coarsely ridiculed by Rabelais, book ii. ch. 27, where he speaks of begetting 53,000 little men with a single f—.

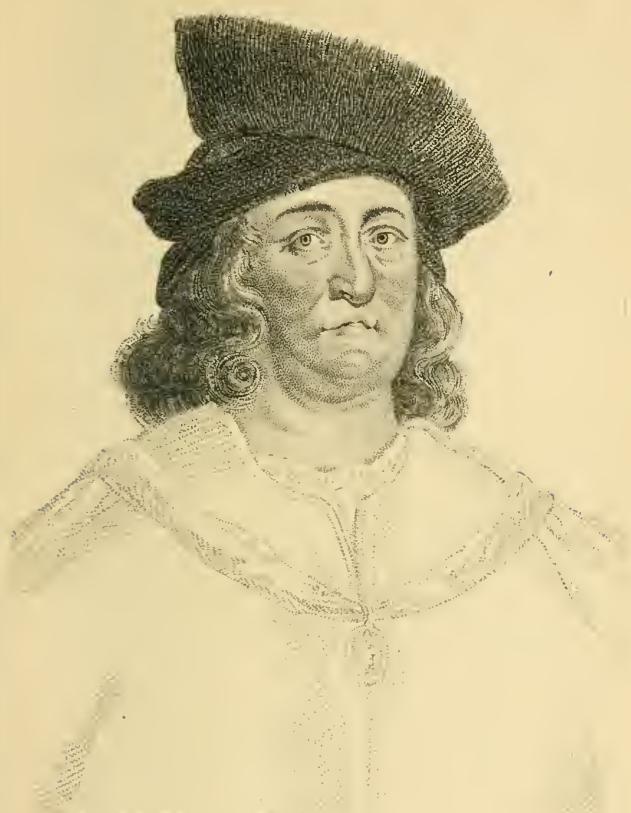
² Intimating that Sidrophel was a smatterer in natural philosophy, and knew something of the laws of motion and gravity, though all he arrived at was but child's play, such as making ducks and drakes on the water, &c.

³ It was the fashion with the wits of our author's time to ridicule the Transactions of the Royal Society, and Dr Hooke in particular, whose Micrographia is here particularly referred to. Hooke was an admirable and laborious practical philosopher, but in his writings betrays much credulity and deficiency of method.

⁴ Systole (the contraction) and diastole (the dilatation) of the heart, are the motions by means of which the circulation of the blood is effected ; and the passions of the mind have a sensible influence on the animal economy.

⁵ Aristophanes (Clouds, Act i. sc. 24), introduces a scholar of Soerates describing the method in which Socrates, and his friend Charrephon, endeavoured to ascertain how many lengths of its own feet a flea will jump, not, as our author says, how many lengths of its body. Both Plato and Xenophon allude to this ridicule of their master.

⁶ The lancets and sucker of the flea were a very favourite object of our earlier microscopists ; and they are still popular.



By Cooper sculp.

WILLIAM PITT

First Lord of the Treasury

How many diff'rent specieses
 Of maggots breed in rotten cheeses ;
 And which are next of kin to those
 Engender'd in a chandler's nose ; 320
 Or those not seen, but understood,
 That live in vinegar and wood.¹

A paltry wretch he had, half starv'd,
 That him in place of Zany serv'd,²
 Hight Whachum, bred to dash and draw, 325
 Not wine, but more unwholesome law ;
 To make 'twixt words and lines huge gaps,³
 Wide as meridians in maps ;
 To squander paper and spare ink,
 Or cheat men of their words, some think. 330
 From this, by merited degrees,
 He'd to more high advancement rise,
 To be an under-conjuror,
 Or journeyman astrologer :
 His business was to pump and wheedle, 335
 And men with their own keys unriddle ;⁴

¹ All the objects spoken of in these lines are mentioned in Dr Hooke's work on the Microscope. The *vibriones* or cels in vinegar, were by their bites absurdly supposed by some to be the cause of its pungeny.

² A Zany is a buffoon, or Merry Andrew, designed to assist the quack, as the ballad-singer used to help the cut-purse or pick-pocket. L' Etrange says that Whachum is intended for one Tom Jones, a foolish Welchman. Others think it was meant for Richard Green, who published a piece of ribaldry entitled "Hudibras in a snare," or of Sir George Wharton; and Butler's Biographer of 1710, thinks it was levelled at the author of the spurious "second part" of Hudibras.

³ As lawyers used to do in their bills and answers in Chancery, for which they charged so much per sheet.

⁴ Menckenius, in his book de Charlataneria Eruditorum, ed. Amst. 1747, p. 192, tells the following story. There was a quack who boasted that he could infallibly detect, by the appearance of the urine, not only the diseases of the subject, but all mishaps which might by any means have befallen him. To contrive this he bade his servants pump those who came to consult him, and communicate to him privately what they found out. One day a poor woman brought her husband's water to him; and he had scarcely looked at it when he exclaimed, "Your husband has had the misfortune to fall down-stairs." She, full of wonder, said, "And did you find that out from his water?" "Aye, truly," said he, "and I am very much mistaken if he did not fall down fifteen stairs." When, however, she said that he had actually fallen down twenty; "Pray," said he, with assumed anger, "did you bring all the water?" "No" replied she, "the bottle would not

To make them to themselves give answers,
 For which they pay the necromancers ;
 To fetch and carry intelligence
 Of whom, and what, and where, and whence, 340
 And all discoveries disperse
 Among th' whole pack of conjurers ;
 What cut-purses have left with them,
 For the right owners to redeem ;
 And what they dare not vent, find out, 345
 To gain themselves and th' art repute ;
 Draw figures, schemes, and horoscopes,
 Of Newgate, Bridewell, brokers' shops,
 Of thieves ascendant in the cart,¹
 And find out all by rules of art : 350
 Which way a serving-man, that's run
 With clothes or money 'way, is gone ;
 Who pick'd a fob at holding-forth,²
 And where a watch, for half the worth,
 May be redeem'd ; or stolen plate 355
 Restor'd at conscionable rate.³
 Beside all this, he serv'd his master
 In quality of poetaster,
 And rhymes appropriate could make
 To ev'ry month i' th' almanack ;⁴ 360

hold it all." "There it is," said he, "you have just left those five stairs behind you!" Another story somewhat similar is told by Grey of a Sidrophel in Moorfields, who had in his waiting-room different ropes to little bells which hung in his consulting room upstairs. If a girl had been deceived by her lover, one bell was pulled; if a peasant had lost a cow, another; and so on; his attendant taking care to sift the inquirer beforehand and give notice accordingly. ¹ Ascendant, a term in astrology, is here equivocal.

² Holding-forth was merely preaching, and the term was borrowed, without much appropriateness, from the Epistle to the Philippians, chap. ii. 16. But Dean Swift, in his "Tale of a Tub," gives a different derivation of the term, and humorously says that it arose from the way in which the dissenters held forth their ears "of grim magnitude," first on one side and then on the other. At this period warning was customarily given in churches and chapels, either by a notice board, or orally from the minister, to beware of pickpockets.

³ It was a penal offence to compound a felony. And the astrologers' profession naturally led them to be brothers in such affairs. Lilly acknowledges that he was once indicted for his performance in this line.

⁴ Alluding to John Booker, who, Lilly informs us, "made excellent verses upon the twelve months, framed according to the configuration of each."



Engraved by J. G. Kneller

MR. JOHN HUNTER

Secretary of the Admiralty

When terms begin, and end, could tell,
 With their returns, in doggerel ;¹
 When the exchequer opes and shuts,
 And sow-gelder with safety cuts ;
 When men may eat and drink their fill, 365
 And when be temp'rate if they will ;
 When use, and when abstain from vice,
 Figs, grapes, phlebotomy, and spice.
 And as in prison mean rogues beat
 Hemp for the service of the great,² 370
 So Whachum beat his dirty brains
 T' advance his master's fame and gains,
 And like the devil's oracles,
 Put into dogg'rel rhymes his spells,
 Which, over ev'ry month's blank page 375
 I' th' almanack, strange bilks presage.³
 He would an elegy compose
 On maggots squeeze'd out of his nose ;
 In lyric numbers write an ode on
 His mistress, eating a black-pudden ; 380
 And, when imprison'd air escap'd her,
 It puft him with poetic rapture :
 His sonnets charm'd th' attentive crowd,
 By wide-mouth'd mortal troll'd aloud,
 That, circled with his long-car'd guests, 385
 Like Orpheus look'd among the beasts :
 A carman's horse could not pass by,
 But stood ty'd up to poetry :
 No porter's burden pass'd along,
 But serv'd for burden to his song : 390

¹ Mnemonic verses for such things have always been in vogue and are useful enough : such as Thirty days has September, April, June, and November, &c. The couplet by which the Dominical or Sunday Letter can always be discovered (in common years) is an example of them—

“At Dover Dwell George Brown Esquire
 Good Christopher Finch And David Frier.”

The initial letters being those of the first days of the twelve months, in order ; from which those of all other days may be reckoned.

² Petty rogues, in Bridewell, beat hemp ; and it may happen that the produce of their labour is employed in making halters, in which greater criminals are hanged.

³ Bilk signifies a cheat or fraud, as well as to baulk or disappoint.

Each window like a pill'ry appears,
 With heads thrust thro' nailed by the ears ;
 All trades run in as to the sight
 Of monsters, or their dear delight
 The gallow-tree, when cutting purse 395
 Breeds bus'ness for heroic verse,¹
 Which none does hear, but would have hung
 T' have been the theme of such a song.²
 Those two together long had liv'd,
 In mansion, prudently contriv'd,³ 400
 Where neither tree nor house could bar
 The free detection of a star ;
 And nigh an ancient obelisk
 Was rais'd by him, found out by Fisk,⁴
 On which was written, not in words, 405
 But hieroglyphic mute of birds,⁵
 Many rare pithy saws, concerning
 The worth of astrologic learning :
 From top of this there hung a rope,
 To which he fasten'd telescope ; 410
 The spectacles with which the stars
 He reads in smallest characters.
 It happen'd as a boy, one night,
 Did fly his tarsel⁶ of a kite,

¹ "Copies of Verses," indited in the name of the culprit, as well as his "last dying speech and confession," were then customarily hawked about, on the day of the execution.

² Sir John Denham sings of the Earl of Strafford :

So did he move our passions, some were known
 To wish, for the defence, the crime their own.

³ Lilly had a house and grounds at Hershams, Walton-on-Thames, which was his regular abode when not in London. He tells us in his *Life* that he bought them in 1652, for £950.

⁴ Fisk was a licentiate in medicine of good parts and very studious, but he abandoned his profession in pursuit of astrology. "In the year 1663," says Lilly in his own *Life*, "I became acquainted with Nicholas Fisk, licentiate in physic, born in Suffolk, fit for, but not sent to, the university, studying at home astrology and physic, which he afterwards practised at Colchester. He had a pension from the Parliament; and during the civil war, and the whole of the usurpation, prognosticated on that side."

⁵ That is, the dung of birds. See the account of Tobit's loss of his eyesight in the *Book of Tobit*.

⁶ Tiersel, or tiercelet, is the French name of the male goss-hawk. See *Wright's Glossary*.

The strangest long-wing'd hawk that flies, 415
 That, like a bird of Paradise,
 Or herald's martlet, has no legs,¹
 Nor hatches young ones, nor lays eggs ;
 His train was six yards long, milk white,
 At th' end of which there hung a light, 420
 Enclos'd in lanthorn made of paper,
 That far off like a star did appear :
 This Sidrophel by chance espy'd,
 And with amazement staring wide :
 Bless us, quoth he, what dreadful wonder 425
 Is that appears in heaven yonder ?
 A comet, and without a beard !
 Or star, that ne'er before appear'd !²
 I'm certain 'tis not in the serowl
 Of all those beasts, and fish, and fowl,³ 430
 With which, like Indian plantations,
 The learned stock the constellations ;⁴

¹ The old naturalists, partly because the legs of the birds of Paradise are feathered down to the feet, and partly because the natives cut off the feet and used the whole skin as a plume, thought that they had no feet, and invented the most ridiculous fables about them. Martlets in heraldry are represented without feet. They are intended for the great black swallow, called the swift, or deviling, which has long and powerful wings, and is very seldom known to alight except on its nest.

² There are several appearances (and disappearances) of new stars recorded. One in 1573, and another in 1604, which became almost as bright as the planet Venus. Another was seen in 1670 ; but that was after Butler had written these lines.

³ Astronomers have, from the earliest times, grouped the stars into constellations, which they have distinguished by the names of beasts, birds, fishes, &c., according to their supposed forms. Butler in his *Genuine Remains*, vol. i. p. 9, says :

That elephants are in the moon,
 Though we had now discover'd none,
 Is easily made manifest ;
 Since from the greatest to the least,
 All other stars and constellations
 Have cattle of all sorts of nations.

⁴ The old Cosmographers, when they found vast places, whereof they knew nothing, used to fill the same with an account of Indian plantations, strange birds, beasts, &c.

Nor those that, drawn for signs, have been
 To th' houses where the planets inn.¹
 It must be supernatural, 435
 Unless it be that cannon-ball
 'That, shot i' the air, point-blank upright,
 Was borne to that prodigious height,
 That, learn'd philosophers maintain,
 It ne'er came backwards down again,² 440
 But in the airy regions yet
 Hangs, like the body o' Mahomet,³
 For if it be above the shade,
 That by the earth's round bulk is made,
 'Tis probable it may from far, 445
 Appear no bullet, but a star.
 This said, he to his engine flew,
 Plac'd near at hand, in open view,
 And rais'd it, till it levell'd right
 Against the glow-worm tail of kite;⁴ 450
 Then peeping thro', Bless us! quoth he,
 It is a planet now I see;
 And if I err not, by his proper
 Figure, that's like tobacco-stopper,⁵
 It should be Saturn: yes, 'tis clear 455
 'Tis Saturn; but what makes him there?
 He's got between the Dragon's tail,
 And further leg behind o' th' Whale;⁶
 Pray heav'n divert the fatal omen,
 For 'tis a prodigy not common, 460

¹ Signs, a pun on the signs for public-houses, and the signs or constellations in the heavens. The constellations are called "houses" by astrologers.

² Some foreign philosophers directed a cannon towards the zenith; and, having fired it without finding where the ball fell, conjectured that it had stuck in the moon. Des Cartes imagined that the ball remained in the air. See Tale of a 'Tub, p. 252.

³ The story of Mahomet's body being suspended in an iron chest, between two great loadstones (which is *not* a Mahometan tradition), is refuted by Sandys and Prideaux.

⁴ The luminous part of the glow-worm is the tail.

⁵ This alludes to the symbol of Saturn in some of the old books. Astrologers use a sign not much unlike it.

⁶ On some old globes the Whale is represented with legs.

And can no less than the world's end,¹
 Or nature's funeral, portend.
 With that, he fell again to pry
 Thro' perspective more wistfully,
 When, by mischance, the fatal string, 465
 That kept the tow'ring fowl on wing,
 Breaking, down fell the star. Well shot,
 Quoth Whachum, who right wisely thought
 He'd levell'd at a star, and hit it;
 But Sidrophel, more subtle-witted, 470
 Cry'd out, What horrible and fearful
 Portent is this, to see a star fall!
 It threatens nature, and the doom
 Will not be long before it come!
 When stars do fall, 'tis plain enough² 475
 The day of judgment's not far off;
 As lately 'twas reveal'd to Sedgwick,³
 And some of us find out by magick:
 Then, since the time we have to live
 In this world's shorten'd, let us strive 480
 To make our best advantage of it,
 And pay our losses with our profit.
 This feat fell out not long before
 The Knight, upon the forenam'd score,
 In quest of Sidrophel advancing, 485
 Was now in prospect of the mansion;

¹ "At sight whereof the people stand aghast,
 But the sage wizard telles, as he has redd,
 That it importunes deth, and doleful dreyhed."

Fairy Queen, Book iii. Canto i. st. 16.

² This notion of falling stars was almost universal, until science showed the phenomenon to be both common and periodical. The theory is that these bodies are fragments traversing the planetary spaces, and at given times are drawn by the earth's attraction to her surface.

³ Will. Sedgwick was a whimsical fanatic preacher, alternately a Presbyterian, an Independent, and an Anabaptist, settled by the Parliament in the city of Ely. He pretended much to revelations, and was called the apostle of the Isle of Ely. He gave out that the approach of the day of judgment had been disclosed to him in a vision; and going to the house of Sir Francis Russel, in Cambridgeshire, where he found several gentlemen at bowls, he warned them all to prepare themselves, for the day of judgment would be some day in the next week; whence he was nick-named Doomsday Sedgwick.

Whom he discov'ring, turn'd his glass,
And found far off 'twas Hudibras.

Whachum, quoth he, Look yonder, some
To try or use our art are come: 490
The one's the learned Knight; ¹ seek out,
And pump 'em, what they come about.
Whachum advanc'd with all submiss'ness
T' accost 'em, but much more their bus'ness:
He held the stirrup, while the Knight 495
From Leathern Bare-bones ² did alight;
And, taking from his hand the bridle,
Approach'd the dark Squire to unriddle.
He gave him first the time o' th' day, ³
And welcom'd him, as he might say: 500
He ask'd him whence they came, and whither
Their bus'ness lay?—Quoth Ralpho, Hither.
Did you not lose? ⁴—Quoth Ralpho, Nay.
Quoth Whachum, Sir, I meant your way?
Your Knight—Quoth Ralpho, Is a lover, 505
And pains intol'erable doth suffer;
For lovers' hearts are not their own hearts,
Nor lights, nor lungs, and so forth downwards.
What time?—Quoth Ralpho, Sir, too long,
Three years it off and on has hung— 510
Quoth he, I meant what time o' th' day 'tis.
Quoth Ralpho, Between seven and eight 'tis.
Why then, quoth Whachum, my small art
Tells me the Dame has a hard heart,
Or great estate.—Quoth Ralph, A jointure, 515
Which makes him have so hot a mind t' her.

¹ It does not appear that Hudibras knew Sidrophel; but from lines 1011 and 1012, it is plain that Sidrophel knew Hudibras. It is extremely doubtful whether Lilly was personally acquainted with Sir Samuel Luke.

² In the early editions, Butler prints this word in *italics*, meaning a sly hit at that conspicuous member of Cromwell's First Parliament, Praisegod Barebones, the Leather-Seller.

³ He bade him good evening: see line 540, on next page.

⁴ He assumes that they came to inquire after something stolen or strayed. In these lines we must observe the artfulness of Whachum, who pumps the Squire concerning the Knight's business, and afterwards relates it to Sidrophel in the presence of both of them, but in the cant terms of his own profession, a contrivance already alluded to in note on line 336, at p. 225.

Meanwhile the Knight was making water,
 Before he fell upon the matter :
 Which having done, the Wizard steps in,
 To give him a suitable reception ; 520
 But kept his bus'ness at a bay,
 Till Whachum put him in the way ;
 Who having now, by Ralpho's light,
 Expounded th' errand of the Knight,
 And what he came to know, drew near, 525
 To whisper in the Conj'rer's ear,
 Which he prevented thus : What was't,
 Quoth he, that I was saying last,
 Before these gentlemen arriv'd ?
 Quoth Whachum, Venus you retriev'd ¹ 530
 In opposition with Mars,
 And no benign and friendly stars
 T' allay the effect.² Quoth Wizard, So :
 In Virgo ? Ha ! quoth Whachum, No : ³
 Has Saturn nothing to do in it ? ⁴ 535
 One-tenth of's circle to a minute !
 'Tis well, quoth he—Sir, you'll excuse
 This rudeness I am forc'd to use ;
 It is a scheme, and face of heaven
 As th' aspects are dispos'd this even, 540
 I was contemplating upon
 When you arriv'd ; but now I've done.
 Quoth Hudibras, if I appear
 Unseasonable in coming here
 At such a time, to interrupt 545
 Your speculations, which I hop'd
 Assistance from, and come to use,
 'Tis fit that I ask your excuse.

¹ That is, found or observed.

² Venus, the goddess of love, opposes and thwarts Mars, the god of war, and there is likely to be no accord between them ; by which he gives him to understand, that the Knight was in love, and had small hopes of success.

³ Is his mistress a virgin ? No, therefore, by inference, a widow.

⁴ Saturn being the god of time, the wizard by these words inquires how long the love affair had been carried on. Whachum replies, one-tenth of his circle to a minute, or three years ; one-tenth of the thirty years in which Saturn finishes his revolution, and exactly the time which the Knight's courtship had been pending.

By no means, Sir, quoth Sidrophel,
 The stars your coming did foretell ; 550
 I did expect you here, and knew,
 Before you spake,¹ your business too.

Quoth Hudibras, Make that appear,
 And I shall credit whatsoe'er
 You tell me after, on your word, 555
 Howe'er unlikely, or absurd.

You are in love, Sir, with a widow,
 Quoth he, that does not greatly heed you,
 And for three years has rid your wit
 And passion, without drawing bit ; 560
 And now your business is to know
 If you shall carry her or no.

Quoth Hudibras, You're in the right,
 But how the devil you come by't
 I can't imagine ; for the stars, 565
 I'm sure, can tell no more than a horse :
 Nor can their aspects, tho' you pore
 Your eyes out on 'em, tell you more
 Than th' oracle of sieve and sheers,²
 That turns as certain as the spheres ; 570
 But if the Devil's of your counsel,
 Much may be done, my noble donzel ;³

¹ *Var.* " *Know* before you *speak*," edit. of 1689.

² Scot thus describes this practice, which he calls *Coscinomancy*. "Put a paire of sheeres in the rim of a sieve, and let two persons set the tip of each of their forefingers upon the upper part of the sheers, holding it with the sieve up from the ground steadily, and ask St Peter and St Paul whether A. B. or C. hath stolen the thing lost, and at the nomination of the guilty person the sieve will turne round." *Discovery of Witchcraft*, book xii. ch. xvii. 262. The *Coskinomant*, or diviner by a sieve, is mentioned by Theocritus, *Idyll* iii. 31 (Bohn's transl. p. 19). The Greek practice differed very little from that which has been stated above. They tied a thread to the sieve, or fixed it to a pair of shears, which they held between two fingers. After addressing themselves to the gods, they repeated the names of the suspected persons ; and he, at whose name the sieve turned round, was adjudged guilty. This mode of divination was popular in rural districts to a very late period, and is not yet entirely exploded. See Brand's *Popular Antiquities* (Bohn's edit.), vol. iii. p. 351.

³ Butler says, in his character of a Squire of Dames (*Remains*, vol. ii. p. 39), "he is donzel to the damzels, and gentleman usher daily waiter on the ladies, and rubs out his time in making legs and love to them." The word is likewise used in Ben Jonson's *Alchemist*. *Donzel*, a diminutive

And 'tis on his account I come,
To know from you my fatal doom.

Quoth Sidrophel, If you suppose, 575

Sir Knight, that I am one of those,
I might suspect, and take the alarm,
Your business is but to inform :¹

But if it be, 'tis ne'er the near,
You have a wrong sow by the ear ;² 580

For I assure you, for my part,
I only deal by rules of art ;
Such as are lawful, and judge by
Conclusions of astrology ;

But for the Devil, know nothing by him, 585
But only this, that I defy him.

Quoth he, Whatever others deem ye,
I understand your metonymy ;³

Your words of second-hand intention,⁴ 590
When things by wrongful names you mention ;

The mystic sense of all your terms,
That are indeed but magic charms
To raise the Devil, and mean one thing,

And that is downright conjuring ;
And in itself more warrantable⁵ 595

Than cheat or canting to a rabble,

of Don, is from the Italian *donzello*, and means a young squire, page, or gallant.

¹ That is, to lay an information against him, which would have exposed him to a prosecution, as at that time there was a severe inquisition against conjurers, witches, &c. See note on line 144, page 215.

² Handbook of Proverbs, p. 178.

³ Metonymy is a figure of speech, whereby one word or thing is substituted by representation for another, the cause is put for the effect, the subject for the adjunct, or *vice versa* ;—as we say, a man “keeps a good table,” or “we read Shakspeare,” meaning his works. The term is here used in the sense of a juggle of words.

⁴ Words not used in their primary meaning. Terms of second intention, among the Schoolmen, denote ideas which have been arbitrarily adopted for purposes of science, in opposition to those which are connected with sensible objects. Whately says, “The first intention of a term is a certain vague and general signification of it, as opposed to one more precise and limited, which it bears in some particular art, science, or system, and which is called its second intention.” (Book iii. § 10.)

⁵ The Knight has no faith in astrology ; but wishes the conjurer to own plainly that he deals with the Devil, and then he will hope for some satisfac-

Or putting tricks upon the moon,
 Which by confed'racy are done.
 Your ancient conjurers were wont
 To make her from her sphere dismount,¹ 600
 And to their incantations stoop!
 They scorn'd to pore thro' telescope,
 Or idly play at bo-peep with her,
 To find out cloudy or fair weather,
 Which every almanack can tell, 605
 Perhaps as learnedly and well
 As you yourself—Then, friend I doubt
 You go the furthest way about:
 Your modest Indian Magician
 Makes but a hole in th' earth to piss in,² 610
 And straight resolves all questions by't,
 And seldom fails to be i' th' right.
 The Rosy-crucian way's more sure
 To bring the Devil to the lure;
 Each of 'em has a sev'ral gin, 615
 To catch intelligences in.³
 Some by the nose, with fumes, trepan 'em,
 As Dunstan did the Devil's grannam.⁴

tion from him. To show what may be done in this way, he recounts the great achievements of sorcerers.

¹ So the witch Canidia, in Horace, Ep. XVII. line 78, boasts of her power to snatch the moon from heaven by her incantations. The ancients frequently introduced this fiction. See Virgil, Eclogue viii. 69; Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, vii. 207; Propertius, book i. elegy i. 19; and Tibullus, book i. elegy ii. 44.

² "The king presently called to his Bongi to clear the air; the conjurer immediately made a hole in the ground, wherein he urined." Le Blanc's *Travels*, p. 98. The ancient Zabin used to dig a hole in the earth, and fill it with blood, as the means of forming a correspondence with demons, and obtaining their favour.

³ To secure demons or spirits.

⁴ The chemists and alchemists. In Butler's *Remains*, vol. ii. p. 235, we read: "these spirits they use to catch by the noses with fumigations, as St Dunstan did the devil, by a pair of tongs." St Dunstan lived in the tenth century, and became successively abbot of Glastonbury, bishop of London and Worcester, and archbishop of Canterbury. He was a man of great learning, a student of the occult sciences, and proficient in the polite arts, particularly painting and sculpture. The legend runs, that as he was very attentively engraving a gold cup in his cell, the Devil tempted him in the shape of a beautiful woman. The saint, perceiving who it was, took



St. John the Evangelist

ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST

Engraved by W. G. Smith, 1840

Others with characters and words
 Catch 'em, as men in nets do birds ;¹ 620
 And some with symbols, signs, and tricks,
 Engrav'd in planetary nicks,²
 With their own influences will fetch 'em
 Down from their orbs, arrest, and catch 'em ;
 Make 'em depose, and answer to 625
 All questions, ere they let them go.
 Bombastus kept a devil's bird
 Shut in the pummel of his sword,³
 That taught him all the cunning pranks
 Of past and future mountebanks. 630
 Kelly did all his feats upon
 The Devil's looking-glass, a stone,⁴
 Where, playing with him at bo-peep,
 He solv'd all problems ne'er so deep.

up a red-hot pair of tongs, and catching hold of the Devil by the nose, made him howl in such a terrible manner, as to be heard all over the neighbourhood.

¹ By repetition of magical sounds and words, properly called enchantments. See Chancer's Third Book of Fame.

² By signs and figures described according to astrological symmetry; that is, certain conjunctions or oppositions with the planets and aspects of the stars.

³ Bombastus was the family name of Paracelsus, of whom see note at page 224. Butler's note on this passage in the edition of 1674, is as follows : "Paracelsus is said to have kept a small devil prisoner in the pummel of his sword; which was the reason, perhaps, why he was so valiant in his drink. However, it was to better purpose than Hannibal carried poison in his to dispatch himself, if he should happen to be surprised in any great extremity; for the sword would have done the feat alone much better and more soldier-like. And it was below the honour of so great a commander to go out of the world like a rat."

⁴ Dr Dee had a stone, which he called his angelical stone, asserting that it was brought to him by the angels Raphael and Gabriel, with whom he pretended to be familiar. He told the emperor "that the angels of God had brought to him a stone of such value, that no earthly kingdom is of sufficient worthiness to be compared to the virtue or dignity thereof." It was large, round, and very transparent; and persons who were qualified for the sight of it, were to perceive various shapes and figures, either represented in it as in a looking-glass, or standing upon it as on a pedestal. This stone is now in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum. See Zadkiel's Almanac for 1851, for an account of one of these crystal balls, which formerly belonged to Lady Blessington, and for the visions which were seen in it (?) in 1850. It is said that Dee's Angelical Stone, which was in the

Agrippa kept a Stygian pug, 635
 I' th' garb and habit of a dog,¹
 That was his tutor, and the cur
 Read to th' occult philosopher,²
 And taught him subt'ly to maintain
 All other sciences are vain.³ 640
 To this, quoth Sidrophello, Sir,
 Agrippa was no conjurer,
 Nor Paracelsus, no, nor Behmen ;⁴
 Nor was the dog a caco-dæmon,
 But a true dog that would show tricks 645
 For th' emperor, and leap o'er sticks ;
 Would fetch and carry, was more civil
 Than other dogs, but yet no devil ;
 And whatsoe'er he's said to do,
 He went the self-same way we go. 650
 As for the Rosy-cross philosophers,
 Whom you will have to be but sorcerers,
 What they pretend to is no more
 Than Trismegistus did before,⁵

Strawberry Hill Collection, turned out to be only a polished piece of cannel coal.

¹ As Paracelsus had a devil confined in the pommel of his sword, so "Agrippa had one tied to his dog's collar," says Erastus. It is probable that the collar had some strange unintelligible characters engraven upon it. Mr Butler (in edit. 1674) has the following note on these lines: "Cornelius Agrippa had a dog that was suspected to be a spirit, for some tricks he was wont to do beyond the capacity of a dog. But the author of *Magia Adamica* has taken a great deal of pains to vindicate both the doctor and the dog from that aspersion; in which he has shown a very great respect and kindness for them both."

² Meaning Agrippa, who wrote a book entitled, *De Occulta Philosophia*. See note at p. 25.

³ Bishop Warburton says, nothing can be more pleasant than this turn given to Agrippa's silly book, *De Vanitate Scientiarum*.

⁴ Jacob Behmen or Böhmen, the inspired shoemaker, and theosophist, of Lusatia, was merely an enthusiast, who deluded himself in common with his followers. Law, Bishop of Carlisle, edited his works and gave them vogue in this country, and there are not wanting admirers of them even at the present day.

⁵ The Egyptian deity Thoth, called Hermes by the Greeks, and Mercury by the Latins, from whom the early chemists pretended to have derived their art, is the mythical personification of almost all that is valuable to man.



LEONARDO DA VINCI
Portrait by Raphael del Verrocchio

Pythagoras, old Zoroaster,¹ 655
 And Apollonius their master,²
 To whom they do confess they owe
 All that they do, and all they know.
 Quoth Hudibras,—Alas, what is't us
 Whether 'twere said by Trismegistus, 660
 If it be nonsense, false, or mystick,
 Or not intelligible, or sophistic?
 'Tis not antiquity, nor author,
 That makes Truth truth, altho' Time's daughter;³
 'Twas he that put her in the pit, 665
 Before he pull'd her out of it;⁴

¹ Little is known of Zoroaster, who is supposed to have lived six centuries before the Christian era. Many miracles are attributed to him by the ancient writers, and he is the legendary founder of the religion of the old Persians, and reputed inventor of magic. Pythagoras, a Greek philosopher, flourished about the sixth or seventh century before Christ. He was the scholar of Thales, travelled in Egypt, Chaldea, and other parts of the East, and was initiated into all their mysteries; and at last settled in Italy, where he founded the Italic sect. He commonly expressed himself by symbols. Many incredible stories are reported of him by Diogenes Laertius, Jamblicus, and others.

² Apollonius of Tyana lived in the time of Domitian. Many improbable wonders are related of him by Philostratus; and more are added by subsequent writers. According to these accounts he raised the dead, rendered himself invisible, was seen at Rome and Puteoli on the same day, and proclaimed at Ephesus the murder of Domitian at the very instant of its perpetration at Rome. This last fact is attested by Dio Cassius, the consular historian; who, with the most vehement asseverations, affirms it to be certainly true, though it should be denied a thousand times over. Yet the same Dio elsewhere calls him a cheat and impostor. Dio, lxxviii. ult. et lxxvii. 18. The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, written by Philostratus, has been translated into English by Blount, 1680, and by Berwick, 1809. Sceptics of all ages have been fond of comparing the feats of Apollonius with the miracles of Jesus Christ.

³ The Knight argues that opinions are not always to be received on the authority of a great name; nor does the antiquity of an opinion ever constitute the truth of it.

⁴ Time brings truth to light, although it was time also which had concealed it. It often involves subjects in perplexity, and occasions those very difficulties which afterwards it helps to remove. Bishop Warburton observes, that the satire contained in these lines of our author is fine and just. Cleanthes said that "truth was hid in a pit." "Yes," answers the poet; "but you, Greek philosophers, were the first that put her in there, and then claimed so much merit to yourselves for drawing her out."

And as he eats his sons, just so
 He feeds upon his daughters too.¹
 Nor does it follow, 'cause a herald
 Can make a gentleman, scarce a year old,² 670
 To be descended of a race
 Of ancient kings in a small space,
 That we should all opinions hold
 Authentic, that we can make old.
 Quoth Sidrophel, It is no part 675
 Of prudence to cry down an art,
 And what it may perform, deny,
 Because you understand not why ;
 As Averrhoes play'd but a mean trick,
 To damn our whole art for eccentrick,³ 680
 For who knows all that knowledge contains ?
 Men dwell not on the tops of mountains,
 But on their sides, or rising's seat ;
 So 'tis with knowledge's vast height.
 Do not the hist'ries of all ages 685
 Relate miraculous presages
 Of strange turns in the world's affairs,
 Foreseen b' astrologers, soothsayers,
 Chaldeans, learn'd Genethliacks,⁴
 And some that have writ almanacks? 690

¹ If Truth is "Time's daughter," yet Saturn, or Time, may be none the kinder to her on that account. For, as poets feign that Saturn eats his sons, so he may also be supposed to feed upon his daughters.

² In all civil wars the order of things is subverted ; the poor become rich, and the rich poor. And they who suddenly gain riches seek, in the next place, to be furnished with an honourable pedigree, however fictitious. Many instances of this kind are preserved in Walker's History of Independency, Bate's Lives of the Regicides, &c. But the satire applies to heraldic pedigrees generally.

³ Averrhoes flourished in the twelfth century. He was a great critic, lawyer, and physician ; and one of the most subtle philosophers that ever appeared among the Arabians. He wrote a commentary upon Aristotle, from whence he obtained the surname of commentator. He much disliked the epicycles and eccentrics which Ptolemy had introduced into his system ; they seemed so absurd to him, that they gave him a disgust to the science of astronomy in general. He does not seem to have formed a more favourable opinion of astrology, which he condemned as eccentric and fallacious, having no foundation in truth or certainty.

⁴ Genethliaci, or Chaldeans, were soothsayers, who undertook to foretell

The Median emp'ror dream'd his daughter
 Had pist all Asia under water,¹
 And that a vine, sprung from her haunches,
 O'erspread his empire with its branches;
 And did not soothsayers expound it, 695
 As after by th' event he found it?
 When Cæsar in the senate fell,
 Did not the sun eclips'd foretell;
 And in resentment of his slaughter,
 Look'd pale for almost a year after?² 700
 Augustus having, b' oversight,
 Put on his left shoe 'fore his right,³
 Had like to have been slain that day,
 By soldiers mutin'ing for pay.
 Are there not myriads of this sort, 705
 Which stories of all times report?
 Is it not ominous in all countries,
 When crows and ravens croak upon trees?⁴
 The Roman senate, when within
 The city walls an owl was seen,⁵ 710
 Did cause their clergy, with lustrations,
 Our Synod calls Humiliations,

the fortunes of men from circumstances attending their births, by casting their nativities.

¹ Astyages, king of Media, had this dream of his daughter Mandane; and being alarmed at the interpretation which was given of it by the Magi, he married her to Cambyses, a Persian of mean quality. Her son was Cyrus, who fulfilled the dream by the conquest of Asia. See Herodotus, i. 107, and Justin.

² The prodigies, said to have preceded the death of Cæsar, are mentioned by several of the classics, Virgil, Ovid, Plutarch, &c. But the poet alludes to what is related by Pliny in his Natural History, ii. 30. See also Shakespeare for a full account of these prodigies, Jul. Cæs. Act i. se. 3.

³ Pliny tells this tale, in his Second Book. See also Suetonius, lib. ii. s. 29. The ascents to temples were always contrived so that the worshippers might set their right foot upon the uppermost step, as the ancients were superstitious in this respect. And we have an old English saying about putting the right foot foremost. (Handbook of Proverbs, p. 160.)

⁴ Ravens, crows, magpies, and the like, have always been regarded as birds of ominous appearance. But the omens have been variously interpreted in different ages and countries. In England if they croak against the sun it is for fine weather, if in the water it is for rain. Bishop Hall says, "If you hear but a raven croak from the next roof, make your will."

⁵ See Julius Obsequens, No. 44, 45, and Lycostheues, p. 194, 195.

The round-fac'd prodigy t' avert
 From doing town or country hurt.
 And if an owl have so much pow'r, 715
 Why should not planets have much more,
 That in a region far above
 Inferior fowls of the air move,
 And should see further, and foreknow
 More than their augury below? 720
 Tho' that once serv'd the polity
 Of mighty states to govern by;¹
 And this is what we take in hand,
 By pow'rful art, to understand;
 Which, how we have perform'd, all ages 725
 Can speak th' events of our presages.
 Have we not lately in the moon
 Found a new world, to th' old unknown?²
 Discover'd sea and land, Columbus
 And Magellan could never compass? 730
 Made mountains with our tubes appear,
 And cattle grazing on them there?
 Quoth Hudibras, You lie so ope,
 That I, without a telescope,
 Can find your tricks out, and descry 735
 Where you tell truth and where you lie:
 For Anaxagoras, long ago,
 Saw hills, as well as you, i' th' moon,³

¹ It appears from many passages of Cicero, and other authors, that the determinations of the augurs, aruspices, and the sibylline books, were commonly contrived to promote the ends of government, or to serve the purposes of the chief managers in the commonwealth.

² "The fame of Galileo's observations excited many others to repeat them, and to make maps of the moon's spots." The reference here, except in respect of the "cattle," is to the map of Hevelius in his *Selenographia sive Lunæ Descriptio*. See also the Cure of Melancholy, by Democritus, junior, p. 254.

³ See Burnet's Archæolog. cap. x. p. 144. Anaxagoras of Clazomene was the first of the Ionic philosophers who maintained that the several parts of the universe were the works of a supreme intelligent being, and consequently did not allow the sun and moon to be gods. On this account he was accused of impiety, and thrown into prison; but released by the intercession of Pericles, who had been one of his pupils. The poet might probably have Bishop Wilkins in view, whose book, maintaining that the moon was a habitable world, and proposing schemes for flying there, went through several editions between 1638 and 1684.

And held the sun was but a piece
 Of red-hot iron as big as Greece;¹ 740
 Believ'd the heav'ns were made of stone,
 Because the sun had voided one;²
 And, rather than he would recant
 Th' opinion, suffer'd banishment.
 But what, alas! is it to us, 745
 Whether i' th' moon, men thus or thus
 Do eat their porridge, cut their corns,
 Or whether they have tails or horns?
 What trade from thence can you advance,
 But what we nearer have from France? 750
 What can our travellers bring home,
 That is not to be learnt at Rome?
 What politics, or strange opinions,
 That are not in our own dominions?
 What science can be brought from thence, 755
 In which we do not here commence?
 What revelations, or religions,
 That are not in our native regions?
 Are sweating-lanterns,³ or screen-fans,
 Made better there than they're in France? 760
 Or do they teach to sing and play,
 O' th' guitar there a newer way?
 Can they make plays there, that shall fit
 The public humour with less wit?

¹ In Butler's Remains we read

For the ancients only took it for a piece
 Of red-hot iron, as big as Peloponese.

Alluding to one of the notions about the moon, attributed, no doubt falsely, to Anaxagoras. See his Life in Diogenes Laertius (Bohn's edit. p. 59, *et seq.*).

² Anaxagoras had foretold that a large stone would fall from heaven, and it was supposed to have been found soon afterwards near Ægospotamos. The fall of the stone is recorded in the Arundelian marbles.

³ These lanterns, as the poet calls them, were boxes, wherein the whole body was placed, together with a lamp. They were used by quacks, in a certain disease, to bring on perspiration. See Swift's Works, vol. vi. *Pethox the Great*, v. 56, Hawkesworth's edition. Screen fans were used to shade the eyes from the fire, and commonly hung by the side of the chimney; sometimes ladies carried them along with them: they were made of ornamented leather, paper, straw, or feathers.

Write wittier dances, quainter shows, 765
 Or fight with more ingenious blows ?
 Or does the man i' th' moon look big,
 And wear a huger periwig,
 Show in his gait or face more tricks,
 Than our own native lunaticks ? ¹ 770
 But, if w' outdo him here at home,
 What good of your design can come ?
 As wind, i' th' hypocondres pent,²
 Is but a blast, if downward sent ;
 But if it upward chance to fly, 775
 Becomes new light and prophecy ;³
 So when our speculations tend
 Above their just and useful end,
 Altho' they promise strange and great
 Discoveries of things far fet, 780

¹ These and the foregoing lines were a satire upon the gait, dress, and carriage of the fops and beaux of those days. Long perukes had some years previously been introduced in France, and in our poet's time had come into great vogue in England.

² In the belly, under the short ribs. These lines were cleverly turned into Latin by Dr Harmer.

Sic hypocondriacis inclusa meatibus aura
 Desinet in crepitum, si fertur prona per alvum ;
 Sed si summa petat, mentisque invaserit arcem
 Divinus furor est, et conscia flamma futuri.

The subject seems to have afforded scope, or rather "given vent," to the wit of the day. In *Dornavii Amphitheatrum Sapientiæ joco-seriæ*, Hanov. 1619, are several early pieces "de peditu," and a merry English writer gives the following joco-scientific definition of it. "A nitro-aërial vapour, exhaled from an adjacent pond of stagnant water, of a saline nature, and rarefied and sublimed into the nose of a microscopical alembic by the general heat of a stercorarius balneum, with a strong empyreuma, and forced through the posteriors by the compressive power of the compulsive faculty."

³ New light was a phrase coined at that time, and used ever since for any new opinion in religion. In the north of Ireland, where the dissenters are chiefly divided into two sects, they are distinguished as the old and the new lights. The old lights are such as rigidly adhere to the old Calvinistic doctrine ; and the new lights are those who have adopted the more modern latitudinarian opinions : these are frequently hostile to each other, as their predecessors the Presbyterians and Independents were in the time of the Civil Wars.

They are but idle dreams and fancies,
 And savour strongly of the ganzas.¹
 Tell me but what's the natural cause,
 Why on a sign no painter draws
 The full moon ever, but the half;— 785
 Resolve that with your Jacob's staff; ²
 Or why wolves raise a hubbub at her,
 And dogs howl when she shines in water;
 And I shall freely give my vote,
 You may know something more remote. 790
 At this, deep Sidrophel look'd wise,
 And staring round with owl-like eyes,
 He put his face into a posture
 Of sapience, and began to bluster;
 For having three times shook his head 795
 To stir his wit up, thus he said:
 Art has no mortal enemies,³
 Next ignorance, but owls and geese:
 Those consecrated geese, in orders,
 That to the Capitol were warders,⁴ 800
 And being then upon patrol,
 With noise alone beat off the Gaul;
 Or those Athenian sceptic owls,
 That will not credit their own souls,⁵

¹ Godwin, afterwards bishop of Hereford, wrote in his youth, a kind of astronomical romance, under the feigned name of Domingo Gonzales, and entitled it *The Man in the Moon, or a Discourse on a Voyage thither* (published London, 1638). It gives an account of his being drawn up to the moon in a light vehicle, by certain birds called ganzas, a Spanish word for *geese*. The Knight here censures the pretensions of Sidrophel by comparing them with this wild expedition. The poet likewise might intend to banter some of the aerial projects of the learned Bishop Wilkins.

² A mathematical instrument for taking the heights and distances of stars.

³ "Et quod vulgo aiunt, artem non habere inimicum nisi ignorantem." Sprat thought it necessary to write many pages to show that natural philosophy was not likely to subvert our government, or our religion; and that experimental knowledge had no tendency to make men either bad subjects or bad Christians. See Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*.

⁴ The garrison of a castle were called warders. The tale of the defeat of the night attack on the Capitol through the cackling of the sacred geese of Juno, is well known. See Livy's *Roman Hist.* Book v. c. 77.

⁵ Incredulous persons. He calls them owls because that bird was the emblem of wisdom; and Athenian, because that bird was sacred to Minerva,

Or any science understand, 805
 Beyond the reach of eye or hand ;
 But measuring all things by their own
 Knowledge, hold nothing's to be known :
 Those wholesale critics, that in coffee-
 Houses cry down all philosophy, 810
 And will not know upon what ground
 In nature we our doctrine found,
 Altho' with pregnant evidence
 We can demonstrate it to sense,
 As I just now have done to you, 815
 Foretelling what you came to know.
 Were the stars only made to light
 Robbers and burglars by night ?¹
 To wait on drunkards, thieves, gold-finders,
 And lovers solacing behind doors ? 820
 Or giving one another pledges
 Of matrimony under hedges ?
 Or witches simpling, and on gibbets
 Cutting from malefactors snippets ?²
 Or from the pill'ry tips of ears 825
 Of rebel-saints and perjurers ?
 Only to stand by, and look on,
 But not know what is said or done ?
 Is there a constellation there
 That was not born and bred up here ; 830
 And therefore cannot be to learn
 In any inferior concern ?

the protectress of Athens. Since the owl, however, is usually considered a moping, drowsy bird, the poet intimates that the knowledge of these sceptics is obscure, confused, and undigested. The meaning of the whole passage is : that there are two sorts of men, who are great enemies to the advancement of science ; the first, bigoted divines, who, upon hearing of any new discovery in nature, apprehend an attack upon religion, and proclaim loudly that the Capitol, i. e. the faith of the church, is in danger ; the others, self-sufficient philosophers, who lay down arbitrary principles, and reject every truth which does not coincide with them.

¹ Sidrophel argues, that so many luminous bodies could never have been constructed for the sole purpose of affording a little light, in the absence of the sun ; but his reasoning does not contribute much to the support of astrology.

² Collecting herbs, and other requisites, for their enchantments. See Shakspeare's *Macbeth*, Act iv.

Were they not, during all their lives,
 Most of 'em pirates, whores, and thieves ?
 And is it like they have not still 835
 In their old practiees some skill ?
 Is there a planet that by birth
 Does not derive its house from earth ;
 And therefore probably must know
 What is, and hath been done below ? 840
 Who made the Balance, or whence came
 The Bull, the Lion, and the Ram ?
 Did not we here the Argo rig,
 Make Berenice's periwig ?¹
 Whose liv'ry does the Coachman² wear ? 845
 Or who made Cassiopeia's chair ?³
 And therefore, as they came from hence,
 With us may hold intelligence.
 Plato deny'd the world can be
 Govern'd without geometry,⁴ 850
 For money b'ing the common scale
 Of things by measure, weight, and tale,
 In all th' affairs of church and state,
 'Tis both the balance and the weight :
 Then much less can it be without 855
 Divine astrology made out,
 That puts the other down in worth,
 As far as heaven's above earth.
 These reasons, quoth the Knight, I grant
 Are something more significant 860
 Than any that the learned use
 Upon this subject to produce ;

¹ Meaning the constellation called *Coma Berenices*. *Berenice*, the wife of *Ptolemy Evergetes*, king of *Egypt*, made a vow when her husband undertook his expedition into *Syria*, that if he returned safe she would cut off and dedicate her hair to *Venus*, and this, on his return, she fulfilled. The offering by some accident being lost, *Conon*, the mathematician, to soothe her feelings, declared that her hair was carried up to heaven, where it was formed into seven stars, near the tail of the *Lion*. Hence the constellation of this name.

² The constellation *Auriga*, near that of *Cassiopeia* ; which lies near those of *Cepheus*, *Perseus*, and *Andromeda*.

³ A constellation in the northern hemisphere, consisting of 55 stars.

⁴ *Plato*, out of fondness for geometry, employed it in all his systems. He used to say that the Deity governed the world on geometrical principles, performing everything by weight and measure.

And yet they're far from satisfactory,
 T' establish and keep up your factory.
 Th' Egyptians say, the sun has twice ¹ 865
 Shifted his setting and his rise ;
 Twice has he risen in the west,
 As many times set in the east ;
 But whether that be true or no,
 The devil any of you know. 870
 Some hold, the heavens, like a top,
 Are kept by circulation up,²
 And were't not for their wheeling round,
 They'd instantly fall to the ground :
 As sage Empedocles of old,³ 875
 And from him modern authors hold.
 Plato believ'd the sun and moon
 Below all other planets run.⁴
 Some Mercury, some Venus seat
 Above the sun himself in height. 880

¹ The Egyptian priests informed Herodotus that, in the space of 11,340 years, the sun had four times risen and set out of its usual course, rising twice where it now sets, and setting twice where it now rises. See Herodotus (Bohn's transl. p. 152). Spenser alludes to this supposed miracle in his *Fairy Queen*, book v. c. 1, stanza 6, *et seq.* Such a phænomenon might have been observed by some who had ventured beyond the equator, to the south, exploring the continent of Africa; for there, to any one standing with his face to the sun at noon, it would appear that the sun had risen on his *right* hand, and was about to set on his *left*.

² It is mentioned as one of the opinions of Anaxagoras, that the heaven was composed of stone, and was kept up by violent circumrotation, but would fall when the rapidity of that motion should be remitted. Some do Anaxagoras the honour to suppose, that this conceit of his, gave the first hint towards the modern theory of the planetary motions.

³ Empedocles was a philosopher of Agrigentum, in Sicily, of the 5th cent. B. C. He was equally famous for his knowledge of natural history and medicine, and as a poet and a statesman; and it is generally related that he threw himself into Mount Etna, so that by suddenly disappearing he might establish his claim to divinity, but Diogenes Laertius gives a more rational account of his death. He maintained the motions of the sun and the planets; but held that the stars were composed of fire, and fixed in a crystal sphere, and that the sun was a body of fire. Some of these opinions are embodied in Shakspeare's familiar lines:

"Doubt that the stars are fire
 Doubt that the sun doth move," &c.

⁴ The Knight further argues, that there can be no foundation for truth in astrology, since the learned differ so much about the planets themselves, from which astrologers chiefly drew their predictions.

The learned Scaliger complain'd
 'Gainst what Copernicus maintain'd,¹
 That in twelve hundred years, and odd,²
 The sun had left his ancient road,
 And nearer to the Earth is come, 885
 'Bove fifty thousand miles from home :
 Swore 'twas a most notorious flam,
 And he that had so little shame
 To vent such fopperies abroad,
 Deserv'd to have his rump well claw'd : 890
 Which Monsieur Bodin hearing, swore
 That he deserv'd the rod much more,³
 That durst upon a truth give doom,
 He knew less than the pope of Rome.⁴
 Cardan believ'd great states depend 895
 Upon the tip o' th' Bear's tail's end ;⁵
 That as she whisk'd it t'wards the sun,
 Strow'd mighty empires up and down ;

¹ Copernicus thought that the eccentricity of the sun, or the obliquity of the ecliptic, had been diminished by many parts since the times of Ptolemy and Hipparchus. On which Scaliger observed that the writings of Copernicus deserved a sponge, or their author a rod.

