us'd often for *scarves and hatbands* at funerals formerly, or for *widow's vails*, &c. if so, 'twas a *deep good thought.*"

Ver 26. "—*That wear the royal honours, and increase the year*—What's meant by *increasing the year?* Did the *gods* or *goddesses* add more *months*, or *days*, or *hours* to it? Or how can *arva tueri*—signify to *wear rural honours?* Is this to *translate*, or *abuse* an *author?* The next *couplet* are borrow'd from *Ogylby*, I suppose, because *less to the purpose* than ordinary."

Ver. 33. "*The patron of the world, and* Rome's *peculiar guard*—*Idle*, and none of *Virgil's*, no more than the sense of the *precedent couplet;* so again, he *interpolates Virgil* with that and *the round circle of the year to guide powerful of blessings, which thou strew'st around.* A ridiculous *Latinism*, and an *impertinent addition;* indeed the whole *period* is but once piece of *absurdity* and *nonsense*, as those who lay it with the *original* must find."

Ver. 42, 43. "*And* Neptune *shall resign the fasces of the sea.* Was he *consul* or *dictator* there? *And watry virgins for thy bed shall strive.* Both absurd *interpolations.*"

Ver. 47, 48. "*Where in the void of heaven a place is free.* Ah happy *D—n*, were *that place* for thee! But where is *that void?* Or what does our *translator* mean by it? He knows what *Ovid* says *God* did, to prevent such a *void* in heaven; perhaps, this was then forgotten: but *Virgil* talks more sensibly."

Ver. 49. "*The scorpion ready to receive thy laws.* No, he would not then have *gotten out of his way* so fast."

Ver. 56. "*The Proserpine affects her silent seat*—What made *her* then so *angry* with *Ascalaphus*, for preventing her return? She was now mus'd to *Patience* under the *determinations of Fate*, rather than *fond* of her *residence.*"

Ver, 61, 2, 3. "*Pity the poet's, and the ploughman's cares, Interest thy greatness in our mean affairs. And use thyself betimes to hear our prayers.* Which is such a wretched

perversion of *Virgil's noble thought* as *Vicars* would have blush'd at; but Mr. *Ogylby* makes us some amends, by his better lines:

"'O wheresoe'er thou art, from thence incline,
And grant assistance to my bold design!
Pity with me, poor husbandmen's affairs,
And now, as if translated, hear our prayers.'

This is *sense*, and *to the purpose:* the other, poor-*mistaken stuff*."

Such were the strictures of Milbourne, who found few abettors; and of whom it may be reasonably imagined, that many who favoured his design were ashamed of his insolence.

When admiration had subsided, the translation was more coolly examined, and found like all others, to be sometimes erroneous, and sometimes licentious. Those who could find faults, thought they could avoid them; and Dr. Brady [1] attempted in blank verse a translation of the "Eneid," which, when dragged into the world, did not live long enough to cry. I have never seen it; but that such a version there is, or has been, perhaps some old catalogue informed me.

With not much better success, Trapp,[2] when his Tragedy and his Prelections had given him reputation, attempted another blank version of the "Eneid;" to which, notwithstanding the slight regard with which it was treated, he had afterwards perseverance enough to add the "Eclogues" and "Georgicks." His book may continue its existence as long as it is the clandestine refuge of schoolboys.

Since the English ear has been accustomed to the melli-

[1] Nicholas Brady, D.D., known best from the version of the Psalms, in which he was joined by Nahum Tate, Poet Laureate. The translation of the *Æneid* was published, 4 vols. 8vo. 1716-1726.

[2] Joseph Trapp, D.D. (1679-1747), the first Professor of Poetry at Oxford. Author of *Prælectiones Poeticæ*, &c., *vid. supr.*

fluence of Pope's numbers, and the diction of poetry has become more splendid, new attempts have been made to translate Virgil; and all his works have been attempted by men better qualified to contend with Dryden. I will not engage myself in an invidious comparison by opposing one passage to another; a work of which there would be no end, and which might be often offensive without use.

It is not by comparing line with line that the merit of great works is to be estimated, but by their general effects and ultimate result. It is easy to note a weak line, and write one more vigorous in its place; to find a happiness of expression in the original, and transplant it by force into the version: but what is given to the parts, may be subducted from the whole, and the reader may be weary, though the critick may commend. Works of imagination excel by their allurement and delight; by their power of attracting and detaining the attention. That book is good in vain, which the reader throws away. He only is the master, who keeps the mind in pleasing captivity; whose pages are perused with eagerness, and in hope of new pleasure are perused again; and whose conclusion is perceived with an eye of sorrow, such as the traveller casts upon departing day.

By his proportion of this predomination I will consent that Dryden should be tried; of this, which, in opposition to reason, makes Ariosto the darling and the pride of Italy; of this, which, in defiance of criticism, continues Shakspeare the sovereign of the drama.

His last work was his "Fables," in which he gave us the first example of a mode of writing which the Italians call *refaccimento*, a renovation of ancient writers, by modernizing their language. Thus the old poem of Boiardo[1] has been new-dressed by *Domenichi* and *Berni*.

[1] The *Orlando Inamorato* of Matteo Maria Boiardo, Count of Scandiano, was not published till 1495, the year after the death of the poet, who

The works of Chaucer, upon which this kind of rejuvenescence has been bestowed by Dryden, require little criticism. The tale of the Cock [1] seems hardly worth revival; and the story of "Palamon and Arcite," [2] containing an action unsuitable to the times in which it is placed, can hardly be suffered to pass without censure of the hyperbolical commendation which Dryden has given it in the general Preface, and in a poetical Dedication, a piece where his original fondness of remote conceits seems to have revived.