² Instead of this and the seven following lines, the editions of 1664 read :

About the sun's and earth's approach,
 And swore that he, that dar'd to broach
 Such paltry fopperies abroad,
 Deserv'd to have his rump well claw'd.

³ John Bodin, an eminent geographer and lawyer, born at Angers, died at Laon, 1596, aged 67. He agreed with Copernicus, and other famous astronomers, that the circle of the earth had approached nearer to the sun than it was formerly. He was alternately superstitious and sceptical; and is said to have been at different times, a Protestant, a Papist, a deist, a sorcerer, a Jew, and an atheist.

⁴ *Var.* He knew no more than th' pope of Rome, in the editions of 1664.

⁵ Cardan, a physician and astrologer, born at Pavia, 1501. He held that particular stars influenced particular countries, and that the fate of the greatest kingdoms in Europe was determined by the tail of Ursa Major. He cast the nativity of Edward VI., and foretold his death, it is said, correctly. He then foretold the time of his own death, and when the day drew near, finding himself in perfect health, he starved himself to death, rather than disgrace his science. Scaliger said that in certain things he appeared superior to human understanding, and in a great many others inferior to that of little children. See Bayle's Dict. Tennemann's History of Philosophy, p. 263.

Which others say must needs be false,
 Because your true bears have no tails.¹ 900
 Some say, the zodiac constellations²
 Have long since chang'd their antique stations³
 Above a sign, and prove the same
 In Taurus now, once in the Ram;
 Affirm'd the Trignons chopp'd and chang'd, 905
 The wat'ry with the fiery rang'd;⁴
 Then how can their effects still hold
 To be the same they were of old?
 This, though the art were true, would make
 Our modern soothsayers mistake,⁵ 910
 And is one cause they tell more lies,
 In figures and nativities,
 Than th' old Chaldean conjurers,
 In so many hundred thousand years;⁶
 Beside their nonsense in translating, 915
 For want of accidance and Latin;

¹ This was a vulgar error, originating in the shortness of the bear's tail.

² In the editions of 1664, this and the following lines stand thus:

Some say the stars i' th' zodiac
 Are more than a whole sign gone back
 Since Ptolemy; and prove the same
 In Taurus now, then in the Ram.

The alteration was made in the edition of 1674.

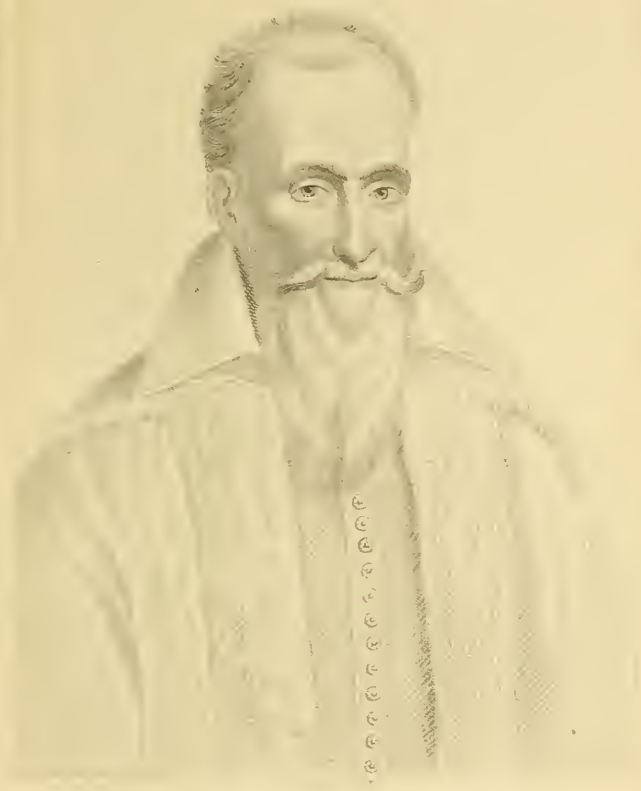
³ The Knight, still further to lessen the credit of astrology, observes that the stars have suffered a considerable variation of their longitude, by the precession of the equinoxes; for instance, the first star of Aries, which in the time of Meton the Athenian was found in the very interseccion of the ecliptic and equator, is now removed eastward more than thirty degrees, so that the sign Aries possesses the place of Taurus, Taurus that of Gemini, and so on.

⁴ The twelve signs are in astrology divided into four trigons, each named after one of the four elements: accordingly there are three fiery, three airy, three watery, and three earthly.

Fiery—Aries, Leo, Sagittarius.
 Earthly—Taurus, Virgo, Capricornus.
 Airy—Gemini, Libra, Aquarius.
 Watery—Cancer, Scorpio, Pisces.

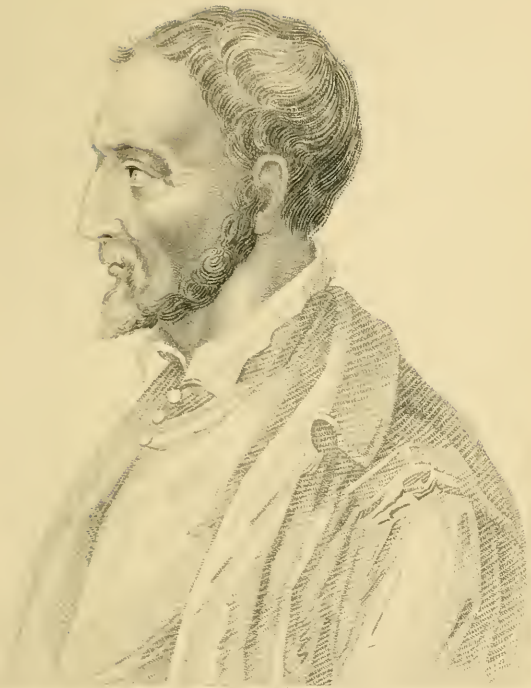
⁵ See Dr Bentley's Boyle Lectures. Sermon iii.

⁶ The Chaldeans, as Cicero remarks, pretended to have been in possession of astrological knowledge for the space of 47,000 years.



FRANCIS BACON
1561-1626





R. Cooper sculp.

WILLIAM COOPER

1791-1861



Like *Idus* and *Calendæ* Englisht
 The Quarter-days, by skilful linguist.¹
 And yet with canting, slight, and cheat,
 'Twill serve their turn to do the feat ; 920
 Make fools believe in their foreseeing
 Of things before they are in being ;
 To swallow gudgeons ere they're catch'd,
 And count their chickens ere they're hatch'd ;²
 Make them the constellations prompt, 925
 And give 'em back their own accompt ;
 But still the best to him that gives
 The best price for't, or best believes.
 Some towns and cities, some for brevity,
 Have cast the 'versal world's nativity, 930
 And made the infant stars confess,
 Like fools or children, what they please.
 Some calculate the hidden fates
 Of monkeys, puppy-dogs, and cats ;
 Some running nags, and fighting-cocks, 935
 Some love, trade, law-suits, and the pox :
 Some take a measure of the lives
 Of fathers, mothers, husbands, wives ;
 Make opposition, trine, and quartile,
 Tell who is barren, and who fertile ; 940
 As if the planet's first aspect
 The tender infant did infect³

¹ Mr Smith, of Harleston, says this is probably a banter upon Sir Richard Fanshawe's translation of Horace, *Epod.* ii. 69, 70.

Omnem relegit idibus pecuniam,
 Quærit calendis ponere.

At Michaelmas calls all his monies in,
 And at our Lady puts them out again.

The 15th of March, May, July, and October, and the 13th of all other months, were the Ides. The 1st of every month was the Calends.

² Handbook of Proverbs, pp. 81, &c. See also L'Estrange's *Fables*, Part ii. fab. 205, and *Spectator*, No. 535.

³ The accent is laid upon the last syllable of aspect. Astrologers reckon five aspects of the planets: conjunction, sextile, quartile, trine, and opposition. Sextile denotes their being distant from each other a sixth part of a circle, or two signs; quartile, a fourth part, or three signs; trine, a third part, or four signs; opposition, half the circle, or directly opposite. It was the opinion of judicial astrologers, that whatever good disposition the infant might otherwise have been endued with, yet if its birth was, by any

In soul and body, and instil
 All future good and future ill ;
 Which in their dark fatal'ties lurking, 945
 At destin'd periods fall a working,
 And break out, like the hidden seeds
 Of long diseases, into deeds,
 In friendships, enmities, and strife,
 And all th' emergencies of life : 950
 No sooner does he peep into
 The world, but he has done his do,
 Catch'd all diseases, took all physick,
 That cures or kills a man that is sick ;
 Marry'd his punctual dose of wives,¹ 955
 Is cuckolded, and breaks, or thrives.
 There's but the twinkling of a star
 Between a man of peace and war ;
 A thief and justice, fool and knave,
 A huffing off'cer and a slave ; 960
 A crafty lawyer and pick-pocket,
 A great philosopher and a blockhead ;
 A formal preacher and a player,
 A learn'd physician and man-slayer :
 As if men from the stars did suck 965
 Old age, diseases, and ill luck,
 Wit, folly, honour, virtue, vice,
 Trade, travel, women, claps, and dice ;
 And draw, with the first air they breathe,
 Battle, and murder, sudden death.² 970
 Are not these fine commodities
 To be imported from the skies,

accident, so accelerated or retarded, that it fell in with the predominance of a malignant constellation, this momentary influence would entirely change its nature, and bias it to all contrary ill qualities. See a fine banter on this foolish notion, in *Hotspur's* reply to *Glendower's* astrology, in *Henry the Fourth*, Part I. Act iii.

¹ "Punctual dose" is the precise number of wives to which he was predestined by the planetary influence predominant at his birth. An old proverb says, the first confers matrimony, the second company, the third heresy.

² This is one of the petitions in the litany, which the dissenters objected to; especially the words sudden death. See *Bennet's London Cases* abridged, ch. iv. p. 100.

And vended here among the rabble,
 For staple goods, and warrantable?
 Like money by the Druids borrow'd, 975
 In th' other world to be restored.¹

Quoth Sidrophel, To let you know
 You wrong the art and artists too :
 Since arguments are lost on those
 That do our principles oppose, 980
 I will, altho' I've don't before,
 Demonstrate to your sense once more,
 And draw a figure that shall tell you
 What you, perhaps, forget befell you ;
 By way of horary inspection,² 985
 Which some account our worst erection.

With that, he circles draws, and squares,
 With eyphers, astral characters,
 Then looks 'em o'er to understand 'em,
 Altho' set down hab-nab at random.³ 990

Quoth he, This scheme of th' heavens set,
 Discovers how in fight you met,
 At Kingston, with a may-pole idol,⁴
 And that y' were bang'd both back and side well ;

¹ That is, astrologers, by endeavouring to persuade men that the stars have dealt out to them their future fortunes, are guilty of a similar fraud with the Druids, who borrowed money on a promise of repaying it after death. This practice among the Druids was founded on their doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Purchas speaks of some who barter with the people upon bills of exchange to be paid a hundred for one, in heaven.

² The horoscope is the point of the heavens which rises above the eastern horizon, at any particular moment.

³ Nares says, *habbe* or *nabbe* ; have or have not, hit or miss, at a venture : quasi, *have* or *n'ave*, i. e. have not ; as *will* for will not. "The citizens in their rage imagining that every post in the churche had bin one of their souldyers, shot *habbe* or *nabbe*, at random." Holinshed, Hist. of Ireland. F. 2, col. 2.

⁴ Butler here alludes to the spurious second part of Hudibras, published 1663. The first annotator informs us that "there was a notorious idiot, here described by the name of *Whacum*, who had counterfeited a second part of Hudibras, as untowardly as Captain *Po*, who could not write himself, and yet made shift to stand in the Pillory for forging other men's hands, as this fellow *Whacum* no doubt deserved. In this spurious production, the rencounters of Hudibras at Brentford, the transactions of a mountebank whom he met with, and probably these adventures of the may-pole at Kingston, are described at length. By drawing on that spurious pub-

And tho' you overcame the bear, 995
 The dogs beat you at Brentford fair ;
 Where sturdy butchers broke your noddle,
 And handled you like a fop-doodle.¹

Quoth Hudibras, I now perceive
 You are no conj'rer, by your leave ; 1000
 That paltry story is untrue,
 And forg'd to cheat such gulls as you.

Not true ? quoth he ; howe'er you vapour,
 I can what I affirm make appear ;
 Whachum shall justify't to your face, 1005
 And prove he was upon the place :
 He play'd the saltinbancho's part,²
 Transform'd t' a Frenchman by my art ;
 He stole your cloak, and pick'd your pocket,
 Chous'd and caldes'd you like a blockhead,³ 1010
 And what you lost I can produce,
 If you deny it, here i' the house.

Quoth Hudibras, I do believe
 That argument's demonstrative ;
 Ralpho, bear witness, and go fetch us 1015
 A constable to seize the wretches :
 For tho' they're both false knaves and cheats,
 Impostors, jugglers, counterfeits,
 I'll make them serve for perpendic'lars,
 As true as e'er were us'd by bricklayers :⁴ 1020
 They're guilty, by their own confessions,
 Of felony, and at the sessions,
 Upon the bench I will so handle 'em,
 That the vibration of this pendulum

lication for incidents in our hero's life, the astrologer betrays his ignorance of the facts, and Butler ingeniously contrives to publish the cheat.

¹ That is, a silly, vain, empty-pated fellow.

² Saltimbanque is a French word, signifying a quack or monntebank. Perhaps it was originally Italian.

³ Caldes'd is a word of the poet's own coining, and signifies, in the opinion of Warburton, "putting the fortune-teller upon you," as the Chaldeans were great fortune-tellers. Others suppose it may be derived from the Caldees, or Culdees. In Butler's Remains, vol. i. 24, it seems to mean hoodwinked or blinded.

Asham'd that men so grave and wise
 Should be ehaldes'd by gnats and flies.

⁴ i. e. perfectly true or upright, like a bricklayer's plumb-line.

Shall make all tailors yards of one 1025
 Unanimous opinion :¹
 A thing he long has vapour'd of,
 But now shall make it out by proof.
 Quoth Sidrophel, I do not doubt
 To find friends that will bear me out :² 1030
 Nor have I hazarded my art,
 And neck, so long on the State's part,
 To be expos'd i' th' end to suffer
 By such a braggadocio huffer.³
 Huffer! quoth Hudibras, this sword 1035
 Shall down thy false throat cram that word.
 Ralpho, make haste, and call an officer,
 To apprehend this Stygian sophister ;⁴
 Meanwhile I'll hold 'em at a bay,
 Lest he and Whachum run away. 1040

¹ The device of the vibration of a pendulum was intended to settle a certain measure of ells, yards, &c., all the world over, which should have its foundation in nature. For by swinging a weight at the end of a string, and calculating, by the motion of the sun or any star, how long the vibration would last, in proportion to the length of the string and weight of the pendulum, they thought to reduce it back again, and from any part of time compute the exact length of any string, that must necessarily vibrate for such a period of time. So that if a man should ask in China for a quarter of an hour of satin or taffeta, they would know perfectly well what he meant ; and the measure of things would be reckoned no more by the yard, foot, or inch, but by the hour, quarter, and minute. See Butler's Remains by Thyer, vol. i. p. 30, for the following illustration of this notion :

By which he had composed a pedlar's jargon,
 For all the world to learn and use to bargain,
 An universal canting idiom
 To understand the swinging pendulum,
 And to communicate in all designs
 With th' Eastern virtuoso mandarines.

Elephant in the Moon.

The moderns perhaps will not be more successful in their endeavours to establish a universal standard of weights and measures.

² William Lilly wrote and prophesied for the Parliament, till he perceived their influence decline. He then changed sides, but having declared himself rather too soon, he was taken into custody ; and escaped only, as he tells us himself, by the interference of friends, and by cancelling the offensive leaf in his almanack.

³ Huff means to bully or brow-beat.

⁴ i. e. *hellish* sophister.

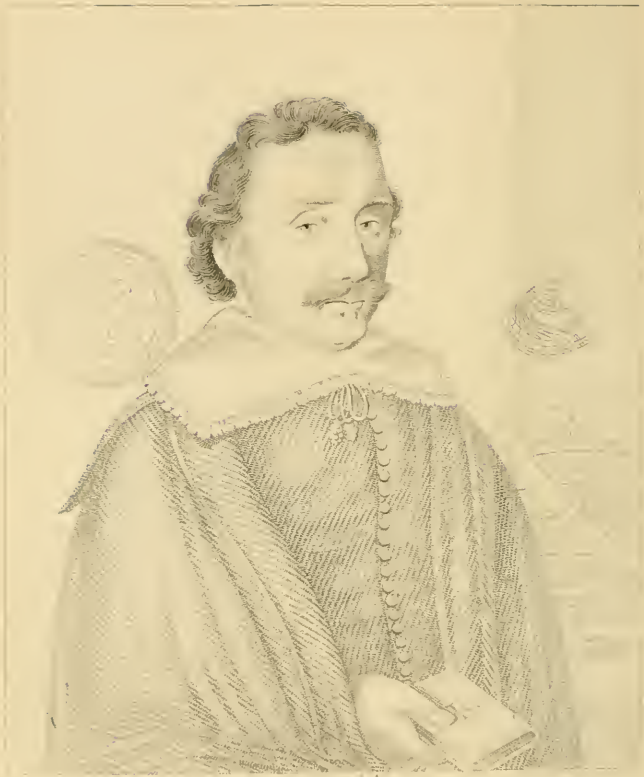
But Sidrophel, who from the aspect
 Of Hudibras, did now erect
 A figure worse portending far,
 Than that of most malignant star;
 Believ'd it now the fittest moment 1045
 To shun the danger that might come on't,
 While Hudibras was all alone,
 And he and Whachum, two to one:
 This being resolv'd, he spy'd by chance,
 Behind the door an iron lance,¹ 1050
 That many a sturdy limb had gor'd,
 And legs, and loins, and shoulders bor'd;
 He snatch'd it up, and made a pass,
 To make his way thro' Hudibras.
 Whachum had got a fire-fork,² 1055
 With which he vow'd to do his work;
 But Hudibras was well prepar'd,
 And stoutly stood upon his guard:
 He put by Sidrophello's thrust,
 And in right manfully he rusht, 1060
 The weapon from his gripe he wrung,
 And laid him on the earth along.
 Whachum his sea-coal prong threw by,
 And basely turn'd his back to fly;
 But Hudibras gave him a twitch 1065
 As quick as lightning in the breech,
 Just in the place where honour's lodg'd,³
 As wise philosophers have judg'd;
 Because a kick in that part more
 Hurts honour, than deep wounds before. 1070
 Quoth Hudibras, The stars determine
 You are my prisoners, base vermin.
 Could they not tell you so, as well
 As what I came to know, foretell?

¹ A spit for roasting meat.

² Spelt "fiër-fork" in the old editions, so as to make fire a dissyllable.

³ Butler, in his speech at the Rota, says (Genuine Remains, vol. i. p. 323): "Some are of opinion that honour is seated in the rump only, chiefly at least: for it is observed, that a small kick on that part does more hurt and wound honour than a cut on the head or face, or a stab, or a shot of a pistol, on any other part of the body."





R Cooper sculp^t

WILLIAM BOWEN

Printed and Sold by W. Bowen

By this, what cheats you are, we find, 1075
 That in your own concerns are blind.¹
 Your lives are now at my dispose,
 To be redeem'd by fine or blows :
 But who his honour would defile,
 To take, or sell, two lives so vile ? 1 80
 I'll give you quarter ; but your pillage,
 The conqu'ring warrior's crop and tillage,
 Which with his sword he reaps and plows,
 That's mine, the law of arms allows.
 This said in haste, in haste he fell 1085
 To rummaging of Sidrophel.
 First, he expounded both his pockets,
 And found a watch with rings and lockets,
 Which had been left with him t'erect
 A figure for, and so detect. 1090
 A copper-plate with almanacks
 Engrav'd upon't. with other knaeks²
 Of Booker's, Lilly's, Sarah Jimmers',³
 And blank schemes to discover nimmers ;⁴
 A moon-dial, with Napier's bones,⁵ 1105
 And sev'ral constellation stones,

¹ "Astrologers," says Agrippa, "while they gaze on the stars for direction, fall into ditches, wells, and gaols," that is, while they foretell what is to happen to others, cannot tell what will happen to themselves. The crafty Tiberius, not content with a promise of empire, examined the astrologer concerning his own horoscope, intending to drown him on the least appearance of falsehood. But Thrasyllus was too cunning for him, and immediately answered "that he perceived himself at that instant to be in imminent danger ;" and added, "that he was destined to die just ten years before the emperor himself." Tacit. Ann. vi. 21 ; Dio. lviii. 27.

² That is, marks or signs belonging to the astrologer's art. *Knack* also signifies a bauble.

³ Three astrologers. John Booker was born at Manchester in 1601, and after being apprenticed to a haberdasher, became clerk first to a justice of the peace and afterwards to a London alderman. He is said to have had great skill in judging of thefts. Lilly has frequently been mentioned. Sarah Jimmers, called by Lilly, Sarah Skilhorn, was a great speculatrix, or *medium*, as she would now be called. She was celebrated for the power of her eyes in looking into a speculum, and Lilly tells a strange story of angels showing her a red waistcoat being taken out of a trunk at 12 miles distance and the day before the act.

⁴ From the Anglo-Saxon *niman*, meaning thieves or pilferers.

⁵ Lord Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of Logarithms, also invented

Engrav'd in planetary hours,
 That over mortals had strange powers
 To make them thrive in law or trade,
 And stab or poison to evade ; 1100
 In wit or wisdom to improve,
 And be victorious in love.
 Whachum had neither cross nor pile,¹
 His plunder was not worth the while ;
 All which the conqu'ror did discompt, 1105
 To pay for curing of his rump.
 But Sidrophel, as full of tricks
 As Rota-men of politics,²
 Straight cast about to over-reach
 Th' unwary conqu'ror with a fetch, 1110
 And make him glad at least to quit
 His victory, and fly the pit,
 Before the secular prince of darkness³
 Arriv'd to seize upon his carcass :
 And, as a fox with hot pursuit,⁴ 1115
 Chas'd through a warren, cast about
 To save his credit, and among
 Dead vermin on a gallows hung.

a contrivance for performing multiplication. The numbers were marked on little square rods, which, being made of ivory, were called Napier's bones. His lordship was one of the early members of the Royal Society, which the poet takes frequent occasions to banter.

¹ Money frequently bore a cross on one side, and the head of a spear or arrow (*pilum*) on the other. *Cross* and *pile* were our heads and tails. Thus Swift says, "This I humbly conceive to be perfect boy's play; *cross*, I win, and *pile*, you lose."

² Harrington, having devised the scheme of popular government which is described in his *Oceana*, endeavoured to promote it by a club, of which Henry Nevil, Charles Wolseley, John Wildman, and Doctor (afterwards Sir William) Petty, were members, which met in New Palace-yard, Westminster. This club was called the Rota, in consequence of a proposal that, in the projected House of Commons, a third part of the members should "rote out by ballot every year," and be ineligible for three years.

³ The constable who keeps the peace at night.

⁴ Olaus Magnus has related many such stories of the fox's cunning: his imitating the barking of a dog; feigning himself dead; ridding himself of fleas, by going gradually into the water with a lock of wool in his mouth, and when the fleas are driven into it, leaving the wool in the water; catching crab-fish with his tail, all of which the author avers to be truth on his own knowledge. *Ol. Mag. Hist. i. 18.*



fr. adon. 41

Historie of the Emperours

from the first to the last

And while the dogs ran underneath,
 Escap'd, by counterfeiting death, 1120
 Not out of cunning, but a train
 Of atoms justling in his brain,¹
 As learn'd philosophers give out ;
 So Sidrophello cast about,
 And fell to 's wonted trade again, 1125
 To feign himself in earnest slain :²
 First stretch'd out one leg, then another,
 And, seeming in his breast to smother
 A broken sigh, quoth he, Where am I ?
 Alive, or dead ? or which way came I 1130
 Thro' so immense a space so soon ?
 But now I thought myself i' th' moon ;
 And that a monster with huge whiskers,
 More formidable than a Switzer's,
 My body thro' and thro' had drill'd, 1135
 And Whaechum by my side had kill'd,
 Had cross-examin'd both our hose,³
 And plunder'd all we had to lose ;
 Look, there he is, I see him now,
 And feel the place I am run thro' : 1140
 And there lies Whaechum by my side,
 Stone dead and in his own blood dy'd,
 Oh ! oh ! With that he fetch'd a groan,
 And fell again into a swoon ;
 Shut both his eyes, and stopt his breath, 1145
 And to the life out-acted death,
 That Hudibras, to all appearing,
 Believ'd him to be dead as herring.⁴

¹ The ancient atomic philosophers, Democritus, Epicurus, &c., held that sense in brutes, and cogitation and volition in men, were produced by the impression of corporeal atoms on the brain. But the author perhaps meant to ridicule Sir Kenelm Digby, who relates this story of the fox, and maintains that there was no thought or cunning in it, but merely a particular disposition of atoms.

² See the scene of Falstaff's counterfeited death, Shakspeare, Henry IV., Part I. Act v.

³ Trunk-hose with pockets to them.

⁴ Shakspeare refers to this proverb in Merry Wives, II. 3. See also Bohn's Handbook of Proverbs, p. 187.

He held it now no longer safe,
 To tarry the return of Ralph, 1150
 But rather leave him in the lurch :¹
 Thought he, he has abus'd our church,²
 Refused to give himself one firck,
 To carry on the Public work ;
 Despis'd our Synod-men like dirt, 1155
 And made their Discipline his sport ;
 Divulg'd the secrets of their Classes,
 And their Conventions prov'd high places ;³
 Disparag'd their tithe-pigs, as pagan,
 And set at nought their cheese and bacon ; 1160
 Rail'd at their Covenant,⁴ and jeer'd
 Their rev'rend parsons, to my beard ;
 For all which scandals, to be quit
 At once, this juncture falls out fit.
 I'll make him henceforth to beware, 1165
 And tempt my fury, if he dare :
 He must, at least, hold up his hand,⁵
 By twelve freeholders to be scann'd ;
 Who by their skill in palmistry,⁶
 Will quickly read his destiny, 1170
 And make him glad to read his lesson,
 Or take a turn for't at the session :⁷
 Unless his Light and Gifts prove truer
 Than ever yet they did, I'm sure ;
 For if he 'scape with whipping now, 1175
 'Tis more than he can hope to do :

¹ The different sects of dissenters left each other in the lurch whenever an opportunity offered of promoting their own separate interest. In this instance they made a separate peace with the King, as soon as they found that the Independents were playing their own game.

² This and the following lines show that Hudibras represents the Presbyterians, and Ralpho the Independents, all the principal words being party catchwords.

³ That is, corruptions in discipline. "When the devil tempted Christ he set him upon the highest pinnacle of the temple. Great preferments are great temptations." Butler's Remains.

⁴ The Independents called the Covenant an almanaek out of date.

⁵ Culprits, when they are tried, hold up their hands at the bar.

⁶ Cheiromancy, or telling fortunes by inspection of lines in the palm of the hand.

⁷ That is, claim the benefit of clergy, or be hanged.

And that will disengage my conscience
Of th' obligation, in his own sense :
I'll make him now by force abide,
What he by gentle means deny'd, 1180
To give my honour satisfaction,
And right the brethren in the action.
This being resolv'd, with equal speed
And conduct, he approach'd his steed,
And with activity unwont, 1185
Essay'd the lofty beast to mount ;
Which once atchiev'd, he spurr'd his palfry,
To get from th' enemy and Ralph free ;
Left dangers, fears, and foes behind,
And beat, at least three lengths, the wind. 1190





AN HEROICAL EPISTLE

OF

HUDIBRAS TO SIDROPHEL.¹

Ecce iterum Crispinus.

WELL, Sidrophel, tho' 'tis in vain
To tamper with your crazy brain,
Without trepanning of your skull,²
As often as the moon's at full,
'Tis not amiss, ere ye're giv'n o'er, 5
To try one desp'rate med'cine more ;
For where your case can be no worse,
The desp'rat'st is the wisest course.

¹ This Epistle was not published till many years after the preceding canto, and does not refer to the character there described. Sidrophel in the poem is, most probably, William Lilly, the astrologer and almanack-maker. But the Sidrophel of this Epistle is said to have been Sir Paul Nile, a conceited virtuoso, and member of the Royal Society. See note on line 86, *post*. The name Sidrophel had become proverbial for ignorance and imposture, when the Epistle was written.

² A surgical operation to remove part of the skull when it presses upon the brain. It was said to restore the understanding, and in that sense proposed as a remedy for the disorder with which Dean Swift was afflicted.

Is't possible that you, whose ears
 Are of the tribe of Issachar's,¹ 10
 And might with equal reason, either
 For merit, or extent of leather,
 With William Pryn's,² before they were
 Retrench'd, and crucify'd, compare,
 Shou'd yet be deaf against a noise 15
 So roaring as the public voice?
 That speaks your virtues free and loud,
 And openly in ev'ry crowd,
 As loud as one that sings his part
 T' a wheel-barrow, or turnip-cart, 20
 Or your new nick-nam'd old invention
 To cry green-hastings with an engine;³
 As if the vehemence had stunn'd,
 And torn your drum-heads with the sound;⁴
 And 'cause your folly's now no news, 25
 But overgrown, and out of use,
 Persuade yourself there's no such matter,⁵
 But that 'tis vanish'd out of nature;
 When folly, as it grows in years,
 The more extravagant appears; 30
 For who but you could be possess'd
 With so much ignorance and beast,
 That neither all men's scorn and hate,
 Nor being laugh'd and pointed at,
 Nor bray'd so often in a mortar,⁶ 35
 Can teach you wholesome sense and nurture,

¹ Genesis xlix. 14: "Issachar is a strong ass, couching down between two burdens."

² See Part III. Canto II. 841, and note.

³ In former times, and indeed until the beginning of the present century, the earliest peas brought to the London market came from Hastings, where they were grown, it may be said forced, in exhausted lime-pits. These used to be cried about the streets by hawkers with stentorian voice, "Green-hastings O." In Butler's time these hawkers may have helped their lungs with a speaking pipe, in which case this passage would point at Sir Samuel Morland's speaking-trumpet, then recently invented.

⁴ Drum-heads, that is, the drum of your ears.

⁵ i. e. is it possible that you should *persuade yourself*?

⁶ That is, pounded. "Though thou shouldst bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him." Prov. xxvii. 22.

But, like a reprobate, what course
 Soever us'd, grow worse and worse ?
 Can no transfusion of the blood,
 That makes fools cattle, do you good ?¹ 40
 Nor putting pigs t' a bitch to nurse,
 To turn them into mongrel curs ;²
 Put you into a way, at least,
 To make yourself a better beast ?
 Can all your critical intrigues, 45
 Of trying sound from rotten eggs ;³
 Your sev'ral new-found remedies,
 Of curing wounds and scabs in trees ;
 Your art for fluxing them for claps,
 And purging their infected saps ; 50
 Recovering shankers, crystallines,
 And nodes and blotches in their reins,
 Have no effect to operate
 Upon that duller block, your pate ?
 But still it must be lewdly bent 55
 To tempt your own due punishment ;
 And, like your whimsy'd chariots,⁴ draw
 The boys to course you without law ;⁵

¹ In the last century some scientific members of the Royal Society made experiments in transfusing the blood of one animal into the veins of another ; and, according to their account, the operation produced beneficial effects. It was even performed on human subjects. Dr Mackenzie has described the process in his *History of Health*, p. 431. Sir Edmund King, a favourite of Charles II., was among the philosophers of his time who made this famous experiment. See *Phil. Trans.* abr. iii. 224. The lines from v. 39 to 59 allude to various projects of the first establishers of the Royal Society. See Birch's *History of that body*, vol. i. 303, vol. ii. 48, *et seq.* *That makes fools cattle*, i. e. fools for admitting the blood of cattle into their veins.

² A curious story is told from Giraldus Cambrensis, of a sow that was suckled by a bitch, and acquired the sagacity of a hound or spaniel. See Butler's *Remains*, vol. i. p. 12.

³ On the first establishment of the Royal Society, some of the members engaged in the investigation of these and similar subjects. The Society was incorporated July 15, 1662.

⁴ The scheme proposed by the Society, was probably the cart to go with legs instead of wheels, mentioned Part III. Canto I. line 1563 ; or perhaps the famous sailing chariot of Stevinus, which was moved by sails, and carried twenty-eight passengers, over the sands of Scheveling, fourteen Dutch miles (nearly fifty-four English), in two hours.

⁵ That is, to follow you close at the heels.

As if the art you have so long
 Profess'd of making old dogs young,¹ 60
 In you had virtue to renew
 Not only youth, but childhood too ;
 Can you, that understand all books,
 By judging only with your looks,
 Resolve all problems with your face, 65
 As others do with B's and A's ;
 Unriddle all that mankind knows
 With solid bending of your brows ?
 All arts and sciences advance,
 With screwing of your countenance, 70
 And with a penetrating eye,
 Into th' abstrusest learning pry ;
 Know more of any trade b' a hint,
 Than those that have been bred up in't,
 And yet have no art, true or false, 75
 To help your own bad naturals ?
 But still the more you strive t' appear,
 Are found to be the wretcheder :
 For fools are known by looking wise,
 As men find woodcocks by their eyes. 80
 Hence 'tis because ye've gained o' th' college²
 A quarter share, at most, of knowledge,
 And brought in none, but spent repute,
 Y' assume a pow'r as absolute
 To judge, and censure, and control, 85
 As if you were the sole Sir Poll,³

¹ See Butler's *Genuine Remains*, vol. ii. p. 188. His want of judgment inclines him naturally to the most extravagant undertakings, like that of "making old dogs young; corking up of words in bottles," &c.

² Though the Royal Society removed from Gresham college on account of the fire of London, it returned there again 1674, being the year in which this Epistle was published.

³ Nash thinks that the character of Sidrophel, in this Epistle, was designed for Sir Paul Neile, who had offended Mr Butler by saying that he was not the author of *Hudibras*. And this opinion is confirmed by Mr Thyer, who, in Butler's *Remains*, says "he can assure the reader, upon the poet's own authority, that the character of Sidrophel was intended for a picture of Sir Paul Neile, son of Richard Neile (whose father was a chandler in Westminster), who, as Anthony Wood says, went through all degrees and orders in the church, school-master, curate, vicar, &c. &c..

And saucily pretend to know
 More than your dividend comes to :
 You'll find the thing will not be done
 With ignorance and face alone : 90
 No, tho' ye've purchas'd to your name,
 In history, so great a fame ;
 That now your talent's so well known,
 For having all belief out-grown,
 That ev'ry strange prodigious tale 95
 Is measur'd by your German scale,¹
 By which the virtuosi try
 The magnitude of ev'ry lie,
 Cast up to what it does amount,
 And place the bigg'st to your account ; 100
 That all those stories that are laid
 Too truly to you, and those made,
 Are now still charg'd upon your score,
 And lesser authors nam'd no more.
 Alas ! that faculty betrays² 105
 Those soonest it designs to raise ;
 And all your vain renown will spoil,
 As guns o'ercharg'd the more recoil ;
 Though he that has but impudence,
 To all things has a fair pretence ; 110
 And put among his wants but shame,
 To all the world may lay his claim :
 Tho' you have tried that nothing's borne
 With greater ease than public scorn,
 That all affronts do still give place 115
 To your impenetrable face ;
 That makes your way thro' all affairs,
 As pigs thro' hedges creep with theirs :
 Yet as 'tis counterfeit and brass,
 You must not think 'twill always pass ; 120

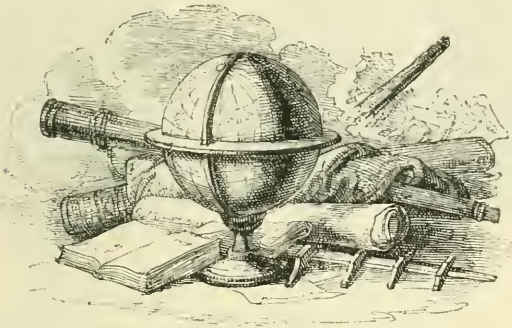
and at last was archbishop of York." Sir Paul was one of the first establishers of the Royal Society, which, in the dawn of science, listening to many things that appeared trifling and incredible to the generality of the people, became the butt and sport of the wits of the time.

¹ All incredible stories are now measured by your standard. One German mile is equal to five English miles.

² *Var.* *Destroys* in some early editions.

For all impostors, when they're known,
Are past their labour and undone:¹
And all the best that can befall
An artificial natural,
Is that which madmen find, as soon 125
As once they're broke loose from the moon,
And proof against her influence,
Relapse to e'er so little sense,
To turn stark fools, and subjects fit
For sport of boys, and rabble-wit. 130

¹ See Butler's Character of an Impudent Man. "He that is impudent, is like a merchant who trades upon his credit without a stock, and if his debts were known, would break immediately."



PART III. CANTO I.



ARGUMENT.

The Knight and Squire resolve at once,
The one the other to renounce ;
They both approach the Lady's bower,
The Squire t'inform, the Knight to woo her.
She treats them with a masquerade,
By furies and hobgoblins made ;
From which the Squire conveys the Knight,
And steals him, from himself, by night.

PART III. CANTO I.

T
IS true, no lover has that pow'r
 T' enforce a desperate amour,
 As he that has two strings to's bow,
 And burns for love and money too ;
 For then he's brave and resolute, 5
 Disdains to render¹ in his suit ;

Has all his flames and raptures double,
 And hangs or drowns with half the trouble ;
 While those who sillily pursue
 The simple downright way, and true, 10
 Make as unlucky applications,
 And steer against the stream their passious.
 Some forge their mistresses of stars,
 And when the ladies prove averse,
 And more nntoward to be won 15
 Than by Caligula the moon,²
 Cry out upon the stars for doing
 Ill offices, to cross their wooing,
 When only by themselves they're hindred,
 For trusting those they made her kindred,³ 20
 And still the harsher and hide-bounder
 The damsels prove, become the fonder.
 For what mad lover ever dy'd
 To gain a soft and gentle bride ?

¹ That is, surrender, or give up : from the French *rendre*.

² This was one of the extravagant follies of Caligula. He assumed to be a god and boasted of embracing the moon. See Suetonius, *Life of Caligula* (Bohn's edit. p. 266).

³ The meaning is, that when men have flattered their mistresses extravagantly, and declared them to be more than human, they must not be surprised or complain, if they are treated in return with that distant reserve which superior beings may rightly exercise towards inferior creatures.

Or for a lady tender-hearted, 25
 In purling streams or hemp departed ?
 Leap't headlong int' Elysium,
 Thro' th' windows of a dazzling room ?¹
 But for some cross ill-natur'd dame,
 The am'rous fly burnt in his flame. 30
 This to the Knight could be no news,
 With all mankind so much in use ;
 Who therefore took the wiser course,
 To make the most of his amours,
 Resolv'd to try all sorts of ways, 35
 As follows in due time and place.
 No sooner was the bloody fight
 Between the wizard and the Knight,
 With all th' appurtenances, over,
 But he relaps'd again t' a lover ; 40
 As he was always wont to do,
 When he'ad discomfited a foe,
 And us'd the only antique philters,
 Deriv'd from old heroic tilters.²
 But now triumphant and victorious, 45
 He held th' atchievement was too glorious
 For such a conqueror to meddle
 With petty constable or beadle ;
 Or fly for refuge to the hostess
 Of th' inns of court and chanc'ry, Justice ; 50
 Who might, perhaps, reduce his cause
 To th' ordeal trial of the laws ;³

¹ Drowned themselves. Objects reflected by water appear nearly the same as when they are viewed through the windows of a room so high from the ground that it dazzles to look down from it. Thus Juvenal, Sat. vi. v. 3f, *Altæ caligantesque fenestræ*: which Holyday translates, dazzling high windows.

² The heroes of romance endeavoured to conciliate the affections of their mistresses by the fame of their illustrious exploits. So was Desdemona won. Othello, Act i.,

“She lov'd me for the dangers I had past.”

³ *Ordeal* comes from the Anglo-Saxon *ordal*, and signifies judgment. The methods of trial by fire, water, or combat, were in use till the time of Henry III., and the right of exercising them was annexed to several lordships or manors. At this day, when a culprit is arraigned at the bar, and asked how he will be tried, he is directed to answer, “by God and my

Where none escape, but such as branded
 With red-hot irons, have past bare-handed ;
 And if they cannot read one verse 55
 I' th' Psalms, must sing it, and that's worse.¹
 He, therefore, judging it below him,
 To tempt a shame the dev'l might owe him,
 Resolv'd to leave the Squire for bail
 And mainprize for him, to the jail, 60
 To answer with his vessel,² all
 That might disastrously befall.
 He thought it now the fittest juncture
 To give the Lady a rencounter ;
 T' acquaint her with his expedition, 65
 And conquest o'er the fieree magician ;
 Describe the manner of the fray,
 And show the spoils he brought away ;
 His bloody scourging aggravate,
 The number of the blows and weight : 70
 All which might probably succeed,
 And gain belief he 'ad done the deed :
 Which he resolv'd t' enforce, and spare
 No pawning of his soul to swear ;
 But, rather than produce his back, 75
 To set his conscience on the rack ;
 And in pursuance of his urging
 Of articles perform'd, and scourging,
 And all things else, upon his part,
 Demand delivery of her heart, 80

country," by the verdict or solemn opinion of a jury. "By God" only, would formerly have meant the ordeal, which referred the case immediately to the divine judgment.

¹ In former times, when scholarship was rare and almost confined to priests, a person who was tried for any capital crime, except treason or sacrilege, might obtain an acquittal by *praying his clergy* ; the meaning of which was to call for a Latin Bible, and read a passage in it, generally selected from the Psalms. If he exhibited this capacity, the ordinary certified *quod legit*, and he was saved as a person of learning, who might be useful to the state ; otherwise he was hanged. Hence the saying among the people, that if they could not read their neck-verse at sessions, they must sing it at the gallows, it being customary to give out a psalm to be sung preliminary to the execution.

² In the use of this term the saints unwittingly concurred with the old philosophers, who also called the body a vessel.

Her goods and chattels, and good graces,
 And person, up to his embraces.
 Thought he, the ancient errant knight
 Won all their ladies' hearts in fights,
 And cut whole giants into fitters,¹ 85
 To put them into am'rous twitters ;
 Whose stubborn bowels scorn'd to yield,
 Until their gallants were half kill'd ;
 But when their bones were drubb'd so sore,
 They durst not woo one combat more, 90
 The ladies' hearts began to melt,
 Subdu'd by blows their lovers felt.
 So Spanish heroes, with their lances,
 At once wound bulls and ladies' fancies ;²
 And he acquires the noblest spouse 95
 That widows greatest herds of cows ;
 Then what may I expect to do,
 Who 've quell'd so vast a buffalo ?
 Meanwhile the Squire was on his way,
 The Knight's late orders to obey ; 100
 Who sent him for a strong detachment
 Of beadles, constables, and watchmen.
 T' attack the cunning-man, for plunder
 Committed falsely on his lumber ;
 When he, who had so lately sack'd 105
 The enemy, had done the fact,
 Had rifled all his pokes and fobs³
 Of gimcracks, whims, and jiggumbobs,⁴
 Which he by hook or crook had gather'd,
 And for his own inventions father'd : 110
 And when they should, at jail-delivery,
 Unriddle one another's thievery,

¹ Some editions read *fritters* ; but the corrected one of 1678 has *fitters*, a phrase often used by romance writers, very frequently by the author of the *Romaunt of Romaunts*. *Fitters* signifies small fragments, from *fetta*, Ital., *setzen*, Germ.

² The bull-fights at Madrid have been frequently described. The ladies have always taken a zealous part at these combats.

³ That is, large and small pockets. *Poke* from *poche*, a large pocket, bag, or sack. So "a pig in a poke."

⁴ Knick-knacks, or trinkets. See Wright's Glossary.

Both might have evidence enough
 To render neither halter-proof.¹
 He thought it desperate to tarry, 115
 And venture to be accessary ;
 But rather wisely slip his fetters,
 And leave them for the Knight, his betters.
 He call'd to mind th' unjust foul play
 He would have offer'd him that day, 120
 To make him curry his own hide,
 Which no beast ever did beside,
 Without all possible evasion,
 But of the riding dispensation :²
 And therefore much about the hour 125
 The Knight, for reasons told before,
 Resolv'd to leave him to the fury
 Of justice, and an unpack'd jury,
 The Squire concurr'd t' abandon him,
 And serve him in the self-same trim ;³ 130
 T' acquaint the lady what he'd done,
 And what he meant to carry on ;
 What project 't was he went about
 When Sidrophel and he fell out ;

¹ The mutual accusations of the Knight and Sidrophel, if established, might hang both of them. *Halter-proof* is to be in no danger from a halter, as *musket-proof* is to be in no danger from a musket: to render neither halter-proof is to leave both in danger of being hanged.

² Ralpho considers that he should not have escaped the whipping intended for him by the Knight, if their dispute had not been interrupted by the riding-show, or skimmington.

³ The author has long had an eye to the selfishness and treachery of the leading parties, the Presbyterians and Independents. A few lines below he speaks more plainly :

In which both dealt, as if they meant
 Their party saints to represent,
 Who never fail'd, upon their sharing
 In any prosperous arms-bearing,
 To lay themselves out to supplant
 Each other cousin-german saint.

The reader will remember that Hudibras represents the Presbyterians, and Ralpho the the Independents: this scene therefore alludes to the manner in which the latter supplanted the former in the civil war.

His firm and stedfast resolution, 135
 To swear her to an execution ;¹
 To pawn his inward ears to marry her,²
 And bribe the devil himself to carry her.
 In which both dealt, as if they meant
 Their party saints to represent, 140
 Who never fail'd, upon their sharing
 In any prosperous arms-bearing,
 To lay themselves out to supplant
 Each other cousin-german saint.
 But ere the Knight could do his part, 145
 The Squire had got so much the start,
 He'd to the lady done his errand,
 And told her all his tricks aforehand.
 Just as he finish'd his report,
 The Knight alighted in the court, 150
 And having ty'd his beast t' a pale,
 And taken time for both to stale,
 He put his band and beard in order,
 The sprncer to accost and board her :³
 And now began t' approach the door, 155
 When she, who 'ad spy'd him out before,
 Convey'd th' informer out of sight,
 And went to entertain the Knight :
 With whom encountering, after longees⁴
 Of humble and submissive congees, 160
 And all due ceremonies paid,
 He strok'd his beard, and thus he said :⁵

¹ To swear he had undergone the stipulated whipping, and then demand the performance of her part of the bargain.

² His honour and conscience, which might forfeit some of their immunities by perjury, as the outward ears do for the same crime in the sentence of the statute law.

³ Thus in Hamlet, Act ii. sc. 2 :

I'll board him presently.—O, give me leave.—
How does my good lord Hamlet?

See also Twelfth Night, Act i. sc. 3; and Taming of the Shrew, Act i. sc. 2.

⁴ Longees are thrusts made by fencers.

⁵ "And now, being come within compass of discerning her, he began to frame the loveliest countenance that he could; stroking up his legs, setting

Madam, I do, as is my duty,
 Honour the shadow of your shoe-tie ;¹
 And now am come, to bring your ear 165
 A present you'll be glad to hear ;
 At least I hope so : the thing's done,
 Or may I never see the sun ;
 For which I humbly now demand
 Performance at your gentle hand ; 170
 And that you'd please to do your part,
 As I have done mine to my smart.

With that he shrugg'd his sturdy back,
 As if he felt his shoulders ake :
 But she, who well enough knew what, 175
 Before he spoke, he would be at,
 Pretended not to apprehend
 The mystery of what he mean'd,
 And therefore wish'd him to expound
 His dark expressions less profound. 180

Madam, quoth he, I come to prove
 How much I've suffer'd for your love,
 Which, like your votary, to win,
 I have not spar'd my tatter'd skin ;²
 And, for those meritorious lashes, 185
 To claim your favour and good graces.

Quoth she, I do remember once³
 I freed you from th' enchanted sponce ;⁴
 And that you promis'd, for that favour,
 To bind your back to 'ts good behaviour,⁵ 190

up his beard in due order, and standing bolt upright." Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, lib. iii. p. 349. See also *Troilus and Cressida*, Act i. ; *Cleveland's Mixt Assembly*, p. 43 ; *Don Quixote*, Part i. book iii. chap. 12.

¹ This rhyme is used before by Crashaw, in his *Delights of the Muses*, published in 1646 :

I wish her beauty,
 That owes not all its duty
 To gaudy tire, or glistening *shoe-ty*.

² Roman Catholics used to scourge themselves before the image of a favourite saint.

³ The lady here with amusing affectation speaks as if the event had happened some time before, though in reality it was only the preceding day.

⁴ From the stocks.

⁵ Var. *To th'* good behaviour.

And for my sake and service, vow'd
 To lay upon 't a heavy load,
 And what 't would bear to a scruple prove,
 As other knights do oft make love.
 Which, whether you have done or no, 195
 Concerns yourself, not me, to know;
 But if you have, I shall confess,
 Y' are honester than I could guess.

Quoth he, If you suspect my troth,
 I cannot prove it but by oath; 200
 And, if you make a question on 't,
 I'll pawn my soul that I have done 't:
 And he that makes his soul his surety,
 I think does give the best secur'ty.

Quoth she, Some say the soul's secure 205
 Against distress and forfeiture;
 Is free from action, and exempt
 From execution and contempt;
 And to be summon'd to appear
 In the other world 's illegal here,¹ 210
 And therefore few make any account,
 Int' what incumbrances they run't:
 For most men carry things so even
 Between this world, and hell, and heaven,²
 Without the least offence to either, 215
 They freely deal in all together,
 And equally abhor to quit
 This world for both, or both for it.
 And when they pawn and damn their souls,
 They are but pris'ners on paroles. 220

For that, quoth he, 'tis rational,
 They may be accountable in all:

¹ Alluding to the famous story of Peter and John de Carvajal, who, being unjustly condemned for murder, and taken for execution, summoned the king, Ferdinand the Fourth of Spain, to appear before God's tribunal in thirty days. The king laughed at the summons, but it nevertheless disquieted him, and though he remained apparently in good health on the day before, he was found dead in his bed on the morning of the thirtieth day. Mariana says there can be no doubt of the truth of this story.

² Meaning the combination of saintship, or being righteous over-much, with selfishness and knavery.

For when there is that intercourse
 Between divine and human pow'rs,
 That all that we determine here 225
 Commands obedience ev'rywhere;¹
 When penalties may be commuted²
 For fines, or ears, and executed,
 It follows, nothing binds so fast
 As souls in pawn and mortgage past : 230
 For oaths are th' only tests and scales³
 Of right and wrong, and true and false ;
 And there's no other way to try
 The doubts of law and justice by.
 Quoth she, What is it you would swear ? 235
 There's no believing 'till I hear :
 For, 'till they're understood, all tales,
 Like nonsense, are not true nor false.
 Quoth he, When I resolv'd t'obey
 What you commanded th' other day, 240
 And to perform my exercise,
 As schools are wont, for your fair eyes ;
 T' avoid all scruples in the case,
 I went to do't upon the place ;
 But as the castle is enchanted 245
 By Sidrophel the witch, and haunted
 With evil spirits, as you know,
 Who took my Squire and me for two,⁴
 Before I'd hardly time to lay
 My weapons by, and disarray, 250
 I heard a formidable noise,
 Loud as the Stentrophonic voice,⁵
 That roar'd far off, Dispatch and strip,
 I'm ready with th' infernal whip,
 That shall divest thy ribs of skin, 255
 To expiate thy ling'ring sin ;

¹ The reference is to the text:—"Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven." Matthew xviii. 13.

² The Knight argues that, since temporal punishments may be mitigated and commuted, the best securities for truth and honesty are such oaths as his.

³ *Var.* *Seals* in edition of 1678.

⁴ For two evil and delinquent spirits.

⁵ Sir Samuel Morland's speaking trumpet was so called after Homer's far-famed brazen-tongued Stentor. See *Iliad*, v. 785.

Thou'st broke perfidiously thy oath,
 And not perform'd thy plighted troth,
 But spar'd thy renegado back,
 Where thou'dst so great a prize at stake,¹ 260
 Which now the fates have order'd me
 For penance and revenge, to flea,
 Unless thou presently make haste ;
 Time is, time was!²—and there it ceast.
 With which, tho' startled, I confess, 265
 Yet th' horror of the thing was less
 Than the other dismal apprehension
 Of interruption or prevention ;
 And therefore, snatching up the rod,
 I laid upon my back a load, 270
 Resolv'd to spare no flesh and blood,
 To make my word and honour good ;
 Till tir'd, and taking truce at length,
 For new recruits of breath and strength,
 I felt the blows still ply'd as fast, 275
 As if they'd been by lovers plac'd,
 In raptures of Platonic lashing,
 And chaste contemplative bardashing.³
 When facing hastily about,
 To stand upon my guard and scout,⁴ 280
 I found th' infernal cunning man,
 And the under-witch, his Caliban,
 With scourges, like the furies, arm'd,
 That on my outward quarters storm'd.
 In haste I snatch'd my weapon up, 285
 And gave their hellish rage a stop ;
 Call'd thrice upon your name,⁵ and fell
 Courageously on Sidrophel :

¹ The later editions read, *when thou'dst*.

² This was the famous saying of Roger Bacon's brazen head.

³ The epithets chaste and contemplative are used ironically. Bulwer, in his *Artificial Changeling*, p. 209, says, "the Turks call those that are young, and have no beards, bardasses," that is, sodomitical boys.

⁴ Sir Samuel Luke, it will be remembered, was scout-master. See p. 4, note ².

⁵ In the romances of knight-errantry the heroes always invoke their mistresses upon such occasions.

Who now transform'd himself t' a bear,
 Began to roar aloud, and tear ; 290
 When I as furiously press'd on,¹
 My weapon down his throat to run,
 Laid hold on him ; but he broke loose,
 And turn'd himself into a goose,
 Div'd under water, in a pond, 295
 To hide himself from being found ;
 In vain I sought him ; but as soon
 As I perceiv'd him fled and gone,
 Prepar'd, with equal haste and rage,
 His under-sore'rer to engage ; 300
 But bravely scorning to defile
 My sword with feeble blood, and vile,
 I judg'd it better from a quick-
 Set hedge to cut a knotted stick,
 With which I furiously laid on ; 305
 Till, in a harsh and doleful tone,
 It roar'd, O hold, for pity, Sir,
 I am too great a sufferer,²
 Abus'd as you have been b'a witch,
 But conjur'd int' a worse caprich,³ 310
 Who sends me out on many a jaunt,
 Old houses in the night to haunt,
 For opportunities t' improve
 Designs of thievery or love ;
 With drugs convey'd in drink or meat, 315
 All feats of witches counterfeit ;
 Kill pigs and geese with powder'd glass,
 And make it for enchantment pass ;
 With cow-itch⁴ meazle like a leper,
 And choke with fumes of guinea pepper ; 320
 Make lechers, and their punks, with dewtry,⁵
 Commit fantastical advowtry ;

¹ Some editions read : When I furiously—

² *O, for pity*, is a favourite expression, frequently used by Spenser.

³ That is, whim, fancy, from the Italian *capriccio*.

⁴ Cowage, or Cow-itch (*Mucuna pruriens*), a plant introduced from the East Indies in 1680, the pod of which is covered with short hairs, which, if applied to the skin, cause great itching. It is still sometimes used by country lads and lasses in various ways, to tease each other with.

⁵ *Dewtry* is the old English name for *Datura*, a plant belonging to the

Bewitch hermetic men to run ¹
 Stark staring mad with manicon ;
 Believe mechanic virtuosi 325
 Can raise 'em mountains in Potosi ;²
 And sillier than the antic fools,
 Take treasure for a heap of coals ;³
 Seek out for plants with signatures,
 To quack of universal cures ;⁴ 330
 With figures, ground on panes of glass,
 Make people on their heads to pass ;⁵

Natural Order of *Night-shades*, all of which are extremely narcotic, and by some old writer said to be intoxicating and *aphrodisiac*. Stramonium is the English species. One of the inquiries of the time, instigated by the Royal Society, was as to the properties of *Datura*. See Sprat's History of the Royal Society, p. 161, *et seq.* *Adwotry* signifies adultery, and is so used by Bacon, in his Life of Henry VII.

¹ Alchymists were called hermetic philosophers. *Manicon* (or strychnon) is another narcotic, and is so called from its power of causing madness. Authors differ as to its modern name, some supposing it to be the *Physalis*, or winter-cherry, others the *black night-shade*. See Pliny's Natural Hist. (Bohn's edit.) vol. v. p. 241, 266. Banquo, in Shakspeare's Macbeth, seems to allude to it when he says :

Were such things here, as we do speak about ?
 Or have we eaten of the insane root,
 That takes the reason prisoner ? Act i.

² A banter on the pretended Discoverers of the Philosopher's Stone, one of whom, Van Helmont, asserted in his book, that he had made nearly eight ounces of gold by projecting a grain of his powder upon eight ounces of quicksilver.

³ The alchymists pretended to be able to transmute the baser metals into gold. Antic means antique or ancient, perhaps quizzing the Royal Society ; or Butler might mean those dreamers among the ancients, who gave occasion to the proverb, "pro thesauro carbones ;" they dreamed of gold, but on examination found coals ; it is frequently applied by Lucian and Phædrus. It must be borne in mind, however, that *Carbon* is the constituent part of diamonds and gold as well as of coal.

⁴ The signatures of plants were marks or figures upon them, which were thought to point out their medicinal qualities. Thus Wood-sorrel was used as a cordial, because its leaf is shaped like a heart. Liverwort was given for disorders of the liver. The herb Dragon was employed to counteract the effects of poison, because its stem is speckled like some serpents. The yellow juice of the Celandine recommended it for the cure of the jaundice, and Paracelsus said, that the spots on the leaves of the *Persicaria maculosa* proved its efficacy in the scurvy.

⁵ The multiplying glass, concave mirror, camera obscura, and other inventions, which were new in our author's time, passed with the vulgar for enchantments: and as the law against witches was then in force, the ex-

And mighty heaps of coin increase,
 Reflected from a single piece ;
 To draw in fools, whose nat'ral itches 335
 Incline perpetually to witches,
 And keep me in continual fears,
 And danger of my neck and ears ;
 When less delinquents have been scourg'd,
 And hemp on wooden anvils forg'd,¹ 340
 Which others for cravats have worn
 About their necks, and took a turn.

I pitied the sad punishment
 The wretched caitiff underwent,
 And held my drubbing of his bones 345
 Too great an honour for poltroons ;
 For knights are bound to feel no blows
 From paltry and unequal foes,²
 Who, when they slash and cut to pieces,
 Do all with civillest addresses : 350
 Their horses never give a blow,
 But when they make a leg and bow.
 I therefore spar'd his flesh, and prest him
 About the witch, with many a question.

Quoth he, For many years he drove 355
 A kind of broking-trade in love,³
 Employ'd in all th' intrigues, and trust,
 Of feeble, speculative lust ;
 Procurer to th' extravagancy,
 And crazy ribaldry of fancy, 360
 By those the devil had forsook,
 As things below him, to provoke ;
 But b'ing a virtuoso, able
 To smatter, quack, and cant, and dabble,
 He held his talent most adroit, 365
 For any mystical exploit,

hibitors of these curiosities were 'in some danger of being sentenced to Bridewell, the pillory, or the halter.

¹ Alluding to the occupation of minor criminals in Bridewell, who beat the hemp with which greater criminals were hanged.

² According to the rules of knight-errantry. See Don Quixote (book iii. ch. 1), and romances in general.

³ Meaning that he was a pimp, or pander.

As others of his tribe had done,
 And rais'd their prices three to one ;
 For one predicting pimp has th' odds
 Of chaldrons of plain downright bawds. 370
 But as an elf, the dev'l's valet,
 Is not so slight a thing to get,¹
 For those that do his bus'ness best,
 In hell are us'd the ruggedest ;
 Before so meriting a person 375
 Cou'd get a grant, but in reversion,
 He serv'd two 'prenticeships, and longer,
 I' th' myst'ry of a lady-monger.
 For, as some write, a witch's ghost,
 As soon as from the body loos'd, 380
 Becomes a puisné-imp itself,
 And is another witch's elf ;
 He, after searching far and near,
 At length found one in Lancashire,
 With whom he bargain'd beforehand, 385
 And, after hanging, entertain'd :
 Since which he's play'd a thousand feats,
 And practis'd all mechanic cheats :
 Transform'd himself to th' ugly shapes
 Of wolves and bears, baboons and apes ; 390
 Which he has varied more than witches,
 Or Pharaoh's wizards could their switches ;
 And all with whom he's had to do,
 Turn'd to as monstrous figures too ;
 Witness myself, whom he's abus'd, 395
 And to this beastly shape reduc'd ;
 By feeding me on beans and peas,
 He crams in nasty crevices,
 And turns to comfits by his arts,
 To make me relish for desserts, 400
 And one by one, with shame and fear,
 Lick up the candied provcender.

¹ William Lilly says he was fourteen years before he could get an elf or ghost of a departed witch, but at last found one in Lancashire. This country has always been famous for witches, but the ladies there are now so called out of compliment to their *witchery* or beauty.

Beside—But as h' was running on,
 To tell what other feats he'd done,
 The lady stopt his full career, 405
 And told him, now 'twas time to hear.
 If half those things, said she, be true—
 They're all, quoth he, I swear by you.
 Why then, said she, that Sidrophel
 Has damn'd himself to th' pit of hell, 410
 Who, mounted on a broom, the nag¹
 And hackney of a Lapland hag,
 In quest of you came hither post,
 Within an hour, I'm sure, at most,
 Who told me all you swear and say, 415
 Quite contrary, another way;
 Vow'd that you came to him, to know
 If you should carry me or no;
 And would have hir'd him and his imps,
 To be your match-makers and pimps, 420
 T' engage the devil on your side,
 And steal, like Proserpine, your bride;
 But he, disdain'g to embrace
 So filthy a design, and base,
 You fell to vapouring and huffing, 425
 And drew upon him like a ruffian;
 Surpris'd him meanly, unprepar'd,
 Before he 'ad time to mount his guard,
 And left him dead upon the ground,
 With many a bruise and desperate wound; 430
 Swore you had broke and robb'd his house,
 And stole his talismanique louse,²
 And all his new-found old inventions,
 With flat felonious intentions,
 Which he could bring out, where he had, 435
 And what he bought 'em for, and paid;

¹ Lapland is head-quarters for witchcraft, and it is from these Scandinavians that we derive the accepted tradition that witches ride through the air on broom-sucks. See Scheffer's History of Lapland, Mallet's Northern Antiquities, and Keightley's Fairy Mythology.

² The poet intimates that Sidrophel, being much plagued with lice, had made a talisman, or formed a louse in a certain position of the stars, to chase away this kind of vermin.

His flea, his morpion, and punese,¹
 He 'ad gotten for his proper ease,
 And all in perfect minutes made,
 By th' ablest artists of the trade; 440
 Which, he could prove it, since he lost,
 He has been eaten up almost,
 And altogether, might amount
 To many hundreds on account;
 For which he 'ad got sufficient warrant 445
 To seize the malefactors errant,
 Without capacity of bail,
 But of a cart's or horse's tail;
 And did not doubt to bring the wretches
 To serve for pendulums to watches, 450
 Which, modern virtuosi say,
 Incline to hanging every way.²
 Beside, he swore, and swore 'twas true,
 That ere he went in quest of you,
 He set a figure to discover 455
 If you were fled to Rye or Dover;
 And found it clear, that to betray
 Yourself and me, you fled this way;
 And that he was upon pursuit,
 To take you somewhere hereabout. 460
 He vow'd he'd had intelligence
 Of all that pass'd before and since;
 And found, that ere you came to him,
 Y' had been engaging life and limb
 About a case of tender conscience, 465
 Where both abounded in your own sense;
 Till Ralpho, by his Light and Grace,
 Had clear'd all scruples in the case,
 And prov'd that you might swear, and own
 Whatever's by the Wicked done: 470
 For which, most basely to requite
 The service of his Gifts and Light,

¹ The talisman of a flea, a louse, and a bug. Morpion and Punaise are French terms.

² Meaning the balance for watches, which may be called a substitute for the pendulum, and was invented about our author's time by Dr Hooke.

You strove t' oblige him, by main force,
 To scourge his ribs instead of yours ;
 But that he stood upon his guard, 475
 And all your vapouring outdar'd ;
 For which, between you both, the feat
 Has never been perform'd as yet.

While thus the lady talk'd, the Knight
 Turn'd th' outside of his eyes to white ; 480
 As men of Inward Light are wont
 To turn their optics in upon 't ;¹
 He wonder'd how she came to know
 What he had done, and meant to do ;
 Held up his affidavit hand,² 485
 As if he 'd been to be arraign'd ;
 Cast tow'rds the door a ghastly look,
 In dread of Sidrophel, and spoke :

Madam, if but one word be true
 Of all the wizard has told you, 490
 Or but one single circumstance
 In all th' apocryphal romance ;
 May dreadful earthquakes swallow down
 This vessel, that is all your own ;³
 Or may the heavens fall, and cover 495
 These relics of your constant lover.⁴

You have provided well, quoth she,
 I thank you, for yourself and me,

¹ The Dissenters are ridiculed for an affected sanctity, and turning up the whites of their eyes, which Echard calls "showing the heavenly part of the eye." Thus Ben Jonson in his story of Cockslossel and the Devil,

To help it he called for a puritan poacht
 That used to turn up the eggs of his eyes.

And Fenton (in his Epistle to Southerne) :

Her eyes she disciplin'd percisely right,
 Both when to wink, and how to turn the white.

See also Tale of a Tub, p. 207.

² When any one takes an oath, he puts his right hand to the book, that is, to the New Testament, and kisses it ; but the Covenanters, in swearing, refused to kiss the book, saying it was Popish and superstitious ; and substituted the ceremony of holding up the right hand, which they used also in taking any oath before the magistrate.

³ This is an equivocation ; the "vessel" is evidently not the abject suitor, but the lady herself.

⁴ The Knight still means the widow, but speaks as if he meant himself.

And shown your Presbyterian wits
 Jump punctual¹ with the Jesuits' ; 500
 A most compendious way, and civil,
 At once to cheat the world, the devil,
 With heaven and hell, yourselves, and those
 On whom you vainly think t' impose.

Why then, quoth he, may hell surprise— 505
 That trick, said she, will not pass twice :
 I've learn'd how far I'm to believe
 Your pinning oaths upon your sleeve ;
 But there's a better way of clearing
 What you would prove, than downright swearing : 510
 For if you have perform'd the feat,
 The blows are visible as yet,
 Enough to serve for satisfaction
 Of nicest scruples in the action ;
 And if you can produce those knobs, 515
 Altho' they're but the witch's drubs,
 I'll pass them all upon account,
 As if your nat'ral self had done 't ;
 Provided that they pass th' opinion
 Of able juries of old women, 520
 Who, us'd to judge all matter of facts
 For bellies,² may do so for backs.

Madam, quoth he, your love's a million,
 To do is less than to be willing,
 As I am, were it in my power, 525
 T' obey what you command, and more ;
 But for performing what you bid,
 I thank you as much as if I did.
 You know I ought to have a care
 To keep my wounds from taking air ; 530
 For wounds in those that are all heart,
 Are dangerous in any part.

I find, quoth she, my goods and chattels
 Are like to prove but mere drawn battles ;

¹ "Jump punctual" means to agree exactly. "You will find" (says Petyt, in his Visions of the Reformation) "that though they have two faces that look different ways, yet they have both the same lineaments, the same principles, and the same practices."

² When a woman pretends to be pregnant, in order to gain a respite from her sentence, the fact must be ascertained by a jury of matrons.

For still the longer we contend, 535
 We are but farther off the end.
 But granting now we should agree,
 What is it you expect from me?
 Your plighted faith, quoth he, and word
 You pass'd in heaven, on record, 540
 Where all contracts to have and t' hold,
 Are everlastingly enroll'd:
 And if 'tis counted treason here ¹
 To raze records, 'tis much more there.
 Quoth she, There are no bargains driv'n, 545
 Nor marriages clapp'd up in heav'n; ²
 And that's the reason, as some guess,
 There is no heav'n in marriages;
 Two things that naturally press ³
 Too narrowly, to be at ease: 550
 Their bus'ness there is only love,
 Which marriage is not like t' improve; ⁴
 Love, that's too generous t' abide
 To be against its nature tied;
 For where 'tis of itself inclin'd, 555
 It breaks loose when it is confin'd, ⁵
 And like the soul, its harbourer,
 Debarr'd the freedom of the air,
 Disdains against its will to stay,
 But struggles out, and flies away: 560
 And therefore never can comply,
 T' endure the matrimonial tie,

¹ It was made *felony* by Act 8 Ric. II., and 8 Hen. VI., cap. 12.

² Mark xii. 25: "For when they shall arise from the dead, they neither marry nor are given in marriage."

³ That is, bargains and marriages.

⁴ Plurimus in cœlis amor est, connubia nulla:
 Conjugia in terris plurima, nullus amor.

J. Owen, Epigram, lib. 2.

⁵ Thus thought Eloise, according to Pope:

Love, free as air, at sight of human ties,
 Spreads his light wings, and in a moment flies.

So Chaucer, in his Frankeleynes Tale:

Love wol not be constrained by maistrie:
 Whan maistre cometh, the god of love anon
 Beteth his winges, and, farewel, he is gon.

That binds the female and the male,
 Where th' one is but the other's bail;¹
 Like Roman gaolers, when they slept, 565
 Chain'd to the prisoners they kept:²
 Of which the true and faithfull'st lover
 Gives best security to suffer.
 Marriage is but a beast, some say,³
 That carries double in foul way, 570
 And therefore 'tis not to b' admir'd,
 It should so suddenly be tir'd;
 A bargain, at a venture made,
 Between two partners in a trade:
 For what's inferr'd by t' have and t' hold, 575
 But something pass'd away and sold?⁴
 That, as it makes but one of two,
 Reduces all things else as low;
 And at the best is but a mart
 Between the one and th' other part, 580
 That on the marriage day is paid,
 Or hour of death, the bet it laid;⁵
 And all the rest of bett'r or worse,
 Both are but losers out of purse:
 For when upon their ungot heirs 585
 Th' entail themselves and all that's theirs,
 What blinder bargain e'er was driven,
 Or wager laid at six and seven?
 To pass themselves away, and turn
 Their children's tenants ere they're born? 590
 Beg one another idiot
 To guardians, ere they are begot;

¹ That is, where if one of them is faulty, the other is drawn into difficulties by it, and the truest lover is likely to be the greatest sufferer.

² The custom among the Romans was to chain the right hand of the culprit to the left hand of the guard.

³ Sir Thomas Brown says that he could be content that we might procreate like trees without conjunction.

⁴ An equivocation. The words "to have and to hold," in the marriage ceremony, signify "I take to possess and keep;" in deeds of conveyance their meaning is, "I give to be possessed and kept by another." The Salisbury Missal (see edition 1554) reads, "I take thee for my wedded wife to have and to hold *for this day*."

⁵ Some editions read, *the bet is laid*.

Or ever shall, perhaps, by th' one
 Who's bound to vouch 'em for his own,
 Tho' got b' implicit generation,¹ 695
 And general club of all the nation;
 For which she's fortified no less
 Than all the island with four seas :²
 Exacts the tribute of her dower,
 In ready insolence and power, 600
 And makes him pass away, to have
 And hold to her, himself, her slave,
 More wretched than an ancient villain,³
 Condemn'd to drudgery and tilling ;
 While all he does upon the by, 605
 She is not bound to justify,
 Nor at her proper cost and charge
 Maintain the feats he does at large.⁴
 Such hideous sots were those obedient
 Old vassals to their ladies regent, 610
 To give the cheats the eldest hand
 In foul play, by the laws o' th' land,
 For which so many a legal cuckold⁵
 Has been run down in courts, and truckled :
 A law that most unjustly yokes 615
 All Johns of Stiles to Joans of Nokes,⁶

¹ This would seem to mean generation on faith ; but Dr Johnson says, *implicit* signifies mixt, complicated, intricate, perplexed. Grey illustrates the reference by the story of a woman who alleged that she was *enccinte* by her husband, though he had been three years absent from her, upon the plea that she had received very comfortable letters from him.

² The interpretation of the law was, that a child could not be deemed a bastard, if the husband had remained in the island, or within the four seas. See Butler's Remains, vol. i. p. 122.

³ The villains were a sort of serfs or slaves, bound to the land, and passed with it to any purchaser : as the lord was not answerable for anything done by his villain tenant, no more is the wife for anything done by her villain husband, though he is bound to justify and maintain all that his wife does.

⁴ Meaning that the husband is bound under all circumstances to maintain the credit of his wife, a condition as degrading as that of villainage, by which the tenants were bound to render the most abject services to their lords ; while the wife, on the other hand, is in no respect responsible for her husband.

⁵ A legal cuckold is one who has proved his title by an action for damages.

⁶ These are names given in law proceedings to indefinite persons, like

Without distinction of degree,
 Condition, age, or quality ;
 Admits no pow'r of revocation,
 Nor valuable consideration, 620
 Nor writ of error, nor reverse
 Of judgment past, for better or worse ;
 Will not allow the privileges
 That beggars challenge under hedges,
 Who, when they're griev'd, can make dead horses 625
 Their spiritual judges of divorces ;¹
 While nothing else but *rem in re*,
 Can set the proudest wretches free ;
 A slavery beyond enduring,
 But that 'tis of their own procuring. 630
 As spiders never seek the fly,
 But leave him, of himself, t' apply ;
 So men are by themselves betray'd,
 To quit the freedom they enjoy'd,
 And run their necks into a noose, 635
 They'd break 'em after to break loose.
 As some, whom death would not depart,²
 Have done the feat themselves by art.
 Like Indian widows, gone to bed
 In flaming curtains to the dead ;³ 640
 And men has often dangled for 't,
 And yet will never leave the sport.
 Nor do the ladies want excuse
 For all the stratagems they use,
 To gain th' advantage of the set,⁴ 645
 And lurch the amorous rook and cheat.
 For as the Pythagorean soul
 Runs thro' all beasts, and fish, and fowl,⁵

John Doe and Richard Roe, or Cains and Titus, in the civil law. See an amusing paper on the subject in Spectator, 577. But Butler has humorously changed John o' Nokes into a female.

¹ The gipsies, it is said, are satisfied of the validity of such decisions.

² Alluding to several revisions of the Common Prayer before the last, where it stood, "til death us depart," and then was altered to, "til death us do part."

³ They used to buru themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands ; a custom which has but recently been abolished.

⁴ *Set*, that is, the game, a term at tennis.

⁵ The doctrine of metempsychosis. Pythagoras, according to Heraclides,

And has a smack of ev'ry one,
 So love does, and has ever done ; 650
 And therefore, though 'tis ne'er so fond,¹
 Takes strangely to the vagabond.
 'Tis but an ague that's reverst,
 Whose hot fit takes the patient first,
 That after burns with cold as much 655
 As iron in Greenland does the touch ;²
 Melts in the furnace of desire,
 Like glass, that's but the ice of fire ;
 And when his heat of fancy's over,
 Becomes as hard and frail a lover :³ 660
 For when he's with love-powder laden,
 And prim'd and cock'd by Miss or Madam,
 The smallest sparkle of an eye
 Gives fire to his artillery,
 And off the loud oaths go, but, while 665
 They're in the very act, recoil :
 Hence 'tis so few dare take their chance
 Without a sep'rate maintenance ;
 And widows, who have try'd one lover,
 Trust none again 'till they 've made over ;⁴ 670
 Or if they do, before they marry,
 The foxes weigh the geese they carry ;⁵

used to say that he remembered not only what men, but what plants and what animals, his soul had passed through. And Empedocles declared of himself, that he had been first a boy, then a girl, then a plant, then a bird, then a fish.

¹ In the edition of 1678, "ere so fond."

² Metals, if applied to the flesh, in very cold climates, occasion extreme pain. This well-known fact is occasioned by the rapid and excessive abstraction of ealoric from the flesh ; just as a burn is by the rapid and excessive communication of it. Virgil, in his Georgics, I. 92, speaks of cold as burning. Some years ago, we believe in 1814, a report ran through the newspapers that a boy, putting his tongue, out of bravado, to the iron of Menai bridge, when the cold was below zero, found it adhere so violently, that it could not be withdrawn without surgical aid, and the loss of part of it.

³ That is, becomes as hard and frail as glass : for after being melted in the furnace of desire, he congeals like melted glass, which, when the heat is over, is not unlike ice.

⁴ Made over their property, in trust, to a third person for their sole and separate use.

⁵ Sir Kenelm Digby, in his Treatise on Bodies, chap. 36, § 38, relates this story of the fox.

And ere they venture o'er a stream,
 Know how to size themselves and them. 675
 Whence wittiest ladies always choose
 To undertake the heaviest goose :
 For now the world is grown so wary,
 That few of either sex dare marry,
 But rather trust, on tick, t' amours,
 The cross and pile, for better or worse ;¹ 680
 A mode that is held honourable,
 As well as French, and fashionable :
 For when it falls out for the best,
 Where both are incommoded least,
 In soul and body two unite, 685
 To make up one hermaphrodite,
 Still amorous, and fond, and billing,
 Like Philip and Mary on a shilling,²
 They 've more punctilios and capriches
 Between the petticoat and breeches, 690
 More petulant extravagances,
 Than poets make 'em in romances ;
 Tho', when their heroes 'spouse the dames,
 We hear no more of charms and flames ;
 For then their late attracts decline, 695
 And turn as eager as prick'd wine ;
 And all their catterwauling tricks,
 In earnest to as jealous piques ;
 Which th' ancients wisely signify'd
 By th' yellow mantos of the bride.³ 700
 For jealousy is but a kind
 Of clap and grincam of the mind,⁴

¹ Signifying a mere toss up, heads or tails.

² On the shillings of Philip and Mary, coined 1555, the faces are placed opposite, and near to each other. Cleveland, in his poem on an Hermaphrodite, has a similar expression :

"Thus did nature's mintage vary,
 Coining thee a Philip and Mary."

³ The bride, among the Romans, was brought home to her husband in a yellow veil. The widow intimates that the yellow colour of the veil was an emblem of jealousy.

⁴ The later editions read *crineam* ; either of them is a cant word, denoting an infectious disease, or whimsical affection of the mind, applied commonly

The natural effects of love,
 As other flames and aches¹ prove :
 But all the mischief is, the doubt 705
 On whose account they first broke out ;
 For tho' Chinese go to bed,
 And lie-in in their ladies' stead,²
 And, for the pains they took before,
 Are nurs'd and pamper'd to do more ; 710
 Our green-men³ do it worse, when th' hap
 To fall in labour of a clap ;
 Both lay the child to one another,
 But who's the father, who the mother,

to love, lewdness, or jealousy. Thus, in the manors of East and West Enborne, in Berkshire, if the widow by incontinence forfeits her free bench, she may recover it again by riding into the next manor court, backward, on a black ram, with his tail in her hand, and saying the following words :

Here I am, riding upon a black ram,
 Like a whore as I am :
 And for my crineum crancum,
 Have lost my bineum baneum.

Blount's *Fragmenta Antiq.* p. 144.

Nares's Glossary affords the following illustration. "You must know, Sir, in a nobleman 'tis abusive; no, in him the serpigio, in a knight the *grincomes*, in a gentleman the Neapolitan scabb, and in a serving man or artificer the plaine pox." Jones's *Adrasta*, 1635. But see Wright's Glossary, sub voc. *Crincombes*, *Crancum*, *Grincomes*.

¹ Aches was a dissyllable in Butler's time, and long afterwards. See note ³ at page 191.

² In some countries, after the wife has recovered from her lying in, it has been the custom for the husband to go to bed, and be treated with the same care and tenderness. See Apollonius Rhodius, II. 1013, and Valerius Flacrus, v. 148. The history of mankind hath scarcely furnished any thing more unaccountable than the prevalence of this custom. We meet with it in ancient and modern times, in the Old World and in the New, among nations who could never have had the least intercourse with each other. It is practised in China, and in Purchas's *Pilgrims* it is said to be practised among the Brazilians. At Haarlem, a cambrie cockade hung to the door, shows that the woman of the house is brought to bed, and that her husband claims a protection from arrests during the six weeks of his wife's confinement. *Polnitz Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 396.

³ Raw and inexperienced youths; green is still used in the same sense. Shakespeare, in *Hamlet*, Act iv. sc. 5, says :

And we have done but *greenly* to inter him.

'Tis hard to say in multitudes, 715
 Or who imported the French goods.¹
 But health and sickness b'ing all one,
 Which both engag'd before to own,²
 And are not with their bodies bound
 To worship, only when they're sound, 720
 Both give and take their equal shares
 Of all they suffer by false wares ;
 A fate no lover can divert
 With all his caution, wit, and art :
 For 'tis in vain to think to guess 725
 At women by appearances,
 That paint and patch their imperfections
 Of intellectual complexions,
 And daub their tempers o'er with washes
 As artificial as their faces ; 730
 Wear under vizard-masks³ their talents
 And mother-wits before their gallants ;

¹ Nicholas Monardes, a physician of Seville, who died 1577, tells us, that this disease was supposed to have been brought into Europe at the siege of Naples, from the West Indies, by some of Columbus's sailors who accompanied him to Naples, on his return from his first voyage in 1493. When peace was there made between the French and Spaniards, the armies of both nations had free intercourse, and conversing with the same women were infected by this disorder. The Spaniards thought they had received the contagion from the French, and the French maintained that it had been communicated to them by the Spaniards. Guicciardini, at the end of his second book of the History of Italy, dates the origin of this distemper in Europe, at the year 1495. But Dr Gascoigne, as quoted by Anthony Wood, says he knew several persons who had died of it in his time, that is, before 1457, in which year his will was proved. Indeed, after all the pains which have been taken by inquisitive writers to prove that this disease was brought from America, or the West Indies, the fact is not sufficiently established. Perhaps it was generated in Guinea, or some other equinoctial part of Africa. Astruc, who wrote the History of Diseases, says it was brought from the West Indies, between the years 1494 and 1496. In the earliest printed book on the subject, *Leonicens de Epidemia quam Itali Morbem Gallicum, Galli vero Neapolitanum vocant, Venet. Aldi, 1497*, the disease is said to have been till then unknown in Ferrara.

² Alluding to the words of the marriage ceremony: so in the following lines,

—with their bodies bound
 To worship.

³ Masks were introduced at the Restoration, and were then worn as a

Until they're hamper'd in the noose,
 Too fast to dream of breaking loose :
 When all the flaws they strove to hide 735
 Are made unready with the bride,
 That with her wedding-clothes undresses
 Her complaisance and gentilleses ;
 Tries all her arts to take upon her
 The government, from th' easy owner ; 740
 Until the wretch is glad to wave
 His lawful right, and turn her slave ;
 Finds all his having and his holding
 Reduc'd t' eternal noise and scolding ;
 The conjugal petard, that tears 745
 Down all portcullices of ears,¹
 And makes the volley of one tongue
 For all their leathern shields too strong ;
 When only arm'd with noise and nails,
 The female silkworms ride the males,² 750
 Transform 'em into rams and goats,
 Like syrens, with their charming notes ;³
 Sweet as a screech-owl's serenade,
 Or those enchanting murmurs made
 By th' husband mandrake, and the wife, 755
 Both buried, like themselves, alive.⁴
 Quoth he, these reasons are but strains
 Of wanton, over-heated brains,

distinctive sign by the gay ladies of the theatre. Afterwards the use of them became more general.

¹ The poet humorously compares the noise and clamour of a scolding wife, which breaks the drum of her husband's ears, to the petard, or short cannon, used for beating down the gates of a castle.

² This was one of the early beliefs respecting the silkworm. See Edward Williams' *Virginia's richly valued*, Lond. 1650, p. 26.

³ The Sirens, according to the poets, were three sea-monsters, half women and half fish ; their names were Parthenope, Ligea, and Leucosia. Their usual residence was about the island of Sicily, where, by the charming melody of their voices, they used to detain those that heard them, and then transformed them into some sort of brute animals.

⁴ Ancient botanists entertained various conceits about this plant ; in its forked roots they discovered the shapes of men and women ; and the sound which proceeded from its strong fibres when strained or torn from the ground, they took for the voice of a human being ; sometimes they imagined that they had distinctly heard their conversation. The poet takes the liberty of enlarging upon those hints, and represents the mandrake

Which ralliers in their wit or drink
 Do rather wheedle with, than think. 760
 Man was not man in paradise,
 Until he was created twice,
 And had his better half, his bride,
 Carv'd from th' original, his side,¹
 T' amend his natural defects, 765
 And perfect his recruited sex ;
 Enlarge his breed, at once, and lessen
 The pains and labour of increasing,
 By changing them for other cares,
 As by his dried-up paps appears. 770
 His body, that stupendous frame,
 Of all the world the anagram,²
 Is of two equal parts compact,
 In shape and symmetry exact,
 Of which the left and female side 775
 Is to the manly right a bride,³

husband and wife quarrelling under ground ; a situation, he says, not more uncomfortable than that of a married pair continually at variance, since these, if not in fact buried alive, are so virtually.

¹ Thus Cleveland :

Adam, 'till his rib was lost,
 Had the sexes thus engrost.
 When Providence our sire did cleave,
 And out of Adam carved Eve,
 Then did man 'bout wedlock treat,
 To make his body up complete.

² Anagram means a transposition of the letters of a word by which a new meaning is extracted from it ; as in Dr Burney's well-known anagram of Horatio Nelson—Honor est a Nilo. Man is often called the microcosm, or world in miniature, and it is in this sense that Butler describes him.

³ In the Symposium of Plato, Aristophanes, one of the dialogists, relates, that the human species, at its original formation, consisted not only of males and females, but of a third kind, combining both sexes in one. This last species, it is said, having rebelled against Jupiter, was, by way of punishment, completely divided ; whence the strong propensity which inclines the separate parts to a reünion, and the assumed origin of love. And since it is hardly possible that the dissevered moieties should stumble upon each other, after they have wandered about the earth, we may, upon the same hypothesis, account for the number of unhappy and disproportionate matches which men daily encounter, by saying that they mistake their proper halves. Moore makes a happy use of this notion in speaking of ballad music before it is wedded to poetry : "A pretty air without words resembles one of those *half* creatures of Plato, which are described as wandering in search of the remainder of themselves through the world."—*National Airs*.

Both join'd together with such art,
 That nothing else but death can part.
 Those heav'n'l' attracts of yours, your eyes,
 And face, that all the world surprise, 780
 That dazzle all that look upon ye,
 And scorch all other ladies tawny :
 Those ravishing and charming graces,
 Are all made up of two half faces
 That, in a mathematic line, 785
 Like those in other heavens, join ;¹
 Of which, if either grew alone,
 'Twould fright as much to look upon :
 And so would that sweet bud, your lip,
 Without the other's fellowship. 790
 Our noblest senses act by pairs,
 Two eyes to see, to hear two ears ;
 Th' intelligencers of the mind,
 To wait upon the soul design'd :
 But those that serve the body alone, 795
 Are single and confin'd to one.
 The world is but two parts, that meet
 And close at th' equinoctial fit ;
 And so are all the works of nature,
 Stamp'd with her signature on matter ; 800
 Which all her creatures, to a leaf,
 Or smallest blade of grass, receive.²
 All which sufficiently declare
 How entirely marriage is her care,
 The only method that she uses, 805
 In all the wonders she produces ;
 And those that take their rules from her
 Can never be deceiv'd, nor err :
 For what secures the civil life,
 But pawns of children, and a wife ?³ 810
 That lie, like hostages, at stake,
 To pay for all men undertake ;

¹ That is, that join insensibly in an imperceptible line, like the imaginary lines of mathematicians. *Other heavens*, that is, the real heavens.

² Alluding to the sexual laws of nature, as typified in plants down to the smallest forms.

³ See Lord Bacon's Essay, No. viii.

To whom it is as necessary
 As to be born and breathe, to marry ;
 So universal, all mankind 815
 In nothing else is of one mind :
 For in what stupid age, or nation,
 Was marriage ever out of fashion ?
 Unless among the Amazons,¹
 Or cloister'd friars and vestal nuns, 820
 Or Stoics, who, to bar the freaks
 And loose excesses of the sex,
 Prepost'rously would have all women
 Turn'd up to all the world in common ;²
 Tho' men would find such mortal feuds 825
 In sharing of their public goods,
 'Twould put them to more charge of lives,
 Than they're supply'd with now by wives ;
 Until they graze, and wear their clothes,
 As beasts do, of their native growths : ³ 830
 For simple wearing of their horns
 Will not suffice to serve their turns.
 For what can we pretend t' inherit,
 Unless the marriage deed will bear it ?
 Could claim no right to lands or rents, 835
 But for our parents' settlements ;
 Had been but younger sons o' th' earth,
 Debarr'd it all, but for our birth.⁴
 What honours, or estates of peers,
 Could be preserv'd but by their heirs ? 840
 And what security maintains
 Their right and title, but the banns ?

¹ The Amazons, according to the old mythological stories, avoided marriage and permitted no men to live amongst them, nevertheless held periodical intercourse with them. The vestals were under a vow of perpetual chastity.

² Diogenes asserted that marriage was nothing but an empty name. And Zeno, the father of the Stoics, maintained that all women ought to be common, that no words were obscene, and no parts of the body need be covered.

³ i. e. such intercommunity of women would be productive of the worst consequences, unless mankind were reduced to the most barbarous state of nature, and men became altogether brutes.

⁴ If there had been no matrimony, we should have had no provision made for us by our forefathers; but, like younger children of our primitive parent the earth, should have been excluded from every possession.

What crowns could be hereditary,
 If greatest monarchs did not marry,
 And with their consorts consummate 845
 Their weightiest interests of state ?
 For all th' amours of princes are
 But guarantees of peace or war.
 Or what but marriage has a charm,
 The rage of empires to disarm ? 850
 Make blood and desolation cease,
 And fire and sword unite in peace,
 When all their fierce contests for forage
 Conclude in articles of marriage ?
 Nor does the genial bed provide 855
 Less for the int'rests of the bride,
 Who else had not the least pretence
 T' as much as due benevolence ;
 Could no more title take upon her
 To virtue, quality, and honour, 860
 Than ladies errant, unconfin'd,
 And femme-coverts to all mankind.
 All women would be of one piece,
 The virtuous matron, and the miss ;
 The nymphs of chaste Diana's train 865
 The same with those in Lewkner's-lane,¹
 But for the diff'rence marriage makes
 'Twixt wives and Ladies of the Lakes :²
 Besides, the joys of place and birth,
 The sex's paradise on earth,³ 870
 A privilege so sacred held,
 That none will to their mothers yield ;

¹ Charles-street, Drury-lane, inhabited chiefly by strumpets.

² Meaning ladies of pleasure. The Lady of the Lake was represented in some of the old romances as a mistress of king Arthur.

³ Thus Mr Pope :

For sylphs, yet mindful of their ancient race,
 Are, as when women, wond'rous fond of place.

Our poet, though vindicating the ladies and the happy state of matrimony, cannot help introducing this stroke of satire : Bastards have no place, or rank.

But rather than not go before,
 Abandon heaven at the door :¹
 And if th' indulgent law allows 875
 A greater freedom to the spouse,
 The reason is, because the wife
 Ruus greater hazards of her life ;
 Is trusted with the form and matter
 Of all mankind, by careful nature, 880
 Where man brings nothing but the stuff
 She frames the wond'rous fabric of ;
 Who therefore, in a strait, may freely
 Demand the clergy of her belly,²
 And make it save her the same way, 885
 It seldom misses to betray ;
 Unless both parties wisely enter
 Into the liturgy-indenture.³
 And tho' some fits of small contest
 Sometimes fall out among the best, 890
 That is no more than ev'ry lover
 Does from his hackney lady suffer ;
 That makes no breach of faith and love,
 But rather, sometimes, serves t'improve ;
 For as, in running, ev'ry pace 895
 Is but between two legs a race,
 In which both do their uttermost
 To get before, and win the post ;
 Yet when they're at their race's ends,
 They're still as kind and constant friends, 900
 And, to relieve their weariness,
 By turns give one another ease ;

¹ That is, will not even go to church if they have not their right of precedence. Chaucer says of the wife of Bath, 451 :

In all the parish wif ne was there non,
 That to the offring before hire shulde gon,
 And if ther did, certain so wroth was she,
 That she was out of alle charitee.

² Meaning benefit of clergy, on account of pregnancy. See note on line 522, at page 286.

³ This alludes to the form enjoined in the Directory, when it was contrary to law to be married by the service in the Book of Common Prayer.

So all those false alarms of strife
 Between the husband and the wife,
 And little quarrels, often prove 905
 To be but new recruits of love;¹
 When those who're always kind or coy,²
 In time must either tire or eloy.
 Nor are their loudest clamours more
 Than as they're relish'd, sweet or sour; 910
 Like music, that proves bad or good,
 According as 'tis understood.
 In all amours a lover burns
 With frowns, as well as smiles, by turns;
 And hearts have been as oft with sullen, 915
 As charming looks, surpris'd and stolen:
 Then why should more bewitching clamour
 Some lovers not as much enamour?
 For discords make the sweetest airs,
 And curses are a kind of pray'rs; 920
 Too slight alloys for all those grand
 Felicities by marriage gain'd:
 For nothing else has pow'r to settle
 Th' interests of love perpetual;
 An act and deed that makes one heart 925
 Become another's counter-part,
 And passes fines on faith and love,³
 Inroll'd and register'd above,
 To seal the slippery knots of vows,
 Which nothing else but death can loose. 930
 And what security's too strong
 To guard that gentle heart from wrong,
 That to its friend is glad to pass
 Itself away, and all it has,

¹ So Terence. The quarrels of lovers are the renewal of love. *Andria* III. 3.

² *Coy*, or *Coye*, is used here in the sense of toying or fondling. So Shakspeare,

“Come, sit thee down upon this flowery bed,
 While I thy amiable cheek do *coy*.”

Mids. N. D. Act iv. sc. 1.

But see Wright's Glossary *sub voce*.

³ That is, makes them irrevocable, and secures the title; as passing a fine in law does a conveyance or settlement.

And, like an anchorite, gives over 935
 This world, for th' heav'n of a lover ?¹
 I grant, quoth she, there are some few
 Who take that course, and find it true ;
 But millions, whom the same does sentence
 To heav'n b' another way, repentance. 940
 Love's arrows are but shot at rovers,²
 Tho' all they hit they turn to lovers,
 And all the weighty consequents
 Depend upon more blind events
 Than gamesters when they play a sct, 945
 With greatest cunning, at piquet,
 Put out with caution, but take in
 They know not what, unsight, unseen.
 For what do lovers, when they're fast
 In one another's arms embrac'd, 950
 But strive to plunder, and convey
 Each other, like a prize, away ?
 To change the property of selves,
 As sucking children are by elves ?³
 And if they use their persons so, 955
 What will they to their fortunes do ?
 Their fortunes ! the perpetual aims
 Of all their extasies and flames.
 For when the money's on the book,
 And "all my worldly goods"—but spoke,⁴ 960
 The formal livery and seisin
 That puts a lover in possession,
 To that alone the bridegroom's wedded,
 The bride a flam that's superseded ;
 To that their faith is still made good, 965
 And all the oaths to us they vow'd ;

¹ In this speech the Knight makes amends for previous uncourteousness, and defends the ladies and the married state with great gallantry, wit, and good sense.

² That is, shot at random, not at a target.

³ The fairies were believed to be capable of exchanging infants in the cradle for some of their own "Elfin brood," or for the children of other parents. See Keightley's Fairy Mythology.

⁴ Alluding to the form of marriage in the Common Prayer Book, where the fee is directed to be put upon the book with the wedding-ring, and the bridegroom endows the bride with all his worldly goods.

For when we once resign our pow'rs,
 We've nothing left we can call ours :
 Our money's now become the miss
 Of all your lives and services ; 970
 And we forsaken and postpon'd,
 But bawds to what before we own'd ;
 Which, as it made y' at first gallant us,
 So now hires others to supplant us,
 Until 'tis all turn'd out of doors, 975
 As we had been, for new amours.
 For what did ever heiress yet
 By being born to lordships get ?
 When the more lady she's of manors,
 She's but expos'd to more trepanners, 980
 Pays for their projects and designs,
 And for her own destruction fines ;¹
 And does but tempt them with her riches,
 To use her as the dev'l does witches,
 Who takes it for a special grace, 985
 To be their cully for a space,
 That, when the time's expir'd, the drazels²
 For ever may become his vassals :
 So she, bewitch'd by rooks and spirits,
 Betrays herself, and all sh' inherits ; 990
 Is bought and sold, like stolen goods,
 By pimps, and match-makers, and bawds ;
 Until they force her to convey
 And steal the thief himself away.
 These are the everlasting fruits 995
 Of all your passionate love-suits,
 Th' effects of all your am'rous fancies,
 To portions and inheritances ;
 Your love-sick raptures for fruition
 Of dowry, jointure, and tuition ; 1000
 To which you make address and courtship,
 And with your bodies strive to worship,

¹ Fines, signifies *pays* ; implying that her wealth, by exposing her to the snares of fortune-hunters, may be the cause of her destruction.

² The sluts or draggle-tails. See Wright's Provincial Dictionary.

That th' infant's fortunes may partake
 Of love too,¹ for the mother's sake.
 For these you play at purposes, 1005
 And love your loves with A's and B's;²
 For these, at Beast and l'Ombre woo,³
 And play for love and money too;⁴
 Strive who shall be the ablest man
 At right gallanting of a fan; 1010
 And who the most genteelly bred
 At sucking of a vizard-bead;⁵
 How best t' accost us in all quarters,
 T' our Question and Command new garters;⁶
 And solidly discourse upon 1015
 All sorts of dresses *pro* and *con* :
 For there's no mystery nor trade,
 But in the art of love is made.⁷

¹ That is, the widow's children by a former husband, who are under age; to whom the lover would willingly be guardian, to have the management of the jointure.

² This is still imposed at forfeits. But see Pepys's Diary.

³ Fashionable games much in vogue in the time of Charles II. Ombre was introduced at the Restoration. Beast, or Angel-beast, was similar to Loo. "I love my love with an A," was one of the favourite amusements at Whitehall. Pepys tells us that he once found the Duke and Duchess of York, with all the great ladies at Whitehall, "sitting upon a carpet upon the ground, there being no chairs, playing at 'I love my love with an A, because he is so and so; and I hate him with an A, because of this and that;' and some of them, particularly the Duchess herself, and my Lady Castlemaine, were very witty."

⁴ The widow, in these and the following lines, gives no bad sketch of a person who endeavours to retrieve his circumstances by marriage, and practises every method in his power to recommend himself to his rich mistress: he plays with her at Questions and Commands, endeavours to divert her with cards, puts himself in masquerade, flirts her fan, talks of flames and darts, aches and sufferings; which last, the poet intimates, might more justly be attributed to other causes.

⁵ Masks were kept close to the face, by a bead fixed to the inside of them, and held in the mouth, when the lady's hands were otherwise employed.

⁶ At the vulgar play of Questions and Commands, a forfeit was often to take off a lady's garter: expecting this therefore the lady provided herself with new ones.

⁷ That is, made use of, or practised.

And when you have more debts to pay
 Than Michaelmas and Lady-day,¹ 1020
 And no way possible to do 't
 But love and oaths, and restless suit,
 To us y' apply, to pay the scores
 Of all your cully'd past amours ;
 Act o'er your flames and darts again, 1025
 And charge us with your wounds and pain ;
 Which others' influences long since
 Have charm'd your noses with, and shins ;
 For which the surgeon is unpaid,
 And like to be, without our aid. 1030
 Lord ! what an am'rous thing is want !
 How debts and mortgages enchant !
 What graces must that lady have,
 That can from executions save !
 What charms, that can reverse extent, 1035
 And null degree and exigent !
 What magical attracts, and graces,
 That can redeem from *scire facias* !²
 From bonds and statutes can discharge,
 And from contempts of courts enlarge ! 1040
 These are the highest excellencies
 Of all your true or false pretences ;
 And you would damn yourselves and swear
 As much t' an hostess dowager,
 Grown fat and pursy by retail 1045
 Of pots of beer and bottled ale,
 And find her fitter for your turn,
 For fat is wondrous apt to burn ;
 Who at your flames would soon take fire,
 Relent, and melt to your desire, 1050

¹ These are the two principal rent days in the year : unsatisfactory to the landlord, when his outgoings exceed his incomings.

² Here the poet shows his knowledge of the law, and law terms, which he always uses with great propriety. *Execution* is obtaining possession of anything recovered by judgment of law. *Extent* is a writ of execution at the suit of the crown, which extends over all the defendant's lands and other property, in order to satisfy a bond, engagement, or forfeit. *Exigent* is a writ requiring a person to appear ; and lies where the defendant in an action cannot personally be found, or on anything of his in the country, whereby he may be distrained. *Scire facias* is a writ to enforce the execution of judgment.

And, like a candle in the socket,
 Dissolves her graces int' your pocket.
 By this time 'twas grown dark and late,
 When th' heard a knocking at the gate
 Laid on in haste, with such a powder,¹ 1055
 The blows grew louder and still louder :
 Which Hudibras, as if they 'd been
 Bestow'd as freely on his skin,
 Expounding hy his Inward Light,
 Or rather more prophetic fright, 1060
 To be the wizard, come to search,
 And take him napping in the lurch,
 Turn'd pale as ashes, or a clout ;
 But why, or wherefore, is a doubt :
 For men will tremble, and turn paler, 1065
 With too much, or too little valour.
 His heart laid on, as if it tried
 To force a passage through his side,
 Impatient, as he vow'd, to wait 'em ;
 But in a fury to fly at 'em ; 1070
 And therefore beat, and laid about,
 To find a cranny to creep out.
 But she, who saw in what a taking
 The Knight was by his furious quaking,
 Undaunted cry'd, Courage, Sir Knight, 1075
 Know I'm resolv'd to break no rite
 Of hospitality t' a stranger ;
 But, to secure you out of danger,
 Will here myself stand sentinel,
 To guard this pass 'gainst Sidrophel : 1080
 Women, you know, do seldom fail,
 To make the stoutest men turn tail,
 And bravely scorn to turn their backs,
 Upon the desp'ratest attacks.
 At this the Knight grew resolute, 1085
 As Ironside, or Hardiknute ;²

¹ Haste, bustle. Wright's Provincial Dictionary.