Of the three pieces borrowed from Boccace, "Sigismunda" [3] may be defended by the celebrity of the story. "Theodore and Honoria," [4] though it contains not much moral, yet afforded opportunities of striking description. And "Cymon" [5] was formerly a tale of such reputation, that, at the revival of letters, it was translated into Latin by one of the Beroalds.[6]

Whatever subjects employed his pen, he was still improving our measures and embellishing our language.

left it unfinished at the ninth canto of the third book. An indifferently executed continuation was published in 1516 by Agostini; but the real complement of Boiardo's poem is Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. Milton alludes to the *Orlando Inamorato* in *Paradise Regained*, book iii. lines 337-343, Ald. *M.* vol. ii. p. 342, lines pronounced by Hallam "perhaps the most musical Milton has ever produced." Hallam, *Lit. Eur.* vol. i. p. 224. The *Orlando Inamorato* was remoulded by Domenichi in 1545, but it was a very feeble production. Berni's *rifaccimento* (Paris, 1768) has practically superseded the original poem, which has not been reprinted since 1541.

[1] S. S. *D.* vol. xi. p. 339.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 255.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 427.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 463.
[5] *Cymon and Iphigenia*, *ibid.* p. 486. Ald. *D.* vol. iv. p. 88.
[6] The Beroalds, uncle and nephew, were distinguished scholars of the sixteenth century. Filippo Beroaldo, the elder (1453-1505), was born at Bologna, displayed extraordinary abilities in his youth, and opened a school at the age of nineteen. He lectured for some months in Paris, and on his return to Bologna was made professor of *belles lettres* there. He it is to whom Johnson refers.—A. Milnes.

In this volume are interspersed some short original poems, which, with his prologues, epilogues, and songs, may be comprised in Congreve's remark, that even those, if he had written nothing else, would have entitled him to the praise of excellence in his kind.

One composition must however be distinguished. The "Ode for St. Cecilia's Day,"[1] perhaps the last effort of his poetry, has been always considered as exhibiting the highest flight of fancy, and the exactest nicety of art. This is allowed to stand without a rival. If indeed there is any excellence beyond it, in some other of Dryden's works that excellence must be found. Compared with the "Ode on Killigrew,"[2] it may be pronounced perhaps superiour in the whole; but without any single part equal to the first stanza of the other.

It is said to have cost Dryden a fortnight's labour; but it does not want its negligences: some of the lines are without correspondent rhymes; a defect, which I never detected but after an acquaintance of many years, and which the enthusiasm of the writer might hinder him from perceiving.

His last stanza has less emotion than the former; but is not less elegant in the diction. The conclusion is vicious; the musick of "Timotheus,"[3] which *raised a mortal to the skies*, had only a metaphorical power; that of "Cecilia," which *drew an angel down*,[4] had a real effect: the crown therefore could not reasonably be divided.

In a general survey of Dryden's labours, he appears to have a mind very comprehensive by nature, and much enriched with acquired knowledge. His compositions are the effects of a vigorous genius operating upon large materials.

[1] *Alexander's Feast.* S. S. *D.* vol. xi. p. 171. [2] *Ibid.* p. 105.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 190. [4] *Ibid.* p. 192.

The power that predominated in his intellectual operations, was rather strong reason than quick sensibility. Upon all occasions that were presented, he studied rather than felt, and produced sentiments not such as Nature enforces, but meditation supplies. With the simple and elemental passions, as they spring separate in the mind, he seems not much acquainted;[1] and seldom describes them but as they are complicated by the various relations of society, and confused in the tumults and agitations of life.

What he says of love may contribute to the explanation of his character:

> "Love various minds does variously inspire;
> It stirs in gentle bosoms gentle fire,
> Like that of incense on the altar laid;
> But raging flames tempestuous souls invade;
> A fire which every windy passion blows,
> With pride it mounts, or with revenge it glows."

Dryden's was not one of the *gentle bosoms:* Love, as it subsists in itself, with no tendency but to the person loved, and wishing only for correspondent kindness; such love as shuts out all other interest; the Love of the Golden Age, was too soft and subtle to put his faculties in motion. He hardly conceived it but in its turbulent effervescence with some other desires; when it was inflamed by rivalry, or obstructed by difficulties: when it invigorated ambition, or exasperated revenge.

He is therefore, with all his variety of excellence, not often pathetick; and had so little sensibility of the power of effusions purely natural, that he did not esteem them in others.[2] Simplicity gave him no pleasure; and for the

[1] This description is, by Boswell, applied to Johnson himself. See Boswell's *Johnson*, vol. iv. p. 9.

[2] This paragraph also is applied to Johnson by Boswell. *Ibid.*

first part of his life he looked on Otway with contempt, though at last, indeed very late, he confessed that in his play *there* was *Nature, which is the chief beauty.*[1]

We do not always know our own motives. I am not certain whether it was not rather the difficulty which he found in exhibiting the genuine operations of the heart, than a servile submission to an injudicious audience, that filled his plays with false magnificence. It was necessary to fix attention; and the mind can be captivated only by recollection, or by curiosity; by reviving natural sentiments, or impressing new appearances of things: sentences were readier at his call than images; he could more easily fill the ear with some splendid novelty, than awaken those ideas that slumber in the heart.

The favourite exercise of his mind was ratiocination; and, that argument might not be too soon at an end, he delighted to talk of liberty and necessity, destiny and contingence; these he discusses in the language of the school with so much profundity, that the terms which he uses are not always understood. It is indeed learning, but learning out of place.

When once he had engaged himself in disputation, thoughts flowed in on either side: he was now no longer at a loss; he had always objections and solutions at command; *verbaque provisam rem*[2]—give him matter for his verse, and he finds without difficulty verse for his matter.

In Comedy, for which he professes himself not naturally qualified, the mirth which he excites will perhaps not be found so much to arise from any original humour, or peculiarity of character nicely distinguished and diligently pursued, as from incidents and circumstances, artifices and surprizes; from jests of action rather than of sentiment. What he had of humorous or passionate, he seems

[1] Preface to Fresnoy's *Art of Painting*, 1695.