² Two princes celebrated for their valour in the 11th century. The former the predecessor, the latter the son and successor, of Canute the Great

His fortitude began to rally,
 And out he cry'd aloud, to sally ;
 But she besought him to convey
 His courage rather out o' th' way, 1099
 And lodge in ambush out of the floor,
 Or fortified behind a door,
 That, if the enemy should enter,
 He might relieve her in th' adventure.

Meanwhile they knock'd against the door 1095
 As fierce as at the gate before ;
 Which made the renegado Knight
 Relapse again t' his former fright.
 He thought it desperate to stay
 Till the enemy had forc'd his way, 1100
 But rather post himself to serve
 The lady for a fresh reserve.
 His duty was not to dispute,
 But what she 'd order'd execute ;
 Which he resolv'd in haste t' obey, 1105
 And therefore stoutly march'd away,
 And all h' encounter'd fell upon,
 Tho' in the dark, and all alone :
 Till fear, that braver feats performs
 Than ever courage dar'd in arms, 1110
 Had drawn him up before a pass,
 To stand upon his guard, and face :
 This he courageously invaded,
 And, having enter'd, barricado'd ;
 Enscenc'd himself as formidable 1115
 As could be underneath a table ;
 Where he lay down in ambush close,
 T' expect th' arrival of his foes.
 Few minutes he had lain perdue,
 To guard his desp'rate avenue, 1120
 Before he heard a dreadful shout,
 As loud as putting to the rout,
 With which impatiently alarm'd.
 He fancied th' enemy had storm'd,
 And after ent'ring, Sidrophel 1125
 Was fall'n upon the guards pell-mell ;

He therefore sent out all his senses
 To bring him in intelligences,
 Which vulgars, out of ignorance,
 Mistake for falling in a trance ; 1130
 But those that trade in geomancy,¹
 Affirm to be the strength of fancy ;
 In which the Lapland magi deal,²
 And things incredible reveal.
 Meanwhile the foe beat up his quarters, 1135
 And storm'd the outworks of his fortress ;
 And as another of the same
 Degree and party, in arms and fame,
 That in the same cause had engag'd
 And war with equal conduct wag'd, 1140
 By vent'ring only but to thrust
 His head a span beyond his post,
 B' a gen'ral of the cavaliers
 Was dragg'd thro' a window by the ears :³
 So he was serv'd in his redoubt, 1145
 And by the other end pull'd out.
 Soon as they had him at their mercy,
 They put him to the cudgel fiercely,
 As if they scorn'd to trade and barter,
 By giving, or by taking quarter : 1150
 They stoutly on his quarters laid,
 Until his scouts came in t' his aid :
 For when a man is past his sense,
 There's no way to reduce him thence,
 But twingeing him by th' ears or nose, 1155
 Or laying on of heavy blows :

¹ A sort of divination by circles and pricks in the earth ; used here for any sort of conjuring. The Knight's trance was a swoon through fear.

² Lapland, on account of its remaining pagan so long, was celebrated through the rest of Europe as the country of magicians and witches. They are reputed to have obtained the revelations necessary to making their predictions during trances.

³ This circumstance happened to Sir Richard Philips, of Picton Castle, in Pembrokehire. The Cavaliers, commanded by Colonel Egerton, attacked this place, and demanded a parley. Sir Richard consented ; and, being a little man, stepped upon a bench, and showed himself at one of the windows. The colonel, who was high in stature, sat on horseback underneath ; and pretending to be deaf, desired the other to come as near

And if that will not do the deed,
 To burning with hot irons proceed.¹
 No sooner was he come t' himself,
 But on his neck a sturdy elf 1160
 Clapp'd in a trice his cloven hoof,
 And thus attack'd him with reproof:
 Mortal, thou art betray'd to us
 B' our friend, thy evil genius,
 Who for thy horrid perjuries, 1165
 Thy breach of faith, and turning lies,
 The brethren's privilege against
 The wicked, on themselves, the saints,
 Has here thy wretched carcass sent,
 For just revenge and punishment; 1170
 Which thou hast now no way to lessen,
 But by an open, free confession:²
 For if we catch thee failing once,
 'Twill fall the heavier on thy bones.
 What made thee venture to betray, 1175
 And filch the lady's heart away,
 To spirit her to matrimony?—
 That which contracts all matches, money.
 It was th' enchantment of her riches,
 That made m' apply t' your crony witches;³ 1180
 That in return would pay th' expense,
 The wear and tear of conscience,⁴
 Which I could have patch'd up, and turn'd,
 For th' hundredth part of what I earn'd.
 Didst thou not love her then? Speak true. 1185
 No more, quoth he, than I love you.—
 How would'st thou've us'd her, and her money?
 First turn'd her up to alimony;⁵

him as he could. Sir Richard then leaned a good deal from the window; when the colonel seized him by the ears, and drew him out. Soon after the castle surrendered.

¹ Alluding to the use of cautery in apoplexy.

² This scene is imitated, but with much less wit and learning, in a poem called *Dunstable Downs*, falsely attributed to Butler.

³ Your old friends and companions.

⁴ The Knight confesses that he would have sacrificed his conscience to money; in reality, he had rid himself of it long before.

⁵ To provide for herself, as horses do when they are turned to grass. The poet might possibly intend a *jeu de mot*. *Alimony* is a separate main-

And laid her dowry out in law,
 To null her jointure with a flaw, 1190
 Which I beforehand had agreed
 T' have put, on purpose, in the deed,
 And bar her widow's-making-over
 T' a friend in trust, or private lover.

What made thee pick and chuse her out 1195
 T' employ their sorceries about?—

That which makes gamesters play with those
 Who have least wit, and most to lose.

But didst thou scourge thy vessel thus,
 As thou hast damn'd thyself to us?— 1200

I see you take me for an ass:
 'Tis true, I thought the trick would pass
 Upon a woman well enough,
 As 't has been often found by proof;
 Whose humours are not to be won 1205
 But when they are impos'd upon;
 For love approves of all they do
 That stand for candidates, and woo.

Why didst thou forge those shameful lies
 Of bears and witches in disguise?— 1210

That is no more than authors give
 The rabble credit to believe;
 A trick of following their leaders,
 To entertain their gentle readers;
 And we have now no other way 1215
 Of passing all we do or say;
 Which, when 'tis natural and true,
 Will be believ'd b' a very few,
 Beside the danger of offence,
 The fatal enemy of sense. 1220

Why dost thou chuse that cursed sin,
 Hypocrisy, to set up in?—

Because it is the thriving'st calling,
 The only saints' bell that rings all in;¹

tenance paid by the husband to the wife, where she is not convicted of adultery. The Earl of Strafford relates a case rather worse than Hudibras intended;—Queen Elizabeth reprimanded Stakeley for ill-using his wife, to which he replied, that “he had already turned her into her petticoat, and if any one could make more of her, they might take her for him.”

¹ The small bell, which rings immediately before the minister begins the

In which all churches are concern'd, 1225
 And is the easiest to be learn'd :
 For no degrees, unless th' employ it,
 Can ever gain much, or enjoy it.
 A gift that is not only able
 To domineer among the rabble, 1230
 But by the laws empower'd to rout,
 And awe the greatest that stand out ;
 Which few hold forth against, for fear
 Their hands should slip, and come too near ;
 For no sin else, among the saints, 1235
 Is taught so tenderly against.

What made thee break thy plighted vows ?—
 That which makes others break a house,
 And hang, and scorn ye all, before
 Endure the plague of being poor. 1240

Quoth he, I see you have more tricks
 Than all our doating politics,
 That are grown old and out of fashion,
 Compar'd with your new Reformation ;
 That we must come to school to you, 1245
 To learn your more refin'd and new.

Quoth he, If you will give me leave
 To tell you what I now perceive,
 You'll find yourself an arrant chouse,
 If y' were but at a Meeting-house. 1250

'Tis true, quoth he, we ne'er come there,
 Because w' have let 'em out by th' year.¹

Truly, quoth he, you can't imagine
 What wond'rous things they will engage in ;
 That as your fellow-fiends in hell 1255
 Were angels all before they fell,
 So are you like to be agen,
 Compar'd with th' angels of us men.²

church service, is called the saints' bell ; and when the clerk has rung it he says, " he has rung all in."

¹ The devils are here looked upon as landlords of the meeting-houses, since the tenants of them were known to be so diabolical, and to hold them by no good title ; but as it was uncertain how long these lawless times would last, the poet makes the devils let them only by the year : now when anything is actually let, landlords never come there, that is, have excluded themselves from all right to the use of the premises.

² I remember an old attorney, who told me, a little before his death, that

- Quoth he, I am resolv'd to be
 Thy scholar in this mystery ; 1260
 And therefore first desire to know
 Some principles on which you go.
 What makes a knave a child of God,¹
 And one of us ?²—A livelihood.
 What renders beating out of brains 1265
 And murder, godliness ?—Great gains.
 What's tender conscience ?—'Tis a botch
 That will not bear the gentlest touch ;
 But, breaking out, dispatches more
 Than th' epidemical'st plague-sore.³ 1270
 What makes y' encroach upon our trade,
 And damn all others ?—To be paid.
 What's orthodox and true believing
 Against a conscience ?—A good living.⁴
 What makes rebelling against kings 1275
 A Good Old Cause ?—Administ'rings.⁵
 What makes all doctrines plain and clear ?—
 About two hundred pounds a year.
 And that which was prov'd true before,
 Prove false again ?—Two hundred more. 1280

he had been reckoned a very great rascal, and believed he was so, for he had done many roguish and infamous things in his profession : “ but,” adds he, “ by what I can observe of the rising generation, the time may come, and you may live to see it, when I shall be accounted a very honest man, in comparison with those attorneys who are to succeed me.” *Nash*.

¹ A banter on the pamphlets in those days, under the name and form of Catechisms: Heylin's Rebel's Catechism, Watson's Cavalier's Catechism, Ram's Soldier's Catechism, Parker's Political Catechism, &c. &c.

² Both Presbyterians and Independents were fond of saying *one of us* ; that is, one of the holy brethren, the elect number, the godly party.

³ Alluding to the Great Plague of London, in 1665, which destroyed 68,586 people. Defoe gives a very graphic and painfully interesting account of it.

⁴ A committee was appointed November 11, 1646, to inquire into the value of all church-livings, in order to plant an able ministry, as was pretended ; but, in truth, to discover the best and fattest benefices, that the champions of the cause might choose for themselves. Whereof some had three or four a-piece ; a lack being pretended of competent pastors. When a living was small, the church doors were shut up. “ I could name an assembly-man,” says Sir William Dugdale, in his *Short View*, “ who being told by an eminent person that a certain church had no incumbent, inquired the value of it ; and receiving for answer that it was about £50 a-year, he said, if it be no better worth, no godly man will accept it.”

⁵ —Administerings. See P. iii. c. ii. v. 55.

What makes the breaking of all oaths
A holy duty?—Food and clothes.

What laws and freedom, persecution?—
B'ing out of power, and contribution.

What makes a church a den of thieves?— 1285
A dean and chapter, and white sleeves.¹

And what would serve, if those were gone,
To make it orthodox?—Our own.

What makes morality a crime,²
The most notorious of the time; 1290

Morality, which both the saints
And wicked too cry out against?—

'Cause grace and virtue are within
Prohibited degrees of kin;

And therefore no true saint allows 1295
They should be suffer'd to espouse:

For saints can need no conscience,
That with morality dispense;

As virtue's impious, when 'tis rooted 1300
In nature only, 'nd not imputed:

But why the wicked should do so,
We neither know, nor care to do.

What's liberty of conscience,
I' th' natural and genuine sense?

'Tis to restore, with more security, 1305
Rebellion to its ancient purity;

And Christian liberty reduce
To th' elder practice of the Jews;

For a large conscience is all one, 1310
And signifies the same, with none.³

It is enough, quoth he, for once,
And has repriev'd thy forfeit bones:

¹ That is, a bishop who wears lawn sleeves.

² Moral goodness was deemed a mean attainment, and much beneath the character of saints, who held grace and inspiration to be all meritorious, and virtue to have no merit; nay, some even thought virtue impious, when it is rooted only in nature, and not imputed; some of the modern sects are supposed to hold tenets not very unlike this. *Nash*.

³ It is reported of Judge Jefferys, that taking a dislike to a witness who had a long beard, he told him that "if his conscience was as long as his beard, he had a swinging one:" to which the countryman replied, "My Lord, if you measure consciences by beards, you have none at all."

Nick Machiavel had ne'er a trick
 Tho' he gave his name to our Old Nick,¹
 But was below the least of these, 1315
 That pass i' th' world for holiness.
 This said, the furies and the light
 In th' instant vanish'd out of sight,
 And left him in the dark alone,
 With stinks of brimstone and his own. 1320
 The Queen of night, whose large command
 Rules all the sea, and half the land,²
 And over moist and crazy brains,
 In high spring-tides, at midnight reigns,³
 Was now declining to the west, 1325
 To go to bed and take her rest ;
 When Hudibras, whose stubborn blows
 Deny'd his bones that soft repose,
 Lay still expecting worse and more,
 Stretch'd out at length upon the floor ; 1330
 And tho' he shut his eyes as fast
 As if he'd been to sleep his last,
 Saw all the shapes that fear or wizards,
 Do make the devil wear for vizards ;
 And pricking up his ears, to hark 1335
 If he could hear, too, in the dark,
 Was first invaded with a groan,
 And after, in a feeble tone,
 These trembling words : Unhappy wretch,
 What hast thou gotten by this fetch, 1340

¹ Nicholas Machiavelli was the great Florentine Historian and Statesman of the 16th cent. His political principles were loudly condemned by the Puritans, because they considered them identified with those of Charles I. Nick is a name of the devil, taken from the old Scandinavian and Teutonic name of a kind of water-spirit. See Keightley's Fairy Mythology. When Machiavel is represented as such a proficient in wickedness, that his name hath become an appellation for the devil himself, we are not less entertained by the smartness of the sentiment, than we should be if it were supported by the truth of history. By the same kind of poetical license Empedocles, in the second canto, is humorously said to have been acquainted with the writings of Alexander Ross, who did not live till about 2000 years after him.

² The moon is here said to influence the tides and motions of the sea, and half mankind, who are assumed to be more or less lunatic.

³ Insane persons are supposed to be worst at the change and full of the moon, when the tides are highest.



R. Cooper sculp^t

WILLIAM MA SCHIATZBERG.

Portrait of William Ma Schiatzberg, 1864.

Or all thy tricks, in this new trade,
 Thy holy brotherhood o' th' blade ?¹
 By saunt'ring still on some adventure,
 And growing to thy horse a centaur ?²
 To stuff thy skin with swelling knobs 1345
 Of cruel and hard-wooded drubs ?
 For still thou'st had the worst on't yet,
 As well in conquest as defeat :
 Night is the sabbath of mankind,
 To rest the body and the mind, 1350
 Which now thou art deny'd to keep,
 And cure thy labour'd corpse with sleep.
 The Knight, who heard the words, explain'd
 As meant to him this reprimand,
 Because the character did hit 1355
 Point-blank upon his case so fit ;
 Believ'd it was some drolling spright
 That staid upon the guard that night,
 And one of those he'd seen, and felt
 The drubs he had so freely dealt ; 1360
 When, after a short pause and groau,
 The doleful spirit thus went on :
 This 'tis t' engage with dogs and bears
 Pell-mell together by the ears,
 And after painful bangs and knocks, 1365
 To lie in limbo in the stocks,
 And from the pinnacle of glory
 Fall headlong into purgatory ;

¹ Meaning this religious knight-errantry : this search after trifling offences, with intent to punish them as crying sins. Ralpho, who now supposed himself alone, vents his sorrows in this soliloquy, which is so artfully worded, as equally to suit his own case and the Knight's, and to censure the conduct of both. Hence the latter applies the whole as meant to be directed to himself, and comments upon it accordingly to v. 1400, after which the squire improves on his master's mistake, and counterfeits the ghost in earnest. This seems to have been Butler's meaning, though not readily to be collected from his words. *Holy brotherhood* alludes to the society instituted in Spain, called *La Santa Hermandad*, employed in detecting and apprehending thieves and robbers, and executing other parts of the police.

² The Centaurs were a people of Thessaly, and supposed to be the first managers of horses. Strangers, who had never seen any such thing before, reported them to be half man and half beast.

(Thought he, this devil's full of malice,
That on my late disasters rallies.) 1370
Condemn'd to whipping, but declin'd it,
By being more heroic-minded ;
And at a riding handled worse,
With treats more slovenly and coarse : ¹
Engag'd with fiends in stubborn wars, 1375
And hot disputes with conjurers ;
And, when thou 'dst bravely won the day,
Wast fain to steal thyself away—
(I see, thought he, this shameless elf
Would fain steal me too from myself,² 1380
That impudently dares to own
What I have suffer'd for and done) ;
And now, but vent'ring to betray,
Hast met with vengeance the same way.
Thought he, how does the devil know 1385
What 'twas that I design'd to do ?
His office of intelligence,
His oracles, are ceas'd long since ;³
And he knows nothing of the saints,
But what some treach'rous spy acquaints. 1390
This is some pettifogging fiend,
Some under door-keeper's friend's friend,
That undertakes to understand,
And juggles at the second-hand,
And now would pass for Spirit Po,⁴ 1395
And all men's dark concerns foreknow.
I think I need not fear him for't ;
These rallying devils do no hurt.⁵

¹ Alluding to the result of the Knight's attempt to put down the Skimmington.

² A phrase used by Horace, *Carm.* lib. iv. Od. 13, v. 20 ; also by Ben Jonson in his *Tale of a Tub*, Act iii. sc. 5.

³ The heathen oracles were said to have ceased at the Nativity. See Milton's Ode.

⁴ Tom Po was a common name for a spectre. The word seems to be akin to *bug* in "bugbear ;" to the Dutch *bauw*, a spectre ; and to the Welsh *bo*, a hobgoblin. One son of Odin was named Po or Bo.

⁵ Grey illustrates this by the story of two male servants, one of whom alarmed the other, who was very apprehensive of the devil, by getting under the bed at night time and playing pranks ; but happening to make a natural explosion, the frightened man recovered himself, and cried out, "Oh ! oh !

With that he rous'd his drooping heart,
 And hastily cry'd out, What art?— 1400
 A wretch, quoth he, whom want of grace
 Has brought to this unhappy place.
 I do believe thee, quoth the Knight ;
 Thus far I'm sure thou'rt in the right ;
 And know what 'tis that troubles thee, 1405
 Better than thou hast guess'd of me.
 Thou art some paltry, blackguard spright,
 Condemn'd to drudg'ry in the night ;
 Thou hast no work to do i' th' house,
 Nor halfpenny to drop in shoes ;¹ 1410
 Without the raising of which sum
 You dare not be so troublesome
 To pinch the slatterns black and blue,
 For leaving you their work to do.
 This is your bus'ness, good Pug-Robin,² 1415
 And your diversion dull dry bobbing,

if thou art a f—g devil, have at thee, I am not afraid ;" and therewith got up and thrashed him.

¹ One of the current superstitions of the olden time about fairies was, that if servant-maids, before going to bed, swept up their hearths clean, brightened the furniture, and left a pail full of clean water for bathing in, they would find money in their shoes ; if they left the house dirty they would be pinched in their sleep. Thus the old ballad of Robin Goodfellow, who perhaps was the sprite meant by Pug-Robin ;

When house or hearth doth sluttish lie,
 I pinch the maids both black and blue :
 And from the bed, the bed-cloths I
 Pull off, and lay them nak'd to view.

Again, speaking of fairies :

Such sort of creatures as would bast ye
 A kitchen wench, for being nasty :
 But if she neatly scour her pewter,
 Give her the money that is due t' her.
 Every night before we go,
 We drop a tester in her shoe.

See Shakspeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *Merry Wives of Windsor* ; Percy's *Reliques* ; and Keightley's *Fairy Mythology*.

² Pug-Robin, or Robin Goodfellow, was a kind of merry sprite, whose character and achievements are frequently recorded by the poets, particularly in the well-known lines of Shakspeare, *Mids. Night's Dream*, Act ii. sc. 1. Pug is the same as Puck. *Dry bobbing* here means dry jesting.

T' entice fanatics in the dirt,
 And wash 'em clean in ditches for't ;
 Of which conceit you are so proud,
 At ev'ry jest you laugh aloud, 1420
 As now you would have done by me,
 But that I barr'd your raillery.

Sir, quoth the Voice, ye're no such sophy¹
 As you would have the world judge of ye.
 If you design to weigh our talents 1425
 I' th' standard of your own false balance,
 Or think it possible to know
 Us ghosts, as well as we do you,
 We who have been the everlasting
 Companions of your drubs and basting, 1430
 And never left you in contest,
 With male or female, man or beast,
 But prov'd as true t' ye, and entire,
 In all adventures, as your Squire.

Quoth he, That may be said as true, 1435
 By th' idlest pug of all your crew ;
 For none could have betray'd us worse
 Than those allies of ours and yours.²
 But I have sent him for a token
 To your low-country Hogen-Mogen, 1440
 To whose infernal shores I hope
 He'll swing like skippers³ in a rope :
 And if ye've been more just to me,
 As I am apt to think, than he,
 I am afraid it is as true 1445
 What th' ill-affected say of you :
 Ye've 'spous'd the Covenant and Cause
 By holding up your cloven paws.⁴

¹ You are no such wise person, or sophister, from the Greek *σόφος*.

² Meaning the Independents, or Ralpho, whom he says he had sent to the infernal Hogen-Mogen (from the Dutch *Hoogmogende*, high and mighty, or the devil,) supposing he would be hung.

³ Skipper is the Dutch for the master of a sloop, generally a good climber.

⁴ When persons took the Covenant, they attested their obligation to observe its principles by lifting up their hands to heaven. Of this South says, satirically, " Holding up their hands was a sign that they were ready to strike." The Covenant here means the Solemn League and Covenant,

Sir, quoth the Voice, 'tis true, I grant,¹
 We made, and took the Covenant : 1450
 But that no more concerns the Cause,
 Than other perj'ries do the laws,
 Which, when they're prov'd in open court,
 Wear wooden peccadillos for't :²
 And that's the reason Cov'nanters 1455
 Hold³ up their hands, like rogues at bars.

I see, quoth Hudibras, from whence
 These scandals of the saints commence,⁴
 That are but natural effects
 Of Satan's malice, and his sects, 1460
 Those spider-saints, that hang by threads
 Spun out o' th' entrails of their heads.

Sir, quoth the Voice, that may as true⁵
 And properly be said of you,
 Whose talents may compare with either,⁶ 1465
 Or both the other put together :
 For all the Independents do,
 Is only what you forc'd 'em to ;
 You, who are not content alone
 With tricks to put the devil down, 1470
 But must have armies rais'd to back
 The Gospel-work you undertake ;
 As if artillery and edge-tools,
 Were th' only engines to save souls :

framed by the Scots, and adopted by the English, ordered to be read in all churches, when every person was bound to give his consent, by holding up his hand at the reading of it.

¹ Ralpho, the supposed sprite, allows that they, the devil and the Independents, had engaged in the Covenant; but he insists that the violation of it was not at all prejudicial to the cause they had undertaken and for which it was framed.

² A *peccadillo*, or more correctly *Piccadil*, was a stiff collar or ruff worn round the neck and shoulders. Ludicrously it means the pillory. This collar came into fashion in the reign of James I., and is supposed to have given the name to Piccadilly.

³ Some editions read "*held up*."

⁴ That is, the scandalous reflections on the saints, such as charging the Covenant with perjury, and making the Covenanter no better than a rogue at the bar.

⁵ Hudibras having been hard upon Satan and the Independents, the voice undertakes the defence of each, but first of the Independents.

⁶ That is, either with the Independents or with the devil.

While he, poor devil, has no pow'r¹ 1475
 By force to run down and devour ;
 Has ne'er a Classis, cannot sentence
 To stools, or poundage of repentance ;
 Is ty'd up only to design,
 T' entice, and tempt, and undermine : 1480
 In which you all his arts outdo,
 And prove yourselves his betters too.
 Hence 'tis possessions do less evil
 Than mere temptations of the devil,²
 Which, all the horrid'st actions done, 1485
 Are charg'd in courts of law upon ;³
 Because, unless they⁴ help the elf,
 He can do little of himself ;
 And, therefore, where he's best possest
 Acts most against his interest ; 1490
 Surprises none but those who've priests
 To turn him out, and exorcists,
 Supply'd with spiritual provision,
 And magazines of ammunition ;
 With crosses, relics, crucifixes, 1495
 Beads, pictures, rosaries, and pixes ;
 The tools of working our salvation
 By mere mechanic operation :
 With holy water, like a sluice,
 To overflow all avenues : 1500
 But those who're utterly unarm'd,
 T' oppose his entrance, if he storm'd,

¹ *He*, that is, the Independent, has no power, having no classis, or spiritual jurisdiction, to distress us by open and authorized vexations. Stools mean stools of repentance, on which persons were compelled to stand and do penance for their sins. Poundage is the commutation of punishment for a sum of money.

² He argues that men who are influenced by the devil, and co-operate with him, commit greater wickedness than he is able to perpetrate by his own agency. We seldom hear, therefore, of his taking an entire possession. The persons who complain most of his doing so, are those who are well furnished with the means of exorcising and ejecting him, such as relics, crucifixes, beads, pictures, rosaries, &c.

³ "Not having the fear of God before their eyes, but being led by the instigation of the devil," is the form of indictment for felony, murder, and other atrocious crimes.

⁴ Some editions read "*you* help."

He never offers to surprise,
 Altho' his falsest enemies ;¹
 But is content to be their drudge, 1505
 And on their errands glad to trudge :
 For where are all your forfeitures
 Intrusted in safe hands, but ours ?
 Who are but jailors of the holes
 And dungeons where you clap up souls ;² 1510
 Like under-keepers, turn the keys,
 T' your *mittimus* anathemas,
 And never boggle to restore
 The members you deliver o'er
 Upon demand, with fairer justice, 1515
 Than all you Covenanting Trustees ;³
 Unless, to punish them the worse,
 You put them in the secular powers,
 And pass their souls, as some demise
 The same estate in mortgage twice :⁴ 1520
 When to a legal utlegation
 You turn your excommunication,⁵
 And, for a groat unpaid that's due,
 Distrain on soul and body too.⁶
 Thought he, 'tis no mean part of civil 1525
 State-prudence to cajole the devil,
 And not to handle him too rough,
 When h' has us in his cloven hoof.

¹ The enthusiasm of the Independents was something new in its kind, nor much allied to superstition.

² Keep those in hell whom you are pleased to send thither by excommunication, *mittimus*, or anathema : as jailors and turnkeys confine their prisoners.

³ More honestly than the Presbyterians surrendered the estates which they held in trust for one another ; these trustees were generally Covenanters. See Part i. c. i. v. 76, and Part iii. c. ii. v. 55.

⁴ This alludes to the case of a Mr Sherfield, who mortgaged his estate to half a dozen different people, having by a previous deed demised it *for pious uses*, so that all lost their money. See Strafford's Letters, 1739, vol. i. p. 206.

⁵ You call down the vengeance of the civil magistrate upon them, and in this second instance pass over, that is, take no notice of, their souls : the ecclesiastical courts can excommunicate, and then they apply to the civil court for an outlawry. *Utlegation* means outlawry.

⁶ Seize the party by a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*.

'Tis true, quoth he, that intercourse
 Has pass'd between your friends and ours, 1530
 That, as you trust us, in our way,
 To raise your members, and to lay,¹
 We send you others of our own,
 Denounc'd to hang themselves, or drown,²
 Or, frighted with our oratory, 1535
 To leap down headlong many a story ;
 Have us'd all means to propagate
 Your mighty interests of state,
 Laid out our sp'ritual gifts to further
 Your great designs of rage and murther : 1540
 For if the saints are nam'd from blood,
 We onl' have made that title good ;³
 And, if it were but in our power,
 We should not scruple to do more,
 And not be half a soul behind 1545
 Of all dissenters of mankind.

Right, quoth the Voice, and, as I scorn
 To be ungrateful, in return
 Of all those kind good offices,
 I'll free you out of this distress, 1550
 And set you down in safety, where
 It is no time to tell you here.
 The cock crows,⁴ and the morn draws on,
 When 'tis decreed I must be gone ;
 And if I leave you here till day, 1555
 You'll find it hard to get away.

With that the Spirit grop'd about
 To find th' enchanted hero out,

¹ *Your friends and ours*, that is, you devils and us fanatics: that as you trust us in our way, to raise you devils, and to lay them again when done with. *Nash*.

² It is probable that the presbyterian doctrine of reprobation had driven some persons to suicide, as in the case of Alderman Hoyle, a member of the house. See Birkenhead's Paul's Church Yard.

³ Assuming that *sanctus* is derived from *sanguis*, blood.—We fanatics of this island only have merited that title by spilling much blood.

⁴ It was formerly a current superstition that when the cock crowed at break of day, spirits and fiends that walked by night were forced to return to their infernal prison.

And try'd with haste to lift him up,
 But found his forlorn hope, his crup,¹ 1560
 Unserviceable with kicks and blows,
 Receiv'd from harden'd-hearted foes.
 He thought to drag him by the heels,
 Like Gresham-carts, with legs for wheels;²
 But fear, that soonest cures those sores, 1565
 In danger of relapse to worse,
 Came in t' assist him with its aid,
 And up his sinking vessel weigh'd.
 No sooner was he fit to trudge,
 But both made ready to dislodge; 1570
 The Spirit hors'd him like a sack,
 Upon the vehicle his back,
 And bore him headlong into th' hall,
 With some few rubs against the wall;
 Where, finding out the postern lock'd, 1575
 And th' avenues as strongly block'd,
 H' attack'd the window, storm'd the glass,
 And in a moment gain'd the pass;
 Thro' which he dragg'd the worsted soldier's
 Four-quarters out by th' head and shoulders, 1580
 And cautiously began to scout
 To find their fellow-cattle out;
 Nor was it half a minute's quest,
 Ere he retriev'd the champion's beast,
 Ty'd to a pale, instead of rack, 1585
 But ne'er a saddle on his back,
 Nor pistols at the saddle-bow,
 Convey'd away, the Lord knows how.
 He thought it was no time to stay,
 And let the night too steal away; 1590

¹ His back is called his forlorn hope, because that was generally exposed to danger, to save the rest of his body, intimating that he always turned his back on his enemies.

² Butler does not forget the Royal Society, who at that time held their meetings at Gresham College in Bishopsgate Street. In 1662, the scheme of a cart with legs instead of wheels was brought before this Society, and referred to the consideration of Mr Hooke. The inventor was Mr Potter. Mr Hooke was ordered to draw up a full description of this cart, which, together with the animadversions upon it, was to be entered in the books of the Society.

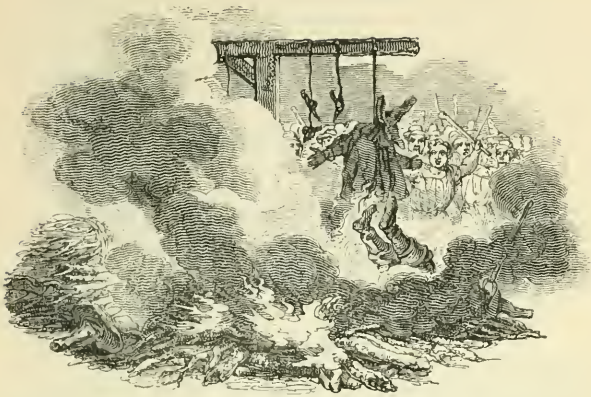
But, in a trice, advanc'd the Knight
 Upon the bare ridge, bolt upright,
 And, groping out for Ralpho's jade,
 He found the saddle too was stray'd,
 And in the place a lump of soap, 1595
 On which he speedily leap'd up;
 And, turning to the gate the rein,
 He kick'd and cudgell'd on amain;
 While Hudibras, with equal haste,
 On both sides laid about as fast, 1600
 And spurr'd, as jockies use, to break,
 Or padders to secure, a neck:¹
 Where let us leave 'em for a time,
 And to their churches turn our rhyme;
 To hold forth their declining state, 1605
 Which now come near an even rate.²

¹ Jockies endanger their necks by spurring their horses, and galloping very fast; and highwaymen, called padders, from the Saxon paad, highway, spur their horses to save their necks.

² The time now approached when the Presbyterians and Independents were to fall into equal disgrace, and resemble the doleful condition of the Knight and Squire.



PART III. CANTO II.



ARGUMENT.

The Saints engage in fierce contests
About their carnal interests,
To share their sacrilegious preys
According to their rates of grace ;
Their various frenzies to reform,
When Cromwell left them in a storm ;
Till, in th' effige of Rumps, the rabble
Burn all their grandees of the cabal.

The two last conversations have unfolded the views of the confederate sects, and prepared the way for the business of the subsequent canto. Their differences will there be agitated by characters of higher consequence ; and their mutual reproaches will again enable the poet to expose the knavery and hypoerisy of each. This was the principal intent of the work. The fable was considered by him only as the vehicle of his satire. And perhaps when he published the First Part, he had no more determined what was to follow in the Second, than Tristram Shandy had on a like occasion. The fable itself, the bare outlines of which I conceive to be borrowed, *mutatis mutandis*, from Cervantes, seems here to be brought to a period. The next canto has the form of an episode. The last consists chiefly of two dialogues and two letters. Neither Knight nor Squire has any further adventures. *Nash.*

PART III. CANTO II.¹



HE learned write, an insect breeze
 Is but a mongrel prince of bees,²
 That falls before a storm on cows,
 And stings the founders of his house ;
 From whose corrupted flesh that breed 5
 Of vermin did at first proceed.³

So, ere the storm of war broke out,
 Religion spawn'd a various rout⁴
 Of petulant capricious sects,
 The maggots of corrupted texts,⁵

10

¹ This canto being wholly unconnected with the story of Hudibras, would, in Mr Nash's opinion, have been better placed at the end ; indeed this arrangement has been adopted by Mr Towneley in his French translation. Its different character, and its want of connexion with the foregoing, may be accounted for, by supposing it written on the spur of the occasion, and with a view to recommend the author to his friends at court, by an attack on the opposite faction, at a time when it was daily gaining ground and the secret views of Charles II. were more and more suspected and dreaded. A short time before the third part of this poem was published, Shaftesbury had ceased to be a minister, and had become a furious demagogue. But the canto describes the spirit of parties not long before the Restoration. One object of satire here is to refute and ridicule the plea of the Presbyterians, after the Restoration, of having been the principal instruments in bringing back the king.

² The classical theory of the generation of bees is here applied to the breeze, or gaddy, which is said by Pliny (Nat. Hist. xi. 16) to be "a bee of larger size which chases the others:" hence it may fairly be styled a prince of bees, yet but a *mongrel* prince, because not truly a bee

³ Assuming that they deposit their larvæ in the flesh of cows.

⁴ Case, in his thanksgiving sermon for the taking of Chester, told the Parliament, that no less than 180 errors and heresies were propagated in the city of London.

⁵ The Independents, and sometimes the Presbyterians, have been charged with altering a text of Scripture, in order to authorize them to appoint their own ministers, substituting *ye* for *we* in Acts vi. 3. "Therefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom *ye* may appoint over this business." Mr Field is said

That first run all religion down,
 And after ev'ry swarm, its own :
 For as the Persian Magi once ¹
 Upon their mothers got their sons,
 That were incapable t' enjoy 15
 That empire any other way ; ²
 So presbyter begot the other ³
 Upon the Good Old Cause, his mother,
 That bore them like the devil's dam, ⁴
 Whose son and husband are the same ; 20
 And yet no nat'ral tie of blood,
 Nor int'rest for their common good,
 Could, when their profits interfer'd,
 Get quarter for each other's beard : ⁵
 For when they thriv'd they never fadg'd, ⁶ 25
 But only by the ears engag'd ;

to have printed *ye* instead of *we* in several editions, and particularly in his beautiful folio edition of 1659, as well as his octavo of 1661 ; and, according to Grey, he was " the first printer of the forgery, and received £1500 for it." But this error had previously occurred in the Bible printed at Cambridge by Buck and Daniel, 1638. See Lowndes' Bibliographical Manual, by Bohn, page 187.

¹ It was about 521 years before Christ, that they first had the name of Magians, which signifies crop-eared ; it was given them by way of nickname and contempt, because of the impostor (Smerdis) who was then eropt. Prideaux's Connection. Hence, perhaps, might come the proverb, " Who made you a conjurer and did not crop your ears."

² The poet cannot mean the *Persian empire*, which was only in the hands of the Magi for a few months, but the presidency of the Magi. Zoroaster, the first institutor of the sect, allowed of incestuous marriages to preserve the line without intermixture. He maintained the doctrine of a good and bad principle ; the former was worshipped under the emblem of fire, which they kept constantly burning.

³ The Presbyterians first broke down the pale of order and discipline, and so made way for the Independents and every other sect.

⁴ This is not the first time we have heard of the devil's mother. In *Wolffi Memorabilia*, is a quotation from Erasmus : " If you are the devil, I am his mother." And in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, Cassandra, after loading Clytemnestra with every opprobrious name she can think of, calls her " mother of the devil." Larcher, the editor of the French *Hudibras*, remarks in a note, that this passage alludes to the description of Sin and Death in the second book of Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

⁵ When the Presbyterians prevailed, Calamy, being asked what he would do with the Anabaptists, Antinomians, and others, replied, that he would not meddle with their consciences, but only with their bodies and estates.

⁶ That is, never agreed or united, from *gefegen*, Sax. See Wright's Provincial Dictionary.

Like dogs that snarl about a bone,
 And play together when they 've none;¹
 As by their truest characters,
 Their constant actions, plainl' appears. 30
 Rebellion now began, for lack
 Of zeal and plunder, to grow slack ;
 The Cause and Covenant to lessen,
 And Providence to b' out of season :
 For now there was no more to purchase ² 35
 O' th' king's revenue, and the churches',
 But all divided, shar'd, and gone,
 That us'd to urge the brethren on ;
 Which forc'd the stubborn'st for the cause
 To cross the cudgels to the laws,³ 40
 That what by breaking them they'd gain'd,
 By their support might be maintain'd ;
 Like thieves, that in a hemp-plot lie,
 Secur'd against the hue-and-cry.⁴
 For Presbyter and Independent 45
 Were now turn'd plaintiff and defendant ;
 Laid out their apostolic functions
 On carnal orders and Injunctions ;
 And all their precious gifts and graces
 On outlawries and *scire facias* ; 50
 At Michael's term had many a trial,
 Worse than the dragon and St Michael,
 Where thousands fell, in shape of fees,
 Into the bottomless abyss.
 For when, like bretheren and friends, 55
 They came to share their dividends,⁵

¹ Butler here implies that while the Dissenters were struggling for the upper hand and had nothing to lose, they were united, but the moment they succeeded, the dominant party jealously excluded their former allies.

² Although the *Ordinance* which removed obstructions in the sale of the Royal Lands, was passed so early as 1649, it was not till 1659 that Whitehall, Somerset House, and Hampton Court, were ordered to be sold.

³ Cudgels across one another denote a challenge: to cross the cudgels to the laws, is to offer to fight in defence of them.

⁴ Meaning a plantation of hemp, which being a thick cover, a rogue may lie concealed therein. "Thus," says Butler, "he shelters himself under the cover of the law, like a thief in a hemp-plot, and makes that secure him which was intended for his destruction." *Remains*, vol. ii. p. 384.

⁵ When the estates of the king and Church were ordered to be sold in

And ev'ry partner to possess
 His church and state joint-purchases,
 In which the ablest saint, and best,
 Was nam'd in trust by all the rest, 60
 To pay their money, and instead
 Of ev'ry brother, pass the deed ;
 He strait converted all his gifts
 To pious frauds and holy shifts,
 And settled all the others' shares 65
 Upon his outward man and 's heirs ;
 Held all they claim'd as Forfeit Lands
 Deliver'd up into his hands,
 And pass'd upon his conscience
 By pre-entail of Providence ; 70
 Impeach'd the rest for reprobates,
 That had no titles to estates,
 But by their spiritual attaints
 Degraded from the right of saints.
 This b'ing reveal'd, they now begun 75
 With law and conscience to fall on,
 And laid about as hot and brain-sick
 As th' utter barrister of Swanswick ;¹
 Engag'd with money-bags, as bold
 As men with sand-bags did of old,² 80

1749, great arrears were due to the army: for the discharge of which some of the lands were allotted, and whole regiments joined together in the manner of a corporation. The distribution afterwards was productive of many law-suits, the person whose name was put in trust often claiming the whole, or a larger share than he was entitled to. See note at page 7.

¹ William Prynne, already mentioned at page 30, was born at Swanswick, in Somersetshire. The poet calls him hot and brain-sick, because he was a restless and turbulent man. He is called the *utter* (or outer) barrister by the court of Star-chamber, in the sentence ordering him to be discarded; and afterwards he was voted again by the House of Commons to be restored to his place and practice as an *utter* barrister; which signifies a pleader without the bar, or one who is not king's counsel or serjeant.

² Bishop Warburton says: "When the combat was demanded in a legal way by knights and gentlemen, it was fought with sword and lance; and when by yeomen, with sand-bags fastened to the end of a truncheon." When tilts and tournaments were in fashion for men of knightly degree, men of low degree amused themselves with running at the Quintain, which was a beam with a wooden board at one end, and a sand-bag at the other, so fixed on a post, that when the board was smartly struck, it swung round

That brought the lawyers in more fees
 Than all unsanctify'd trustees ;¹
 Till he who had no more to show
 I' th' case, receiv'd the overthrow ;
 Or, both sides having had the worst, 85
 They parted as they met at first.
 Poor Presbyter was now reduc'd,
 Secluded, and cashier'd, and chous'd !²
 Turn'd out, and excommunicate
 From all affairs of church and state, 90
 Reform'd t' a reformado saint,³
 And glad to turn itinerant,⁴
 To stroll and teach from town to town,
 And those he had taught up, teach down,⁵
 And make those Uses serve agen⁶ 95
 Against the New-enlighten'd men,⁷
 As fit as when at first they were
 Reveal'd against the Cavalier ;
 Damn Anabaptist and fanatic,
 As pat as popish and prelatie ; 100

rapidly, and if the striker was not very nimble the sand-bag struck him a heavy blow. Judicial combats between common people were also fought with sand-bags fixed on shafts. See Henry VI., Part II. Act ii., where Horner and Peter are so equipped for their combat.

¹ The lawyers got more fees from the Presbyterians, or saints, who in general were trustees for the sequestered lands, than from all other trustees, who were unsanctified. • *Nash*.

² When Oliver Cromwell, with the army and the Independents, had got the upper hand, they retaliated on the Presbyterians by depriving them of all power and authority; and before the king was brought to trial, the Presbyterian members were "purged" from the House.

³ That is, a voluntary saint without pay or commission.

⁴ Amongst the schemes of the day was the appointment of itinerant preachers, who were to be supported out of the lands of Deans and Chapters. Walker's Hist. of Independency, Part ii. p. 156.

⁵ Poor Presbyter, i. e. the Presbyterians were glad to teach down the Independents, whom as brethren and friends (v. 55) they had indiscriminately taught up; the unninging doctrines of the Presbyterians having set up the Independents in direct opposition to themselves. *Nash*.

⁶ The sermons of these times were divided into Doctrine and Use: and in the margin of them is often printed *Use* the first, *Use* the second, &c.

⁷ The Presbyterians endeavoured to preach down the Independents by the very same doctrines these had used in preaching down the Bishops; that is, by objecting to Ordination and Church government.

And with as little variation,
 To serve for any sect i' th' nation.
 The Good Old Cause,¹ which some believe
 To be the dev'l that tempted Eve
 With knowledge, and does still invite 105
 The world to mischief with new light,
 Had store of money in her purse,
 When he took her for bett'r or worse,
 But now was grown deform'd and poor,
 And fit to be turn'd out of door. 110

The Independents, whose first station
 Was in the rear of Reformation,
 A mongrel kind of church-dragoons,²
 That serv'd for horse and foot at once,
 And in the saddle of one steed 115
 The Saracen and Christian rid ;³
 Were free of ev'ry spiritual order,
 To preach, and fight, and pray, and murder,⁴
 No sooner got the start, to lurch⁵
 Both disciplines of war and church, 120
 And providence enough to run
 The chief commanders of them down,
 But carry'd on the war against
 The common enemy o' th' saints,
 And in awhile prevail'd so far, 125
 To win of them the game of war,
 And be at liberty once more
 T' attack themselves as they'd before.

¹ This was the designation of the party purpose of those who first got up the Covenant and Protestation.

² Many of the Independent officers, such as Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, &c., used to pray and preach publicly. Cleveland uses the same term, "Kirk dragoons," in his Hue and Cry after Sir John Presbyterian.

³ The Templars were at first so poor that two knights rode on one horse; Butler says the new order of Military Saints did so, but that one rider was a Saracen and the other a saint. Grey says in quoting Walker, that the Independents were a compound of Jew, Christian, and saint.

⁴ *To preach*, has a reference to the Dominicans; to *fight*, to the knights of Malta: to *pray*, to the fathers of Oratory; to *murther*, to the Jesuits. But the Independents assumed to themselves the privilege of every order: they preached, fought, prayed, and murdered.

⁵ That is, to swallow up, see Skinner and Junius. A lurcher is a glutton. See Wright's Provincial Dictionary.

For now there was no foe in arms
 T' unite their factions with alarms, 130
 But all reduc'd and overcome,
 Except their worst, themselves at home,
 Who 'd compass'd all they pray'd, and swore,
 And fought, and preach'd, and plunder'd for,
 Subdu'd the nation, church and state, 135
 And all things but their laws and hate;¹
 But when they came to treat and transact,
 And share the spoil of all they 'd rausackt,
 To botch up what they 'd torn and rent,
 Religion and the government, 140
 They met no sooner, but prepar'd
 To pull down all the war had spar'd;
 Agreed in nothing, but t' abolish.
 Subvert, extirpate, and demolish:
 For knaves and fools b'ing near of kin, 145
 As Dutch boors are t' a sooterkin,²
 Both parties join'd to do their best
 To damn the public interest;
 And herded only in consults,³
 To put by one another's bolts; 150
 T' outcant the Babylonian labourers,
 At all their dialects of jabberers,
 And tug at both ends of the saw,
 To tear down government and law.
 For as two cheats, that play one game, 155
 Are both defeated of their aim;⁴
 So those who play a game of state,
 And only cavil in debate,

¹ That is, the laws of the land, and hatred of the people.

² A reflection upon the Dutch women, for their use of portable stoves, which they carry by a string, and on seating themselves generally put it under their petticoats; whence they are humorously said to engender sooterkins with their children. Howel, in his letters, describes them as "likest a bat of any creature," and Cleveland says, "not unlike a rat."

³ That is, both parties were intimately united together.

⁴ For as when two cheats, equally masters of the very same tricks, are by that circumstance mutually defeated of their aim, namely, to impose upon each other, so those well matched tricksters, who play with state affairs, and only cavil at one another's schemes, ever counteract each other.

Altho' there's nothing lost nor won,
 The public bus'ness is undone, 160
 Which still the longer 'tis in doing,
 Becomes the surer way to ruin.
 This when the Royalists perceiv'd,¹
 Who to their faith as firmly cleav'd,
 And own'd the right they had paid down 165
 So dearly for, the church and crown,
 Th' united constanter, and sided
 The more, the more their foes divided :
 For tho' outnumber'd, overthrown,
 And by the fate of war run down, 170
 Their duty never was defeated,
 Nor from their oaths and faith retreated ;
 For loyalty is still the same,
 Whether it win or lose the game ;
 True as the dial to the sun, 175
 Altho' it be not shin'd upon.²
 But when these bretheren³ in evil,
 Their adversaries, and the devil,
 Began once more to show them play,
 And hopes, at least, to have a day, 180
 They rally'd in parade of woods,
 And unfrequented solitudes ;
 Conven'd at midnight in outhouses,
 T' appoint new-rising rendezvouses,
 And, with a pertinacy unmatch'd 185
 For new recruits⁴ of danger watch'd.
 No sooner was one blow diverted,
 But up another party started,
 And as if Nature too, in haste
 To furnish out supplies as fast, 190

¹ This encomium on the Royalists, their prudence, and suffering fidelity, has been generally admired.

² As the dial is invariable, and always true to the sun whenever its rays emerge, however its lustre may be sometimes obscured by passing clouds; so true loyalty is always ready to serve its king and country, though often under the pressure of affliction and distress.

³ The poet, to serve his metre, sometimes lengthens and sometimes contracts his words, thus bretheren, lightening, oppugnie, sarcasmous, affairs, bungling, sprinkleing, benigne.

⁴ Recruits, that is, Irish volunteers ready to serve the king's cause.

Before her time had turn'd destruction
 T' a new and numerous production ;¹
 No sooner those were overcome,
 But up rose others in their room,
 That, like the Christian faith, increas'd 195
 The more, the more they were suppress'd :
 Whom neither chains, nor transportation,
 Proscription, sale, nor confiscation,
 Nor all the desperate events
 Of former tried experiments, 200
 Nor wounds, could terrify, nor mangling,
 To leave off loyalty and dangling,
 Nor death, with all his bones, affright
 From vent'ring to maintain the right,
 From staking life and fortune down 205
 'Gainst all together,² for the crown :
 But kept the title of their cause
 From forfeiture, like claims in laws ;
 And prov'd no prosp'rous usurpation
 Can ever settle on the nation ; 210
 Until, in spite of force and treason,
 They put their loy'lty in possession ;
 And, by their constancy and faith,
 Destroy'd the mighty men of Gath.
 Toss'd in a furious hurricane, 215
 Did Oliver give up his reign,³

¹ The succession of Loyalists was so quick, that they seemed to be perishing, and others supplying their places, before the periods usual in nature ; all which is expressed by an allusion to equivocal generation.

² That is, all of them together, namely, the several factions, their adversaries, and the devil. See v. 178.

³ The Monday before the death of Oliver, August 30th, 1658, was the most windy day that had happened for twenty years. Dennis Bond, a member of the Long Parliament, and one of the king's judges, died on this day ; wherefore, when Oliver likewise went away in a storm the Friday following, it was said, the devil came in the first wind to fetch him, but finding him not quite ready, took Bond for his appearance. Dryden, Waller, and other poets have verses on the subject :

In storms as loud as his immortal fame ;
and Godolphin :

In storms as loud as was his crying sin.

And was believ'd, as well by saints
 As moral men and miscreants,¹
 To founder in the Stygian ferry,
 Until he was retriev'd by Sterry.² 220
 Who, in a false erroneous dream,³
 Mistook the New Jerusalem,
 Profanely, for th' apocryphal
 False heav'n at the end o' th' hall ;
 Whither it was decreed by fate 225
 His precious reliques to translate.
 So Romulus was seen before
 B' as orthodox a senator,⁴
 From whose divine illumination
 He stole the pagan revelation. 230
 Next him his son, and heir apparent
 Succeeded, tho' a lame vicegerent ;⁵
 Who first laid by the Parliament,
 The only crutch on which he leant,

¹ Some editions read *mortal*. but not with so much meaning or wit. The Independents called themselves the saints: the Cavaliers and the Church of England were distinguished into two sorts; the immoral and wicked they called miscreants; those that were of sober and of good conversation, they called moral men; yet, because these last did not maintain the doctrine of absolute predestination and justification by faith only, but insisted upon the necessity of good works, they accounted them no better than moral heathens. By this opposition in terms between *moral men* and *saints*, the poet seems to insinuate, that the pretended saints were not men of morals.