[2] Horace, *Ars Poet.* 311.

to have had not from nature, but from other poets; if not always as a plagiary, at least as an imitator.

Next to argument, his delight was in wild and daring sallies of sentiment, in the irregular and excentrick violence of wit. He delighted to tread upon the brink of meaning, where light and darkness begin to mingle; to approach the precipice of absurdity, and hover over the abyss of unideal vacancy. This inclination sometimes produced nonsense, which he knew; as,

> "Move swiftly, sun, and fly a lover's pace,
> Leave weeks and months behind thee in thy race.
> Amariel flies
> To guard thee from the demons of the air;
> My flaming sword above them to display,
> All keen, and ground upon the edge of day."

And sometimes it issued in absurdities, of which perhaps he was not conscious:

> "Then we upon our orb's last verge shall go,
> And see the ocean leaning on the sky;
> From thence our rolling neighbours we shall know,
> And on the lunar world securely pry." [1]

These lines have no meaning; but may we not say, in imitation of Cowley on another book,

> "'Tis so like *sense* 'twill serve the turn as well?"

This endeavour after the grand and the new, produced many sentiments either great or bulky, and many images either just or splendid:

> "I am as free as Nature first made man,
> Ere the base laws of servitude began,
> When wild in woods the noble savage ran."

[1] *Annus Mirabilis.* Ald. *Dryden*, vol. i. p. 81.

—'Tis but because the Living death ne'er knew,
They fear to prove it as a thing that's new:
Let me th' experiment before you try,
I'll show you first how easy 'tis to die.

—There with a forest of their darts he strove,
And stood like *Capaneus* defying Jove;
With his broad sword the boldest beating down,
While Fate grew pale lest he should win the town,
And turn'd the iron leaves of his dark book
To make new dooms, or mend what it mistook.

—I beg no pity for this smouldering clay;
For if you give it burial, there it takes
Possession of your earth;
If burnt, and scatter'd in the air, the winds
That strew my dust diffuse my royalty.
And spread me o'er your clime; for where one atom
Of mine shall light, know there Sebastian reigns."

Of these quotations the two first may be allowed to be great, the two latter only tumid.

Of such selection there is no end. I will add only a few more passages; of which the first, though it may perhaps not be quite clear in prose, is not too obscure for poetry, as the meaning that it has is noble:[1]

"No, there is a necessity in Fate,
Why still the brave bold man is fortunate;
He keeps his object ever full in sight,
And that assurance holds him firm and right;
True, 'tis a narrow way that leads to bliss,
But right before there is no precipice;
Fear makes men look aside, and so their footing miss."

Of the images which the two following citations afford, the first is elegant, the second magnificent; whether either be just, let the reader judge:

[1] *Conquest of Granada.* S. S. *D.* vol. iv. p. 97, act iv. sc. 2.

"What precious drops are these,
Which silently each other's track pursue,
Bright as young diamonds in their infant dew?"

"—Resign your castle—
—Enter, brave Sir; for when you speak the word,
The gates shall open of their own accord;
The genius of the place its Lord shall meet,
And bow its towery forehead at your feet."

These bursts of extravagance, Dryden calls the *Dalilahs* of the Theatre; and owns that many noisy lines of Maxamin and Almanzor call out for vengeance upon him; but I *knew*, says he, *that they were bad enough to please, even when I wrote them*.[1] There is surely reason to suspect that he pleased himself as well as his audience; and that these, like the harlots of other men, had his love, though not his approbation.

He had sometimes faults of a less generous and splendid kind. He makes, like almost all other poets, very frequent use of mythology, and sometimes connects religion and fable too closely without distinction.

He descends to display his knowledge with pedantick ostentation; as when, in translating "Virgil," he says, *tack to the larboard*—and *veer starboard*; and talks, in another work, of *virtue spooming before the wind*.[2] His vanity now and then betrays his ignorance:

"They Nature's king through Nature's opticks view'd;
Revers'd they view'd him lessen'd to their eyes."

He had heard of reversing a telescope, and unluckily reverses the object.

He is sometimes unexpectedly mean. When he describes the Supreme Being as moved by prayer to stop the Fire of London, what is his expression?

[1] Dedication of *The Spanish Friar*, 1681. S. S. *D.* vol. vi.
[2] *The Hind and the Panther*, Ald. *D.* vol. ii. p. 168.

"A hollow crystal pyramid he takes,
In firmamental waters dipp'd above,
Of this a broad *extinguisher* he makes,
And *hoods* the flames that to their quarry strove." [1]

When he describes the Last Day, and the decisive tribunal, he intermingles this image:

"When rattling bones together fly,
From the four quarters of the sky." [2]

It was indeed never in his power to resist the temptation of a jest. In his "Elegy on Cromwell:"

"No sooner was the Frenchman's cause embrac'd,
Than the *light Monsieur* the *grave Don* outweigh'd;
His fortune turn'd the scale—" [3]

He had a vanity, unworthy of his abilities, to shew, as may be suspected, the rank of the company with whom he lived, by the use of French words, which had then crept into conversation; such as *fraicheur* [4] for *coolness*, *fougue* [5] for *turbulence*, and a few more, none of which the language has incorporated or retained. They continue only where they stood first, perpetual warnings to future innovators.

These are his faults of affectation; his faults of negligence are beyond recital. Such is the unevenness of his compositions, that ten lines are seldom found together without something of which the reader is ashamed. Dryden was no rigid judge of his own pages; he seldom struggled after supreme excellence, but snatched in haste what was within his reach; and when he could content

[1] *Annus Mirabilis.* Ald. *D.* vol. i. p. 101, line 1122.
[2] *To the pious memory of Mrs. Anne Killigrew.* Ald. *D.* vol. ii. p. 286.
[3] *Heroic Stanzas.* Ald. *D.* vol. i. p. 10.
[4] *On the Coronation.* *Ibid.* p. 29.
[5] *Astræa Redux.* *Ibid.* p. 21.

others, was himself contented. He did not keep present to his mind, an idea of pure perfection; nor compare his works, such as they were, with what they might be made. He knew to whom he should be opposed. He had more musick than Waller, more vigour than Denham, and more nature than Cowley; and from his contemporaries he was in no danger. Standing therefore in the highest place, he had no care to rise by contending with himself; but while there was no name above his own, was willing to enjoy fame on the easiest terms.

He was no lover of labour. What he thought sufficient, he did not stop to make better; and allowed himself to leave many parts unfinished, in confidence that the good lines would overbalance the bad. What he had once written, he dismissed from his thoughts; and, I believe, there is no example to be found of any correction or improvement made by him after publication. The hastiness of his productions might be the effect of necessity; but his subsequent neglect could hardly have any other cause than impatience of study.[1]

What can be said of his versification, will be little more than a dilatation of the praise given it by Pope.

> "Waller was smooth; but Dryden taught to join
> The varying verse, the full-resounding line,
> The long majestick march, and energy divine."

Some improvements had been already made in English numbers; but the full force of our language was not yet felt; the verse that was smooth was commonly feeble. If Cowley had sometimes a finished line, he had it by chance.

[1] Mr. Cunningham here remarks: "Of Dryden's rapidity in composition we have unmistakable proof in the production of *Britannia Rediviva*." The Prince commemorated in the poem was born on the 10th June, 1688, and Lord Middleton's, "Let this be printed," is dated June 19th, 1688. The poem contains 364 lines.

Dryden knew how to chuse the flowing and the sonorous words; to vary the pauses, and adjust the accents; to diversify the cadence, and yet preserve the smoothness of his metre.

Of Triplets and Alexandrines,[1] though he did not introduce the use, he established it. The triplet has long subsisted among us. Dryden seems not to have traced it higher than to Chapman's "Homer;" but it is to be found in Phaer's "Virgil,"[2] written in the reign of Mary, and in Hall's "Satires,"[3] published five years before the death of Elizabeth.

The Alexandrine was, I believe, first used by Spenser, for the sake of closing his stanza with a fuller sound. We had a longer measure of fourteen syllables, into which the "Eneid" was translated by Phaer, and other works of the ancients by other writers; of which Chapman's "Iliad" was, I believe, the last.

The two first lines of Phaer's third "Eneid" will exemplify this measure:

"When Asia's state was overthrown, and Priam's kingdom stout,
All giltless, by the power of gods above was rooted out."

As these lines had their break, or *cæsura*, always at the eighth syllable, it was thought, in time, commodious to

[1] Mr. Matt. Arnold observes that by the Alexandrine in English poetry is meant merely a twelve-syllable line. By the Alexandrine metre is meant a poem in couplets of such lines rhyming together. It is the celebrated metre of French tragedy, and takes its name from the *Alexandreis*, a popular romance poem in French on Alexander the Great, published in 1184.

[2] Thomas Phaer, author (in 1553) of the *Regiment of Life*, &c., translated the first seven books of Virgil's *Æneis*.

[3] Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, and afterwards of Norwich, 1574-1656. The satires were published 1597-1598. "He was better known," says Warton, "as a poet than as a prelate or polemic." But his *Meditations* and sermons were both useful and popular.

divide them; and quatrains of lines, alternately, consisting of eight and six syllables, make the most soft and pleasing of our lyrick measures; as,

"Relentless Time, destroying power,
Which stone and brass obey,
Who giv'st to every flying hour
To work some new decay."

In the Alexandrine, when its power was once felt, some poems, as Drayton's "Polyolbion,"[1] were wholly written; and sometimes the measures of twelve and fourteen syllables were interchanged with one another. Cowley was the first that inserted the Alexandrine at pleasure among the heroick lines of ten syllables, and from him Dryden professes to have adopted it.

The Triplet and Alexandrine are not universally approved. Swift always censured them, and wrote some lines to ridicule them. In examining their propriety, it is to be considered that the essence of verse is regularity, and its ornament is variety. To write verse, is to dispose syllables and sounds harmonically by some known and settled rule; a rule however lax enough to substitute similitude for identity, to admit change without breach of order, and to relieve the ear without disappointing it. Thus a Latin hexameter is formed from dactyls and spondees differently combined; the English heroick admits of acute or grave syllables variously disposed. The Latin never deviates into seven feet, or exceeds the number of seventeen syllables; but the English Alexandrine breaks the lawful bounds, and surprises the reader with two syllables more than he expected.

The effect of the Triplet is the same: the ear has been

[1] Michael Drayton's *Polyolbion, or a chorographical Description of Great Britaine*, digested into a Poem, in twelve books, with a table. London, 1613, folio.

accustomed to expect a new rhyme in every couplet; but is on a sudden surprized with three rhymes together, to which the reader could not accommodate his voice, did he not obtain notice of the change from the braces of the margins. Surely there is something unskilful in the necessity of such mechanical direction.

Considering the metrical art simply as a science, and consequently excluding all casualty, we must allow that Triplets and Alexandrines, inserted by caprice, are interruptions of that constancy to which science aspires. And though the variety which they produce may very justly be desired, yet to make our poetry exact, there ought to be some stated mode of admitting them.

But till some such regulation can be formed, I wish them still to be retained in their present state. They are sometimes grateful to the reader, and sometimes convenient to the poet. Fenton was of opinion that Dryden was too liberal and Pope too sparing in their use.

The rhymes of Dryden are commonly just, and he valued himself for his readiness in finding them; but he is sometimes open to objection.