² The king's party of course maintained that Oliver Cromwell was gone to the devil; but Sterry, one of Oliver's chaplains, assured the world of his ascent into heaven, and that he would be of more use to them there than he had been in his life-time.

³ Sterry dreamed that Oliver was to be placed in heaven, which he foolishly imagined to be the true and real heaven above; but it happened to be the false carnal heaven at the end of Westminster Hall, where his head was fixed after the Restoration. There were, at that time, three taverns abutting on Westminster Hall, one called Heaven, another Hell, and the third Purgatory, near to the former of which Oliver's head was fixed.

⁴ "Romulus, the first Roman king, being suddenly missed, and the people in trouble for the loss of him, Julius Proculus made a speech, wherein he told them that he saw Romulus that morning come down from heaven; that he gave him certain things in charge to tell them, and then he saw him mount up to heaven again." Iivy's Roman Hist. vol. i. b. i.

⁵ Richard Cromwell, the eldest son of Oliver, succeeded him in the protectorship; but had neither capacity nor courage sufficient for his position.

And then sunk underneath the state, 235
 That rode him above horseman's weight.¹
 And now the saints began their reign,
 For which they 'd yearn'd so long in vain,²
 And felt such bowel-bankerings,
 To see an empire, all of kings,³ 240
 Deliver'd from th' Egyptian awe
 Of justice, government, and law,⁴
 And free t' erect what spiritual cantons
 Should be reveal'd, or gospel Hans-Towns.⁵
 To edify upon the ruins 245
 Of John of Leyden's old out-goings,⁶
 Who for a weather-cock hung up
 Upon their mother-church's top,
 Was made a type, by Providence,
 Of all their revelations since, 250
 And now fulfill'd by his successors,
 Who equally mistook their measures ;
 For when they came to shape the Model,
 Not one could fit another's noddle ;
 But found their Light and Gifts more wide 255
 From fadging, than th' unsanctify'd,
 While ev'ry individual brother
 Strove hand to fist against another,

¹ See Part i. Canto i. l. 925, where he rides the state ; but here the state rides him.

² A sneer at the Committee of Safety. See Clarendon, vol. iii. b. xvi. p. 544, and Baxter's Life, p. 74.

³ They founded their hopes on Revelation i. 6, and v. 10.

⁴ Some sectaries thought that all law proceedings should be abolished, all law books burnt, and that the law of the Lord Jesus should be received alone.

⁵ Alluding to the republics of Switzerland, and the German Hans-Towns. *Hamburgh, Altona, &c.*

⁶ John of Leyden, a tailor, who proclaimed himself a prophet and king of the universe, was the ringleader of the Anabaptists of Munster, where they proclaimed a community both of goods and women. This New Jerusalem, as they had named it, was retaken, after a long siege, by its bishop and sovereign, Count Waldeck ; and John of Leyden and two of his associates (*Knipperdollinck* and *Krechting*) were enclosed in iron cages and carried throughout Germany for six months, after which they were suspended in an iron cage, and starved to death, on the highest tower of the city. This happened about the year 1536. See *Menzel's History of Germany*, vol. ii. p. 256.



R. Cooper sculp.

JOHN OF LEYDEN.

From a contemporary portrait.



R. Smith del.

GENERAL JOHN B. MURPHY

1791-1868

And still the maddest, and most crackt,
 Were found the busiest to transact; 260
 For tho' most hands dispatch apace,
 And make light work, the proverb says,
 Yet many diff'rent intellects
 Are found t' have contrary effects;
 And many heads t' obstruct intrigues, 265
 As slowest insects have most legs.

Some were for setting up a king,
 But all the rest for no such thing,
 Unless King Jesus:¹ others tamper'd
 For Fleetwood, Desborough, and Lambert;² 270
 Some for the Rump, and some more crafty,
 For Agitators, and the Safety;³
 Some for the Gospel, and massacres
 Of spiritual affidavit-makers,⁴

¹ "The Fifth Monarchy Men," as Bishop Burnet says, "seemed daily to expect the appearance of Christ." Carew, one of the king's judges, would not plead to his indictment when brought to trial, till he had entered a salvo for the jurisdiction of Jesus Christ: "saving to our Lord Jesus Christ his right to the government of these kingdoms."

² Fleetwood was son-in-law to Cromwell, having married Ireton's widow. He was made lord deputy of Ireland, and lieutenant-general of the army. Desborough married one of Cromwell's sisters, and became a colonel, and general at sea. Lambert was the person who, according to Ludlow, was always kept in expectation by Cromwell of succeeding him, and was indeed the best qualified for it.

³ In May, 1659, the Council of Officers, with Fleetwood as their president, resolved upon restoring the Long Parliament, which having, by deaths, exclusions, and expulsions, been reduced to a small remnant, was called the Rump. In 1647, when the Parliament began to talk of disbanding the army, a military council was set up, consisting of the chief officers and deputies from the inferior officers and common soldiers, to consult on the interests of the army. These were called Adjutators, and the chief management of affairs seemed to be for some time in their hands. The Committee of Safety, consisting of the officers of the army and some of the members of the Rump Parliament, was formed in 1659, to provide for the safety of the kingdom.

⁴ Some were for abolishing all laws but what were expressed in the words of the Gospel; for destroying all magistracy and government, and for extirpating those who should endeavour to uphold it; and of these Whitlock alleges that he acted as a member of the Committee of Safety, because so many were for abolishing all order that the nation was like to run into the utmost confusion. The Adjutators wished to destroy all records, and the courts of justice.

That swore to any human regence 275
 Oaths of suprem'cy and allegiance ;
 Yea, tho' the ablest swearing saint,
 That vouch'd the Bulls o' th' Covenant :
 Others for pulling down th' high places
 Of Synods and Provincial classes,¹ 280
 That us'd to make such hostile inroads
 Upon the saints, like bloody Nimrods :
 Some for fulfilling prophecies,²
 And th' extirpation of th' excise ;
 And some against th' Egyptian bondage 285
 Of holidays, and paying poundage :³
 Some for the cutting down of groves,⁴
 And rectifying bakers' loaves ;
 And some for finding out expedients
 Against the slav'ry of obedience : 290
 Some were for Gospel-ministers,
 And some for Red-coat seculars,⁵
 As men most fit t' hold forth the word,
 And wield the one and th' other sword :⁶
 Some were for carrying on the work 295
 Against the Pope, and some the Turk :
 Some for engaging to suppress
 The camisad' of surplices,⁷

¹ They wished to see an end of the Presbyterian hierarchy.

² That is, perhaps, for taking arms against the Pope, or Spain, as the headquarters of Popery.

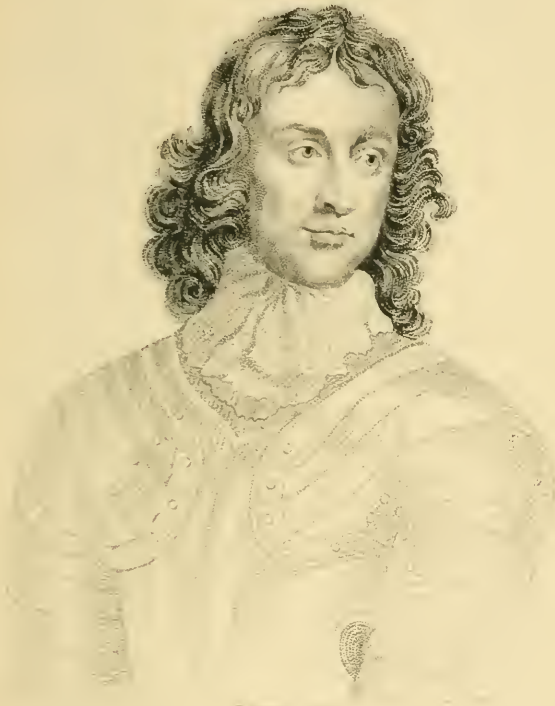
³ The festivals or holy days of the Church had been abolished in 1647. The taxes imposed by the Parliament were numerous and heavy : poundage was a rate levied, according to assessment, on all personal property.

⁴ That is, for destroying the churches, which they regarded as built originally for purposes of idolatry and superstition. It is well known that groves were anciently made use of as places of worship. The rows of clustered pillars in our Gothic cathedrals, branching out and meeting at top in long drawn arches, are supposed to have been suggested by the venerable groves of our ancestors.

⁵ Some petitioned for the continuance and maintenance of the regular clergy ministry ; and others thought that laymen, and even soldiers, who were nicknamed "Church dragoons," might preach the word, as some of them did, particularly Cromwell and Ireton.

⁶ "The sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." Ephesians vi. 17.

⁷ Some sectaries had a violent aversion to the surplice, which they called a rag of Popery. *Camisado* is an expedition by night, in which the soldiers sometimes wear their shirts, called a *camisade* (from the Greek *καμισιον*,



Engraved by H. Wallis

SIR JOHN LAMBERT

Engraved by H. Wallis



Portrait of [Name]

[Faint text, likely a title or subtitle]

[Faint text, likely a date or location]

That Gifts and Dispensations hinder'd,
 And turn'd to th' outward man the inward ;¹ 300
 More proper for the cloudy night
 Of Popery than gospel-light :
 Others were for abolishing
 That tool of matrimony, a ring,²
 With which th' unsanctify'd bridegroom 305
 Is marry'd only to a thumb,³
 As wise as ringing of a pig,
 That us'd to break up ground, and dig ;
 The bride to nothing but her " will,"⁴
 That nulls the after-marriage still : 310

Latin *camisia*, a surplice), over their clothes, that they may be distinguished by their comrades.

¹ Transferred the purity which should remain in the heart to the vestment on the back.

² Persons contracting matrimony were to publish their intentions in the next town, on three market days, and afterwards the contract was to be certified by a justice of the peace : no ring was used, as in the new Marriage Law.

³ The word *thumb* is used for the sake of rhyme, the ring being put by the bridegroom upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand : and something more may be meant than meets the ear, as the following extract from No. 614 of the Spectator seems to intimate : " Before I speak of widows, I cannot but observe one thing, which I do not know how to account for ; a widow is always more sought after than an old maid of the same age. It is common enough among ordinary people for a stale virgin to set up a shop in a place where she is not known ; where the *large thumb ring*, supposed to be given her by her husband, quickly recommends her to some wealthy neighbour, who takes a liking to the jolly widow that would have overlooked the venerable spinster." Falstaff says :

" I could have crept into any alderman's *thumb ring*."

I. Henry IV., Act ii. sc. 4.

⁴ Mr Warburton thinks this an equivoque, alluding to the response which the bride makes in the marriage ceremony—" I will." But the poet may imply that a woman binds herself to nothing but her own will, for he elsewhere says :

The souls of women are so small,
 That some believe th' have none at all ;
 Or, if they have, like cripples, still,
 They've but one faculty, the will.

Genuine Remains. vol. i. p. 246.

Some were for th' utter extirpation
 Of linsey-woolsey in the nation ;¹
 And some against all idolizing
 The cross in shop-books, or baptizing ;² 315
 Others to make all things recant
 The Christian or sirname of Saint,³
 And force all churches, streets, and towns,
 The holy title to renounce ;
 Some 'gainst a third estate of souls,
 And bringing down the price of coals ;⁴ 320
 Some for abolishing black-pudding,
 And eating nothing with the blood in,⁵
 To abrogate them roots and branches ;⁶
 While others were for eating haunches
 Of warriors, and now and then, 325
 The flesh of kings and mighty men ;

¹ Were for Judaizing. The Jewish law forbids the use of a garment made of linen and woollen. Lev. xix. 19.

² The Presbyterians thought it superstitious and Popish to use the sign of the cross in baptism ; Butler satirizes that notion by representing them as regarding it idolatrous for tradesmen to make a cross in their books, as a sign of payment.

³ Streets, parishes, churches, public foundations, and even the apostles themselves, were unsainted for some years preceding the Restoration, so that St Paul's was necessarily called Paul's, St Ann's, Ann's, &c. See the Spectator, No. 125.

⁴ The first line may allude to the doctrine of the intermediate state, in which some supposed the soul to continue from the time of its leaving the body to the resurrection ; or else it may allude to the Popish doctrine of purgatory. The former subject was warmly discussed about this time. The exorbitant price of coals was then loudly complained of. Sir Arthur Hazelrigg laid a tax of four shillings a chaldron upon Newcastle coals, when he was governor there. Many petitions were presented against the tax ; and various schemes proposed for reducing the price of them. Shakspeare says :

A pair of tribunes that have sack'd fair Rome
 To make coals cheap. Coriolanus, Act v. sc. 1.

⁵ The Judaizing sect, who were for introducing Jewish customs.

⁶ Clarendon mentions a set of levellers, who were called *root and branch men*, in opposition to others who were of more moderate principles. *To abrogate*, that is, that they might utterly abrogate or renounce everything that had blood, while others were for eating haunches, alluding to Revelation xix. 18, "That ye might eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of

And some for breaking of their bones
 With rods of iron,¹ by Secret ones;²
 For thrashing mountains,³ and with spells
 For hallowing carriers' packs and bells;⁴ 330
 Things that the legend never heard of,
 But made the wicked sore afraid of.⁵
 The quacks of government,⁶ who sate
 At th' unregarded helm of state,
 And understood this wild confusion 335
 Of fatal madness and delusion,
 Must, sooner than a prodigy,
 Portend destruction to be nigh,
 Consider'd timely how t' withdraw,
 And save their wind-pipes from the law; 340
 For one rencounter at the bar
 Was worse than all they'd 'scap'd in war;
 And therefore met in consultation
 To cant and quack upon the nation;
 Not for the sickly patient's sake, 345
 Nor what to give, but what to take;
 'To feel the pulses of their fees,
 More wise than fumbling arteries;
 Prolong the snuff of life in pain,
 And from the grave recover—gain. 350

captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great."

¹ Ridiculing the practice, so common in those days, of expressing every sentiment in terms of Scripture. He alludes perhaps to Psalm ii. 9, Isaiah xli. 15, and Revelation xix. 15.

² The 83rd Psalm and 3rd verse is thus translated in their favourite Geneva text: "And taken counsel against thy secret ones." See this expression used v. 681, 697, and 706 of this canto.

³ A sneer at the cant of the Fifth Monarchy Men, for their misapplication of the text Isaiah xli. 15.

⁴ Zachariah xiv. 20.

⁵ Things which the Scriptures never intended, but which the wicked, that is, the warriors, kings, and mighty men, were afraid of.

⁶ These were Hollis, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Grimstone, Annesley, Manchester, Roberts, and others; who perceiving that Richard Cromwell was unable to conduct the government, and that the various schemers, who daily started up, would divide the party, and facilitate the restoration of the royal family, thought it prudent to take care of themselves, and secure their own interests with as much haste as possible.

'Mong these there was a politician,
 With more heads than a beast in vision,¹
 And more intrigues in every one
 Than all the whores of Babylon ;
 So politic, as if one eye 355
 Upon the other were a spy,²
 That to trepan the one to think
 The other blind, both strove to blink ;
 And in his dark pragmatic way,
 As busy as a child at play. 360
 He 'ad seen three governments run down,³
 And had a hand in ev'ry one ;
 Was for 'em, and against 'em all,⁴
 But barb'rous when they came to fall :
 For by trepanning th' old to ruin, 365
 He made his int'rest with the new one ;
 Play'd true and faithful, tho' against
 His conscience, and was still advanc'd :

¹ Alluding to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, mentioned in the last note. From an absurd defamation that he had the vanity to expect to be chosen king of Poland, he was by many called *Tapsky*, and by others, on account of his general conduct, he was nicknamed *Shiftesbury*. But whatever the shafts levelled at him by the wits of the time, it must never be forgotten that he carried the *Habeas Corpus* Act through Parliament.

² Lord Shaftesbury had weak eyes, and squinted.

³ Those of the King, the Parliament, and the Protector. First he was high sheriff of Dorsetshire, governor of Weymouth, and raised some forces for the king's service. Next he joined the Parliament, took the Covenant, and was made colonel of a regiment of horse. Afterwards he was a very busy person in setting up Cromwell to be lord protector; and then again was quite as active in deposing Richard, and restoring the Rump. Bishop Burnet says of him, that he was not ashamed to reckon up the many turns he had made, and valued himself upon effecting them at the properest season, and in the best manner. But the most powerful picture of him is that drawn by Dryden, in his *Absalom and Achitophel*.

For close designs and crooked counsels fit,
 Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit ;
 Restless, unfix'd in principles and place,
 In power unpleas'd, impatient of disgrace ;
 In friendship false, implacable in hate,
 Resolv'd to ruin or to rule the state.

⁴ Grey says, "for the shameless duplicity of Shaftesbury, see the interesting memoirs of Col. Hutchinson, by his widow."



R. Cooper sculp.

ANTHONY AINSLEY COOPER

Bar. & Counsellor

Temp. Queen Anne a. 1702 in 1703

For by the witchcraft of rebellion
 Transform'd t' a feeble state-camelion,¹ 370
 By giving aim from side to side,
 He never fail'd to save his tide,
 But got the start of ev'ry state,
 And at a change, ne'er came too late ;
 Could turn his word, and oath, and faith, 375
 As many ways as in a lathe ;
 By turning, wriggle, like a screw,
 Int' highest trust, and out, for new :
 For when he'd happily incurr'd,
 Instead of hemp, to be preferr'd, 380
 And pass'd upon a government,²
 He play'd his trick, and out he went ;
 But being out, and out of hopes
 To mount his ladder, more, of ropes,³
 Would strive to raise himself upon 385
 The public ruin, and his own ;
 So little did he understand
 The desp'rate feats he took in hand,
 For when he 'ad got himself a name
 For frauds and tricks he spoil'd his game ; 390
 Had forc'd his neck into a noose,
 To show his play at fast and loose ;⁴
 And, when he chanc'd t' escape, mistook,
 For art and subtlety, his luck.
 So right his judgment was cut fit, 395
 And made a tally to his wit,
 And both together most profound
 At deeds of darkness under-ground ;

¹ The camelion is said to assume the colour of the nearest object.

² That is, passed himself upon the government.

³ It was in clandestine designs, such as house-breaking and the like, that rope-ladders were chiefly used in our poet's time.

⁴ *Fast and loose*, called also *Pricking at the belt, or girdle, or garter*, a cheating game still in vogue among gypsies and trampers at fairs. A leathern belt or garter is coiled up in intricate folds, but with all the appearance of having an ordinary centre, and then placed upon a table. The object of the player is to prick the centre fold with a skewer, so as to hold fast the belt, but the trickster takes hold of the ends, which are double, and draws the whole away. The game is now commonly played with a piece of list, and called *Pricking at the garter*. Shakspeare alludes to it in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act iv. sc. 10, and in *Love's Labour Lost*, Act iii. sc. 1.

As th' earth is easiest undermin'd,
 By vermin impotent and blind.¹ 400
 By all these arts, and many more,
 He'd practis'd long and much before,
 Our state-artificer foresaw
 Which way the world began to draw :
 For as old sinners have all points 405
 O' th' compass in their bones and joints,
 Can by their pangs and aches find
 All turns and changes of the wind,
 And better than by Napier's bones,²
 Feel in their own the age of moons ; 410
 So guilty sinners, in a state,
 Can by their crimes prognosticate,
 And in their consciences feel pain
 Some days before a show'r of rain :
 He therefore wisely cast about 415
 All ways he could t' ensure his throat,
 And hither came, t' observe and smoke
 What courses other riskers took,
 And to the utmost do his best
 To save himself, and hang the rest. 420
 To match this saint there was another,
 As busy and perverse a brother,³

¹ The poet probably means earthworms, which are still more impotent and blind than moles.

² See "Napier's bones" explained at page 257.

³ It is supposed that this character is intended for Colonel John Lilburn, whose repugnance to all, especially regal, authority, manifested itself in whatever shape it appeared, whether Monarchy or Protectorate. He had been severely censured in the Star-chamber for dispersing seditious pamphlets, and on that account was afterwards rewarded by the Parliament, and preferred by Cromwell. But when Cromwell was made Protector, Lilburn forsook him, and afterwards writing and speaking vehemently was arraigned of treason. He was an uncompromising leveller, and strong opponent of all that was uppermost ; a man of such an inveterate spirit of contradiction, that it was commonly said of him, if the world were emptied of all but himself, John would be against Lilburn, and Lilburn against John ; which part of his character gave occasion to the following lines at his death :

Is John departed, and is Lilburn gone ?
 Farewell to both, to Lilburn and to John.
 Yet being dead, take this advice from me,
 Let them not both in one grave buried be ;
 Lay John here, and Lilburn thereabout,
 For if they both should meet they would fall out.



R. Colper sculp.

EXAMEN JONATHEANUS
Hic est...

An haberdasher of small wares¹
 In politics and state affairs ;
 More Jew than Rabb' Achithophel,² 425
 And better gifted to rebel ;
 For when h' had taught his tribe to 'spouse
 The Cause, aloft upon one house,
 He scorn'd to set his own in order,
 But try'd another, and went further ; 430
 So sullenly addicted still
 To 's only principle, his will,
 That whatsoe'er it chanc'd to prove,
 No force of argument could move,
 Nor law, nor cavalcade of Ho'born,³ 435
 Could render half a grain less stubborn ;
 For he at any time would hang,
 For th' opportunity t' harangue ;
 And rather on a gibbet dangle,
 Than miss his dear delight, to wrangle ; 440
 in which his parts were so accomplish'd.
 That, right or wrong, he ne'er was non-plust :
 But still his tongue ran on, the less
 Of weight it bore, with greater ease ;
 And, with its everlasting clack, 445
 Set all men's ears upon the rack :
 No sooner could a hint appear,
 But up he started to picquer,⁴
 And made the stoutest yield to mercy,
 When he engag'd in controversy ; 450
 Not by the force of carnal reason,
 But indefatigable teasing ;
 With vollies of eternal babble,
 And clamour, more unanswerable :

¹ Lilburn had been bred a tradesman : Clarendon says a bookbinder, but Wood makes him a packer.

² Achithophel was one of David's counsellors who joined the rebellious Absalem, and assisted him with very artful advice ; but hanged himself when it was not implicitly followed. 2 Samuel xvii. 23.

³ When criminals were executed at Tyburn, they were generally conveyed in carts, by the sheriff and his attendants on horseback, from Newgate, along Holborn, and Oxford-street.

⁴ A military term, which signifies to skirmish.

For tho' his topics, frail and weak, 455
 Cou'd ne'er amount above a freak,
 He still maintain'd 'em like his faults,
 Against the desp'ratest assaults ;
 And back'd their feeble want of sense,
 With greater heat and confidence : ¹ 460
 As bones of Hectors, when they differ,
 The more they 're cudgell'd, grow the stiffer.²
 Yet when his profit moderated,³
 The fury of his heat abated ;
 For nothing but his interest 465
 Could lay his devil of contest :
 It was his choice, or chance, or curse,
 T' esponse the Cause for better or worse,
 And with his worldly goods and wit,
 And soul and body, worshipp'd it : ⁴ 470
 But when he found the sullen trapes
 Possess'd with th' devil, worms, and claps ;
 The Trojan mare, in foal with Greeks,⁵
 Not half so full of jadish tricks,
 Tho' squeamish in her outward woman, 475
 As loose and rampant as Doll Common ;⁶
 He still resolv'd to mend the matter,
 T' adhere and cleave the obstinater ;
 And still the skittisher and looser
 Her freaks appeared, to sit the closer ; 480
 For fools are stubborn in their way,
 As coins are harden'd by th' allay : ⁷

¹ When Lilburn was arraigned for treason against Cromwell, he pleaded at his trial that no treason could be committed against such a government, and what he had done was in defence of the liberties of his country.

² A pun upon the word stiffer.

³ That is, swayed and governed him.

⁴ Alluding to the words in the office of matrimony: "With my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow."

⁵ Alluding to the stratagem of the Wooden Horse at the siege of Troy. See *Virgil's Aeneid*, Book II.

⁶ A prostitute in Ben Jonson's play of *The Alchymist*.

⁷ *Allay* and *alloy* were in Butler's time used indifferently, although now employed in an opposite sense. The more copper a silver coin contains, the harder it is; gold coins contain two parts, in every twenty-four, of alloy.

And obstinacy's ne'er so stiff.
As when 'tis in a wrong belief.¹

These two, with others, being met,² 485

And close in consultation set,
After a discontented pause,
And not without sufficient cause,

The orator we mention'd late,
Less troubled with the pangs of state, 490

Than with his own impatience,
To give himself first audience,
After he had awhile look'd wise,
At last broke silence, and the ice.

Quoth he, There's nothing makes me doubt 495

Our last Outgoings³ brought about,

More than to see the characters

Of real Jealousies and Fears

Not feign'd, as once, but sadly horrid,⁴
Scor'd upon ev'ry member's forehead; 500

Who, 'cause the clouds are drawn together,

And threaten sudden change of weather,

Feels pangs and aches of state-turns,

And revolutions in their corns;

¹ The same sentiment is differently expressed in the Remains, vol. i. page 181:

For as implicit faith is far more stiff,
Than that which understands its own belief;
So those that think, and do but think they know,
Are far more obstinate than those that do:
And more averse, than if they'd ne'er been taught
A wrong way, to a right one to be brought.

² A cabal met at Whitehall, at the same time that General Monk dined with the city of London.

³ Outgoings and workings-out are among the cant terms used by Sectaries, referred to in a note at page 3. "The Nonconformist" (says Butler, in his Remains) "does not care to have anything founded on right, but left at large to the dispensation and *outgoings* of Providence."

⁴ Not feigned and pretended as formerly, in the beginning of the Parliament, when they stirred up the people against the king, by forging letters, suborning witnesses, and making an outcry of strange plots being carried on, and horrible dangers being at hand. For instance, the people were incensed by reports that the Papists were about to fire their houses, and cut their throats while they were at church; that troops of soldiers were kept under-ground to do execution upon them; and even that the Thames was to be blown up with gunpowder. Bates's Elench. Motuum.

And, since our workings-out are crost, 505
 Throw up the Cause before 'tis lost.
 Was it to run away we meant,
 Who, taking of the Covenant,
 The lamest cripples of the brothers
 Took oaths to run before all others,¹ 510
 But in their own sense, only swore,
 To strive to run away before,
 And now would prove, that words and oath
 Engage us to renounce them both ?
 'Tis true the Cause is in the lurch, 515
 Between a right and mongrel-church ;
 The Presbyter and Independent,
 That stickle which shall make an end on't,
 As 'twas made out to us the last
 Expedient,—I mean Marg'ret's fast ;² 520
 When Providence had been suborn'd,
 What answer was to be return'd :³
 Else why should tumults fright us now,
 We have so many times gone thro',
 And understand as well to tame 525
 As, when they serve our turns, t' inflame ?

¹ These were the words used in the Solemn League and Covenant : “ our true and unfeigned purpose is, each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation.”

² The lectures and exercises delivered on days of public devotion were called *expedients*. Besides twenty-five days of solemn fasting and humiliation on extraordinary occasions, there was a fast kept every month for about eight years together. The Commons attended divine service in St Margaret's church, Westminster. The reader will observe that the orator does not say *Saint* Margaret's, but *Margaret's* fast. Some of the sectaries, instead of Saint Peter or Saint Paul, would, in derision, say Sir Peter and Sir Paul. See note at page 54. The Parliament petitioned the king for fasts, while he had power ; and the appointing them afterwards themselves, was an *expedient* they made use of to alarm and deceive the people, who, upon such an occasion, could not but conclude there was some more than ordinary impending danger, or some important business carrying on.

³ These sectaries pretended a great familiarity with Heaven ; and when any villany was to be transacted, they would seem in their prayers to propose their doubts and scruples to God Almighty, and after having debated the matter some time with him, they would turn their discourse, and bring forth an answer suitable to their designs, which the people were to look upon as suggested from heaven. See note at page 66.

Have prov'd how inconsiderable
 Are all Engagements of the rabble,
 Whose frenzies must be reconcil'd
 With drums and rattles, like a child, 530
 But never prov'd so prosperous
 As when they were led on by us ;
 For all our scouring of religion
 Began with tumults and sedition ;
 When hurricanes of fierce commotion 535
 Became strong motives to devotion,
 As carnal seamen, in a storm.
 Turn pious converts, and reform :
 When rusty weapons, with chalk'd edges,
 Maintain'd our feeble privileges, 540
 And brown-bills levy'd in the city.¹
 Made bills to pass the Grand Committee ;
 When zeal, with aged clubs and gleaves.²
 Gave chase to rochets and white sleeves,³
 And made the church, and state, and laws, 545
 Submit t' old iron, and the Cause.

¹ Apprentices armed with occasional weapons. Ainsworth, in his Dictionary, translates *sparum*, a brown-bill. Bishop Warburton says, to fight with rusty or poisoned weapons (see Shakspeare's Hamlet) was against the law of arms. So when the citizens used the former, they chalked the edges. Samuel Johnson, in the octavo edition of his Dictionary, says, "*brown-bill* was the ancient weapon of the English foot," so called, perhaps, because sanguined to prevent the rust. The common epithet for a sword, or other offensive weapon, in the old metrical romances, is brown : as brown brand, or brown sword, brown-bill, &c. Shakspeare says :

So with a band of bowmen and of pikes,
 Brown-bills and targeteers 400 strong,
 I come. Edward II. Act ii.

In the ballad of Robin Hood and Gay of Gisborne, printed in Percy's Reliques, line 1508, we have

With new chalk'd bills and rusty arms.

Butler, in his MS. Common-place book, says, "the confident man's wit is like a watchman's bill with a chalked edge, that pretends to sharpness, only to conceal its dull bluntness from the public view."

² Zealots armed with old clubs and *gleaves*, or swords.

³ Rochets and white sleeves are used figuratively for the bishops, who were the objects of many violent popular demonstrations, and often assaulted by armed mobs, in the beginning of the troubles.

And as we thriv'd by tumults then,
 So might we better now agen,
 If we knew how, as then we did,
 To use them rightly in our need: 550
 Tumults, by which the mutinous
 Betray themselves instead of us;
 The hollow-hearted, disaffected,
 And close malignant are detected;
 Who lay their lives and fortunes down, 555
 For pledges to secure our own;
 And freely sacrifice their ears
 T' appease our jealousies and fears.
 And yet for all these providences
 W' are offer'd, if we had our senses, 560
 We idly sit, like stupid blockheads,
 Our hands committed to our pockets,
 And nothing but our tongues at large,
 To get the wretches a discharge:
 Like men condemn'd to thunder-bolts, 565
 Who, ere the blow, become mere dolts;¹
 Or fools besotted with their crimes,
 That know not how to shift betimes,
 And neither have the hearts to stay,
 Nor wit enough to run away: 570
 Who, if we could resolve on either,
 Might stand or fall at least together;
 No mean nor trivial solaces
 To partners in extreme distress,
 Who use to lessen their despairs, 575
 By parting them int' equal shares;
 As if the more they were to bear,²
 They felt the weight the easier;
 And ev'ry one the gentler hung,
 The more he took his turn among. 580
 But 'tis not come to that, as yet,
 If we had courage left, or wit;

¹ Some of the ancients were of opinion that thunder stupified before it killed, and there is a well-known proverb to this effect. *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*: He whom God would ruin he first deprives of his senses. See Ammian. Marcellin., and Pliny's Natural History, II. 54.

² Some editions read, the more *there* were to bear.



WILLIAM BENTLEY, Esq. Major
of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards

Who, when our fate can be no worse,
 Are fitted for the bravest course ;
 Have time to rally, and prepare 585
 Our last and best defence, despair :
 Despair, by which the gallant'st feats
 Have been achiev'd in greatest straits,
 And horrid'st dangers safely wav'd,
 By b'ing courageously outbrav'd ; 590
 As wounds by wider wounds are heal'd,
 And poisons by themselves expell'd :¹
 And so they might be now agen,
 If we were, what we should be, men ;
 And not so dully desperate, 595
 To side against ourselves with fate :
 As criminals, condemn'd to suffer,
 Are blinded first, and then turn'd over.
 This comes of breaking covenants,
 And setting up exempts of saints,² 600
 That fine, like aldermen, for grace,
 To be excus'd the efficace :³
 For sp'ritual men are too transcendent,
 That mount their banks for independent,⁴
 To hang, like Mah'met, in the air,⁵ 605
 Or St Ignatius, at his prayer,⁶

¹ Sneering at Sir Kenelm Digby, and others, who asserted that the sting of a scorpion was curable by its own oil. See v. 1029 of this canto.

² Dispensing, in particular instances, with the covenant and obligations. In the early editions, exempts is printed *exauns*, according to the old French pronunciation.

³ Persons who are nominated to an office, and pay the accustomed fine, are considered to have performed the service. Thus, some of the sectaries, if they paid handsomely, were deemed saints, and full of grace, though, from the tenor of their lives, they merited no such distinction ; compounding for their want of real grace, that they might be excused the drudgery of good works ; for spiritual men are too transcendent to grovel in good works, namely, those spiritual men that mount their banks for independent. *Efficace* signifies actual performance.

⁴ *Etre sur les bancs* is to hold a dispute, to assert a claim, to contest a right or an honour ; to be a competitor.

⁵ They need no such support as the body of Mahomet ; which legends averred was suspended in the air, by being placed in a steel colin, between two magnets of equal power.

⁶ Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits. An old soldier : at the siege of Pampeluna by the French he had both his legs wounded, the left

By pure geometry, and hate
 Dependence upon church or state ;
 Disdain the pedantry o' th' letter,¹
 And since obedience is better, 610
 The Scripture says, than sacrifice,
 Presume the less on't will suffice ;
 And scorn to have the moderat'st stints
 Prescrib'd their peremptory hints,
 Or any opinion, true or false, 615
 Declar'd as such, in doctrinals ;
 But left at large to make their best on,
 Without b'ing call'd t' account or quest'on :
 Interpret all the spleen reveals,
 As Whittington explain'd the bells ;² 620
 And bid themselves turn back agen
 Lord May'rs of New Jerusalem ;
 But look so big and overgrown,
 They scorn their edifiers t' own,
 Who taught them all their sprinkling lessons, 625
 Their tones, and sanctify'd expressions ;
 Bestow'd their gifts upon a saint,
 Like charity, on those that want ;
 And learn'd th' apocryphal bigots
 T' inspire themselves with shorthand notes,³ 630
 For which they scorn and hate them worse
 Than dogs and cats do sow-gelders :

by a stone, the right broken by a bullet. His fervours in devotion were so strong that, according to the legend, they sometimes raised him two cubits from the ground, and sustained him for a considerable time together.

¹ That is, they did not suffer their consciences to be controlled by the letter of Scripture, but rather interpreted Scripture by their consciences.

² Every one knows the legend of Dick Whittington, who, having run away from his master as far as Highgate, heard the bells of Bow ringing

Turn again Whittington
 Thrice Mayor of London.

An augury which he obeyed, and in time realized, being Lord Mayor in the years 1397, 1406, and 1419 ; he also amassed a fortune of £350,000. See Tatler, No. 78.

³ *Learn'd*, that is, taught, in which sense it is used by the old poets. *Apocryphal bigots*, not genuine ones, some suppose to be a kind of second-rate Independent divines, that availed themselves of the genuine bigot's or Presbyterian minister's discourse, by taking down the heads of it in shorthand, and then retailing it at private meetings. The accent is laid upon the last syllable of *bigot*.



R. Cooper Sculp^r

EDMUND SPENSER

From a Print by R. Cooper

For who first bred them up to pray,
 And teach the House of Commons way?
 Where had they all their gifted phrases, 635
 But from our Calamies and Cases? ¹
 Without whose sprinkling and sowing,
 Whoe'er had heard of Nye or Owen? ²
 Their dispensations had been stifled,
 But for our Adoniram Byfield; ³ 640
 And had they not begun the war,
 They 'd ne'er been sainted as they are: ⁴
 For saints in peace degenerate,
 And dwindle down to reprobate;
 Their zeal corrupts, like standing water, 645
 In th' intervals of war and slaughter;

¹ Calamy was minister of Aldermanbury, London, a zealous Presbyterian and Covenanter, and frequent preacher before the Parliament. He was one of the first who whispered in the conventicles, what afterward he proclaimed openly, that for the cause of religion it was lawful for the subjects to take up arms against the king. Case, also, a Presbyterian, upon the deprivation of a loyalist, became minister of Saint Mary-Magdalen church, Milk-street; where it was usual with him thus to invite his people to the communion: "You that have freely and liberally contributed to the Parliament, for the defence of God's cause and the gospel, draw near," &c., instead of the words, "Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins." He was one of the Assembly of Divines, preached for the Covenant, and printed his sermon; preached often before the Parliament, was a bitter enemy to Independents, and concerned with Love in his plot.

² Philip Nye was an Independent preacher, zealous against the king and bishops beyond most of his brethren. He went on purpose into Scotland to expedite the Covenant, and preached before both Houses in England, when that obligation was taken by them. He was at first a Presbyterian, and one of the Assembly; but afterwards left them. At the Restoration, it was debated by the Healing Parliament, for several hours, whether he should not be excepted from life. Doctor Owen was the most eminent divine of the Independents, and in great credit with Cromwell. He was promoted by them to the deanery of Christchurch, of Oxford. In 1654, being vice-chancellor, he offered to represent the university in Parliament; and, to remove the objection of his being a divine, renounced his orders, and pleaded that he was a layman. He was returned; but his election being questioned in the committee, he sat only a short time.

³ Byfield, originally an apothecary, was a noted Presbyterian, chaplain to Colonel Cholmondely's regiment, in the Earl of Essex's army, and one of the scribes to the Assembly of Divines. Afterwards he became minister of Collingborn, in Wilts, and assistant to the commissioners in ejecting scandalous ministers.

⁴ Had not the divines, on the Presbyterian side, fomented the differences, the Independents would never have come into play, or been taken notice of.

Abates the sharpness of its edge,
 Without the pow'r of sacrilege :¹
 And tho' they 've tricks to cast their sins,
 As easy 's serpents do their skins, 650
 That in a while grow out agen,
 In peace they turn mere carnal men,
 And from the most refin'd of saints,
 As nat'rally grow miscreants
 As barnacles turn soland geese 655
 In th' islands of the Orcades.²
 Their Dispensation's but a ticket
 For their conforming to the wicked,
 With whom their greatest difference
 Lies more in words and show, than sense : 660

¹ That is, if they have not the power and opportunity of committing sacrilege, by plundering the church lands.

² This was a common notion with the early Naturalists, and is among the figured wonders in *Olaus Magnus de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, 1555, Gerald's Herbal, *Gotofredi Archontologia Cosmica*, and several other old folios. But the poet is probably hitting at the Royal Society, who, in their twelfth volume of the Philosophical Transactions, No. 137, p. 925 give Sir Robert Moray's account of Barnacles hanging upon trees, each containing a little bird, so completely formed, that nothing appeared wanting, as to the external parts, for making up a perfect sea-fowl: the little bill, like that of a goose; the eyes marked; the head, neck, breast and wings, tail, and feet formed; the feathers every way perfectly shaped, and blackish coloured; and the feet like those of other water fowls. Pennant explains this by observing that the Barnacle (*Lepas anatifera*) is furnished with a feathered beard, which, in a credulous age, was believed to be part of a young bird; it is often found adhering to the bottoms of ships. Sir John Mandeville, in his *Voyages*, says, "In my country there are trees that do bear fruit that become birds flying, and they are good to eat, and that which falls in the water lives, and that which falls on the earth dies." Hector Boetius, in his *History of Scotland*, tells us of a goose-bearing tree, as it is called in the Orcades: that is, one whose leaves falling into the water, are turned to those geese which are called Soland geese, and found in prodigious numbers in those parts. In Moore's *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*, p. 54, we read: "This evening, December 18, 1730, I supped upon oysters which grew upon trees. Down the river (Gambia) where the water is salt, and near the sea, the river is bounded with trees called mangroves, whose leaves being long and heavy weigh the boughs into the water. To these leaves the young oysters fasten in great quantities, where they grow till they are very large; and then you cannot separate them from the tree, but are obliged to cut off the boughs: the oysters hanging on them resemble a rope of onions."



R Cooper sculp^t

JAMES SWINNEY

James Swinney

For as the Pope, that keeps the gate
 Of heaven, wears three crowns of state ;¹
 So he that keeps the gate of hell,
 Proud Cerb'rus, wears three heads as well :
 And, if the world has any troth, 665
 Some have been canoniz'd in both.
 But that which does them greatest harm,
 Their sp'ritual gizzards are too warm,²
 Which puts the overheated sots
 In fevers still, like other goats ;³ 670
 For tho' the Whore bends hereticks
 With flames of fire, like crooked sticks,⁴
 Our schismatics so vastly differ,
 Th' hotter they 're they grow the stiffer ;
 Still setting off their sp'ritual goods, 675
 With fierce and pertinacious feuds :
 For zeal 's a dreadful termagant,
 That teaches saints to tear and rant,
 And Independents to profess
 The doctrine of Dependences ;⁵ 680
 Turns meek and sneaking Secret ones.⁶
 To raw-heads fierce and bloody-bones ;
 And not content with endless quarrels
 Against the wicked, and their morals,
 The Gibellines, for want of Guelfs,⁷ 685
 Divert their rage upon themselves.

¹ The pope claims the power of the keys, and the tiara or triple crown is a badge of papal dignity.

² Persons are said to have a broiling in their gizzards when they stomach anything very much.

³ This was an old medical superstition. Varro, ii. 3, 5, &c.

⁴ Rome was identified with the whore of Babylon mentioned in the Revelations : and the Romanists are said to have attempted the conversion of infidels by means of fire and faggots, as men made crooked sticks straight by fire and steam.

⁵ "I am called an Independent," said one, when asked by a Magistrate (before whom he went to make his declarations and obtain his license), "because I *depend upon my Bible*."

⁶ The early editions read thus, but Grey reads "secret sneaking ones."

⁷ These names of distinction were first made use of at Pistoia, where, when the magistrates expelled the Panzaticchi, there chanced to be two brothers, Germans, one of whom, named Guelph, was for the pope, the other, Gibel, for the emperor. The spirit of these parties raged with great violence in Italy and Germany during the middle ages. Dr Heyliu says some are

For now the war is not between
 The brethren and the men of sin,
 But saint and saint to spill the blood
 Of one another's brotherhood, 690
 Where neither side can lay pretence
 To liberty of conscience,¹
 Or zealous suff'ring for the Cause,
 To gain one groat's worth of applause ;
 For tho' endur'd with resolution, 695
 'Twill ne'er amount to persecution ;
 Shall precious saints, and Secret ones,
 Break one another's outward bones,²
 And eat the flesh of bretheren,
 Instead of kings and mighty men ? 700
 When fiends agree among themselves,³
 Shall they⁴ be found the greater elves ?
 When Bel's at union with the Dragon,
 And Baal-Peor friends with Dagon ;
 When savage bears agree with bears, 705
 Shall Secret ones lug saints by th' ears,
 And not atone their fatal wrath,⁵
 When common danger threatens both ?
 Shall mastiffs, by the collars pull'd,
 Engag'd with bulls, let go their hold ; 710
 And saints, whose necks are pawn'd at stake,⁶
 No notice of the danger take ?
 But tho' no pow'r of heav'n or hell
 Can pacify fanatic zeal,
 Who would not guess there might be hopes, 715
 The fear of gallowses and ropes

of opinion that the fiction of *Elfs* and *Goblins*, by which we used to frighten children, was derived from *Guelphs* and *Ghibellines*. Butler wrote these lines before the Guelphs had become the ancestors of our own royal line. See the genealogy in Burke's Royal Pedigrees.

¹ That is, not having granted liberty of conscience.

² A sneer upon the abuse of Scripture phrases, alluding to Psalm ii. 9 : the same may be said of lines 326, 328, and 700.

³ O shame to men ! devil with devil damn'd

Firm concord holds— Paradise Lost, ii. 496.

⁴ *They*, that is, the saints, see v. 689, 697.

⁵ *Atone*, that is, reconcile, see v. 717.

⁶ That is, *and saints*, whose all is at stake, as they will be hanged if things do not take a friendly turn.

Before their eyes might reconcile
 Their animosities a while ?
 At least until they 'd a clear stage,
 And equal Freedom to engage, 720
 Without the danger of surprise
 By both our common enemies ?
 This none but we alone could doubt,¹
 Who understood their Workings-out,
 And know 'em both in soul and conscience, 725
 Giv'n up t' as reprobate a nonsense²
 As spiritual out-laws, whom the pow'r
 Of miracle can ne'er restore.
 We, whom at first they set up under,
 In revelation only 'f plunder, 730
 Who since have had so many trials
 Of their encroaching Self-denials,³
 That rook'd upon us with design⁴
 To out-reform and undermine ;
 Took all our int'rests and commands 735
 Perfidiously out of our hands ;
 Involv'd us in the Guilt of Blood,
 Without the motive gains allow'd,⁵
 And made us serve as ministerial,
 Like younger sons of father Belial. 740
 And yet, for all th' inhuman wrong
 They 'd done us and the Cause so long,
 We never fail'd to carry on
 The work still, as we had begun :
 But true and faithfully obey'd, 745
 And neither preach'd them hurt, nor pray'd ;
 Nor troubled them to crop our ears,
 Nor hang us, like the Cavaliers ;

¹ We alone could doubt that the fear of the gallows might reconcile their animosities, &c.

² Given up to such a state of reprobation and the guidance of their own folly, that nothing, not even miraculous power, can restore them.

³ The Independents got rid of the Presbyterian leaders by the Self-denying Ordinance.

⁴ That played the cheat.

⁵ That is, without allowing us the gains which were the motives to such actions.

Nor put them to the charge of jails,
 To find us pill'ries and carts'-tails, 750
 Or hangman's wages,¹ which the state
 Was forc'd, before them, to be at ;
 That cut, like tallies, to the stumps,
 Our ears for keeping true accompts,²
 And burnt our vessels, like a new- 755
 Seal'd peck, or bush'l, for being true
 But hand in hand, like faithful brothers,
 Held forth the Cause against all others,
 Disdaining equally to yield
 One syllable of what we held. 760
 And though we differ'd now and then
 'Bout outward things, and outward men,
 Our inward men, and Constant Frame
 Of spirit, still were near the same ;
 And till they first began to cant,³ 765
 And sprinkle down the Covenant,
 We ne'er had Call in any place,
 Nor dream'd of teaching down Free-grace ;
 But join'd our gifts perpetually,
 Against the common enemy, 770
 Although 'twas ours, and their opinion,
 Each other's church was but a Rimmon.⁴

¹ The value of thirteen pence halfpenny, in a coin called a *thirteener*, which the State had to defray, when the Puritans' ears were cropped.

² Tallies are corresponding notches made by small traders on sticks, which are cut down as the accompts are settled. The meaning seems to be : the State made us suffer for keeping true accounts, or for being true, cutting our ears like tallies, and branding the vessels of our bodies like a measure with the mark fresh upon it. There was a seal put upon true and just measures and weights.

³ The term cant is derived from Mr Andrew Cant, and his son Alexander, whose seditious preaching and praying was in Scotland called canting. *Grey*.

⁴ A Syrian idol. See 2 Kings v. 18. And *Paradise Lost*, i. 467 :

Him followed Rimmon, whose delightful seat
 Was fair Damascus, on the fertile banks
 Of Abbana and Pharphar, lucid streams.

The meaning is, that in the opinion of both, church communion with each other was a like case with that of Naaman's bowing himself in the house of Rimmon, equally laying both under the necessity of a petition for pardon: the Independents knew that their tenets were so opposite to those of

And yet, for all this Gospel-union,
 And outward show of church-communion,
 They'd ne'er admit us to our shares 775
 Of ruling church or state affairs,
 Nor give us leave t' absolve, or sentence
 T' our own conditions of repentance :
 But shar'd our dividend o' th' crown,
 We had so painfully preach'd down ; 780
 And forc'd us, though against the grain,
 T' have Calls to teach it up again.¹
 For 'twas but justice to restore
 The wrongs we had receiv'd before ;
 And when 'twas held forth in our way 785
 We'd been ungrateful not to pay :
 Who for the right we've done the nation,
 Have earn'd our temporal salvation,
 And put our vessels in a way
 Once more to come again in play : 790
 For if the turning of us out
 Has brought this providence about
 And that our only suffering
 Is able to bring in the king,²
 What would our actions not have done, 795
 Had we been suffer'd to go on ?
 And therefore may pretend t' a share,
 At least, in Carrying on th' affair :
 But whether that be so or not,
 We've done enough to have it thought, 800

the Presbyterians that they could not coalesce, and therefore concealed them till they were strong enough to declare them.

¹ The Presbyterians entered into several plots to restore the king. For it was but justice, said they, to repair the injuries we had received from the Independents ; and when monarchy was offered to be restored in our own sense, and with all the limitations we desired, it had been ungrateful not to consent. *Nash*.

² Many of the Presbyterians, says Lord Clarendon, when ousted from their preferment, or excluded from the House of Commons by the Independents, pretended to make a merit of it, in respect of their loyalty. And some of them had the confidence to present themselves to King Charles the Second, both before and after his Restoration, as sufferers for the crown ; this behaviour is ridiculed in many parts of this canto.

And that's as good as if we 'd done 't,
 And easier past upon account :
 For if it be but half denied,
 'Tis half as good as justified. 805
 The world is naturally averse
 To all the truth it sees or hears,
 But swallows nonsense and a lie,
 With greediness and gluttony ;
 And tho' it have the pique, and long,
 'Tis still for something in the wrong : ¹ 810
 As women long when they're with child
 For things extravagant and wild ;
 For meats ridiculous and fulsome,
 But seldom anything that's wholesome ;
 And, like the world, men's jobbernoles 815
 Turn round upon their ears, the poles ; ²
 And what they 're confidently told,
 By no seuse else can be controll'd.
 And this, perhaps, may be the means
 Once more to hedge-in Providence. 820
 For as relapses make diseases
 More desp'rate than their first accesses ;
 If we but get again in pow'r,
 Our work is easier than before ;
 And we more ready and expert 825
 I' th' mystery, to do our part :
 We, who did rather undertake
 The first war to create, than make ; ³
 And when of nothing 'twas begun,
 Rais'd funds as strange, to carry 't on : ⁴ 830
 Trepann'd the state, and fac'd it down,
 With plots and projects of our own :

¹ *Pique*, or *pica*, is a depraved appetite, or desire of improper food, to which sickly females are more especially subject. For an amusing account of these longings, see *Spectator*, No. 326.

² Men's *heads* are turned with the lies and nonsense poured into their ears. See v. 1008.

³ By creating war, he means, finding pretences for it, stirring up and fomenting it. By making war, he means, waging and carrying it on.

⁴ The taxes levied by Parliament in four years are said to have been £17,512,400.

And if we did such feats at first,¹
 What can we now we 're better vers'd ?
 Who have a freer latitude 835
 Than sinners give themselves, allow'd ;
 And therefore likeliest to bring in,
 On fairest terms, our Discipline ;
 To which it was reveal'd long since
 We were ordain'd by Providence, 840
 When three saints' cars, our predecessors,
 The Cause's primitive confessors,²
 B'ing crucify'd, the nation stood
 In just so many years of blood,²
 That, multiply'd by six, express'd 845
 The perfect Number of the Beast,⁴
 And prov'd that we must be the men
 To bring this work about agen ;
 And those who laid the first foundation,
 Complete the thorough Reformation : 850
 For who have gifts to carry on
 So great a work, but we alone ?
 What churches have such able pastors,
 And precious, powerful, preaching masters ?
 Possess'd with absolute dominions 855
 O'er brethren's purses and opinions,

¹ The schemes described in these lines are those which the Presbyterians were charged with practising in the beginning of the civil commotions, to enrage the people against the king and the Church of England.

² Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick, who, before the civil war, were set in the pillory, and had their ears cropt. The severe sentence which was passed on these persons, and on Leighton, contributed much to inflame the minds of men, and to incense them against the bishops, the Star-chamber, and the government.

³ The civil war lasted six years, from 1642, till the death of the king in 1648-9.

⁴ Alluding to Revelations, ch. xiii. 18. "Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred threescore and six." The multiplication of three units by six, gives three sixes, and the juxtaposition of three sixes makes 666, or six hundred sixty-six, the number of the beast. This mysterious number and name excited the curiosity of mankind very early, and the conjectural solutions of it are numberless; every nation, sect, or person, finding by one means or other that the name of the hostile nation, sect, or person, involved the mystical 666.

And trusted with the Double keys
 Of heaven, and their warehouses?
 Who, when the Cause is in distress,
 Can furnish out what sums they please, 860
 That brooding lie in bankers' hands,
 To be dispos'd at their commands;
 And daily increase and multiply,
 With doctrine, use, and usury:
 Can fetch in parties, as in war 865
 All other heads of cattle are,
 From th' enemy of all religions,
 As well as high and low conditions,
 And share them, from blue ribbons down
 To all blue aprons in the town;¹ 870
 From ladies hurry'd in calleches,
 With cornets at their footmen's breeches,²
 The bawds as fat as mother Nab,
 All guts and belly, like a crab.³
 Our party's great, and better tied 875
 With oaths, and trade, than any side;⁴
 Has one considerable improvement,
 To double-fortify the Cov'nant;
 I mean our covenants to purchase
 Delinquents' titles, and the churches, 880
 That pass in sale, from hand to hand,
 Among ourselves, for current land,
 And rise or fall, like Indian actions,⁵
 According to the rate of factions;
 Our best reserve for Reformation, 885
 When New outgoings give occasion;

¹ Supposed by Dr Grey to mean the tradesmen and their apprentices, who wore blue aprons, and took a very active part in the troubles, both by preaching and fighting. But it appears from the Rump Songs that preachers also wore blue aprons.

² Callèche, or calash, a light carriage. Cornets were ornaments which servants wore upon their breeches.

³ Ladies of this profession are generally described as coarse and fat. The orator means, that the leaders of the faction could fetch in parties of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest.

⁴ The strength of the Presbyterian party lay in the citizens.

⁵ Grey thinks this alludes to the subscription set on foot at the general court of the East India House, Oct. 19, 1657. *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 387.

That keeps the loins of brethren girt,
 Their Covenant, their creed, t' assert ;¹
 And, when they've pack'd a parliament,
 Will once more try th' expedient : 890
 Who can already muster friends,
 To serve for members to our ends,
 That represent no part o' th' nation,
 But Fisher's-folly congregation ;²
 Are only tools to our intrigues, 895
 And sit like geese to hatch our eggs ;
 Who, by their precedents of wit,
 T' outfast, outloiter, and outsit,³
 Can order matters under-hand,
 To put all bus'ness to a stand : 900
 Lay public bills aside, for private,
 And make 'em one another drive out ;
 Divert the great and necessary
 With trifles to contest and vary,
 And make the nation represent, 905
 And serve for us in parliament ;

¹ A lay preacher at Banbury said, " We know, O Lord, that Abraham made a covenant, and Moses and David made a covenant, and our Saviour made a covenant, but the Parliament's covenant is the greatest of all covenants." The Marquis of Hamilton being sent into Scotland to appease the troubles there, demanded of the Scotch that they should renounce the covenant ; they answered, that they would sooner renounce their baptism.

² Jasper Fisher, one of the six clerks in Chancery, a member of the goldsmith's company, and justice of the peace, spent his fortune in laying out magnificent gardens and building a fine house ; which, therefore, was called Fisher's Folly. After having been the residence of the Earl of Oxford and Sir Roger Manning, it was used as a conventicle. See Fuller's Worthies, p. 197, and Stowe's Survey. The place where the house stood is now Devonshire Square, Bishopsgate. The word *represent* means either to stand in the place of others, or to resemble them. In the first sense, the members they should pack, would represent their constituents ; but in the latter sense, only a meeting of enthusiastic sectaries.

³ By these arts the leaders on the Parliament side defeated the purposes of the loyalists, and carried such points in the House as they were bent upon. Thus the Remonstrance was carried, as Lord Clarendon says, merely by the hour of the night ; the debates being continued till two o'clock, and very many having withdrawn out of pure faintness and disability to attend the conclusion. The bill against Episcopacy, and other bills, were carried by out-fasting and out-sitting those who opposed them : which made Lord Falkland say, that they who hated bishops hated them worse than the devil, and they who loved them, loved them not so well as their own dinners.

Cut out more work than can be done
 In Plato's year,¹ but finish none,
 Unless it be the Bulls of Lenthall,
 That always pass'd for fundamental: ² 910
 Can set up grandee against grandee,
 To squander time away, and bandy;
 Make lords and commoners lay sieges
 To one another's privileges;
 And, rather than compound the quarrel, 915
 Engage, to th' inevitable peril
 Of both their ruins, th' only scope
 And consolation of our hope;
 Who, tho' we do not play the game,
 Assist as much by giving aim;³ 920
 Can introduce our ancient arts,
 For heads of factions t' act their parts;
 Know what a leading voice is worth,
 A seconding, a third, or fourth;
 How much a casting voice comes to, 925
 That turns up trump of Ay, or No;
 And, by adjusting all at th' end,
 Share ev'ry one his dividend.
 An art that so much study cost,
 And now's in danger to be lost, 930
 Unless our ancient virtuosos,
 That found it out, get into th' houses.⁴
 These are the courses that we took
 To carry things by hook or crook,⁵

¹ The Platonic year, or time required for a complete revolution of the entire machine of the world, has by some been made to consist of 4000 common years: others have thought it must extend to 26,000, or still more.

² The ordinances published by the House of Commons were signed by Lenthall, the speaker: and are therefore familiarly called the Bulls of Lenthall. They were fundamental, because on them the new order in church and state was reared. Afterwards, when the Parliament became the *Rump*, the fundamentals acquired a new meaning.

³ Or, in the bowler's phrase, by *giving ground*.

⁴ The old members of the Rump were excluded from Cromwell's Parliaments. When they presented themselves with Prynne at their head, they were met at the door by Colonel Pride, and refused admittance.

⁵ Crook and Hutton were the only judges who dissented from their brethren, when the case of Ship-money was argued in the Exchequer: which



A. Kneller del. J. Smith sculp.

Portrait of the Hon. John Kneller, Esq.

Secretary to the Admiralty, &c.

London, 1715.

And practis'd down from forty-four, 935
 Until they turn'd us out of door:¹
 Besides the herds of *boutèfeus*²
 We set on work, without the House.
 When ev'ry knight and citizen
 Kept legislative journeymen, 940
 To bring them in intelligence,
 From all points of the rabble's sense,
 And fill the lobbies of both Houses
 With politic important buzzes ;
 Set up committees of cabals,³ 945
 To pack designs without the walls ;
 Examine and draw up all news,
 And fit it to our present use ;
 Agree upon the plot o' th' farce,
 And ev'ry one his part rehearse ; 950
 Make Q's of answers, to way-lay
 What th' other parties like to say ;⁴
 What repartees, and smart reflections,
 Shall be return'd to all objections ;
 And who shall break the master-jest, 955
 And what, and how, upon the rest ;
 Help pamphlets out, with safe editions,
 Of proper slanders and seditions,
 And treason for a token send,
 By Letter to a Country Friend ; 960
 Disperse lampoons, the only wit
 That men, like burglary, commit,
 With falser than a padder's face,
 That all its owner does betrays ;

occasioned the wags to say, punningly, that the king carried it by Hook, but not by Crook.

¹ From the time of the Self-denying ordinance, 1644, when the Presbyterians were turned out from all places of profit and power, till Pridé's Purge, on December 7, 1648.

² Incendiaries.

³ The poet probably alludes to the ministers of Charles the Second, the initials of whose names were satirically so arranged as to make up the word cabal. See note, page 25.

⁴ Prisoners in Newgate, and other gaols, have often sham-examinations, to prepare them with answers for their real trials.

Who therefore dares not trust it, when 965
 He's in his calling, to be seen.¹
 Disperse the dung on barren earth,
 To bring new weeds of discord forth ;
 Be sure to keep up congregations,
 In spite of laws and proclamations : 970
 For charlatans can do no good,²
 Until they're mounted in a crowd ;
 And when they're punish'd, all the hurt
 Is but to fare the better for't ;
 As long as confessors are sure 975
 Of double pay for all th' endure,³
 And what they earn in persecution,
 Are paid t' a groat in contribution :
 Whence some tub-holders-forth have made
 In powd'ring-tubs their richest trade ; 980
 And, while they kept their shops in prison,
 Have found their prices strangely risen.⁴

¹ Padders, or highwaymen, usually covered their faces with a mask or piece of crape.

² Charlatan is a quack doctor, whom punishment makes more widely known, and so benefits instead of injures.

³ Alluding again to Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick, who having been pilloried, fined, and banished to different parts of the kingdoms, by the sentence of the Star-chamber, were by the Parliament afterward recalled, and rewarded out of the estates of those who had punished them. In their way back to London they were honoured with loud acclamations, and received many presents.

—— silenc'd ministers,
 That get estates by being undone
 For tender conscience, and have none :
 Like those that with their credit drive
 A trade without a stock, and thrive.

Butler's Remains, vol. i. 63.

⁴ Powdering-tubs, which were tubs for salting beef in, may here signify either prisons or hospitals. The term *powdering* was a synonyme for *sprinkling* with salt, and so came to be applied to the places where infected persons were cured. When any one gets into a scrape, he is said to be in a pretty pickle. Ancient Pistol throws some light upon this passage when he bids Nym

“to the spital go,
 And from the *powdering-tub* of infamy
 Fetch forth the lazar kite of Cressid's kind,
 Doll Tearsheet she by name, and her espouse.”

Hen. V. Act i.

Disdain to own the least regret
 For all the Christian blood we 've let ;
 'Twill save our credit, and maintain 985
 Our title to do so again ;
 That needs not cost one dram of sense,
 But pertinacious impudence.
 Our constancy t' our principles,
 In time will wear out all things else ; 990
 Like marble statues, rubb'd in pieces
 With gallantry of pilgrims' kisses ;¹
 While those who turn and wind their oaths,
 Have swell'd and sunk, like other froths ;
 Prevail'd a while, but 'twas not long 995
 Before from world to world they swung ;
 As they had turn'd from side to side,
 And as the changelings liv'd, they dy'd.
 This said, th' impatient statesmonger
 Could now contain himself no longer,² 1000
 Who had not spar'd to show his piques
 Against th' haranguer's politics,
 With smart remarks of leering faces
 And annotations of grimaces.
 After he'd minister'd a dose 1005
 Of snuff mundungus to his nose,³
 And powder'd th' inside of his skull,⁴
 Instead of th' outward jobbernoil,⁵

Butler may mean that some of the tub-holders-forth kept houses of ill fame, from whence the transit to the powdering-tub was frequent. See also Measure for Measure, Act iii. sc. 2.

¹ Round the Casa Santa of Loretto, the marble is worn into a deep channel, by the knees and kisses of devout pilgrims. Many statues of saints are in like manner worn by the adoration of their votaries.

² As the former orator had harangued on the side of the Presbyterians, his antagonist, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, now smartly inveighs against them, and justifies the principles and conduct of the Independents.

³ Grey illustrates what he calls the beastly habit of snuff-taking by a story from Chardin's Travels, quoted by Montaigne, Essay 22, which is: that at *Bootan*, in the East Indies, the prince is held in such esteem and reverence, that the courtiers collect his ordure in a linen cloth, and after drying and preparing it, not only use it as snuff, but strew it over their meals as a great delicacy.

⁴ The early editions read "soul."

⁵ That is, thick-head, or blockhead. See Wright's Glossary

He shook it with a scornful look,
 On th' adversary, and thus he spoke : 1010
 In dressing a calf's head, altho'
 The tongue and brains together go,
 Both keep so great a distance here,
 'Tis strange if ever they come near ;
 For who did ever play his gambols 1015
 With such insufferable rambles,
 To make the bringing in the king,
 And keeping of him out, one thing ?
 Which none could do, but those that swore
 T' as point-blank nonsense heretofore ; 1020
 That to defend was to invade,
 And to assassinate to aid : ¹
 Unless, because you drove him out,
 And that was never made a doubt ;
 No pow'r is able to restore 1025
 And bring him in, but on your score :
 A sp'ritual doctrine, that conduces
 Most properly to all your uses.
 'Tis true, a scorpion's oil is said
 To cure the wounds the vermin made ;² 1030
 And weapons, dress'd with salves, restore
 And heal the hurts they gave before :³
 But whether Presbyterians have
 So much good nature as the salve,
 Or virtue in them as the vermin, 1035
 Those who have tried them can determine.
 Indeed 'tis pity you should miss
 Th' arrears of all your services,

¹ This alludes to Rolf, a shoemaker, who was indicted for entertaining a design to kill the king when imprisoned in the Isle of Wight, in evidence of which Osborne and Doucet swore positively. Serjeant Wild, who was sent to Winchester to try the case, and is said to have been bribed to get Rolf off, gave an unfair charge to the jury, by saying: "There was a time indeed when intentions and words were made treason; but God forbid it should be so now: how did anybody know but that those two men, Osborne and Doucet (the evidence), would have made away with the king, and that Rolf charged his pistol to preserve him." Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 180.

² This is Pliny's statement, Natural History, xxix. 29. Similar stories are extant respecting the fat of the viper.

³ A sneer at Sir Kenelm Digby's doctrine of sympathy.

And for th' eternal obligation
 Y' have laid upon th' ungrateful nation, 1040
 Be us'd s' unconscionably hard,
 As not to find a just reward,
 For letting rapine loose, and murder,
 To rage just so far, but no further :¹
 And setting all the land on fire, 1045
 To burn t' a scantling, but no higher :²
 For vent'ring to assassinate,
 And cut the throats of church and state ;
 And not b' allow'd the fittest men
 To take the charge of both agen : 1050
 Especially that have the Grace
 Of Self-denying Gifted face ;
 Who, when your projects have miscarry'd,
 Can lay them, with undaunted forehead,
 On those you painfully³ trepann'd, 1055
 And sprinkled in at second hand ;⁴
 As we have been, to share the guilt
 Of Christian blood, devoutly spilt ;⁵
 For so our ignorance was flamm'd
 To damn ourselves, t' avoid being damn'd ;⁶ 1060
 Till finding your old foe, the hangman,
 Was like to lurch you at backgammon,⁷

¹ Though the Presbyterians began the war, yet they pretended they had no thoughts of occasioning the bloodshed and devastation which were consequent upon it. They intended to bring the king to reason, not to murder him. It happened to them, however, as to the would-be conjurer, who, by certain words he had overheard, sent a broomstick to fetch water ; but not recollecting the words to make it stop, it went and fetched water without ceasing, till it filled the house, and drowned him.

² Grey compares this to the joke of two countrymen who having bought a barn in partnership, one threatened to set his own half on fire.

³ Meaning, with pains, laboriously. Walker says, " that by an impudent fallacy, called *Translatio Criminis*, the Independents laid their brats at other men's doors."

⁴ Baptizing members into their churches in opposition to the practice of the Anabaptists.

⁵ The war was begun and carried on by the Presbyterians in the name of religion, and in defence of the gospel.

⁶ Meaning, to commit robbery, rebellion, and murder, with a view of keeping out Arminianism, Popery, &c.

⁷ That is, finding the king was likely to get the better of you, and that we were all in danger of being hanged as traitors, we took the war out of your hands into our own management.

And win your necks upon the set,
 As well as ours, who did but bet ;
 For he had drawn your ears before, 1065
 And nick'd 'em on the self-same score,
 We threw the box and dice away,
 Before you 'd lost us at foul play ;
 And brought you down to rook and lie,
 And fancy only on the by ;¹ 1070
 Redeem'd your forfeit jobbernoles,²
 From perching upon lofty poles,
 And rescu'd all your outward traitors,
 From hanging up, like alligators ;³
 For which ingeniously ye 've show'd 1075
 Your Presbyterian gratitude ;
 Would freely 've paid us home in kind,
 And not have been one rope behind.⁴
 Those were your motives to divide,
 And scruple, on the other side,⁵ 1080
 To turn your zealous frauds, and force,
 To fits of conscience and remorse ;
 To be convinc'd they were in vain,
 And face about for new again ;
 For truth no more unveil'd your eyes, 1085
 Than maggots are convinc'd to flies :⁶

¹ *By-bets* are bets made by spectators of a game, or standers-by: the Presbyterians, from being principals in the cause, were reduced to a secondary position; and from being principal players of the game, became mere lookers-on.

² The heads of traitors were set up on poles at Temple-bar or London Bridge.

³ Alligators were frequently hung up in the shops of druggists and apothecaries.

⁴ The Dissenters, when in power, were no enemies to persecution, and showed themselves as hearty persecutors as ever the Church had been. They maintained that "A toleration of different ways of churches and church government will be to this kingdom very mischievous, pernicious, and destructive;" and Calamy, being asked what he would do with those who differed from him in opinion, said, "He would not meddle with their consciences, but only with their persons and estates."

⁵ He tells the Presbyterians that their jealousy of the Independents caused their treachery to them, not any scruple of conscience.

⁶ The change was produced in them merely by the course of their nature. The edition of 1710 reads:

Than maggots when they turn to flies.

And therefore all your Lights and Calls
 Are but apocryphal and false,
 To charge us with the consequences,
 Of all your native insolences, 1090
 That to your own imperious wills
 Laid Law and Gospel neck and heels ;
 Corrupted the Old Testament,
 To serve the New for precedent ;
 T' amend its errors and defects, 1095
 With murder and rebellion texts ;¹
 Of which there is not any one
 In all the book to sow upon ;
 And therefore from your tribe, the Jews
 Held Christian doctrine forth, and use ; 1100
 As Mahomet, your chief, began
 To mix them in the Alcoran ;²

¹ The Presbyterians, he says, finding no countenance for their purposes in the New Testament, took their measures of obedience from some instances of rebellion in the Old. Among the corrupted texts to which Butler alludes is probably that printed at Cambridge, by Buek and Daniel, in 1638, where Acts vi. 3, reads *ye* instead of "*we* may appoint over this business," a corruption attributed by some to the Independents, by others to the Presbyterians. But several of the Bibles printed either during or immediately preceding the Commonwealth contain gross blunders. In the so-called *Wicked Bible*, printed by Bates and Lucas, 1632, the seventh commandment is printed, "Thou shalt commit adultery." In another Bible, printed in the Reign of Charles I., and immediately suppressed, Psalm xiv. reads, "The fool hath said in his heart, *there is a God.*" One printed during the Commonwealth (1653) by Field, reads at Rom. vi. 13, "Neither yield ye your members as instruments of *righteousness* unto sin;" and at 1 Cor. vi. 9, "Know ye not that the unrighteous shall *inherit* the kingdom of God." Many other Bibles, some of much later date, present typographical errors, the most remarkable of which is perhaps that printed at Belfast, by James Blood, 1716 (the first Bible printed in Ireland), which at John viii. 11, reads *sin on more*, instead of "sin no more."

² In his Pindaric Ode upon an hypocritical nonconformist, Remains, vol. i. p. 135, Mr Butler says:

For the Turks' patriarch, Mahomet,
 Was the first great reformer, and the chief
 Of th' ancient Christian belief,
 That mix'd it with new light and cheat,
 With revelations, dreams, and visions,
 And apostolic superstitions,
 To be held forth, and carry'd on by war
 And his successor was a presbyter.

Denounc'd and pray'd with fierce devotion,
 And bended elbows on the cushion ;
 Stole from the beggars all your tones, 1105
 And gifted mortifying groans ;
 Had lights where better eyes were blind,
 As pigs are said to see the wind ;¹
 Fill'd Bedlam with Predestination,
 And Knightsbridge with Illumination ;² 1110
 Made children, with your tones, to run for't,
 As bad as Bloodybones or Lunsford :³
 While women, great with child, miscarry'd,
 For being to Malignants marry'd.
 Transform'd all wives to Dalilahs, 1115
 Whose husbands were not for the Cause ;⁴
 And turn'd the men to ten-horn'd cattle,
 Because they came not out to battle ;⁵
 Made tailors' 'prentices turn heroes,
 For fear of b'ing transform'd to Meroz,⁶ 1120

¹ Pigs are said to be very sagacious in foretelling wind and weather. Thus, in a poem entitled *Hudibras at Court*, we read :

And now, as hogs can see the wind,
 And storms at distance coming find.

² At this village, near London, was a lazar-house, to which the poet alludes.

³ That is, frightened children as much by your preaching, as if you had threatened them with Rawhead and Bloodybones. Sir Thomas Lunsford, who was represented by his enemies as devouring children out of mere blood-thirstiness, was lieutenant of the Tower a little before the beginning of the war ; but afterwards removed by desire of the Parliament. He is represented by Lord Clarendon as a man of desperate character and dissolute habits.

⁴ If the husband sided not with the Presbyterians, his wife was represented as insidious and a betrayer of her country's interests, such as Dalilah was to Samson and the Israelites. Judges xvi.

⁵ Compared them to the ten horns, or ten kings, who gave their power and strength to the beast. Revelation xvii. 12. See also Daniel vii. 7. A cuckold is called a horned beast, and a notorious cuckold may be called a ten-horned beast, there being no beast described with more horns than the beast in vision.

⁶ "Curse ye Meroz," said the angel of the Lord ; "curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof ; because they came not to the help of the Lord against the mighty." Judges v. 23. This was a favourite text with those who preached for the Parliament : and it assisted them much in raising recruits.



R Cooper sculp^t

SIR THOMAS LUNSTFORD.

From a Drawing by the Rev. Mr. L. L. L.

And rather forfeit their indentures,
 Than not espouse the saints' adventures :
 Could transubstantiate, metamorphose,
 And charm whole herds of beasts, like Orpheus ;
 Enchant the king's and church's lands, 1125
 T' obey and follow your commands,
 And settle on a new freehold,
 As Marcle-y-hill had done of old :¹
 Could turn the Cov'nant, and translate
 The Gospel into spoons and plate ; 1130
 Expound upon all merchant's cashes,
 And open th' Intricatest places ;
 Could catechise a money-box,
 And prove all pouches orthodox ;
 Until the Cause became a Damon, 1135
 And Pythias the wicked Mammon.²
 And yet, in spite of all your charms
 To conjure Legion up in arms,
 And raise more devils in the rout
 Than e'er y' were able to cast out, 1140
 Y' have been reduc'd, and by those fools,
 Bred up, you say, in your own schools,
 Who, tho' but gifted at your feet,³
 Have made it plain they have more wit,
 By whom you've been so oft trepann'd, 1145
 And held forth out of all command ;
 Out-gifted, out-impuls'd, out-done,
 And out-reveal'd at Carryings-on ;
 Of all your Dispensations worm'd,
 Out-providenc'd and out-reform'd ; 1150
 Ejected out of church and state,
 And all things but the people's hate ;

¹ Not far from Ledbury in Herefordshire, towards the conflux of the Lug and Wye, in the parish of Marcle-y, is a hill, which in the year 1575 moved to a considerable distance. Camden, in his *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, book ii. p. 20 thinks the motion was occasioned by an earthquake, which he calls *brasmata* ; though the cause of it more probably was a subterraneous current, as the motion continued for three days. Some houses and a chapel were overturned.

² Until Mammon and the Cause were as closely united and as dear friends as Damon and Pythias, the story of whose well-known friendship is celebrated by Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, and others.

³ Acts xxii. 3.

And spirited out of th' enjoyments
 Of precious, edifying employments,
 By those who lodg'd their Gifts and Graces, 1155
 Like better bowlers, in your places :¹
 All which you bore with resolution,
 Charg'd on th' account of persecution ;
 And tho' most righteously oppress'd,
 Against your wills, still acquiesc'd ; 1160
 And never humm'd and hah'd sedition,²
 Nor snuffled treason, nor misprision :
 That is, because you never durst ;
 For had you preach'd and pray'd your worst,
 Alas ! you were no longer able 1165
 To raise your posse of the rabble :
 One single red-coat sentinel³
 Outcharm'd the magic of the spell,
 And, with his squirt-fire,⁴ could disperse
 Whole troops with chapter rais'd and verse. 1170
 We knew too well those tricks of yours,
 To leave it ever in your pow'rs,
 Or trust our safeties, or undoings,
 To your disposing of outgoings,
 Or to your ordering Providence, 1175
 One farthing's worth of consequence.
 For had you pow'r to undermine,
 Or wit to carry a design,
 Or correspondence to trepan,
 Inveigle, or betray one man ; 1180
 There's nothing else that intervenes,
 And bars your zeal to use the means ;
 And therefore wond'rous like, no doubt,
 To bring in kings, or keep them out :

¹ The preceding lines described precisely the relation of the Independents to the Presbyterians, during the Commonwealth.

² Hums and hahs were the ordinary expressions of approbation, uttered by hearers of sermons. And the "snuffle" was then, and long afterwards, "the nasal drawl heard in conventicles." Sir Roger L'Estrange distinguishes between the religion of the head and that of the nose. *Apology*, p. 40.

³ The "red-coat" is thus specially mentioned because it was now, for the first time, made the soldier's peculiar dress ; and the Independents formed the majority of the soldiery.

⁴ That is, his musket.



A Copper-plate

FREDERICK LORD BACON.

From a Drawing by Kneller.

Brave undertakers to Restore, 1185
 That could not keep yourselves in pow'r ;
 T' advance the int'rests of the crown,
 That wanted wit to keep your own.
 'Tis true you have, for I'd be loth
 To wrong ye, done your parts in both ; 1190
 To keep him out, and bring him in,
 As grace is introduc'd by siu : ¹
 For 'twas your zealous want of sense,
 And sanctify'd impertinence ;
 Your carrying bus'ness in a huddle, 1195
 That forc'd our rulers to New-model ;
 Oblig'd the state to tack about,
 And turn you, root and branch, all out ;
 To reformado, one and all,
 T' your great croysado general : ² 1200
 Your greedy slav'ring ² to devour,
 Before 'twas in your clutches' pow'r ;
 That sprung the game you were to set,
 Before ye 'd time to draw the net :
 Your spite to see the church's lands 1205
 Divided into other hauds,

¹ Thus Saint Paul to the Romans : " Shall we continue in siu, that grace may abound ? "

² Called croysado general, because the Parliament pretended to engage in the war chiefly on account of religion : a term derived from the holy war against the Turks and Saracens, which obtained the name of Crusade, or Croisado, from the cross displayed on the banners. The Independents, finding that the Presbyterians, who held the principal places both in Parliament and in the army, instead of aiming at what had been proposed in the Covenant, were solely intent upon securing for themselves the position and authority of the Church of England, and that the Lord General Essex was plainly afraid of beating the king too well, proposed and carried the *Self-denying Ordinance*, by which all members of Parliament (except Fairfax and Cromwell) were prohibited from holding commissions in the army and seats in the legislature at the same time. Essex, being an " hereditary legislator," was forced to resign his command ; the others had to choose between the Parliament and the army, and most of the Presbyterian leaders chose to retain their seats in the House, thinking so to keep the control of the army in their hands. But by the new-modelling of the army, instead of the riff-raff which had been pressed into the service at first, it was made to consist almost wholly of men who had (as Cromwell said) " a mind to the work," small householders and yeomen, whom the Parliament found, too late, it could not control.

³ That is, letting your mouths water.

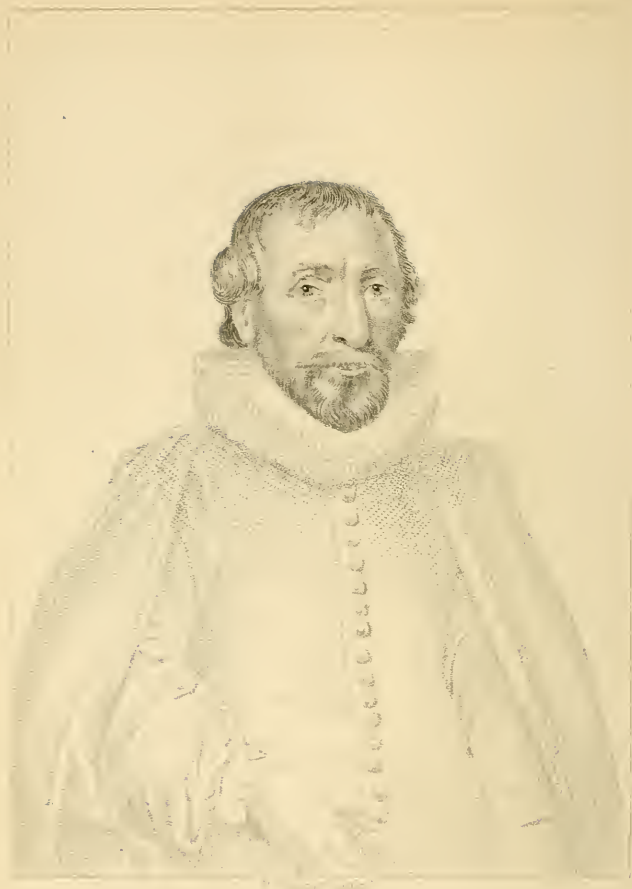
And all your sacrilegious ventures
 Laid out on tickets and debentures :
 Your envy to be sprinkled down,
 By under-churches in the town ;¹ 1210
 And no course us'd to stop their mouths,
 Nor th' Independents' spreading growths :
 All which consider'd, 'tis most true
 None bring him in so much as you,
 Who have prevail'd beyond their plots,² 1215
 Their midnight juntos, and seal'd knots,
 That thrive more by your zealous piques,
 Than all their own rash politics.
 And this way you may claim a share
 In carrying, as you brag, th' affair, 1220
 Else frogs and toads, that croak'd the Jews
 From Pharaoh and his brick-kilns loose,
 And flies and mange, that set them free
 From task-masters and slavery,
 Were likelier to do the feat, 1225
 In any indiff'rent man's conceit :
 For who e'er heard of Restoration,
 Until your Thorough Reformation ?³
 That is, the king's and church's lands
 Were sequester'd int' other hands : 1230
 For only then, and not before,
 Your eyes were open'd to restore ;
 And when the work was carrying on,
 Who cross'd it, but yourselves alone ?
 As by a world of hints appears, 1235
 All plain, and extant, as your ears.⁴
 But first, o' th' first : The Isle of Wight
 Will rise up, if you shou'd deny 't ;

¹ By the Independents, whose popularity was much greater with the people than that of the Presbyterians.

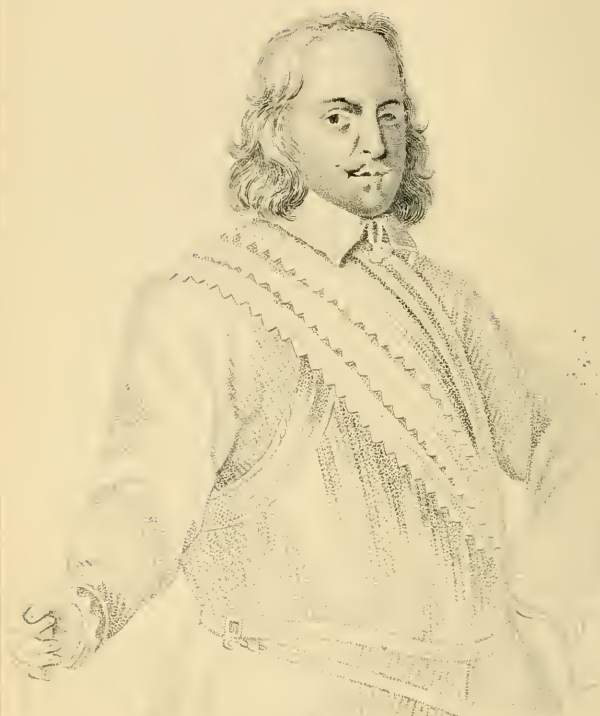
² The plots of the royalists are here meant.

³ The Independent here charges the Presbyterians with having no design of restoring the king, notwithstanding the merit they made of such intentions after the Restoration, until they were turned out of all profit by sale of the crown and church lands ; and that it was not their loyalty, but their disappointment and resentment against the Independents, that made them think of treating with the king.

⁴ In ridicule of the Presbyterians, many of whom, according to Dryden and others, had lost their ears in the pillory.



Portrait of [Name] [Title] [Date]



Portrait of a man in military attire.

COLONEL JOHN ALDRIDGE

Portrait of a man in military attire.

Where Henderson and th' other masses,¹
 Were sent to cap texts, and put cases : 1240
 To pass for deep and learned scholars,
 Altho' but paltry Ob and Sollers :²
 As if th' unseasonable fools
 Had been a coursing in the schools.³
 Until they 'd prov'd the devil author 1245
 O' th' Covenant, and the Cause his daughter ;
 For when they charg'd him with the guilt
 Of all the blood that had been spilt,
 They did not mean he wrought th' effusion
 In person, like Sir Pride, or Hughson,⁴ 1250
 But only those who first begun
 The quarrel were by him set on ;
 And who could those be but the saints,
 Those reformation termagants ?
 But ere this pass'd, the wise debate 1255
 Spent so much time it grew too late ;⁵

¹ That is, the other divines. Ministers in those days were called masters, as they are at the 854th line of this canto. One of this order would have been styled, not the reverend, but master, or master doctor such an one; and sometimes, for brevity's sake, and familiarly, mas, the plural of which, our poet makes masses. See Ben Jonson, and Spectator, No. 147. Butler is here guilty of anachronism; for the treaty at the Isle of Wight was two years after the death of Henderson. The divines employed there, were Marshal, Vines, Caryl, Seaman, Jenkyns, and Shurston. Henderson was present at the Uxbridge treaty, and disputed with the king at Newcastle when he was in the Scottish army; soon after which he died, as some said, of grief, because he could not convince the king, but, as others said, of remorse, for having opposed him.

² That is, although only contemptible dabblers in school logic. So in Burton's Melancholy, "A pack of Obs and Sollers." The polemic divines of that age and stamp filled the margins both of their tracts and sermons with the words Ob and Sol; the one standing for objection, the other for solution.

³ *Coursing* is a term used in the university of Oxford for some exercises preparatory to a master's degree.

⁴ Pride was said to have been a drayman, and to have been knighted by Cromwell with a stiek, whence in derision he is called Sir Pride. Hughson, or Hewson, was at first a shoemaker or a cobbler, but afterwards one of Oliver's Upper House.

⁵ The negotiation at the Isle of Wight was protracted in order to give Cromwell time to return from Scotland, by which artifice the settlement of the kingdom was effectually frustrated.

For Oliver had gotten ground,
 T' enclose him with his warriors round ;
 Had brought his providence about,
 And turn'd th' untimely¹ sophists out. 1260
 Nor had the Uxbridge bus'ness less
 Of nonsense in 't, or sottishness ;
 When from a scoundrel holder-forth,
 The scum, as well as son-o' th' earth,
 Your mighty senators took law, 1265
 At his command were forc'd t' withdraw,
 And sacrifice the peace o' th' nation
 To doctrine, use, and application.
 So when the Scots, your constant cronies,
 Th' espousers of your cause and monies,³ 1270
 Who had so often, in your aid,
 So many ways been soundly paid,
 Came in at last for better ends,
 To prove themselves your trusty friends,
 You basely left them, and the church 1275
 They 'd train'd you up to, in the lurch,
 And suffer'd your own tribe of Christians
 To fall before, as true Philistines.⁴
 This shows what utensils you 've been,
 To bring the king's concernments in ; 1280
 Which is so far from being true,
 That none but he can bring in you ;

¹ Untimely here means unseasonable.

² Christopher Love, a violent Presbyterian, who preached a sermon at Uxbridge during the treaty held there, introducing many reflections upon his Majesty's person and government, and stirring up the people against the king's commissioners. He was afterwards executed (in 1651) for treason, by means of Cromwell and the Independents.

³ The Scots, in their first expedition, 1640, had £300,000 given them for brotherly assistance, besides a contribution of £850 a day from the northern counties. In their second expedition, 1643, besides much free quarter, they had £19,700 monthly, and received £72,972 in one year by customs on coals. The Parliament agreed to give them £400,000 on the surrender of the king.—Dugdale.

⁴ The Scots made a third expedition into England for the rescue of the king, in 1648, under the Duke of Hamilton. They entered a fourth time under Charles II., expecting the Presbyterians, their own brethren, to support them. But the latter joined Cromwell and the Independents; thus occasioning the portion of the true church to fall before the Independent army, whom they reckoned no better than Philistines.



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE
1564-1616

And if he take you into trust,
 Will find you most exactly just,
 Such as will punctually repay 1285
 With double int'rest, and betray.
 Not that I think those pantomimes,
 Who vary action with the times,
 Are less ingenious in their art,
 Than those who dully act one part ; 1290
 Or those who turn from side to side,
 More guilty than the wind and tide.
 All countries are a wise man's home,
 And so are governments to some.
 Who change them for the same intrigues 1295
 That statesmen use in breaking leagues ;
 While others in old faiths and troths
 Look odd, as out-of-fashion'd clothes,
 And nastier in an old opinion,
 Than those who never shift their linen. 1300
 For true and faithful's sure to lose,
 Which way soever the game goes ;
 And whether parties lose or win,
 Is always nick'd, or else hedg'd in : ¹
 While pow'r usurp'd, like stol'n delight, 1305
 Is more bewitching than the right :
 And when the times begin to alter,
 None rise so high as from the halter.
 And so we may, if we 've but sense
 To use the necessary means, 1310
 And not your usual stratagems
 On one another, lights, and dreams :
 To stand on terms as positive,
 As if we did not take, but give :
 Set up the Covenant on crutches, 1315
 'Gainst those who have us in their clutches,
 And dream of pulling churches down,
 Before we 're sure to prop our own :
 Your constant method of proceeding,
 Without the carnal means of heeding, 1320

¹ *Nick* is a winning throw. *Hedge* is to protect by a counteracting bet or set-off; a familiar betting term on the turf.

Who, 'twixt your inward sense and outward,
 Are worse, than if ye 'd none, accoutred.
 I grant all courses are in vain,
 Unless we can get in again ;¹
 The only way that's left us now : 1325
 But all the difficulty's, how ?
 'Tis true we 've money, th' only power
 That all mankind falls down before ;
 Money that, like the swords of kings,
 Is the last reason of all things ;² 1330
 And therefore need not doubt our play
 Has all advantages that way ;
 As long as men have faith to sell,
 And meet with those that can pay well ;
 Whose half-starv'd pride and avarice, 1335
 One church and state will not suffice
 T' expose to sale ;³ besides the wages⁴
 Of storing plagues to after-ages.
 Nor is our money less our own,
 Than 'twas before we laid it down ; 1340
 For 'twill return, and turn t' account,
 If we are brought in play upon 't,
 Or but by casting knaves, get in,
 What pow'r can hinder us to win ?
 We know the arts we us'd before, 1345
 In peace and war, and something more.

¹ When General Monk restored the excluded members, the Rump, perceiving they could not carry things their own way, and rule as they had done, quitted the House.

² Diodorus Siculus relates, that when the height of the walls of Amphipolis was pointed out to Philip, as rendering the town impregnable, he observed, they were not so high but that money could be thrown over them. Addison (in Spectator 239) says : "ready money is a way of reasoning which seldom fails."

³ There is a list of above a hundred of the principal actors in this rebellion, among whom the plunder of the church, crown, and kingdom was divided : to some five, ten, and even twenty thousand pounds ; to others, lands and offices of hundreds or thousands a year. At the end of the list, the author says, it was computed that they had shared among themselves near twenty millions.

⁴ They allowed, by their own order, four pounds a week to each member of Parliament ; members of the assembly of divines were each allowed four shillings a day.

And by th' unfortunate events,
 Can mend our next experiments :
 For when we 're taken into trust,
 How easy are the wisest chous'd, 1350
 Who see but th' outsides of our feats,
 And not their secret springs and weights ;
 And while they 're busy, at their ease,
 Can carry what designs we please ?
 How easy is 't to serve for Agents, 1355
 To prosecute our old Engagements ?
 To keep the Good Old Cause on foot,
 And present pow'r from taking root ;¹
 In flame them both with false alarms
 Of plots, and parties taking arms ; 1360
 To keep the nation's wounds too wide
 From healing up of side to side ;
 Profess the passionat'st Concerns
 For both their interests by turns,
 The only way t' improve our own, 1365
 By dealing faithfully with none ;
 As bowls run true, by being made
 On² purpose false, and to be sway'd,
 For if we should be true to either,
 'Twould turn us out of both together ; 1370
 And therefore have no other means
 To stand upon our own defence,
 But keeping up our ancient party
 In vigour, confident and hearty :
 To reconcile our late dissenters, 1375
 Our brethren, though by other venters ;
 Unite them, and their different maggots,
 As long and short sticks are in faggots,³
 And make them join again as close,
 As when they first began t' espouse ; 1380

¹ General Monk and his party, or the Committee of Safety: for we must understand the scene to be laid at the time when Monk bore the sway, or, as will appear by and by, at the roasting of the rumps, when Monk and the city of London united against the Rump Parliament.

² All the early editions have "of purpose."

³ See Æsop's Fables, 171. Swift told this fable after the ancients, with exquisite humour, to reconcile Queen Anne's ministers.

Erect them into separate
 New Jewish tribes in church and state :¹
 To join in marriage and commerce,²
 And only 'mong themselves converse,
 And all that are not of their mind, 1385
 Make enemies to all mankind :³
 Take all religions in, and stickle
 From conclave down to conventicle ;⁴
 Agreeing still or disagreeing,
 According to the light in being, 1390
 Sometimes for liberty of conscience,
 And spiritual misrule in one sense ;
 But in another quite contrary,
 As dispensations chance to vary ;
 And stand for, as the times will bear it, 1395
 All contradictions of the spirit :
 Protect their emissar', empower'd
 To preach sedition, and the word ;
 And when they 're hamper'd by the laws,
 Release the lab'ers for the cause, 1400
 And turn the persecution back
 On those that made the first attack,
 To keep them equally in awe
 From breaking or maintaining law :
 And when they have their fits too soon, 1405
 Before the full-tides of the moon,
 Put off their zeal t' a fitter season
 For sowing faction in and treason ;
 And keep them hooded, and their churches,
 Like hawks, from bating on their perches ;⁵ 1410
 That when the blessed time shall come
 Of quitting Babylon and Rome,

¹ The Jews were not allowed to intermarry or mix familiarly with the nations around them.

² The accent is here laid upon the last syllable of commerce.

³ This was the title given by the Jacobins of France to our William Pitt, whom they suspected of traversing their revolutionary schemes.

⁴ That is, from the conclave of cardinals, or papists, down to the meeting house of nonconformists.

⁵ From being too forward, or ready to take flight

They may be ready to restore
 Their own Fifth Monarchy once more.¹
 Meanwhile be better arm'd to fence 1415
 Against Revolts of Providence,²
 By watching narrowly, and snapping
 All blind sides of it, as they happen :
 For if success could make us saints,
 Our ruin turn'd us miscreants ;³ 1420
 A scandal that would fall too hard
 Upon a Few, and unprepar'd.
 These are the courses we must run,
 Spite of our hearts, or be undone,
 And not to stand on terms and freaks, 1425
 Before we have secur'd our necks.
 But do our work as out of sight,
 As stars by day, and suns by night ;
 All licence of the people own,
 In opposition to the crown ; 1430
 And for the crown as fiercely side,
 The head and body to divide.
 The end of all we first design'd,
 And all that yet remains behind,
 Be sure to spare no public rapine, 1435
 On all emergencies that happen ;
 For 'tis as easy to supplant
 Authority, as men in want ;
 As some of us, in trusts, have made
 The one hand with the other trade ; 1440

¹ In addition to the four great monarchies which have appeared in the world, some of the enthusiasts thought that Christ was to reign temporally upon earth, and to establish a fifth monarchy. See Butler's "Character of a Fifth Monarchy man." The Book of Daniel speaks of four great earthly monarchies, and of one other, not earthly, to succeed them ; hence the name "Fifth Monarchy." The Oxford divines have in recent days adopted this classification. Dr Lightfoot took a different view of the fifth monarchy, and declares in his sermon, preached Nov. 5th, 1669, that it means "the kingdom of the devil."

² The sectaries of those days talked more familiarly to Almighty God than they dared to do to a superior officer : they remonstrated with him, made him author of all their wicked machinations, and, if their projects failed, they said that Providence had revolted from them. See note at page 65.

³ Turn'd here signifies "would turn."

Gain'd vastly by their joint endeavour,
 The right a thief, the left receiver ;
 And what the one, by tricks, forestall'd,
 The other, by as sly, retail'd.
 For gain has wonderful effects 1445
 T' improve the factory of sects ;
 The Rule of Faith in all professions,
 And great Diana of th' Ephesians ;¹
 Whence turning of religion's made
 The means to turn and wind a trade. 1450
 And though some change it for the worse,
 They put themselves into a course,
 And draw in store of customers,
 To thrive the better in commerce :
 For all religions flock together, 1455
 Like tame and wild fowl of a feather :
 To nab the itches of their sects,
 As jades do one another's necks.
 Hence 'tis hypocrisy as well
 Will serve t' improve a church, as zeal ; 1460
 As persecution or promotion,
 Do equally advance devotion.
 Let bus'ness, like ill watches, go
 Sometime too fast, sometime too slow ;
 For things in order are put out 1465
 So easy, ease itself will do 't :
 But when the feat's design'd and meant,
 What miracle can bar th' event ?
 For 'tis more easy to betray,
 Than ruin any other way. 1470
 All possible occasions start,
 The weightiest matters to divert ;
 Obstruct, perplex, distract, entangle,
 And lay perpetual trains to wrangle.²
 But in affairs of less import, 1475
 That neither do us good nor hurt,
 And they receive as little by,
 Out-fawn as much, and out-comply,

¹ Acts xix. 28.

² Exactly the advice given in Aristophanes, Equites, v. 214.

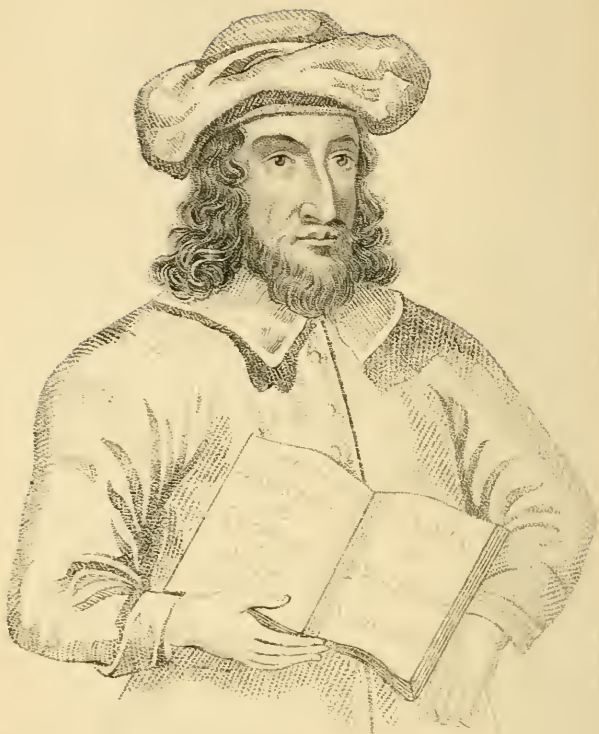
And seem as scrupulously just,
 To bait our hooks for greater trust. 1480
 But 'still be careful to cry down
 All public actions, tho' our own ;
 The least miscarriage aggravate,
 And charge it all upon the state :
 Express the horrid'st detestation, 1485
 And pity the distracted nation ;
 Tell stories scandalous and false,
 I' th' proper language of cabals,
 Where all a subtle statesman says,
 Is half in words, and half in face ; 1490
 As Spaniards talk in dialogues
 Of heads and shoulders, nods and shrugs :
 Entrust it under solemn vows
 Of mum, and silence, and the rose,¹
 To be retail'd again in whispers, 1495
 For th' easy credulous to disperse.
 Thus far the statesman—When a shout,
 Heard at a distance, put him out ;
 And strait another, all aghast,
 Rush'd in with equal fear and haste, 1500
 Who star'd about, as pale as death,
 And, for a while, as out of breath,
 Till, having gather'd up his wits,
 He thus began his tale by fits :²
 That beastly rabble—that came down 1505
 From all the garrets—in the town,
 And stalls, and shop-boards—in vast swarms,
 With new-chalk'd bills—and rusty arms,

¹ When anything was said in confidence, the speaker in conclusion generally used the word *mum*, or *silence*. *Mum*, in the first sense, means mask, whence in its secondary meaning comes secrecy or concealment. *Sub rosa* (under the rose) had the same meaning ; whence, in rooms designed for convivial meetings, it was customary to place a rose above the table, to signify that anything there spoken ought never to be divulged. A rose was frequently painted on ceilings, both in England and Germany. See Brand's *Antiquities* (Bohn's Edit.), vol. ii. p. 345, *et seq.*

² This was Sir Martin Noel, who, while the Cabal was sitting, brought the unpalatable news that the Rump Parliament was dismissed, the secluded members admitted into the House by Monk, and that the mob of London testified their approval of the measure by burning the Rump in effigy.

To cry the Cause—up, heretofore,
 And bawl the bishops—out of door ; 1510
 Are now drawn up—in greater shoals,
 To roast—and broil us on the coals,
 And all the grandees—of our members
 Are carbonading—on the embers ;
 Knights, citizens, and burgesses— 1515
 Held forth by Rumps—of pigs and geese,
 That serve for characters—and badges
 To represent their personages.
 Each bonfire is a funeral pile,
 In which they roast, and scorch, and broil, 1520
 And ev'ry representative
 Have vow'd to roast—and broil alive :
 And 'tis a miracle we are not
 Already sacrific'd incarnate ;
 For while we wrangle here, and jar, 1525
 We're grillied all at Temple-Bar ;
 Some, on the sign-post of an ale-house,
 Hang in effigy, on the gallows,
 Made up of rags to personate
 Respective officers of state ; 1530
 That, henceforth, they may stand reputed,
 Proscrib'd in law, and executed,
 And, while the work is carrying on,
 Be ready listed under Dun,
 That worthy patriot, once the bellows, 1535
 And tinder-box of all his fellows ;¹

¹ Dun was at that time the common hangman, and succeeding executioners went by his name, till eclipsed by Jack Ketch. But the character here delineated was certainly intended for Sir Arthur Hazlerig, knight of the shire, in the Long Parliament, for the county of Leicester, and one of the five members of the House of Commons whom the king attempted to seize in the House. He brought in the bill of attainder against the Earl of Strafford, and the bill against Episcopacy ; though the latter was delivered by Sir Edward Deering at his procurement. He also brought in the bill for the Militia. He was one of the Rump ; and a little before this time, when the Committee of Safety had been set up, and the Rump excluded, he had seized Portsmouth for their use. It is probable that Butler might call Sir Arthur by the hangman's name, for his forwardness and zeal in Parliament in bringing the royalists and the king himself to execution. Before Monk's intentions were known, Hazlerig, in a conversation with him, said, "I see which way things are going ; monarchy will be restored ; and then I know



A Co. ner l'w'p'

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CHICAGO, ILL.