It is the common practice of our poets to end the second line with a weak or grave syllable:

> "Together o'er the Alps methinks we fly,
> Fill'd with ideas of fair *Italy*."[1]

Dryden sometimes puts the weak rhyme in the first:

> "Laugh all the powers that favour *tyranny*,
> And all the standing army of the sky."

Sometimes he concludes a period or paragraph with the first line of a couplet, which, though the French seem to do it without irregularity, always displeases in English poetry.

[1] Pope, *Epistle to Jervas*. The Ald. *P.* vol. ii. p. 159, has "fir'd" instead of "fill'd."

The Alexandrine, though much his favourite, is not always very diligently fabricated by him. It invariably requires a break at the sixth syllable; a rule which the modern French poets never violate, but which Dryden sometimes neglected:

"And with paternal thunder vindicates his throne."

Of Dryden's works it was said by Pope, that *he could select from them better specimens of every mode of poetry than any other English writer could supply.* Perhaps no nation ever produced a writer that enriched his language with such variety of models. To him we owe the improvement, perhaps the completion of our metre, the refinement of our language, and much of the correctness of our sentiments. By him we were taught *sapere & fari*, to think naturally and express forcibly. Though Davis[1] has reasoned in rhyme before him, it may be perhaps maintained that he was the first who joined argument with poetry. He shewed us the true bounds of a translator's liberty. What was said of Rome,[2] adorned by Augustus, may be applied by an easy metaphor to English poetry embellished by Dryden, *lateritiam invenit, marmoream reliquit*, he found it brick, and he left it marble.

The invocation before the Georgicks is here inserted from Mr. Milbourne's version, that, according to his own

[1] Sir John Davies (1570-1626), Attorney-General in Ireland, and afterwards Chief Justice in England, author of the celebrated work, *Nosce Teipsum. This oracle, expounded in two elegies*—1. *Of Humane Knowledge*; 2. *Of the Soule of Man, and the Immortality thereof.* Lond. 1599. 4to.

[2] By Suetonius, in his life of the Emperor Augustus. "*Urbem . . . excoluit adeo, ut jure sit gloriatus, marmoream se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisset.*" *Aug.* § 29.

proposal, his verses may be compared with those which he censures.

"What makes the richest *tilth*, beneath what signs
To *plough*, and when to match your *elms* and *vines*;
What care with *flocks* and what with *herds* agrees,
And all the management of frugal *bees*,
I sing, *Mæcenas!* Ye immensely clear,
Vast orbs of light which guide the rolling year;
Bacchus, and mother *Ceres*, if by you
We fat'ning *corn* for hungry *mast* pursue,
If, taught by you, we first the *cluster* prest,
And *thin cold streams* with *spritely juice* refresht.
Ye *fawns* the present *numens* of the field,
Wood nymphs and *fawns*, your kind assistance yield,
Your gifts I sing! and thou, at whose fear'd stroke
From rending earth the fiery *courser* broke,
Great *Neptune*, O assist my artful song!
And thou to whom the woods and groves belong,
Whose snowy heifers on her flow'ry plains
In mighty herds the *Cæan Isle* maintains!
Pan, happy shepherd, if thy cares divine,
E'er to improve thy *Mænalus* incline;
Leave thy *Lycæan wood* and *native grove*,
And with thy lucky smiles our work approve!
Be *Pallas* too, sweet oil's inventor, kind;
And he, who first the crooked *plough* design'd!
Sylvanus, god of all the woods appear,
Whose hands a new-drawn tender *cypress* bear!
Ye *gods* and *goddesses* who e'er with love,
Would guard our pastures, and our fields improve!
You, who new plants from unsown lands supply;
And with condensing clouds obscure the sky,
And drop 'em softly thence in fruitful showers,
Assist my enterprize, ye gentler powers!

And thou, great *Cæsar!* though we know not yet
Among what gods thou'lt fix thy lofty seat,
Whether thou'lt be the kind *tutelar god*
Of thy own *Rome*; or with thy awful nod,

Guide the vast world, while thy great hand shall bear
The fruits and seasons of the turning year,
And thy bright brows thy mother's myrtles wear:
Whether thou'lt all the boundless ocean sway,
And sea-men only to thyself shall pray,
Thule, the farthest island, kneel to thee,
And, that thou may'st her son by marriage be,
Tethys will for the happy purchase yield
To make a *dowry* of her watry field;
Whether thou'lt add to heaven a *brighter sign*,
And o'er the *summer months* serenely shine;
Where between *Cancer* and *Erigone*,
There yet remains a spacious *room* for thee.
Where the hot *Scorpion* too his arms declines,
And more to thee than half his *arch* resigns;
Whate'er thou'lt be; for sure the realms below
No just pretence to thy command can show;
No such ambition sways thy vast desires,
Though *Greece* her own *Elysian fields* admires.
And now, at last, contented *Proserpine*
Can all her mother's earnest prayers decline.
Whate'er thou'lt be, O guide our gentle course,
And with thy smiles our bold attempts enforce;
With me th' unknowing *rustics'* wants relieve,
And, though on earth, our sacred vows receive!"

Mr. Dryden, having received from Rymer his "Remarks on the Tragedies of the last Age,[1] wrote observations on the blank leaves; which, having been in the possession of Mr. Garrick, are by his favour communicated to the publick, that no particle of Dryden may be lost.

"That we may the less wonder why pity and terror are not now the only springs on which our tragedies move, and that Shakspeare may be more excused, Rapin[2] con-

[1] *The Tragedies of the last Age considered and examined.* Lond. 1678. 8vo.

[2] René Rapin (1621-1687), a French Jesuit, author of *Reflections on Aristotle's Treatise of Poesy*, Lond. 1674; and of a *Book on Gardening*, translated by John Evelyn. To be carefully distinguished from the

fesses that the French tragedies now all run on the *tendre*; and gives the reason, because love is the passion which most predominates in our souls, and that therefore the passions represented become insipid, unless they are conformable to the thoughts of the audience. But it is to be concluded that this passion works not now amongst the French so strongly as the other two did amongst the ancients. Amongst us, who have a stronger genius for writing, the operations from the writing are much stronger: for the raising of Shakspeare's passions is more from the excellency of the words and thoughts, than the justness of the occasion; and if he has been able to pick single occasions, he has never founded the whole reasonably: yet, by the genius of poetry in writing, he has succeeded.

"Rapin attributes more to the *dictio*, that is, to the words and discourse of a tragedy, than Aristotle has done, who places them in the last rank of beauties; perhaps, only last in order, because they are the last product of the design, of the disposition or connection of its parts; of the characters, of the manners of those characters, and of the thoughts proceeding from those manners. Rapin's words are remarkable: 'Tis not the admirable intrigue, the surprising events, and extraordinary incidents, that make the beauty of a tragedy; 'tis the discourses, when they are natural and passionate: so are Shakspeare's.

"The parts of a poem, tragick or heroick, are,

"1. The fable itself.

"2. The order or manner of its contrivance, in relation of the parts to the whole.

"3. The manners, or decency of the characters, in speaking or acting what is proper for them, and proper to be shewn by the poet.

"4. The thoughts which express the manners.

Protestant, Paul de Rapin, Sieur de Theyras, author of the *History of England in the time of William III.*

"5. The words which express those thoughts.

"In the last of these, Homer excels Virgil; Virgil all other ancient poets; and Shakspeare all modern poets.

"For the second of these, the order: the meaning is, that a fable ought to have a beginning, middle, and an end, all just and natural: so that that part, *e.g.* which is the middle, could not naturally be the beginning or end, and so of the rest: all depend on one another, like the links of a curious chain. If terror and pity are only to be raised, certainly this author follows Aristotle's rules, and Sophocles' and Euripides's example: but joy may be raised too, and that doubly; either by seeing a wicked man punished, or a good man at last fortunate; or perhaps indignation, to see wickedness prosperous and goodness depressed: both these may be profitable to the end of tragedy, reformation of manners; but the last improperly, only as it begets pity in the audience: though Aristotle, I confess, places tragedies of this kind in the second form.

"He who undertakes to answer this excellent critique of Mr. Rymer, in behalf of our English poets against the Greek, ought to do it in this manner. Either by yielding to him the greatest part of what he contends for, which consists in this, that the μύθος,[1] *i.e.* the design and conduct of it, is more conducing in the Greeks to those ends of tragedy, which Aristotle and he propose, namely, to cause terror and pity; yet the granting this does not set the Greeks above the English poets.

"But the answerer ought to prove two things: first, that the fable is not the greatest master-piece of a tragedy, though it be the foundation of it.

"Secondly, That other ends as suitable to the nature of tragedy may be found in the English, which were not in the Greek.

"Aristotle places the fable first; not *quoad dignitatem*,

[1] *Sic.*

sed quoad fundamentum: for a fable, never so movingly contrived to those ends of his, pity and terror, will operate nothing on our affections, except the characters, manners, thoughts, and words are suitable.

"So that it remains for Mr. Rymer to prove, that in all those, or the greatest part of them, we are inferior to Sophocles and Euripides: and this he has offered at, in some measure; but, I think, a little partially to the ancients.

"For the fable itself; 'tis in the English more adorned with episodes, and larger than in the Greek poets; consequently more diverting. For, if the action be but one, and that plain, without any counter-turn of design or episode, *i.e.* under-plot, how can it be so pleasing as the English, which have both under-plot and a turned design, which keeps the audience in expectation of the catastrophe? whereas in the Greek poets we see through the whole design at first.

"For the characters, they are neither so many nor so various in Sophocles and Euripides, as in Shakspeare and Fletcher; only they are more adopted to those ends of tragedy which Aristotle commends to us, pity and terror.

"The manners flow from the characters, and consequently must partake of their advantages and disadvantages.

"The thoughts and words, which are the fourth and fifth beauties of tragedy, are certainly more noble and more poetical in the English than in the Greek, which must be proved by comparing them, somewhat more equitably than Mr. Rymer has done.

"After all, we need not yield that the English way is less conducing to move pity and terror, because they often shew virtue oppressed and vice punished: where they do not both, or either, they are not to be defended.

"And if we should grant that the Greeks performed this better, perhaps it may admit of dispute, whether pity and

terror are either the prime, or at least the only ends of tragedy.

"'Tis not enough that Aristotle has said so; for Aristotle drew his models of tragedy from Sophocles and Euripides; and if he had seen ours, might have changed his mind. And chiefly we have to say (what I hinted on pity and terror, in the last paragraph save one), that the punishment of vice and reward are the most adequate ends of tragedy, because most conducing to good example of life. Now pity is not so easily raised for a criminal, and the ancient tragedy always represents its chief person such, as it is for an innocent man; and the suffering of innocence and punishment of the offender is of the nature of English tragedy: contrarily, in the Greek, innocence is unhappy often, and the offender escapes. Then we are not touched with the sufferings of any sort of men so much as of lovers; and this was almost unknown to the ancients: so that they neither administered poetical justice, of which Mr. Rymer boasts, so well as we; neither knew they the best common-place of pity, which is love.

"He therefore unjustly blames us for not building on what the ancients left us: for it seems, upon consideration of the premises, that we have wholly finished what they began.

"My judgement on this piece is this, that it is extremely learned; but that the author of it is better read in the Greek than in the English poets: that all writers ought to study this critique, as the best account I have ever seen of the ancients: that the model of tragedy he has here given, is excellent, and extreme[1] correct; but that it is not the only model of all tragedy, because it is too much circumscribed in plot, characters, &c.; and lastly, that we may be taught here justly to admire and imitate the ancients, without giving them the preference with this author, in prejudice to our own country.