The activ'st member of the five,
 As well as the most primitive ;
 Who, for his faithful service then,
 Is chosen for a fifth agen : 1540
 For since the state has made a quint
 Of generals, he's listed in't.¹
 This worthy, as the world will say,
 Is paid in specie, his own way ;
 For, moulded to the life, in clouts, 1545
 They've pick'd from dunghills hereabouts,
 He's mounted on a hazel bavin²
 A cropp'd malignant baker gave 'em ;³
 And to the largest bonfire riding,
 They've roasted Cook already,⁴ and Pride in ;⁵ 1550
 On whom, in equipage and state,
 His scare-crow fellow-members wait,
 And march in order, two and two,
 As at thanksgivings th' us'd to do ;
 Each in a tatter'd talisman, 1555
 Like vermin in effigy slain.

But, what's more dreadful than the rest,
 Those Rumps are but the Tail o' th' beast,

what will become of me." "Pooh!" replied Monk, "I will secure you for two-pence." In no long time after, when the secret was out, Hazlerig sent Monk a letter, with two-pence enclosed. See *Clarendon's State Papers*, vol. iii. Sir Arthur enlisted many soldiers, and had a regiment called his Lobsters.

¹ *Quint*, that is, a quorum of five. After the death of Cromwell, and the deposition of Richard, the government of the army was put into the hands of seven commissioners, of whom Hazlerig was one. And in 1659, Monk, Hazlerig, Walton, Morley, and Alured, were appointed commissioners to govern the army.

² A hazel faggot, such as bakers heat their ovens with ; a joke on the name Hazlerig.

³ Pillory, and cropping the ears, was a punishment inflicted on bakers who made bad bread or gave short weight. Malignants was the name applied to the royalists.

⁴ Cook was solicitor at the king's trial, and drew up the charges against him. Clarendon allows him to have been a man of abilities. His defence at his own trial was bold and manly, claiming exemption from responsibility on professional grounds ; stating that he had merely acted as a lawyer, taken a fee, and pleaded from a brief. He was hanged at Tyburn. Pride and his "Purge" have been spoken of before.

⁵ In the early editions, "Pride-m."

Set up by popish engineers,
 As by the crackers plainly appears ; 1560
 For none but Jesuits have a mission
 To preach the faith with ammunition,
 And propagate the church with powder ;
 Their founder was a blown-up soldier.¹
 Those spiritual pioneers o' th' whore's, 1565
 That have the charge of all her stores ;
 Since first they fail'd in their designs,²
 To take in heav'n by springing mines,
 And, with unanswerable barrels
 Of gunpowder, dispute their quarrels, 1570
 Now take a course more practicable,
 By laying trains to fire the rabble,
 And blow us up, in th' open streets,
 Disguis'd in Rumps, like Sambenites,³
 More like to ruin and confound, 1575
 Than all their doctrines under-ground.
 Nor have they chosen Rumps amiss,⁴
 For symbols of state-mysteries ;
 Tho' some suppose, 'twas but to show
 How much they scorn'd the saints, the Few, 1580
 Who, 'cause they're wasted to the stumps,
 Are represented best by Rumps.⁵
 But Jesuits have deeper reaches
 In all their politic far-fetches ;
 And from the Coptic priest, Kircherus,⁶ 1585
 Found out this mystic way to jeer us :⁷

¹ Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesuits, was bred a soldier, and wounded at the siege of Pampeluna by the French, in 1521. See note on line 606, above.

² Alluding to the Gunpowder Plot, attributed to the Jesuits, the defeat of which is celebrated on Nov. 5, to this day ; but the prayers and thanksgiving have just been abolished, and expunged from the liturgy, by Royal ordinance.

³ Persons wearing the *sambenito* : a straight yellow coat without sleeves, having the picture of the devil painted upon it in black, wherein the officers of the Inquisition used to disguise and parade heretics after their condemnation.

⁴ See A speech made at the Rota. Remains, vol. i. page 320.

⁵ They were called the Rump Parliament, as being the end of a body.

⁶ The early editions spell this name thus : Kirkerus.

⁷ Athanasius Kircher, a Jesuit, wrote many books on the antiquities of



A. H. S. 1851

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

President of the United States

For, as the Egyptians us'd by bees
 To express their antique Ptolemies,
 And by their stings, the swords they wore,¹
 Held forth authority and pow'r; 1590
 Because these subtle animals
 Bear all their int'rests in their tails;
 And when they're once impair'd in that,
 Are banish'd their well-order'd state:
 They thought all governments were best 1595
 By hieroglyphic Rumps exprest.
 For as in bodies natural,
 The Rump's the fundament of all;
 So, in a commonwealth or realm,
 The government is called the helm; 1600
 With which, like vessels under sail,
 They're turn'd and winded by the tail.
 The tail, which birds and fishes steer
 Their courses with, thro' sea and air;
 To whom the rudder of the rump is 1605
 The same thing with the stern and compass,
 This shows, how perfectly the rump
 And commonwealth in nature jump.
 For as a fly that goes to bed,
 Rests with his tail above his head,² 1610
 So, in this mongrel state of ours,
 The rabble are the supreme powers,
 That hors'd us on their backs, to show us
 A jadish trick at last, and throw us.
 The learned Rabbins of the Jews 1615
 Write, there's a bone, which they call luez,³

Egypt; one of them is called *Ædipus Egyptiacus*, for which he says he studied the Egyptian mysteries twenty years. The Copts were the primitive Christians of Egypt.

¹ The Egyptians anciently represented their kings under the emblem of a bee, which has the power of dispensing benefits and inflicting punishments by its honey and its sting; though the poet dwells most on the energy which it bears in its tail: so the citizens of London significantly represented this rag-end of a Parliament by the rumps, or tail-parts, of sheep and other animals. Some late editions read, ancient Ptolemies. See Butler's Remains, "A speech in the Rota."

² Alluding to the position flies take up, on walls.

³ Eben Ezra, and Manasseh Ben Israel, taught that there is a bone in the rump of a man (that is, in the lower end of the back-bone) of the size

I' th' rump of man, of such a virtue,
 No force in nature can do hurt to ;
 And therefore, at the last great day,
 All th' other members shall, they say, 1620
 Spring out of this, as from a seed
 All sorts of vegetals proceed ;
 From whence the learned sons of art
Os sacrum justly style that part :¹
 Then what can better represent, 1625
 Than this rump-bone, the Parliament ?
 That after sev'ral rude ejections,
 And as prodigious resurrections,
 With new reversions of nine lives,
 Starts up, and, like a cat, revives ?² 1630

and shape of half a pea ; from which, as from an incorruptible seed, the whole man would be perfectly formed at the resurrection. Remains, vol. i. p. 320. The rabbins found their wild conjectures on Genesis xlvi. 2, 3. See Agrippa de occultâ philosophiâ, l. i. c. 20. Buxtorf, in his Chaldean Dictionary, under the word Luz, says, it is the name of a human bone, which the Jews look upon as incorruptible. In a book called Bre-shith Rabboth, sect. 28, it is asserted that Adrian, reducing the bones to powder, asked the rabbin Jehoshuang (Jesuah the son of Hanniah) how God would raise man at the day of judgment : from the Luz, replied the rabbin : how do you know it ? says Adrian : bring me one, and you shall see, says Jehoshuang : one was produced, and all methods, by fire, pounding, and other methods tried, but in vain. See Manasseh Ben-Israel de Resurrectione, lib. ii. cap. 15. See also Butler's Remains, "Speech in the Rota."

¹ The lowest of the vertebræ, or rather the bone below the vertebræ, is so called ; not for the reason wittily assigned by our poet, but because it is much bigger than any of the vertebræ.

² The Rump, properly so called, began at Pride's Purge, a little before the king's death ; and had the supreme authority for about five years ; being turned out on April 23, 1653, by Cromwell. After his death, and the deposition of his son Richard, the Rump Parliament was restored by Lambert and other officers of the army, on May 7, 1659, in number about forty-two, the excluded members not being permitted to sit. On October 13, in the same year, they were dismissed by those who had summoned them, and the officers chose a Committee of Safety of twenty-three persons ; who administered the affairs of government till December 20, when, finding themselves generally hated and slighted, and wanting money to pay the soldiers, Fleetwood and others desired the Rump to return to the exercise of their trust. At length, by means of General Monk, above eighty of the old secluded members resumed their places in the House ; upon which most of the Rumpers quitted it. Butler, in his Genuine Remains, vol. i. p. 320, says, "Nothing can bear a nearer resemblance to the luz, or rump-bone of the ancient rabbins, than the present Parliament, that has been so many

But now, alas ! they're all expir'd,
 And th' House, as well as members, fir'd ;
 Consum'd in kennels by the rout,
 With which they other fires put out ;
 Condemn'd t' ungoverniug distress, 1635
 And paltry private wretchedness ;
 Worse than the devil to privation,
 Beyond all hopes of restoration ;
 And parted, like the body and soul,
 From all dominion and control. 1640
 We, who could lately, with a look,
 Enact, establish, or revoke,
 Whose arbitrary nods gave law,
 And frowns kept multitudes in awe ;
 Before the bluster of whose huff, 1645
 All hats, as in a storm, flew off ;
 Ador'd and bow'd to by the great,
 Down to the footman and valet ;
 Had more bent knees than chapel mats,
 And prayers than the crowns of hats, 1650
 Shall now be scorn'd as wretchedly :
 For ruin's just as low as high ;
 Which might be suffer'd, were it all
 The horror that attends our fall :
 For some of us have scores more large 1655
 Than heads and quarters can discharge ;¹
 And others, who, by restless scraping,
 With public frauds, and private rapine,
 Have mighty heaps of wealth amass'd,
 Would gladly lay down all at last ; 1660
 And, to be but undone, entail
 Their vessels on perpetual jail,²

years dead, and rotten under ground, to any man's thinking, that the ghosts of some of the members thereof have transmigrated into other parliaments, and some into those parts from whence there is no redemption, should, nevertheless, at two several and respective resurrections start up, like the dragon's teeth that were sown, into living, natural, and carnal members. And hence it is, I suppose, that the physicians and anatomists call this bone *os sacrum*, or the holy bone."

¹ Alluding to the common punishments of high treason ; noblemen being beheaded, and others hung, drawn, and quartered.

² This commutation was accepted by some of the Regicides at the Restoration.

And bless the devil to let them farms
Of forfeit souls, on no worse terms.

This said, a near and louder shout 1665
Put all th' assembly to the rout,¹
Who now began t' out-run their fear,
As horses do, from those they bear ;
But crowded on with so much haste,
Until they'd block'd the passage fast, 1670
And barricado'd it with haunches
Of outward men, and bulks and paunches,
That with their shoulders strove to squeeze,
And rather save a crippled piece
Of all their crush'd and broken members, 1675
Than have them grill'd on the embers ;
Still pressing on with heavy packs
Of one another on their backs,
The van-guard could no longer bear
The charges of the forlorn rear, 1680
But, borne down headlong by the rout,
Were trampled sorely under foot ;
Yet nothing prov'd so formidable,
As th' horrid cook'ry of the rabble :²
And fear, that keeps all feeling out, 1685
As lesser pains are by the gout,

¹ When Sir Martin came to the Cabal, he left the rabble at Temple-bar, but by the time he had concluded his discourse, they had reached Whitehall. This alarmed our Caballers and they made a precipitate retreat, apprehensive lest they should be hanged in reality, as they had been in effigy.

² The following very graphic account of this popular burning and roasting of the Rumps is given by Pepys, who happened to be going through the streets at the time. "In Cheapside there were a great many bonfires, and Bow-bells, and all the bells in all the churches, as we went home were a-ringing. Hence we went homewards, it being about ten at night. But the common joy that was everywhere to be seen ! The number of bonfires, there being fourteen between St Dunstan's and Temple-bar, and at Strand Bridge [a bridge which spanned the Strand close to the east end of Catherine-street, where a small stream ran down from the fields into the Thames near Somerset House] I could tell at one time thirty-one fires ; in King-street seven or eight ; and all along, burning, and roasting, and drinking of Rumps ; there being rumps tied upon sticks, and carried up and down. The butchers at the maypoles in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate-hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied to it, and another basting of it. Indeed, it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it. At one end

Reliev'd 'em with a fresh supply
Of rallied force, enough to fly,
And beat a Tuscan running horse,
Whose jockey-rider is all spurs.¹

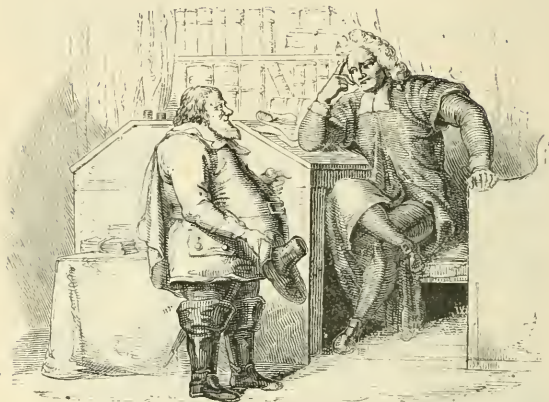
1690

of the street you would think there was a whole lane of fire, and so hot that we were fain to keep on the other side." See Pepys' Memoirs, vol. i. p. 22 (Bohn's edition).

¹ Races of this kind are practised both on the Corso at Rome, and at Florence. At Rome, in the carnival, a number of horses are trained on purpose for this diversion. They are drawn up a-breast in the Piazza del Popolo; and cert'n balls, with little sharp spikes, are hung along their rumps, which serve to spur them on as soon as they begin to run.



PART III. CANTO III.




ARGUMENT.

The Knight and Squire's prodigious flight
To quit th' enchanted bow'r by night :
He plods to turn his amorous suit,
T' a plea in law, and prosecute :
Repairs to counsel, to advise
'Bout managing the enterprise ;
But first resolves to try by letter,
And one ¹ more fair address, to get her.

¹ The early editions read, "once" more.

PART III. CANTO III.


WHO would believe what strange bugbears
 Mankind creates itself, of fears,
 That spring, like fern, that insect weed,
 Equivocally, without seed,¹
 And have no possible foundation, 5
 But merely in th' imagination ?
 And yet can do more dreadful feats
 Than hags, with all their imps and teats ;²
 Make more bewitch and haunt themselves,
 Than all their nurseries of elves. 10
 For fear does things so like a witch,
 'Tis hard t' unriddle which is which ;
 Sets up communities of senses,
 To chop and change intelligences ;
 As Rosicrucian virtuosos 15
 Can see with ears, and hear with noses ;³

¹ He calls it an insect weed, on the supposition of its being bred, as many insects were thought to be, by what was called equivocal, or spontaneous, generation. Ferns have seeds so small as to be almost invisible to the naked eye ; whence the ancients held them to be without seed. Our ancestors, believing that the seed of this plant was invisible, reported that those who possessed the secret of wearing it about them would become likewise invisible. Shakspeare registers this notion, no doubt banteringly, in his Henry IV. Part I. *Gadshill*.—We steal as in a castle, cock-sure ; we have the receipt of fern-seed, we walk invisible.

² Alluding to common superstitions about witches.

³ Grey calls this a banter on the Marquis of Worcester's century of inventions ; amongst which is one entitled, " how to write by the smell, the touch, or the taste, as distinctly and unconfusedly, yea, as readily, as by the sight." Butler, in his *Remains*, says : " This is an art to teach men to see with their ears, and hear with their eyes and noses, as it has been found true by experience and demonstration, if we may believe the history of the Spaniard, that could see words, and swallow music by holding the peg of a fiddle between his teeth ; or him that could sing his part backward at first sight,

And when they neither see nor hear,
 Have more than both supplied by fear,
 That makes them in the dark see visions,
 And hag themselves with apparitions; 20
 And when their eyes discover least,
 Discern the subtlest object best;
 Do things not contrary alone
 To th' course of nature, but its own;
 The courage of the bravest daunt, 25
 And turn poltroons as valiant:
 For men as resolute appear
 With too much, as too little fear;
 And, when they're out of hopes of flying,
 Will run away from death, by dying; 30
 Or turn again to stand it out,
 And those they fled, like lions, rout.
 This Hudibras had prov'd too true,
 Who, by the furies, left perdue,
 And haunted with detachments, sent 35
 From Marshal Legion's regiment,¹
 Was by a fiend, as counterfeit,
 Reliev'd and rescu'd with a cheat,
 When nothing but himself, and fear,
 Was both the imps and conjurer;² 40
 As by the rules o' th' virtuous,
 It follows in due form of poesie.
 Disguis'd in all the masks of night,
 We left our champion on his flight,

which those that were near him might hear with their noses." See *Remains*, vol. ii. p. 245. Nash thinks that Butler probably meant to ridicule Sir Kenelm Digby, who in his "Treatise on the Nature of Bodies," tells the story of a Spanish nobleman "who could hear by his eyes and see words."

¹ Grey supposes that Stephen Marshal, a famous Presbyterian preacher, who dealt largely in hell and damnation, and was called the Geneva Bull, is here intended. But Nash thinks that the word marshal is a title of office and rank, not the name of any particular man, and that legion is used for the name of a leader, or captain of a company of devils. The meaning is, that the Knight was haunted by a crew of devils, such as that in the Gospel, which obtained the name of Legion, because they were many.

² The poet, with great wit, rallies the imaginary and groundless fears which possess some persons: and from whence proceed the tales of ghosts and apparitions, imps, conjurers, and witches.

At blindman's buff to grope his way, 45
 In equal fear of night and day ;
 Who took his dark and desp'rate course,
 He knew no better than his horse ;
 And by an unknown devil led,¹
 He knew as little whither, fled. 50
 He never was in greater need,
 Nor less capacity of speed ;
 Disabled, both in man and beast,
 To fly and run away, his best ;
 To keep the enemy, and fear, 55
 From equal falling on his rear.
 And though, with kicks and bangs he ply'd,
 The further and the nearer side ;
 As seamen ride with all their force,
 And tug as if they row'd the horse, 60
 And when the hackney sails most swift,
 Believe they lag, or run a-drift ;
 So, tho' he posted e'er so fast,
 His fear was greater than his haste :
 For fear, though fleeter than the wind, 65
 Believes 'tis always left behind.
 But when the morn began t' appear,²
 And shift t' another scene his fear,
 He found his new officious shade,
 That came so timely to his aid, 70
 And forc'd him from the foe t' escape,
 Had turn'd itself to Ralpho's shape,
 So like in person, garb, and pitch,
 'Twas hard t' interpret which was which.
 For Ralpho had no sooner told 75
 The lady all he had t' unfold,
 But she convey'd³ him out of sight,
 To entertain th' approaching Knight ;

¹ It was Ralpho who, though unknown, conveyed the Knight out of the widow's house.

² We have now arrived at the third day of the notion of the poem. From the opening of these adventures every morning and night has been poetically described.

³ Var. *convoy'd* him, in the editions before 1684.

And while he gave himself diversion,
 'T' accommodate his beast and person, 80
 And put his beard into a posture
 At best advantage to accost her,
 She order'd th' anti-masquerade,
 For his reception, aforesaid :
 But, when the ceremony was done, 85
 The lights put out, the furies gone,
 And Hudibras, among the rest,
 Convey'd away, as Ralpho guess'd,¹
 The wretched caitiff, all alone,
 As he believ'd, began to moan, 90
 And tell his story to himself ;
 The Knight mistook him for an elf ;
 And did so still, till he began
 To scruple at Ralph's outward man,
 And thought, because they oft agreed 95
 T' appear in one another's stead,
 And act the saint's and devil's part,
 With undistinguishable art,
 They might have done so now, perhaps,
 And put on one another's shapes ; 100
 And therefore, to resolve the doubt,
 He star'd upon him, and cry'd out,
 What art ? my Squire, or that bold sprite
 That took his place and shape to-night ?²
 Some busy independent Pug, 105
 Retainer to his synagogue ?
 Alas ! quoth he, I'm none of those
 Your bosom friends, as you suppose,
 But Ralph himself, your trusty Squire,
 Who 's dragg'd your donship out o' the mire,³ 110

¹ It is here said that Ralpho guessed his master was conveyed away, and that he believed himself to be all alone when he made his lamentation : but this must be a slip of memory in the poet, for some parts of his lamentations are not at all applicable to his own case, but plainly designed for his master's hearing : such are ver. 1371, &c., of Part iii. c. i. In satirical poetry absolute consistency is not indispensable.

² Sir Hudibras, we may remember, though he had no objection to consult with evil spirits, did not speak of them with much respect.

³ The word Don is often used to signify a knight. In the old editions previous to 1710 it is spelt *dun* ; the reading here is *Dunship*.

- ' And from th' enchantments of a widow,
 Who 'd turn'd you int' a beast, have freed you ;
 And, tho' a prisoner of war,
 Have brought you safe, where now you are ;
 Which you wou'd gratefully repay, 115
 Your constant Presbyterian way.
 That's stranger, quoth the Knight, and stranger ;
 Who gave thee notice of my danger ?
 Quoth he, Th' infernal conjurer
 Pursu'd, and took me prisoner ; 120
 And, knowing you were hereabout,
 Brought me along to find you out,
 Where I, in huggar-muggar hid,¹
 Have noted all they said or did :
 And, tho' they lay to him the pageant, 125
 I did not see him nor his agent ;
 Who play'd their sorceries out of sight,
 T' avoid a fiercer second fight.
 But didst thou see no devils then ?
 Not one, quoth he, but carnal men, 130
 A little worse than fiends in hell,
 And that she-devil Jezebel,
 That laugh'd and tee-he'd with derision
 To see them take your deposition.
 What then, quoth Hudibras, was he 135
 That play'd the dev'l to examine me ?
 A rallying weaver in the town,
 That did it in a parson's gown,
 Whom all the parish take for gifted,
 But, for my part, I ne'er believ'd it : 140
 In which you told them all your feats,
 Your conscientious frauds and cheats ;
 Deny'd your whipping, and confess'd
 The naked truth of all the rest,
 More plainly than the rev'rend writer 145
 That to our churches veil'd his mitre.²

¹ Meaning privately and without order. Thus Shakspeare, in Hamlet
 " We've done but greenly in *huggar-muggar* to inter him ; poor Ophelia."

² This character has been applied to several church dignitaries : *Williams*,
 Bishop of Lincoln, afterward Archbishop of York, " the pepper-nosed Caitiff
 that snuffs, puffs, and nuffs ingratitude to Parliament—a jack-a-lent made

All which they took in black and white,
And cudgell'd me to underwrite.

What made thee, when they all were gone,
And none but thou and I alone, 150
To act the devil, and forbear
To rid me of my hellish fear ?

Quoth he, I knew your constant rate,
And frame of sp'rit too obstinate,
To be by me prevail'd upon, 155
With any motives of my own ;
And therefore strove to counterfeit
The devil awhile, to nick your wit ;
The devil, that is your constant crony,
That only can prevail upon ye ; 160
Else we might still have been disputing,
And they with weighty drubs confuting.

The Knight, who now began to find
They 'd left the enemy behind,
And saw no further harm remain, 165
But feeble weariness and pain,
Perceiv'd, by losing of their way,
They 'd gain'd th' advantage of the day,
And, by declining of the road,
They had, by chance, their rear made good ; 170
He ventur'd to dismiss his fear,
That parting's wont to rant and tear,
And give the desp'ratest attack
To danger still behind its back :

of a leek and red herring ;" *Graham*, Bishop of Orkney, who renounced his Bishoprick to join the Scotch covenanters ; *Adair*, Bishop of Kilala, who was deprived of his Bishoprick for speaking in favour of the covenanters ; and *Herbert Croft*, the excellent Bishop of Hereford ; all of whom had seem'd more or less to side with the Dissenters. But Nash points out a coincidence which fixes it on the last-named prelate. It appears that in 1675, three years before the publication of this part of the poem, a pamphlet came out, generally attributed to the Bishop of Hereford, called, *The naked Truth, or State of the Primitive Church*, a title which gives a striking air of probability to the supposition. In this piece the distinction of the three orders of the Church is flatly denied, and endeavoured to be disproved : the surplice, bowing towards the altar, kneeling at the sacrament, and other ceremonies of the Church, are condemned ; while most of the pleas for nonconformists are speciously and zealously supported. This pamphlet made a great noise at the time.

For having paus'd to recollect, 175
 And on his past success reflect,
 T' examine and consider why,
 And whence, and how, he came to fly,
 And when no devil had appear'd,
 What else it could be said he fear'd, 180
 It put him in so fierce a rage,
 He once resolv'd to re-engage ;
 Toss'd, like a foot-ball, back again
 With shame, and vengeance, and disdain.
 Quoth he, It was thy cowardice, 185
 That made me from this leaguer rise,
 And when I'd half reduc'd the place,
 To quit it infamously base ;
 Was better cover'd by thy new
 Arriv'd detachment, than I knew :¹ 190
 To slight my new acquests, and run,
 Victoriously, from battles won ;
 And, reek'ning all I gain'd or lost,
 To sell them cheaper than they cost :
 To make me put myself to flight, 195
 And, conqu'ring, run away by night ;
 To drag me out, which th' haughty foe
 Durst never have presum'd to do :
 To mount me in the dark, by force,
 Upon the bare ridge of my horse. 200
 Expos'd in *querpo*² to their rage,
 Without my arms and equipage ;

¹ Here seems a defect in coherency and syntax. The Knight means, that it was dishonourable in him to quit the siege, especially when reinforced by the arrival of the Squire.

² *Querpo* (from the Spanish *cuervo*) signifies a close waistcoat, or jacket, without the customary cloak. Butler, in his MS. Common-place Book, says, all coats of arms were defensive, and worn upon shields ; though the ancient use of them is now given over, and men fight in *querpo*. To fight in *querpo* is synonymous to our old English phrase, *to fight in buff*. See Junii Etymologicon. The term is found in several of our early dramatists, e. g. "Boy, my cloak and rapier ; it fits not a gentleman of my rank to walk the streets in *querpo*." Beaumont and Fletcher, *Love's Cure*, ii. 1.

Your Spanish host is never seen in *cuervo*
 Without his paramentos, cloke, and sword.

Ben Jonson, *New Inn*, II. 5.

Lest, if they ventur'd to pursue,
 I might th' unequal fight renew ;
 And, to preserve thy outward man, 205
 Assum'd my place, and led the van.
 All this, quoth Ralph, I did, 'tis true,
 Not to preserve myself, but you :
 You, who were damn'd to baser drubs
 Than wretches feel in powd'ring tubs,¹ 210
 To mount two-wheel'd carroches, worse
 Than managing a wooden horse ;²
 Dragg'd out thro' straiter holes by th' ears,
 Eras'd, or coup'd for perjurers ;³
 Who, tho' th' attempt had prov'd in vain, 215
 Had had no reason to complain ;
 But, since it prosper'd, 'tis unhandsome
 To blame the hand that paid your ransom,
 And rescu'd your obnoxious bones
 From unavoidable battoons. 220
 The enemy was reinforce'd,
 And we disabled and unhors'd,
 Disarm'd, unqualify'd for fight,
 And no way left but hasty flight,
 Which, tho' as desp'rate in th' attempt, 225
 Has giv'n you freedom to condemn't.
 But were our bones in fit condition
 To reinforce the expedition,
 'Tis now unseasonable and vain,
 To think of falling on again : 230
 No martial project to surprise
 Can ever be attempted twice ;
 Nor cast design serve afterwards,
 As gamesters tear their losing cards.

¹ See note to line 980 of the preceding Canto, page 366.

² Carroche properly signifies a coach, from the Italian *carroccio* ; but in burlesque it is a cart, and here means that in which criminals were carried to execution. At that time a coach invariably had four wheels, and a *charette*, which preceded it, only two. Riding the wooden-horse was a punishment inflicted on soldiers.

³ *Erascd*, in Heraldry, means a member torn or separated from the body, so that it looks jagged like the teeth of a saw ; *couped* signifies, on the contrary, cut off clean and smooth. The Knight had incurred the guilt of perjury.

Beside, our bangs of man and beast 235
 Are fit for nothing but to rest,
 And for a while will not be able
 To rally, and prove serviceable :
 And therefore I, with reason, chose
 This stratagem t' amuse our foes, 240
 To make an hon'able retreat,
 And wave a total sure defeat :
 For those that fly may fight again,
 Which he can never do that's slain.¹

¹ The parallel to these lines is contained in the famous couplet—

“He that fights and runs away,
 May live to fight another day,”

which is so commonly, but falsely, attributed to Butler, that many bets have been lost upon it. The sentiment appears to be as old as Demosthenes, who, being reproached for running away from Philip of Macedon, at the battle of Chæronea, replied, Ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται. This saying of Demosthenes is mentioned by Jeremy Taylor, who says, “In other cases it is true that Demosthenes said in apology for his own escaping from a lost field—*A man that runs away may fight again.*”—*Great Examples*, 1649. The same idea is found in Scarron, who died in 1660 :

Qui fuit, peut revenir aussi ;
 Qui meurt, il n'en est pas ainsi.

It is also found in the *Satyre Menippée*, published in 1594 :

Souvent celui qui demeure
 Est cause de son meschef ;
 Celui qui fuit de bonne heure
 Peut combattre derechef.

Thus rendered in an English version, published in 1595 :

Oft he that doth abide
 Is cause of his own pain ;
 But he that flieth in good tide
 Perhaps may fight again.

In the Latin *Apothegms* compiled by Erasmus, and translated into English by Nicholas Udall, in 1542, occur the following lines, which are obviously a metrical version of the saying of Demosthenes :

That same man that renneth awaie,
 Maie again fight, an other daie.

The Italians are supposed to have borrowed their proverb from the same source: *E meglio che si dici qui fuggi che qui mori*, Better it be said here he ran away than here he died. But our familiar couplet was no doubt derived from the following lines, which were written by Sir John Mennis, in conjunction with James Smith, in the *Musarum Deliciae*, a collection of

Hence timely running's no mean part 245
 Of conduct, in the martial art,
 By which some glorious feats achieve,
 As citizens by breaking thrive,
 And cannons conquer armies, while
 They seem to draw off and recoil ; 250
 Is held the gallant'st course, and bravest,¹
 To great exploits, as well as safest ;
 That spares th' expense of time and pains,
 And dang'rous beating out of brains ;
 And, in the end, prevails as certain 255
 As those that never trust to fortune ;
 But make their fear do execution
 Beyond the stoutest resolution ;
 As earthquakes kill without a blow,
 And, only trembling, overthrow. 260
 If th' ancients crown'd their bravest men
 That only sav'd a citizen,²
 What victory cou'd e'er be won,
 If ev'ry one would save but one ?
 Or fight endanger'd to be lost, 265
 Where all resolve to save the most ?
 By this means, when a battle's won,
 The war's as far from being done ;
 For those that save themselves and fly,
 Go halves, at least, i' th' victory ; 270
 And sometime, when the loss is small,³
 And danger great, they challenge all ;

miscellaneous poems, published in 1656, and reprinted in Wit's Recreations, 2 vols. 12mo, Lond. 1817 :

He that is in battle slain,
 Can never rise to fight again ;
 But he that fights and runs away,
 May live to fight another day.

¹ Some editions read :

'Tis held the gallant'st——

² This was the *corona civica*, or civie crown, which was granted to any soldier who had saved the life of a Roman citizen by slaying an enemy. Though formed of no better materials than oak twigs, it was esteemed more honourable than any other decoration.

³ The early editions have "their loss."

Print new additions to their feats,
 And emendations in gazettes;¹
 And when, for furious haste to run, 275
 They durst not stay to fire a gun,
 Have done 't with bonfires, and at home
 Made squibs and crackers overcome;
 To set the rabble on a flame,
 And keep their governors from blame, 280
 Disperse the news the pulpit tells,²
 Confirm'd with fireworks and with bells:
 And tho' reduc'd to that extreme,
 They have been forc'd to sing *Te Deum*;³
 Yet, with religious blasphemy, 285
 By flatt'ring heaven with a lie;
 And, for their beating, giving thanks,
 They 've raised recruits, and fill'd their banks;⁴

¹ The gazettes did not come into vogue until Charles the Second's time. The newspapers during the civil war and the commonwealth were called *Mercuries* and *Diurnals*.

² "In their sermons," says Burnet, "and chiefly in their prayers, all that passed in the state was canvassed. Men were as good as named, and either recommended or complained of to God, as they were odious or acceptable to them. At length this humour grew so petulant, that the pulpit was a scene of news and passion."

³ This was the customary psalm of victory, but the Puritans did not approve of it, as being of papistical origin.

⁴ It has been an ancient and very frequent practice for the vanquished party in war to boast of victory, and even to ordain solemn thanksgivings, as means of keeping up the spirits of the people. The Parliament were said often to have had recourse to this artifice, and in the course of the war had thirty-five thanksgiving days. In the first notable encounter, at Wickfield near Worcester, September 23, 1642, their forces received a total defeat. Whitelock says, they were all killed or routed, and only one man lost on the king's side. Yet the Parliamentarians spread about printed papers, bragging of it as a complete victory, and ordained a special thanksgiving in London. This they did after the battle of Keynton, and the second fight at Newbury; but particularly after Sir William Waller received that great defeat at Roundway-down, when they kept a thanksgiving at Gloucester, and made rejoicings for a signal victory, which they pretended he had gained for them. This was no new practice. See Polyæni Stratagem. lib. i. cap. 35 and 44.—Stratocles persuaded the Athenians to offer a sacrifice to the gods, by way of thanks, on account of their having defeated their enemies, although he knew that the Athenian fleet had been defeated. When the truth was known, and the people became exasperated, his reply was, "What injury have I done you? it is owing to me that you have spent three days in joy."—Catherine de Medicis used to say, that a false report, if believed for

For those who run from th' enemy,
 Engage them equally to fly ; 290
 And when the fight becomes a chase,
 Those win the day that win the race ;¹
 And that which would not pass in fights,
 Has done the feat with easy flights ;
 Recover'd many a desp'rate campaign 295
 With Bourdeaux, Burgundy, and Champaign ;
 Restor'd the fainting high and mighty,
 With brandy-wine,² and *aqua-vitæ* ;
 And made them stoutly overcome
 With bacrack, hoccamore, and mum ;³ 300
 Whom th' uncontroll'd decrees of fate
 To victory necessitate ;
 With which, altho' they run or burn,⁴
 They unavoidably return ;
 Or else their sultau populaces 305
 Still strangle all their routed bassas.⁵

three days, might save a state. Napoleon understood these tactics thoroughly. See many stories of the same kind in the "General Dictionary," vol. x. p. 337.

¹ An old philosopher, at a drinking match, insisted that he had won the prize because he was first drunk.

² In Germany it is still called *Branntwein*. *Aqua vitæ* was formerly used in this country as a medicine only.

³ The first is an excellent kind of Rhenish wine, called Bacharach, from a town of that name in the lower Palatinate, said to be derived from *Bacchi ara*, the altar of Bacchus. Hoccamore means *Hochheimer*, the Rhenish wine which first became familiarly known in this country, whence all the others obtained, though improperly, the name of Hock. Mum is a rich, strong beer, made in Brunswick, and called *Braunschweiger Mumme*. It had great reputation everywhere, and is said to have been introduced into this country by General Monk. The invention of it is attributed by some to Christopher Mumme, in 1489, but it seems not unlikely to have derived its name from its being a delicious beer used on feast-days and holidays, or *Mummen*, the old German word for revels, whence our term *mummings*. A receipt for making it is preserved in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. i. p. 524. This signification of *Mum* seems to have nothing in common with that indicating *silence*, explained in a previous note.

⁴ That is, though they run away, or their ships are fired. See v. 308. This may refer to the repulse of Popham at Kinsale, which he had expected to take by bribing the royalist commander, who having received the bribe, nevertheless resisted, and with success, the attack of the Parliament's fleet and army.

⁵ The mob, like the sultan or grand seignior, seldom fail to strangle any of their commanders, called *Bassas*, if they prove unsuccessful ; thus Waller

Quoth Hudibras, I understand
 What fights thou mean'st at sea and land,
 And who those were that run away,
 And yet gave out they 'd won the day : 310
 Altho' the rabble sous'd them for 't,
 O'er head and ears, in mud and dirt.
 'Tis true our modern way of war
 Is grown more politic by far,¹
 But not so resolute and bold, 315
 Nor tied to honour, as the old.
 For now they laugh at giving battle,
 Unless it be to herds of cattle ;
 Or fighting convoys of provision,
 The whole design o' th' expedition, 320
 And not with downright blows to rout
 The enemy, but eat them out :
 As fighting, in all beasts of prey,
 And eating, are perform'd one way,
 To give defiance to their teeth, 325
 And fight their stubborn guts² to death ;

was neglected after the battle of Roundway-down, called by the wits Run-away-down.

¹ Butler's unpublished Common-place Book has the following lines on "The modern way of war."

For fighting now is out of mode,
 And stratagem's the only road ;
 Unless in th' out-of-fashion wars,
 Of barb'rous Turks and Polanders.
 All feats of arms are now reduc'd
 To chousing, or to being chous'd ;
 They fight not now to overthrow,
 But gull, or circumvent a foe.
 And watch all small advantages
 As if they fought a game at chess ;
 And he's approv'd the most deserving
 Who longest can hold out at starving.
 Who makes best fricasees of cats,
 Of frogs and —, and mice and rats ;
 Pottage of vermin, and ragoos
 Of trunks and boxes, and old shoes.
 And those who, like th' immortal gods,
 Do never eat, have still the odds.

² Later editions read, the others' stomachs.

And those achieve the high'st renown,
 That bring the other stomachs down.
 There's now no fear of wounds nor maiming,
 All dangers are reduc'd to famine, 330
 And feats of arms to plot, design,
 Surprise, and stratagem, and mine ;
 But have no need nor use of courage,
 Unless it be for glory, 'r forage :
 For if they fight 'tis but by chance, 335
 When one side vent'ring to advance,
 And come uncivilly too near,
 Are charg'd unmercifully i' th' rear,
 And forc'd, with terrible resistance,
 To keep hereafter at a distance, 340
 To pick out ground t' encamp upon,
 Where store of largest rivers run,
 That serve, instead of peaceful barriers,
 To part th' engagements of their warriors ;
 Where both from side to side may skip, 345
 And only encounter at bo-peep :
 For men are found the stouter-hearted,
 The certainer they 're to be parted,
 And therefore post themselves in bogs,
 As th' ancient mice attack'd the frogs,¹ 350
 And made their mortal enemy,
 The water-rat, their great ally.²
 For 'tis not now, who's stout and bold ?
 But, who bears hunger best, and cold ?³
 And he's approv'd the most deserving, 355
 Who longest can hold out at starving ;
 But he that routs most pigs and cows,
 The formidablest man of prow'ss.⁴

¹ Alluding to Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*, or *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*.

² Meaning the Dutch, who were allies of the Parliamentarians.

³ An ordinance was passed March 26, 1644, for the contribution of one meal a week toward the charge of the army.

⁴ A sneer, perhaps, on Venables and Pen, who were unfortunate in their expedition against the Spaniards at St Domingo, in the year 1655. It is observed of them, that they exercised their valour only on horses, asses, and such like, making a slaughter of all they met, greedily devouring skins, en-

So th' emperor Caligula,
 That triumph'd o'er the British sea,¹ 360
 Took crabs and oysters prisoners,
 And lobsters, 'stead of cuirassiers,²
 Engag'd his legions in fierce bustles
 With periwinkles, prawns, and muscles,
 And led his troops with furious gallops, 365
 To charge whole regiments of scallops;
 Not like their ancient way of war,
 To wait on his triumphal car;
 But when he went to dine or sup,
 More bravely ate his captives up, 370
 And left all war, by his example,
 Reduc'd to vict'ling of a camp well.

Quoth Ralph, By all that you have said,
 And twice as much that I cou'd add,
 'Tis plain you cannot now do worse 375
 Than take this out-of-fashion'd course;
 To hope, by stratagem, to woo her;
 Or waging battle to subdue her;
 Tho' some have done it in romances,
 And bang'd them into am'rous fancies; 380
 As those who won the Amazons,
 By wanton drubbing of their bones;
 And stout Rinaldo gain'd his bride³
 By courting of her back and side.

trails, and all, to satiate their hunger. See *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. iii. No. xii. p. 494, 498.

¹ Caligula, having ranged his army on the sea-shore, and disposed his instruments of war in the order of battle, on a sudden ordered his men to gather up the shells on the strand, and fill their helmets and bosoms with them, calling them the spoils of the ocean, as if by that proceeding he had made a conquest of the British sea. Suetonius, *Life of Caligula*.

² Sir Arthur Hazelrig had a regiment nicknamed his lobsters; and it has been thought by some, that the defeat at Roundway-down was owing to the ill-behaviour of this regiment. Cleveland, in his character of a London diurnal, says of it: "This is the William which is the city's champion, and the diurnal's delight. Yet, in all this triumph, translate the scene but at Roundway-down, Hazelrig's lobsters were turned into crabs, and crawled backwards."

³ Rinaldo is hero of the last book of Tasso; but he did not win his Armida thus; perhaps the poet, quoting by memory, intended to mention Ruggiero in Ariosto. See also *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

But since those times and feats are over, 385
 They are not for a modern lover,
 When mistresses are too cross-grain'd,
 By such addresses to be gain'd;
 And if they were, would have it out
 With many another kind of bont. 390
 Therefore I hold no course s' infeasible,
 As this of force, to win the Jezebel,
 To storm her heart by th' antic charms
 Of ladies errant, force of arms;
 But rather strive by law to win her, 395
 And try the title you have in her.
 Your case is clear, you have her word,
 And me to witness the accord;¹
 Besides two more of her retinue
 To testify what pass'd between you; 400
 More probable, and like to hold,
 Than hand, or seal, or breaking gold,²
 For which so many that renounc'd
 Their plighted contracts have been trounc'd,
 And bills upon record been found, 405
 That fore'd the ladies to compound;
 And that, unless I miss the matter,
 Is all the bus'ness you look after.
 Besides, encounters at the bar
 Are braver now than those in war, 410
 In which the law does execution
 With less disorder and confusion;
 Has more of honour in 't, some hold,
 Not like the new way, but the old,³
 When those the pen had drawn together, 415
 Decided quarrels with the feather,
 And winged arrows kill'd as dead,
 And more than bullets now of lead:
 So all their combats now, as then,
 Are manag'd chiefly by the pen; 420

¹ Ralpho, no doubt, was ready to witness anything that would serve his turn; and hoped the widow's two attendants would do the same.

² The breaking of a piece of gold between lovers was formerly much practised, and looked upon as a firm marriage contract.

³ Ralpho persuades the Knight to gain the widow, at least her fortune, not by the use of fire-arms, but by the feathered quill of the lawyer.

That does the feat, with braver vigours,
 In words at length, as well as figures ;
 Is judge of all the world performs
 In voluntary feats of arms,
 And whatsoe'er 's achiev'd in fight, 425
 Determines which is wrong or right ;
 For whether you prevail, or lose,
 All must be try'd there in the close ;
 And therefore 'tis not wise to shun
 What you must trust to ere ye 've done. 430
 The law that settles all you do,
 And marries where you did but woo ;
 That makes the most perfidious lover,
 A lady, that's as false, recover ;¹
 And if it judge upon your side, 435
 Will soon extend her for your bride,²
 And put her person, goods, or lands,
 Or which you like best, into your hands.
 For law's the wisdom of all ages,
 And manag'd by the ablest sages, 440
 Who, tho' their bus'ness at the bar
 Be but a kind of civil war,
 In which th' engage with fiercer dungeons
 Than e'er the Grecians did, and Trojans ;
 They never manage the contest 445
 T' impair their public interest,
 Or by their controversies lessen
 The dignity of their profession ;
 Not like us brethren, who divide
 Our commonwealth, the Cause, and side ;³ 450
 And tho' we 're all as near of kindred
 As th' outward man is to the inward,
 We agree in nothing, but to wrangle
 About the slightest fingle-fangle,

¹ That is, the law will recover a lady though she be as false as the most perfidious lover.

² Meaning to levy an extent upon the lady : seize her for your use in satisfaction of the debt.

³ Take part on one side or the other. Whereas we who have a common interest, a common cause, a common party against the Royalists and Episcopalians, weaken our strength by internal divisions among ourselves

While lawyers have more sober sense, 455
 Than t' argue at their own expense,¹
 But make their best advantages
 Of others' quarrels, like the Swiss;²
 And out of foreign controversies,
 By aiding both sides, fill their purses; 460
 But have no int'rest in the Cause
 For which th' engage and wage the laws,
 Nor further prospect than their pay,
 Whether they lose or win the day.
 And tho' th' abounded in all ages, 465
 With sundry learned clerks and sages;
 Tho' all their bus'ness be dispute,
 With which they canvass ev'ry suit,
 They 've no disputes about their art,
 Nor in polemics controvert; 470
 While all professions else are found
 With nothing but disputes t' abound:
 Divines of all sorts, and physicians,
 Philosophers, mathematicians;
 The Galenist, and Paracelsian, 475
 Condemn the way each other deals in:³
 Anatomists dissect and mangle,
 To cut themselves out work to wrangle:
 Astrologers dispute their dreams,
 That in their sleeps they talk of schemes; 480
 And heralds stickle, who got who,
 So many hundred years ago.
 But lawyers are too wise a nation
 T' expose their trade to disputation,
 Or make the busy rabble judges 485
 Of all their secret piques and grudges;

¹ The wisdom of lawyers is such, that however they may seem to quarrel at the bar, they are good friends the moment they leave the court. Unlike us, Independents and Presbyterians, who, though our opinions are very similar, are always wrangling about the merest trifles.

² The Swiss mercenaries, as they are commonly called, if well paid, will enter into the service of any foreign power: but, according to the adage, "*point d'argent, point de Suisse.*"

³ The followers of Galen advocated the use of herbs and roots; the disciples of Paracelsus recommended mineral preparations, especially mercury.

In which, whoever wins the day,
 The whole profession's sure to pay.¹
 Beside, no mountebanks, nor cheats,
 Dare undertake to do their feats, 490
 When in all other sciences
 They swarm like insects, and increase.
 For what bigot² durst ever draw,
 By Inward Light, a deed in law?
 Or could hold forth by Revelation, 495
 An answer to a declaration?
 For those that meddle with their tools,
 Will cut their fingers, if they 're fools:
 And if you follow their advice,
 In bills, and answers, and replies, 500
 They'll write a love-letter in chancery,
 Shall bring her upon oath to answer ye,
 And soon reduce her t' be your wife,
 Or make her weary of her life.

The Knight, who us'd with tricks and shifts 505
 To edify by Ralpho's gifts,
 But in appearance cried him down,³
 To make them better seem his own,
 All plagiaries' constant course
 Of sinking when they take a purse,⁴ 510
 Resolv'd to follow his advice,
 But kept it from him by disguise;
 And, after stubborn contradiction,
 To counterfeit his own conviction,
 And, by transition, fall upon 515
 The resolution as his own.

Quoth he, This gambol thou advisest
 Is, of all others, the unwisest;
 For, if I think by law to gain her,
 There's nothing sillier nor vainer, 520

¹ When lawyers quarrel, they do not suffer the public to know it; for, whichever disputant might gain the advantage, the whole profession would suffer by the exposures made in the brawl.

² The accent is here laid on the last syllable of bigot.

³ *Var.* cried *them* down in 1700 and subsequent editions.

⁴ Meaning that the plagiarist conceals his robbery with the dexterity of a pickpocket.

'Tis but to hazard my pretence,
 Where nothing's certain but th' expense ;
 To act against myself, and traverse
 My suit and title to her favours ;
 And if she should, which heav'n forbid, 525
 O'erthrow me, as the fiddler did,
 What after-course have I to take,
 'Gainst losing all I have to stake ?
 He that with injury is griev'd,
 And goes to law to be reliev'd, 530
 Is sillier than a sottish chouse,
 Who, when a thief has robb'd his house,
 Applies himself to cunning men,
 To help him to his goods agen ;¹
 When all he can expect to gain, 535
 Is but to squander more in vain :
 And yet I have no other way,
 But is as difficult to play :
 For to reduce her by main force
 Is now in vain ; by fair means, worse ; 540
 But worst of all to give her over,
 'Till she's as desp'rate to recover :
 For bad games are thrown up too soon,
 Until they 're never to be won ;
 But since I have no other course, 545
 But is as bad t' attempt, or worse,
 He that complies against his will,
 Is of his own opinion still,

¹ In Butler's MS. under these lines are many severe strictures on lawyers :

More nice and subtle than those wire-drawers
 Of equity and justice, common lawyers ;
 Who never end, but always prune a suit
 To make it bear the greater store of fruit.

As labouring men their hands, eriers their lungs,
 Porters their backs, lawyers hire out their tongues.
 A tongue to mire and gain accustom'd long,
 Grows quite insensible to right or wrong.

The humourist that would have had a trial,
 With one that did but look upon his dial,
 And sued him but for telling of his clock,
 And saying, 'twas too fast, or slow it struck.

Which he may 'dhere to, yet disown,
 For reasons to himself best known; 550
 But 'tis not to b' avoided now,
 For Sidrophel resolves to sue;
 Whom I must answer, or begin,
 Inevitably, first with him;
 For I've receiv'd advertisement, 555
 By times enough, of his intent;
 And knowing he that first complains
 Th' advantage of the bus'ness gains;
 For courts of justice understand
 The plaintiff to be eldest hand; 560
 Who what he pleases may aver,
 The other, nothing till he swear;¹
 Is freely admitted to all grace,
 And lawful favour, by his place;
 And, for his bringing custom in, 565
 Has all advantages to win:
 I, who resolve to oversee
 No lucky opportunity,
 Will go to counsel, to advise
 Which way t' encounter, or surprise, 570
 And after long consideration,
 Have found out one to fit th' occasion,
 Most apt for what I have to do,
 As counsellor, and justice too.²
 And truly so, no doubt, he was, 575
 A lawyer fit for such a case.
 An old dull sot, who told the clock,³
 For many years at Bridewell-dock,
 At Westminster, and Hicks's-hall,
 And *hiccius doctius*⁴ play'd in all; 580

¹ An answer to a bill in chancery is always upon oath;—a petition not so.

² Probably the poet had his eye on some particular person here. The old annotator says it was Edmund Prideaux; but the respectable and wealthy Attorney-General of that name cannot have been meant. The portrait must have been taken from some one of a much lower class. A pettifogging lawyer named Siderfin is said with more probability to have been intended.

³ The puisné judge was formerly called the Tell-clock; as supposed to be not much employed, but listening how the time went.

⁴ Cant words used by jugglers, corrupted perhaps from *hic est inter doctos*. See note on *hocus pocus*, at line 716.

Where, in all governments and times,
 He 'd been both friend and foe to crimes,
 And us'd two equal ways of gaining,
 By hind'ring justice, or maintaining,¹
 To many a whore gave privilege, 585
 And whipp'd, for want of quarterage ;
 Cart-loads of bawds to prison sent,
 For b'ing behind a fortnight's rent ;
 And many a trusty pimp and crony
 To Puddle-dock,² for want of money : 590
 Engag'd the constables to seize
 All those that wou'd not break the peace ;
 Nor give him back his own foul words,
 Though sometimes commoners, or lords,
 And kept 'em prisoners of course, 595
 For being sober at ill hours ;
 That in the morning he might free
 Or bind 'em over for his fee.
 Made monsters fine, and puppet-plays,
 For leave to practise in their ways ; 600
 Farm'd out all cheats, and went a share
 With th' headborough and scavenger ;
 And made the dirt i' th' streets compound,
 For taking up the public ground ;³
 The kennel, and the king's high-way, 605
 For being unmolested, pay ;
 Let out the stocks and whipping-post,
 And cage, to those that gave him most ;
 Impos'd a tax on bakers' ears,⁴
 And for false weights on chandelers ; 610
 Made victuallers and vintners fine
 For arbitrary ale and wine.⁵

¹ Butler served some years as clerk to a justice. The person who employed him was an able magistrate, and respectable character: but in that situation he might have had an opportunity of making himself acquainted with the practice of trading justices.