[1] Evidently a misprint for "extremely."

"Want of method in this excellent treatise, makes the thoughts of the author sometimes obscure.

"His meaning, that pity and terror are to be moved, is, that they are to be moved as the means conducing to the ends of tragedy, which are pleasure and instruction.

"And these two ends may be thus distinguished. The chief end of the poet is to please; for his immediate reputation depends on it.

"The great end of the poem is to instruct, which is performed by making pleasure the vehicle of that instruction; for poesy is an art, and all arts are made to profit. *Rapin.*

"The pity, which the poet is to labour for, is for the criminal, not for those or him whom he has murdered, or who have been the occasion of the tragedy. The terror is likewise in the punishment of the same criminal; who, if he be represented too great an offender, will not be pitied: if altogether innocent, his punishment will be unjust.

"Another obscurity is, where he says Sophocles perfected tragedy by introducing the third actor; that is, he meant,[1] three kinds of action; one company singing, or another playing on the musick; a third dancing.

"To make a true judgement in this competition betwixt the Greek poets and the English, in tragedy:

"Consider, first, how Aristotle has defined a tragedy. Secondly, what he assigns the end of it to be. Thirdly, what he thinks the beauties of it. Fourthly, the means to attain the end proposed.

"Compare the Greek and English tragick poets justly, and without partiality, according to those rules.

[1] Mr. Matt. Arnold here remarks that "Rymer meant, not what Dryden says, but what is true—that Sophocles improved the tragic drama by bringing a third interlocutor to the two, who before alone appeared on the scene at once."

"Then secondly, consider whether Aristotle has made a just definition of tragedy; of its parts, of its ends, and of its beauties; and whether he, having not seen any others but those of Sophocles, Euripides, &c., had or truly could determine what all the excellences of tragedy are, and wherein they consist.

"Next shew in what ancient tragedy was deficient: for example, in the narrowness of its plots, and fewness of persons, and try whether that be not a fault in the Greek poets; and whether their excellency was so great, when the variety was visibly so little; or whether what they did was not very easy to do.

"Then make a judgement on what the English have added to their beauties: as, for example, not only more plot, but also new passions; as, namely, that of love, scarce touched on by the ancients, except in this one example of Phædra, cited by Mr. Rymer; and in that how short they were of Fletcher!

"Prove also that love, being an heroick passion, is fit for tragedy, which cannot be denied, because of the example alledged of Phædra; and how far Shakspeare has outdone them in friendship, &c.

"To return to the beginning of this enquiry; consider if pity and terror be enough for tragedy to move: and I believe, upon a true definition of tragedy, it will be found that its work extends farther, and that it is to reform manners, by a delightful representation of human life in great persons, by way of dialogue. If this be true, then not only pity and terror are to be moved, as the only means to bring us to virtue, but generally love to virtue and hatred to vice; by shewing the rewards of one, and punishments of the other; at least, by rendering virtue always amiable, tho' it be shewn unfortunate; and vice detestable, though it be shewn triumphant.

"If, then, the encouragement of virtue and discourage-

ment of vice be the proper ends of poetry in tragedy, pity and terror, though good means, are not the only. For all the passions, in their turns, are to be set in a ferment: as joy, anger, love, fear, are to be used as the poet's common-places; and a general concernment for the principal actors is to be raised, by making them appear such in their characters, their words, and actions, as will interest the audience in their fortunes.

"And if, after all, in a larger sense, pity comprehends this concernment for the good, and terror includes detestation for the bad, then let us consider whether the English have not answered this end of tragedy, as well as the ancients, or perhaps better.

"And here Mr. Rymer's objections against these plays are to be impartially weighed, that we may see whether they are of weight enough to turn the balance against our countrymen.

"'Tis evident those plays, which he arraigns, have moved both those passions in a high degree upon the stage.

"To give the glory of this away from the poet, and to place it upon the actors, seems unjust.

"One reason is, because whatever actors they have found, the event has been the same; that is, the same passions have been always moved: which shews, that there is something of force and merit in the plays themselves, conducing to the design of raising these two passions: and suppose them ever to have been excellently acted, yet action only adds grace, vigour, and more life, upon the stage; but cannot give it wholly where it is not first. But secondly, I dare appeal to those who have never seen them acted, if they have not found these two passions moved within them: and if the general voice will carry it, Mr. Rymer's prejudice will take off his single testimony.

"This, being matter of fact, is reasonably to be established by this appeal; as if one man says 'tis night, the rest of the world conclude it to be day; there needs no farther argument against him, that it is so.

"If he urge, that the general taste is depraved, his arguments to prove this can at best but evince that our poets took not the best way to raise those passions; but experience proves against him, that these means, which they have used, have been successful, and have produced them.

"And one reason of that success is, in my opinion, this, that Shakspeare and Fletcher have written to the genius of the age and nation in which they lived; for though nature, as he objects, is the same in all places, and reason too the same; yet the climate, the age, the disposition of the people, to whom a poet writes, may be so different, that what pleased the Greeks would not satisfy an English audience.

"And if they proceeded upon a foundation of truer reason to please the Athenians than Shakspeare and Fletcher to please the English, it only shews that the Athenians were a more judicious people; but the poet's business is certainly to please the audience.

"Whether our English audience have been pleased hitherto with acorns, as he calls it, or with bread, is the next question; that is, whether the means which Shakspeare and Fletcher have used in their plays to raise those passions before named, be better applied to the ends by the Greek poets than by them. And perhaps we shall not grant him this wholly: let it be granted that a writer is not to run down with the stream, or to please the people by their own usual methods, but rather to reform their judgements, it still remains to prove that our theatre needs this total reformation.

"The faults, which he has found in their designs, are

rather wittily aggravated in many places than reasonably urged; and as much may be returned on the Greeks, by one who were as witty as himself.