² There was a gaol at this place for petty offenders.

³ Did not levy the penalty for a nuisance, but compounded with the offender by accepting a bribe.

⁴ That is, took a bribe to save them from the pillory. Bakers were liable to have their ears cropped for light weights.

⁵ For selling ale or wine without licence, or by less than the statutable

But was a kind and constant friend
 To all that regularly offend :
 As residentiary bawds, 615
 And brokers that receive stol'n goods ;
 That cheat in lawful mysteries,
 And pay church-duties, and his fees ;
 But was implacable and awkward,
 To all that interlop'd and hawker'd.¹ 620

To this brave man the Knight repairs
 For counsel in his law affairs,
 And found him mounted in his pew,
 With books and money plac'd for show,
 Like nest-eggs to make clients lay, 625
 And for his false opinion pay :
 To whom the Knight, with comely grace,
 Put off his hat to put his case ;
 Which he as proudly entertain'd,
 As th' other courteously strain'd ; 630
 And, to assure him 'twas not that
 He look'd for, bid him put on's hat.
 Quoth he, There is one Sidrophel
 Whom I have cudgell'd—Very well—
 And now he brags to 've beaten me— 635
 Better and better still, quoth he—
 And vows to stiek me to the wall.
 Where'er he meets me—Best of all.
 'Tis true the knave has taken 's oath
 That I robb'd him—Well done, in troth. 640

measure, or spurious mixtures. So Butler says of his Justice, Remains, vol. ii. p. 191. "He does his country signal service in the judicious and mature legitimization of tippling-houses; that the subject be not imposed upon with illegal and *arbitrary* ale."

¹ That is, he was very severe to hawkers and interlopers, who interfered with the regular trade of roguery, but favoured the offences of those who kept houses, took out licences, and paid rates and taxes. The passage is thus amplified in prose, in Butler's *Character of a Justice of the Peace*. "He uses great care and moderation in punishing those that offend regularly by their calling, as residentiary bawds, and incumbent pimps, that pay parish duties, shopkeepers that use constant false weights and measures, these he rather prunes, that they may grow the better, than disables; but is very severe to hawkers and interlopers, that commit iniquity on the bye."

When he 's confess'd he stole my cloak,
 And pick'd my fob, and what he took ;
 Which was the cause that made me bang him,
 And take my goods again—Marry¹ hang him.
 Now, whether I should beforehand 615
 Swear he robb'd me ?—I understand.
 Or bring my action of conversion
 And trover for my goods ?²—Ah, whoreson !
 Or, if 'tis better to indite,
 And bring him to his trial ?—Right. 650
 Prevent what he designs to do,
 And swear for th' state against him ?³—True.
 Or whether he that is defendant,
 In this case, has the better end on't ;
 Who, putting in a new cross-bill, 655
 May traverse th' action ?—Better still.
 Then there's a lady too—Aye, marry.
 That's easily prov'd accessory ;
 A widow, who by solemn vows,
 Contracted to me for my spouse, 660
 Combin'd with him to break her word,
 And has abetted all—Good Lord !
 Suborn'd th' aforesaid Sidrophel
 To tamper with the dev'l of hell,
 Who put m' into a horrid fear, 665
 Fear of my life—Make that appear.
 Made an assault with fiends and men
 Upon my body—Good agen.
 And kept me in a deadly fright,
 And false imprisonment, all night. 670
 Meanwhile they robb'd me, and my horse.
 And stole my saddle—Worse and worse.
 And made me mount upon the bare ridge.
 T' avoid a wretcheder miscarriage.

¹ The second syllable must be slurred in reading. For a note on *Marry-come-up* see page 93.

² An action of trover is an action brought for recovery of goods wrongfully detained.

³ Swear that a crime was committed by him against the public peace, or peace of the state.

Sir, quoth the Lawyer, not to flatter ye, 675
 You have as good and fair a battery ¹
 As heart can wish, and need not shame
 The proudest man alive to claim :
 For if they 've us'd you as you say,
 Marry, quoth I, God give you joy ; 680
 I wou'd it were my case, I'd give
 More than I'll say, or you'll believe :
 I wou'd so trounce her, and her purse,
 I'd make her kneel for better or worse ;
 For matrimony, and hanging here, 685
 Both go by destiny so clear,²
 That you as sure may pick and choose,
 As cross I win, and pile you lose ;³
 And if I durst, I wou'd advance
 As much in ready maintenance,⁴ 690
 As upon any case I've known ;
 But we that practise dare not own :
 The law severely contrabands
 Our taking bus'ness off men's hands ;
 'Tis common barratry,⁵ that bears 695
 Point-blank an action 'gainst our ears,
 And crops them till there is not leather,
 To stick a pen in left of either ;
 For which some do the summer-sault,
 And o'er the bar, like tumblers, vault :⁶ 700

¹ Meaning an action of Battery. See Measure for Measure, Act ii. sc. 1, and Twelfth Night, Act iv. sc. 1.

² This proverbial saying has already been quoted at page 166. We will only add here that it is quoted by several of the old poets, as also by Shakespeare, *Merch. of Ven.* Act ii. sc. 9, and Ben Jonson, *Barthol. Fair*, Act iv. sc. 3.

³ Meaning a mere toss up, see page 292.

⁴ Maintenance is the unlawful upholding of a cause or person.

⁵ Barratry is the unlawful stirring up of suits or quarrels, either in court or elsewhere.

⁶ Summer-sault (or somerset), throwing heels over head, a feat of activity performed by tumblers. When a lawyer has been guilty of misconduct, and is not allowed to practise in the courts, he is said to be thrown over the bar.

But you may swear at any rate,
 Things not in nature, for the state ;
 For in all courts of justice here
 A witness is not said to swear,
 But make oath, that is, in plain terms, 705
 To forge whatever he affirms.

I thank you, quoth the Knight, for that,
 Because 'tis to my purpose pat—
 For Justice, tho' she's painted blind,
 Is to the weaker side inclin'd, 710
 Like charity ; else right and wrong
 Cou'd never hold it out so long,
 And, like blind fortune, with a sleight,
 Conveys men's interest and right,
 From Stiles's pocket into Nokes's,¹ 715
 As easily as *hocus pocus* ;²
 Plays fast and loose, makes men obnoxious ;
 And clear again, like *hiccus doctius*.
 Then whether you would take her life,
 Or but recover her for your wife, 720
 Or be content with what she has,
 And let all other matters pass,
 The bus'ness to the law's alone,³
 The proof is all it looks upon ;
 And you can want no witnesses, 725
 To swear to any thing you please,⁴
 That hardly get their mere expenses
 By th' labour of their consciences,

¹ Fictitious names, sometimes used in stating cases, issuing writs, &c.

² In all probability a corruption of *hoc est corpus*, by way of ridiculous imitation of the priests of the Church of Rome, in their trick of transubstantiation.—TILLOSON. But Nares thinks that the origin of the term may be derived from the Italian jugglers, who called that craft *Ochus Bochus*, after a magician of that name. *Hocus*, to cheat, comes from this phrase ; and Malone suggests that the modern word *hoax* has the same origin.

³ Later editions read :

The bus'ness to the law's *all one*.

⁴ Taylor, the Water Poet, says, "that some do make a trade of swearing ; as a fellow being once asked of what occupation he was, made answer, that he was a *vitness*, meaning one that for hire would swear in any man's cause, right or wrong."

Or letting out to hire their cars
 To affidavit customers, 730
 At inconsiderable values,
 To serve for jurymen or *tales*.¹
 Altho' retain'd in th' hardest matters
 Of trustees and administrators.
 For that, quoth he, let me alone ; 735
 We've store of such, and all our own,
 Bred up and tutor'd by our teachers,
 Th' ablest of all conscience-stretchers.²
 That's well, quoth he, but I should guess,
 By weighing all advantages, 740
 Your surest way is first to pitch
 On Bongey for a water-witch ;³
 And when y' have hang'd the conjurer,
 Y' have time enough to deal with her.
 In th' int'rim spare for no trepans, 745
 To draw her neck into the bannus ;
 Ply her with love-letters and billets,
 And bait 'em well for quirks and quilletts,⁴
 With trains t' inveigle, and surprise
 Her heedless answers and replies ; 750
 And if she miss the mouse-trap lines,
 They'll serve for other by designs ;
 And make an artist understand,
 To copy out her seal or hand ;
 Or find void places in the paper, 755
 To steal in something to entrap her ;

¹ *Tales*, or *Tales de circumstantibus*, are persons of like rank and quality with such of the principal pannel as are challenged, but do not appear ; and who, happening to be in court, are taken to supply their places as jurymen.

² Downing and Stephen Marshall, who absolved from their oaths the prisoners released at Brentford. See note at pages 82 and 177, 178.

³ On Sidrophel the reputed conjurer. The poet nicknames him Bongey, from a Franciscan friar of that name, who lived in Oxford about the end of the thirteenth century, and was by some classed with Roger Bacon, and therefore deemed a conjurer by the common people. "A water-witch" means probably one to be tried by the water-ordeal.

⁴ Subtleties. Shakspeare frequently used the word quillet, which is probably a contraction from quibblot. See *Wright's Glossary*.

Till, with her worldly goods and body,
 Spite of her heart she has indow'd ye :
 Retain all sorts of witnesses,
 That ply i' th' Temple, under trees ; 760
 Or walk the round, with knights o' th' posts,¹
 About the cross-legg'd knights, their hosts ;²
 Or wait for customers between
 The pillar-rows in Lincoln's-Inn ;³
 Where vouchers, forgers, common-bail, 765
 And affidavit-men ne'er fail
 T' expose to sale all sorts of oaths,
 According to their ears and clothes,⁴
 Their only necessary tools,
 Besides the Gospel, and their souls ;⁵ 770
 And when ye 're furnish'd with all purveys,
 I shall be ready at your service.

I would not give, quoth Hudibras,
 A straw to understand a case,
 Without the admirabler skill 775
 To wind and manage it at will ;
 To veer, and tack, and steer a cause,
 Against the weather-gage of laws ;
 And ring the changes upon cases,
 As plain as noses upon faces ; 780

¹ Witnesses who are ready to swear anything, true or false. See note at page 28.

² These witnesses frequently plied for custom about the Temple-church, where are several monumental effigies of knights templars, who, according to custom, are represented cross-legged. *Their hosts* means that nobody gave them any better entertainment than these knights, and therefore that they were almost starved.

³ The crypt beneath the chapel of Lincoln's Inn, was another place where these knights of the post plied for custom.

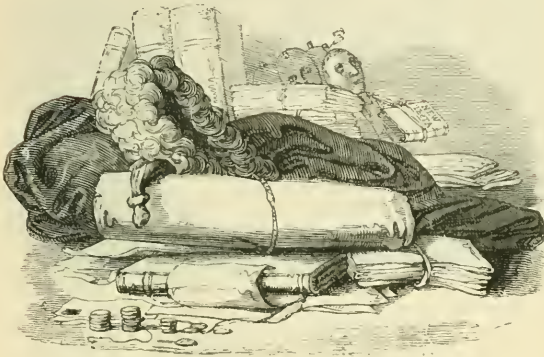
⁴ Lord Clarendon, in his *History of the Rebellion*, vol. ii. p. 355, tells us that an Irishman of low condition and meanly clothed, being brought as evidence against Lord Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, Mr Pym gave him money to buy a satin suit and cloak, in which equipage he appeared at the trial. The like was practised in the trial of Lord Stafford for the popish plot. See Carte's *History of the Life of James Duke of Ormonde*, vol. ii. p. 517.

⁵ When a witness swears he holds the Gospel in his right hand, and kisses it : the Gospel therefore is called his tool, by which he damns his other tool, namely, his soul.

As you have well instructed me,
For which you 've earn'd, here 'tis, your fee.
I long to practise your advice,
And try the subtle artifice;
To bait a letter as you bid—

785

As, not long after, thus he did:
For, having pump'd up all his wit,
And humm'd upon it, thus he writ.





AN HEROICAL EPISTLE

OF

HUDIBRAS TO HIS LADY.

HWHO was once as great as Cæsar,
Am now reduc'd to Nebuchadnezzar;¹
And from as fam'd a conqueror,
As ever took degree in war,
Or did his exercise in battle,
By you turn'd out to grass with cattle.
For since I am deny'd access
To all my earthly happiness,

5

¹ See Daniel, chap. iv. verses 32, 33.

Am fallen from the paradise
 Of your good graces, and fair eyes ; 10
 Lost to the world and you, I'm sent
 To everlasting banishment,
 Where all the hopes I had t' have won
 Your heart, b'ing dash'd, will break my own.
 Yet if you were not so severe 15
 To pass your doom before you hear,
 You'd find, upon my just defence,
 How much you 've wrong'd my innocence.
 That once I made a vow to you,
 Which yet is unperform'd, 'tis true ; 20
 But not because it is unpaid
 Tis violated, though delay'd.
 Or if it were, it is no fault
 So heinous, as you'd have it thought ;
 To undergo the loss of ears, 25
 Like vulgar hackney perjurers ;
 For there's a difference in the case,
 Between the noble and the base :
 Who always are observ'd to 've done 't
 Upon as diff'rent an account ; 30
 The one for great and weighty cause,
 To salve in honour ugly flaws ;
 For none are like to do it sooner
 Than those who 're nicest of their honour ;
 The other, for base gain and pay, 35
 Forswear and perjure by the day,
 And make th' exposing and retailing
 Their souls, and consciences, a calling.
 It is no scandal, nor aspersion,
 Upon a great and noble person, 40
 To say, he nat'rally abhorr'd
 Th' old-fashion'd trick, to keep his word,
 Tho' 'tis perfidiousness and shame,
 In meaner men to do the same :
 For to be able to forget, 45
 Is found more useful to the great
 Than gout, or deafness, or bad eyes,
 To make 'em pass for wondrous wise.
 But tho' the law, on perjurers,
 Inflicts the forfeiture of ears, 50

It is not just, that does exempt
 The guilty, and punish the innocent.¹
 To make the ears repair the wrong
 Committed by th' ungovern'd tongue ;
 And when one member is forsworn, 55
 Another to be cropp'd or torn.
 And if you shou'd, as you design,
 By course of law, recover mine,
 You're like, if you consider right,
 To gain but little honour by't. 60
 For he that for his lady's sake
 Lays down his life, or limbs, at stake,
 Does not so much deserve her favour,
 As he that pawns his soul to have her.
 This you 've acknowledg'd I have done, 65
 Altho' you now disdain to own ;
 But sentence² what you rather ought
 T' esteem good service than a fault.
 Besides, oaths are not bound to bear
 That literal sense the words infer, 70
 But, by the practice of the age,
 Are to be judg'd how far th' engage ;
 And where the sense by custom's checkt,
 Are found void, and of none effect,
 For no man takes or keeps a vow, 75
 But just as he sees others do ;
 Nor are th' oblig'd to be so brittle,
 As not to yield and bow a little :
 For as best temper'd blades are found,
 Before they break, to bend quite round ; 80
 So truest oaths are still most tough,
 And, tho' they bow, are breaking-proof.
 Then wherefore should they not b' allow'd
 In love a greater latitude ?
 For as the law of arms approves 85
 All ways to conquest, so shou'd love's ;
 And not be tied to true or false,
 But make that justest that prevails :

¹ This line must be read—

“ The guilty 'nd punish th' innocent.”

² That is, condemn or pass sentence upon.

For how can that which is above
 All empire, high and mighty love, 90
 Submit its great prerogative,
 To any other pow'r alive ?
 Shall love, that to no crown gives place,
 Become the subject of a case ?
 The fundamental law of nature, 95
 Be over-rul'd by those made after ?
 Commit the censure of its cause
 To any, but its own great laws ?
 Love, that's the world's preservative,
 That keeps all souls of things alive ; 100
 Controls the mighty pow'r of fate,
 And gives mankind a longer date ;
 The life of nature, that restores
 As fast as time and death devours ;
 To whose free gift the world does owe 105
 Not only earth, but heaven too :
 For love's the only trade that's driven,
 The interest of state in heaven,¹
 Which nothing but the soul of man
 Is capable to entertain. 110
 For what can earth produce, but love,
 To represent the joys above ?
 Or who but lovers can converse,
 Like angels, by the eye-discourse ?
 Address, and compliment by vision, 115
 Make love, and court by intuition ?
 And burn in am'rous flames as fierce
 As those celestial ministers ?

¹ So Waller : All that we know of those above,
 Is, that they live and that they love.

But the Spanish priest *Henriquez*, in his singular book entitled "The business of the Saints in Heaven," printed at Salamanca, 1631, assumes to know more about them. He says that every *saint* shall have his particular house in heaven, and Christ a most magnificent palace! That there shall be large streets, great piazzas, fountains, and gardens. That there shall be a sovereign pleasure in kissing and embracing the bodies of the blest; and pleasant baths, where they shall bathe themselves in each other's company; that all shall sing like nightingales, and delight themselves in masquerades, feasts, and ballads; and that the *angels* shall be attired as females, and present themselves to the saints in full costume, with curls and locks, waistcoats and fardingales.

Then how can anything offend,
 In order to so great an end ? 120
 Or heav'n itself a sin resent,
 That for its own supply was meant ?¹
 That merits, in a kind mistake,
 A pardon for th' offence's sake ?
 Or if it did not, but the cause 125
 Were left to th' injury of laws,
 What tyranny can disapprove,
 There should be equity in love ?
 For laws, that are inanimate,
 And feel no sense of love or hate,² 130
 That have no passion of their own,
 Nor pity to be wrought upon,
 Are only proper to inflict
 Revenge on criminals as strict.
 But to have power to forgive, 135
 Is empire and prerogative ;
 And 'tis in crowns a nobler gem
 To grant a pardon than condemn.
 Then, since so few do what they ough ,
 'Tis great t' indulge a well-meant fault ; 140
 For why should he who made address,
 All humble ways, without success ;
 And met with nothing in return
 But insolence, affronts, and scorn,
 Not strive by wit to counter-mine, 145
 And bravely carry his design ?
 He who was us'd s' unlike a soldier,
 Blown up with philters of love-powder ;
 And after letting blood, and purging,
 Condemn'd to voluntary scourging ; 150
 Alarm'd with many a horrid fright,
 And claw'd by goblins in the night ;
 Insulted on, revil'd and jeer'd,
 With rude invasion of his beard ;
 And when your sex was foully scandal'd, 155
 As foully by the rabble handled ;

¹ The Knight sophistically argues that heaven cannot resent love as a sin, since it is itself love, and therefore all love is heaven.

² Aristotle defined law to be, reason without passion ; and despotism, or arbitrary power, to be, passion without reason.

Attacked by despicable foes,
 And drubb'd with mean and vulgar blows ;
 And, after all, to be debarr'd
 So much as standing on his guard ; 160
 When horses, being spurr'd and prick'd,
 Have leave to kick for being kick'd ?
 Or why should you, whose mother-wits ¹
 Are furnish'd with all perquisites ;
 That with your breeding teeth begin, 165
 And nursing babies that lie in ;
 B' allow'd to put all tricks upon
 Our cully ² sex, and we use none ?
 We, who have nothing but frail vows
 Against your stratagems t' oppose ; 170
 Or oaths, more feeble than your own,
 By which we are no less put down ?³
 You wound, like Parthians, while you fly,
 And kill with a retreating eye ;⁴
 Retire the more, the more we press, 175
 To draw us into ambushes :
 As pirates all false colours wear,
 T' intrap th' unwary mariner ;
 So women, to surprise us, spread
 The borrow'd flags of white and red ; 180
 Display 'em thicker on their cheeks,
 Than their old grandmothers, the Picts ;
 And raise more devils with their looks,
 Than conjurers' less subtle books :
 Lay trains of amorous intrigues, 185
 In tow'rs, and curls, and periwigs,
 With greater art and cunning rear'd.
 Than Philip Nye's Thanksgiving-beard ; ⁵

¹ Why should you, who were sharp and witty from your infancy, who bred wit with your teeth, &c.

² Foolish, or easily gulled.

³ That is, we are no less subdued by your oaths than by your stratagems.

⁴ The Parthians were excellent horsemen and very dexterous in shooting their arrows behind them, by which means their flight was often as destructive to the enemy as their attack.

⁵ Nye was a member of the Assembly of Divines, and as remarkable for his beard as for his fanaticism. He first entered at Brazen-nose college, Oxford, and afterwards removed to Magdalen-hall, where he took his degrees, and then went to Holland. In 1640 he returned home a furious Presbyterian ;

Prepost'rously t' entice and gain
 Those to adore 'em they disdain ; 190
 And only draw 'em in to elog,
 With idle names, a catalogue.¹
 A lover is, the more he's brave,
 T' his mistress but the more a slave ;²
 And whatsoever she commands, 195
 Becomes a favour from her hands,
 Which he's oblig'd t' obey, and must,
 Whether it be unjust or just.
 Then when he is compell'd by her
 T' adventures he would else forbear, 200
 Who, with his honour, can withstand,
 Since force is greater than command ?
 And when necessity's obey'd,
 Nothing can be unjust or bad :
 And therefore, when the mighty pow'rs 205
 Of love, our great ally, and yours,
 Join'd forces not to be withstood
 By frail enamour'd flesh and blood,

and was sent to Scotland to forward the Covenant. He then became a strenuous preacher on the side of the Independents: "was put into Dr Featly's living at Aeton, and rode there every Lord's day in triumph in a coach drawn by four horses." He attacked Lilly the astrologer from the pulpit with considerable virulence, and for this service was rewarded with the office of holding forth upon thanksgiving days. Wherefore

He thought upon it, and resolv'd to put
 His beard into as wonderful a cut.

Butler's MS.

This preacher's beard is honoured with an entire poem in Butler's *Genuine Remains*, vol. i. p. 177. Indeed beards at that period were the prominent part of fashionable costume: when the head of a celebrated court chaplain and preacher had been dressed in a superior style, the friseur exclaimed, with a mixture of admiration and self-applause, "I'll be hang'd if any person of taste can attend to one word of the sermon to-day."

¹ To increase the catalogue of their discarded suitors.

² The poet may here possibly allude to some well-known characters of his time. Bishop Burnet says: "The Lady Dysart came to have so much power over Lord Lauderdale, that it lessened him very much in the esteem of all the world; for he delivered himself up to all her humours and passions." And we know that Anne Clarges, at first the mistress, and afterward the wife of General Monk, duke of Albemarle, gained the most undue influence over that intrepid commander, who, though never afraid of bullets, was often terrified by the fury of his wife.

All I have done, unjust or ill,
 Was in obedience to your will, 210
 And all the blame that can be due
 Falls to your cruelty, and you.
 Nor are those scandals I confess,
 Against my will and interest,
 More than is daily done, of course, 215
 By all men, when they're under force
 Whence some, upon the rack, confess
 What th' hangman and their prompters please ;
 But are no sooner out of pain,
 Than they deny it all again. 220
 But when the devil turns confessor,
 Truth is a crime he takes no pleasure
 To hear or pardon, like the founder
 Of liars, whom they all claim under :¹
 And therefore when I told him none, 225
 I think it was the wiser done.
 Nor am I without precedent,
 The first that on th' adventure went ;
 All mankind ever did of course,
 And daily does² the same, or worse. 230
 For what romance can show a lover,
 That had a lady to recover,
 And did not steer a nearer course,
 To fall aboard in his amours ?
 And what at first was held a crime, 235
 Has turn'd to hon'able in time.
 To what a height did infant Rome,
 By ravishing of women, come ?³

¹ See St John viii. 44. Butler, in his MS. Common-place Book, says.

As liars, with long use of telling lyes,
 Forget at length if they are true or false,
 So those that plod on anything too long,
 Know nothing whether th' are in the right or wrong :
 For what are all your demonstrations else,
 But to the higher powers of sense appeals ;
 Senses that th' undervalue and condemn
 As if it lay below their wits and them.

² Var. *daily do*, in all editions to 1716 inclusive.

³ This refers to the well-known story of the Rape of the Sabines.

When men upon their spouses seiz'd,
 And freely marry'd where they pleas'd: 240
 They ne'er forswore themselves, nor lied,
 Nor, in the mind they were in, died;
 Nor took the pains t' address and sue,
 Nor play'd the masquerade to woo:
 Disdain'd to stay for friends' consents, 245
 Nor juggled about settlements:
 Did need no licence, nor no priest,
 Nor friends, nor kindred, to assist;
 Nor lawyers, to join land and money
 In the holy state of matrimony, 250
 Before they settled hands and hearts,
 Till alimony or death departs;¹
 Nor would endure to stay, until
 They 'd got the very bride's good-will,
 But took a wise and shorter course 255
 To win the ladies—downright force;
 And justly made 'em prisoners then,
 As they have, often since, us men,
 With acting plays, and dancing jigs.²
 The luckiest of all love's intrigues; 260
 And when they had them at their pleasure,
 They talk'd of love and flames at leisure;
 For after matrimony's over,
 He that holds out but half a lover,
 Deserves, for ev'ry minute, more 265
 Than half a year of love before;
 For which the dames, in contemplation
 Of that best way of application,
 Prov'd nobler wives than e'er were known,
 By suit, or treaty, to be won;³ 270

¹ Thus printed in some editions of the Prayer Book; afterwards altered, "till death us do part," as mentioned in a former note. In some editions of Hudibras this line reads, "Till alimony or death *them parts*."

² The whole of this stanza refers to the rape of the Sabines. The Romans, under Romulus, pretending to exhibit some fine shows and diversions, drew together a concourse of young women, and seized them for their wives.

³ When the Sabines came with a large army to demand their daughters, and the two nations were preparing to decide the matter by fight, the women who had been carried away ran between the armies with strong manifestations of grief, and thus effected a reconciliation.

And such as all posterity
 Cou'd never equal, nor come nigh.
 For women first were made for men,
 Not men for them.—It follows, then,
 That men have right to every one, 275
 And they no freedom of their own;
 And therefore men have pow'r to chuse
 But they no charter to refuse.
 Hence 'tis apparent that what course
 Soe'er we take to your amours, 280
 Though by the indirectest way,
 'Tis not injustice nor foul play;
 And that you ought to take that course
 As we take you, for better or worse,
 And gratefully submit to those 285
 Who you, before another, chose.
 For why shou'd ev'ry savage beast
 Exceed his great lord's interest? ¹
 Have freer pow'r than he, in grace,
 And nature, o'er the creature has? 290
 Because the laws he since has made
 Have cut off all the pow'r he had;
 Retrench'd the absolute dominion
 That nature gave him over women;
 When all his pow'r will not extend 295
 One law of nature to suspend;
 And but to offer to repeal
 The smallest clause, is to rebel.
 This, if men rightly understood
 Their privilege, they would make good, 300
 And not, like sots, permit their wives
 T' encroach on their prerogatives;
 For which sin they deserve to be
 Kept, as they are, in slavery:
 And this some precious gifted teachers, 305
 Unrev'rently reputed lechers,²

¹ That is, man sometimes called lord of the world:
 Man of all creatures the most fierce and wild
 That ever God made or the devil spoil'd:
 The most courageous of men, by want,
 As well as honour, are made valiant.

Butler's MS.

² Mr Case, as some have supposed, but, according to others, Dr Burgess,

And disobey'd in making love,
 Have vow'd to all the world to prove,
 And make ye suffer as you ought,
 For that uncharitable fault : 310
 But I forget myself, and rove
 Beyond th' instructions of my love.
 Forgive me, Fair, and only blame
 Th' extravagancy of my flame,
 Since 'tis too much at once to show 315
 Excess of love and temper too.
 All I have said that's bad, and true,
 Was never meant to aim at you.
 Who have so sov'reign a control
 O'er that poor slave of yours, my soul, 320
 That, rather than to forfeit you,
 Has ventur'd loss of heaven too ;
 Both with an equal pow'r possest,
 To render all that serve you blest ;
 But none like him, who's destin'd either 325
 To have or lose you both together ;
 And if you'll but this fault release,
 For so it must be, since you please,
 I'll pay down all that vow, and more.
 Which you commanded, and I swore, 330
 And expiate, upon my skin,
 Th' arrears in full of all my sin :
 For 'tis but just that I should pay
 Th' accruing penance for delay,
 Which shall be done, until it move 335
 Your equal pity and your love.

The Knight, perusing this Epistle,
 Believ'd he 'ad brought her to his whistle ;
 And read it, like a jocund lover,
 With great applause, t' himself, twice over : 340

or Hugh Peters. Most probably the latter, as in several volumes and tracts of the time Peters is distinctly accused of gross lechery ; and in Thurloe's State Papers (vol. iv. p. 784) it is stated that he was found with a whore a-bed, and grew mad, and said nothing but "O blood, O blood, that troubles me."

¹ See Butler's "Character of a Wooer."

Subscrib'd his name, but at a fit
 And humble distance to his wit ;
 And dated it with wondrous art,
 ' Giv'n from the bottom of his heart ;'
 Then seal'd it with his coat of love, 345
 A smoking faggot,—and above
 Upon a scroll—I burn, and weep ;
 And near it—For her ladyship,
 Of all her sex most excellent,
 These to her gentle hands present.¹ 350
 Then gave it to his faithless Squire,
 With lessons how t' observe and eye her.²
 She first consider'd which was better,
 To send it back, or burn the letter :
 But guessing that it might import, 355
 Tho' nothing else, at least her sport,
 She open'd it, and read it out,
 With many a smile and leering flout :
 Resolv'd to answer it in kind,
 And thus perform'd what she design'd. 360

¹ The Knight's prolix superscription to his love-letter is in the fashionable style of the time. Common forms were—To my much honoured friend—To the most excellent lady—To my loving cousin—these present with care and speed, &c.

² Don Quixote, when he sent his squire Sancho Panza to his mistress Dulcinea del Toboso, gives him similar directions.





THE LADY'S ANSWER

TO

THE KNIGHT.

WHAT you 're a beast and turn'd to grass
Is no strange news, nor ever was ;
At least to me, who once, you know,
Did from the pound replevin you.¹
When both your sword and spurs were won 5
In combat by an Amazon :
That sword that did, like fate, determine
Th' inevitable death of vermin,
And never dealt its furious blows.
But cut the threads of pigs and cows. 10
By Trulla was, in single fight,
Disarm'd and wrested from its Knight,

¹ A replevin is a *re-deliverance* of the thing distrained, to remain with the first possessor on surety to answer the distrainer's suit.

Your heels degraded of your spurs,¹
 And in the stocks close prisoners :
 Where still they 'd lain, in base restraint, 15
 If I, in pity 'f your complaint,
 Had not, on hon'able conditions,
 Releas't 'em from the worst of prisons ;
 And what return that favour met,
 You cannot, tho' you wou'd forget ; 20
 When being free you strove t' evade
 The oaths you had in prison made ;
 Forswore yourself, and first denied it,
 But after own'd, and justified it ;
 And when you 'd falsely broke one vow, 25
 Absolv'd yourself, by breaking two.
 For while you sneakingly submit,
 And beg for pardon at our feet ;²
 Discourag'd by your guilty fears,
 To hope for quarter, for your ears ; 30
 And doubting 'twas in vain to sue,
 You claim us boldly as your due,
 Declare that treachery and force,
 To deal with us, is th' only course ;
 We have no title nor pretence 35
 To body, soul, or conscience,
 But ought to fall to that man's share
 That claims us for his proper ware :
 These are the motives which, t' induce,
 Or fright us into love, you use ; 40
 A pretty new way of gallanting,
 Between soliciting and ranting ;
 Like sturdy beggars, that intreat
 For charity at once, and threat.
 But since you undertake to prove 45
 Your own propriety in love,
 As if we were but lawful prize
 In war, between two enemies,

¹ In England, when a knight was degraded, his gilt spurs were beaten from his heels, and his sword taken from him and broken. See a previous note.

² The widow, to keep up her dignity and importance, speaks of herself in the plural number.

Or forfeitures which ev'ry lover,
 That would but sue for, might recover, 50
 It is not hard to understand
 The myst'ry of this bold demand,
 That cannot at our persons aim,
 But something capable of claim.¹
 'Tis not those paltry counterfeit 55
 French stones, which in our eyes you set,
 But our right diamonds, that inspire
 And set your am'rous hearts on fire ;
 Nor can those false St Martin's beads ²
 Which on our lips you lay for reds, 60
 And make us wear like Indian dames,³
 Add fuel to your scorching flames,
 But those two rubies of the rock,
 Which in our cabinets we lock.
 'Tis not those orient pearls, our teeth,⁴ 65
 That you are so transported with,

¹ Their property.

² That is, counterfeit rubies. The manufacturers and venders of glass beads, and other counterfeit jewels, established themselves on the site of the old collegiate church of St Martin's-le-Grand (demolished upon the dissolution of the monasteries), where they carried on a considerable trade. The articles fabricated at this place were called by its name, as we now say, "Brommagem ware."

³ Female savages in many parts of the globe wear ornaments of fish-bone, stones, or coloured glass when they can get it, on their lips and noses.

⁴ In the History of Don Fenise, a romance translated from the Spanish of Francisco de las Coveras, and printed 1656, p. 269, is the following passage: "My covetousness exceeding my love, counselled me that it was better to have gold in money than in threads of hair; and to possess pearls that resemble teeth, than teeth that were like pearls."

In praising Chloris, moons, and stars, and skies,
 Are quickly made to match her face and eyes ;
 And gold and rubies, with as little care,
 To fit the colour of her lips and hair :
 And mixing suns, and flow'rs, and pearl, and stones,
 Make them serve all complexions at once :
 With these fine fancies at hap-hazard writ,
 I could make verses without art or wit,
 And shifting fifty times the verb and noun,
 With stol'n impertinence patch up my own.

But those we wear about our necks,
 Produce those amorous effects.
 Nor is 't those threads of gold, our hair,
 The periwigs you make us wear ; 70
 But those bright guineas in our chests,
 That light the wildfire in your breasts.
 These love-tricks I've been vers'd in so,
 That all their sly intrigues I know,
 And can unriddle, by their tones, 75
 Their mystic cabals, and jargones ;
 Can tell what passions, by their sounds,
 Pine for the beauties of my grounds ;
 What raptures fond and amorous,
 O' th' charms and graces of my house ; 80
 What ecstasy and scorching flame,
 Burns for my money in my name ;
 What from th' unnatural desire,
 To beasts and cattle, takes its fire ;
 What tender sigh, and trickling tear, 85
 Longs for a thousand pounds a year ;
 And languishing transports are fond
 Of statute, mortgage, bill, and bond.¹
 These are th' attracts which most men fall
 Enamour'd, at first sight, withal ; 90
 To these th' address with serenades.
 And court with balls and masquerades ;
 And yet, for all the yearning pain
 Ye 've suffer'd for their loves in vain,
 I fear they'll prove so nice and coy, 95
 To have, and t' hold, and to enjoy ;
 That all your oaths and labour lost,
 They'll ne'er turn ladies of the post.²
 This is not meant to disapprove
 Your judgment, in your choice of love, 100
 Which is so wise, the greatest part
 Of mankind study 't as an art ;

¹ Statute is a short writing called Statute Marchant, or Statute Staple, in the nature of a bond, &c., made according to the form expressly provided in certain statutes, 5th Hen. IV. c. 12, and others.

² That is, will never swear for you, or vow to take you for a husband.

For love shou'd, like a deodand,
 Still fall to th' owner of the land ;¹
 And where there 's substance for its ground, 105
 Cannot but be more firm and sound,
 Than that which has the slighter basis
 Of airy virtue, wit, and graces ;
 Which is of such thin subtlety,
 It steals and creeps in at the eye, 110
 And, as it can't endure to stay,
 Steals out again, as nice a way.²
 But love that its extraction owns
 From solid gold and precious stones,
 Must, like its shining parents, prove 115
 As solid and as glorious love.
 Hence 'tis you have no way t' express
 Our charms and graces but by these ;
 For what are lips, and eyes, and teeth,
 Which beauty invades and conquers with, 120
 But rubies, pearls, and diamonds,
 With which a philter love commands ?³
 This is the way all parents prove,
 In managing their children's love ;
 That force 'em t' intermarry and wed, 125
 As if th' were bury'ng of the dead ;
 Cast earth to earth, as in the grave,⁴
 To join in wedlock all they have,

¹ Any moving thing which occasions the death of a man is forfeited to the lord of the manor. It was originally intended that he should dispose of it in acts of charity : hence the name deodand, meaning a thing given, or rather forfeited, to God, for the pacification of his wrath, in case of misadventure, whereby a Christian man cometh to a violent end, without the fault of any reasonable creature. The crown frequently granted this right to individuals, within certain limits, or annexed it to lands, by which it became vested in the lord of the manor.

² Farquhar has this thought in his dialogue between Archer and Cherry. See the *Beaux Stratagem*.

³ Out of which love makes a philter.

⁴ The Burial Office, observes Dr Grey, was scandalously ridiculed. One Brooke, a London lecturer, at the burial of Mr John Gough, used the following profanity :—

Ashes to ashes, dust to dust,
 Here 's the pit, and in thou must.

Mercurius Rusticus, No. 9.

And, when the settlement's in force,
 Take all the rest for better or worse ; 130
 For money has a pow'r above
 The stars, and fate, to manage love,
 Whose arrows, learned poets hold,
 That never miss, are tipp'd with gold.¹
 And tho' some say, the parents' claims 135
 To make love in their children's names,²
 Who, many times, at once provide
 The nurse, the husband, and the bride
 Feel darts and charms, attracts and flames,
 And woo, and contract, in their names, 140
 And as they christen, use to marry 'em,
 And, like their gossips, answer for 'em ;
 Is not to give in matrimony,
 But sell and prostitute for money.
 'Tis better than their own betrothing. 145
 Who often do 't for worse than nothing ;
 And when they're at their own dispose,
 With greater disadvantage choose.
 All this is right ; but, for the course
 You take to do 't, by fraud or force, 150
 'Tis so ridiculous, as soon
 As told, 'tis never to be done,
 No more than setters can betray.³
 That tell what tricks they are to play.

But Mr Cheynell (the Nonconformist) behaved still more irreverently at the funeral of that eminent divine *Chillingworth*. After a reflecting speech on the deceased, in which he declaimed against the use of reason in religious matters, he threw his book, 'The Religion of Protestants, or a safe way to Salvation,' into the grave, saying, "Get thee gone, thou cursed book, which has seduced so many precious souls ; get thee gone, thou corrupt, rotten book, earth to earth, dust to dust : get thee into the place of rottenness, that thou mayst rot with thy author, and see corruption." See *Neal's Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 102.

¹ In Ovid Cupid employs two arrows, one of gold, and the other of lead : the former causing love, the latter aversion.

² Though thus in all editions, *claim* and *name* would be better readings : for *claim* is the nominative case to *is* in verse 143.

³ Setter, a term frequent in the comedies of the last century : sometimes it seems to be a pimp, sometimes a spy, but most usually an attendant on a cheating gamester, who introduces unpractised youths to be pillaged, by

Marriage, at best, is but a vow, 155
 Which all men either break or bow ;
 Then what will those forbear to do,
 Who perjure when they do but woo ?
 Such as beforehand swear and lie,
 For earnest to their treachery, 160
 And, rather than a crime confess,
 With greater strive to make it less :
 Like thieves, who, after sentence past,
 Maintain their inn'cence to the last ;
 And when their crimes were made appear 165
 As plain as witnesses can swear,
 Yet when the wretches come to die,
 Will take upon their death a lie.
 Nor are the virtues you confess'd
 T' your ghostly father, as you guess'd, 170
 So slight as to be justified,
 By be'ng as shamefully denied ;
 As if you thought your word would pass,
 Point-blank, on both sides of a case ;
 Or credit were not to be lost 175
 B' a brave knight-errant of the post,
 That eats perfidiously his word.
 And swears his ears through a two-inch board ;¹
 Can own the same thing, and disown,
 And perjure booty *pro* and *con* ; 180
 Can make the Gospel serve his turn,
 And help him out to be forsworn ;
 When 'tis laid hands upon, and kist,
 To be betray'd and sold, like Christ.
 These are the virtues in whose name 185
 A right to all the world you claim,
 And boldly challenge a dominion,
 In grace and nature, o'er all women ;

him ; what a setting dog is to a sportsman. Butler here seems to say that those who tell the cards in another's hand, cannot always tell how they will be played.

¹ That is, endeavours to shield himself from the punishment due to perjury, the loss of his ears, by a desperate perseverance in false swearing. A person is said to swear through a two-inch board, when he makes oath of anything which was concealed from him by a thick door or partition.

Of whom no less will satisfy,
 Than all the sex, your tyranny : 190
 Altho' you'll find it a hard province,
 With all your crafty frauds and covins,¹
 To govern such a num'rous crew,
 Who, one by one, now govern you ;
 For if you all were Solomons, 195
 And wise and great as he was once,
 You'll find they're able to subdue,
 As they did him, and battle you.
 And if you are impos'd upon,
 'Tis by your own temptation done : 200
 That with your ignorance invite,
 And teach us how to use the slight.
 For when we find ye're still more taken
 With false attracts of our own making,
 Swear that's a rose, and that's a stone, 205
 Like sots, to us that laid it on,
 And what we did but slightly prime,
 Most ignorantly daub in rhyme ;
 You force us, in our own defences,
 To copy beams and influences ; 210
 To lay perfections on the graces,
 And draw attracts upon our faces ;
 And, in compliance to your wit,
 Your own false jewels counterfeit :
 For, by the practice of those arts, 215
 We gain a greater share of hearts ;
 And those deserve in reason most,
 That greatest pains and study cost ;
 For great perfections are, like heav'n,
 Too rich a present to be giv'n : 220
 Nor are those master-strokes of beauty
 To be perform'd without hard duty,
 Which, when they're nobly done, and well,
 The simple natural excel.
 How fair and sweet the planted rose,² 225
 Beyond the wild in hedges, grows !

¹ Covin is a term of law, signifying a deceitful compact between two or more, to deceive or prejudice others.

² This and the following lines are full of poetry. Mr Nash supposes

For, without art, the noblest seeds
 Of flowers degenerate into weeds :
 How dull and rugged, ere 'tis ground
 And polish'd, looks a diamond! 230
 Though paradise were e'er so fair,
 It was not kept so without care.
 The whole world, without art and dress,
 Would be but one great wilderness ;
 And mankind but a savage herd, 235
 For all that nature has conferr'd :
 This does but rough-hew and design,
 Leaves art to polish and refine.
 Though women first were made for men,
 Yet men were made for them agen : 240
 For when, out-witted by his wife,
 Man first turn'd tenant but for life,¹
 If woman had not interven'd,
 How soon had mankind had an end !
 And that it is in being yet, 245
 To us alone you are in debt.
 Then where's your liberty of choice,
 And our unnatural no-voice ?
 Since all the privilege you boast,
 And falsel' usurp'd, or vainly lost, 250
 Is now our right, to whose creation
 You owe your happy restoration.
 And if we had not weighty cause
 To not appear in making laws,
 We could, in spite of all your tricks 255
 And shallow formal politics,
 Force you our managements t' obey,
 As we to yours, in show, give way.
 Hence 'tis, that while you vainly strive
 T' advance your high prerogative, 260
 You basely, after all your braves,
 Submit and own yourselves our slaves ;

that Butler alludes to Milton, when he says,

Though paradise were e'er so fair,
 It was not kept so without care.

¹ When man became subject to death by eating the forbidden fruit at the persuasion of woman.

And 'cause we do not make it known,
 Nor publicly our int'rests own,
 Like sots, suppose we have no shares 265
 In ord'ring you, and your affairs,
 When all your empire and command,
 You have from us, at second-hand :
 As if a pilot, that appears
 To sit still only, while he steers, 270
 And does not make a noise and stir,
 Like ev'ry common mariner,
 Knew nothing of the card, nor star,
 And did not guide the man of war :
 Nor we, because we don't appear 275
 In councils, do not govern there :
 While, like the mighty Prester John,
 Whose person none dares look upon,¹
 But is preserv'd in close disguise,
 From b'ing made cheap to vulgar eyes, 280
 W' enjoy as large a pow'r unseen,
 To govern him, as he does men :
 And, in the right of our Pope Joan,
 Make emp'rors at our feet fall down ;
 Or Joan de Pucelle's braver name,² 285
 Our right to arms and conduct claim ;

¹ The name or title of Prester John has been given by travellers to the king of Tenduc in Asia, who, like the Abyssinian emperors, preserved great state, and did not condescend to be seen by his subjects more than three times a year, namely, Christmas day, Easter day, and Holyrood day in September. (See *Purchas's Pilgrimes*, vol. ii. p. 1082.) He is said to have had seventy kings for his vassals. Mandeville makes Prester John sovereign of an archipelago of isles in India beyond Bactria, and says that "a former emperor travelled into Egypt, where being present at divine service, he asked who those persons were that stood before the bishop? And being told they were *prestres*, or priests, he said he would no more be called king or emperor, but priest; and would take the name of him that came first out of the priests, and was called John; since which time all the emperors have been called Prester John."—Cap. 99.

² *Joan of Arc*, called also the *Pucelle*, or Maid of Orleans. She was born at the town of Domremi, on the Meuse, daughter of *James de Arc* and *Isabelle Romée*, and was bred up a shepherdess in the country. At the age of eighteen or twenty she asserted that she had received an express commission from God to go to the relief of Orleans, then besieged by the English, and defended by *John Compte de Dennis*, and almost reduced to the

Who, tho' a spinster, yet was able
 To serve France for a grand constable.
 We make and execute all laws,
 Can judge the judges, and the Cause; 290
 Prescribe all rules of right or wrong,
 To th' long robe, and the longer tongue,
 'Gainst which the world has no defence,
 But our more pow'rful eloquence.
 We manage things of greatest weight 295
 In all the world's affairs of state;
 Are ministers of war and peace,
 That sway all nations how we please.
 We rule all churches and their flocks,
 Heretical and orthodox, 300
 And are the heav'nly vehicles
 O' th' spirits in all conventicles: ¹
 By us is all commerce and trade
 Improv'd, and manag'd, and decay'd:
 For nothing can go off so well, 305
 Nor bears that price, as what we sell.
 We rule in ev'ry public meeting,
 And make men do what we judge fitting; ²

last extremity. She went to the coronation of Charles the Seventh, when he was almost ruined, and recognised that prince in the midst of his nobles, though meanly habited. The doctors of divinity and members of Parliament openly declared that there was something supernatural in her conduct. She sent for a sword, which lay in the tomb of a knight, behind the great altar of the church of *St Katharine de Forbois*, upon the blade of which the *cross* and *fleur-de-lis's* were engraven, which put the king in a very great surprise, as none beside himself was supposed to know of it. Upon this he sent her with the command of some troops, with which she relieved Orleans, and drove the English from it, defeated *Talbot* at the battle of *Pattai*, and recovered *Champagne*. At last she was unfortunately taken prisoner in a sally at *Champagne* in 1430, and tried for a witch or sorceress, condemned, and burnt in *Rouen* market-place in May, 1430. But her story is differently told by different historians; some denying the truth of the greater part of it, and some even of her existence. *Anstis*, in his Register of the Order of the Garter, says that for her valiant actions she was ennobled and had a grant of arms, dated January 16th, 1429. Her story is beautifully dramatised by *Schiller* in his "Maid of Orleans."

¹ As good vehicles at least as the cloak-bag, which was said to have conveyed the same from Rome to the Council of Trent.

² Much of what is here said on the political influence of women, was aimed at the court of Charles II., who was greatly governed by his

Are magistrates in all great towns,
 Where men do nothing but wear gowns. 310
 We make the man of war strike sail,¹
 And to our braver conduct veil,
 And, when he's chas'd his enemies,
 Submit to us upon his knees.
 Is there an officer of state, 315
 Untimely rais'd, or magistrate,
 That's haughty and imperious?
 He's but a journeyman to us,
 That, as he gives us cause to do't,
 Can keep him in, or turn him out. 320
 We are your guardians, that increase
 Or waste your fortunes how we please;
 And, as you humour us, can deal
 In all your matters, ill or well.
 'Tis we that can dispose alone, 325
 Whether your heirs shall be your own;
 To whose integrity you must,
 In spite of all your caution, trust;
 And 'less you fly beyond the seas,
 Can fit you with what heirs we please;² 330
 And force you t' own them, tho' begotten
 By French valets, or Irish footmen.
 Nor can the rigorous course
 Prevail, unless to make us worse;
 Who still, the harsher we are us'd, 335
 Are further off from b'ing reduc'd;
 And scorn t' abate, for any ills,
 The least punctilio of our wills.
 Force does but whet our wits t' apply
 Arts, born with us, for remedy, 340
 Which all your politics, as yet,
 Have ne'er been able to defeat:
 For, when ye've try'd all sorts of ways,
 What fools d' we make of you in plays?

mistresses, especially the Duchess of Portsmouth, who was in the interest of France. Some suppose that the wife of General Monk may be intended.

¹ Alluding probably to Sir William Waller.

² See note on line 598 at page 289.

While all the favours we afford 345
 Are but to girt you with the sword,
 To fight our battles in our steads,
 And have your brains beat out o' your heads ;
 Encounter, in despite of nature,
 And fight, at once, with fire and water, 350
 With pirates, rocks, and storms, and seas,
 Our pride and vanity t' appease ;
 Kill one another, and cut throats,
 For our good graces, and best thoughts ;
 To do your exercise for honour, 355
 And have your brains beat out the sooner ;
 Or crack'd, as learnedly, upon
 Things that are never to be known :
 And still appear the more industrious,
 The more your projects are prepost'rous ; 360
 To square the circle of the arts,
 And run stark mad to show your parts ;
 Expound the oracle of laws,
 And turn them which way we see cause ;
 Be our solicitors and agents, 365
 And stand for us in all engagements.
 And these are all the mighty pow'rs
 You vainly boast to cry down ours ;
 And what in real value's wanting,
 Supply with vapouring and ranting : 370
 Because yourselves are terrified,
 And stoop to one another's pride :
 Believe we have as little wit
 To be out-hector'd, and submit :
 By your example, lose that right 375
 In treaties, which we gain'd in fight :¹
 And terrified into an awe,
 Pass on ourselves a Salique law ;²

¹ England, in every period of her history, has been thought more successful in war than in negotiation. Congreve, reflecting upon Queen Anne's last ministry, in his epistle to Lord Cobham, says :

Be far that guilt, be never known that shame,
 That Britain should retract her rightful elaim,
 Or stain with pen the triumphs of her sword !

² The Salique law bars the succession of females to some inheritances.



1840

Queen Victoria

1819-1901

Or, as some nations use, give place,
 And truckle to your mighty race,¹
 Let men usurp th' unjust dominion,
 As if they were the better women.


380

Thus knights' fees were in some parts *terre salicæ*: males only being allowed to inherit such lands, because females could not perform the services for which they were granted. In France this law regulates the inheritance of the crown itself. See Shakspeare, *Henry V.*, Act i. sc. 2.

¹ Grey thinks this may be an allusion to the obsequiousness of the Muscovite women, recorded in *Purchas's Pilgrimes* (vol. ii. p. 230), a book with which our poet seems to have been very familiar. It is there said, "That if in Muscovy the woman is not beaten once a week she will not be good; and therefore they look for it weekly: and the women say, if their husbands did not beat them, they should not love them."



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