"2. They destroy not, if they are granted, the foundation of the fabrick; only take away from the beauty of the symmetry: for example, the faults in the character of the King and No-king are not as he makes them, such as render him detestable, but only imperfections which accompany human nature, and are for the most part excused by the violence of his love; so that they destroy not our pity or concernment for him: this answer may be applied to most of his objections of that kind.

"And Rollo committing many murders, when he is answerable but for one, is too severely arraigned by him: for it adds to our horror and detestation of the criminal: and poetick justice is not neglected neither; for we stab him in our minds for every offence which he commits; and the point, which the poet is to gain on the audience, is not so much in the death of an offender as the raising an horror of his crimes.

"That the criminal should neither be wholly guilty, nor wholly innocent, but so participating of both as to move both pity and terror, is certainly a good rule, but not perpetually to be observed; for that were to make all tragedies too much alike, which objection he foresaw, but has not fully answered.

"To conclude, therefore; if the plays of the ancients are more correctly plotted, ours are more beautifully written. And if we can raise passions as high on worse foundations, it shews our genius in tragedy is greater; for, in all other parts of it, the English have manifestly excelled them."

The original of the following letter is preserved in the Library at Lambeth, and was kindly imparted to the publick by the reverend Dr. Vyse.

Copy of an original Letter from John Dryden, Esq; to his sons in Italy, from a MS in the Lambeth Library, marked N° 933. p. 56.

(Superscribed)

Al Illustrissimo Sig^re^
Carlo Dryden Camariere
d'Honore A. S. S.

In Roma.
Franca per Mantoua.

"Sept. the 3d, our style.

"Dear Sons,

"Being now at Sir William Bowyer's in the country, I cannot write at large, because I find myself somewhat indisposed with a cold, and am thick of hearing, rather worse than I was in town. I am glad to find, by your letter of July 26th, your style, that you are both in health; but wonder you should think me so negligent as to forget to give you an account of the ship in which your parcel is to come. I have written to you two or three letters concerning it, which I have sent by safe hands, as I told you, and doubt not but you have them before this can arrive to you. Being out of town, I have forgotten the ship's name, which your mother will enquire, and put it into her letter, which is joined with mine. But the master's name I remember: he is called Mr. Ralph Thorp; the ship is bound to Leghorn, consigned to Mr. Peter and Mr. Tho. Ball, merchants. I am of your opinion, that by Tonson's means almost all our letters have miscarried for this last year. But, however, he has missed of his design in the

Dedication, though he had prepared the book for it; for in every figure of 'Eneas' he has caused him to be drawn like King William, with a hooked nose. After my return to town, I intend to alter a play of Sir Robert Howard's, written long since, and lately put by him into my hands: 'tis called 'The Conquest of China by the Tartars.' It will cost me six weeks study, with the probable benefit of an hundred pounds. In the mean time I am writing a song for St. Cecilia's Feast, who, you know, is the patroness of musick. This is troublesome, and no way beneficial; but I could not deny the Stewards of the Feast, who came in a body to me to desire that kindness, one of them being Mr. Bridgman, whose parents are your mother's friends. I hope to send you thirty guineas between Michaelmas and Christmas, of which I will give you an account when I come to town. I remember the counsel you give me in your letter; but dissembling, though lawful in some cases, is not my talent; yet, for your sake, I will struggle with the plain openness of my nature, and keep in my just resentments against that degenerate order. In the mean time, I flatter not myself with any manner of hopes, but do my duty, and suffer for God's sake; being assured, beforehand, never to be rewarded, though the times should alter. Towards the latter end of this month, September, Charles will begin to recover his perfect health, according to his nativity, which, casting it myself, I am sure is true, and all things hitherto have happened accordingly to the very time that I predicted them: I hope at the same time to recover more health, according to my age. Remember me to poor Harry, whose prayers I earnestly desire. My "Virgil" succeeds in the world beyond its desert or my expectation. You know the profits might have been more; but neither my conscience nor my honour would suffer me to take them: but I never can repent of my constancy, since I am thoroughly persuaded of the jus-

tice of the cause for which I suffer. It has pleased God to raise up many friends to me amongst my enemies, though they who ought to have been my friends are negligent of me. I am called to dinner, and cannot go on with this letter, which I desire you to excuse; and am

"Your most affectionate father,

"JOHN DRYDEN."

DRYDEN'S PRINCIPAL WORKS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.

1649. *Poem on the Death of Lord Hastings.*

1650. Verses prefixed to John Hoddesdon's *Sion and Parnassus.*

1659. Two editions of *Heroic Stanzas*, consecrated to the Memory of his Highness Oliver, late Lord Protector, &c.

1660. *Astræa Redux* and a Poem prefixed to Sir R. Howard's *Poems.*

1661. *Panegyric on the Coronation.*

1662. *The Wild Gallant* acted;—published 1669.

1663. *The Rival Ladies* acted;—published 1664. A Poem prefixed to Walter Charleton's *Chorea Gigantum.*

1665. *The Indian Emperor* acted;—published 1667.

1667. *Secret Love or the Maiden Queen* acted;—published 1668. *Sir Martin Mar-all* acted;—published 1668. *The Tempest* (with D'Avenant) acted;—published 1670. The poem, *Annus Mirabilis.*

1668. *An Evening's Love* acted;—published 1671.

1669. *Tyrannic Love, or the Royal Martyr* acted;—published 1670.

1670. *Conquest of Granada* (two parts) acted;—published 1672 with *Essay on Heroic Plays* prefixed, and *Essay on Dramatic Poetry of the Last Age* appended.

1672. *Marriage à la Mode* acted;—published 1673. *The Assignation, or Love in a Nunnery* acted;—published 1673.

1673. *Amboyna*, acted and published.

1674. *The State of Innocence*, not acted, but published with *Apology for Heroic and Poetic License.*

1675. *Aurengzebe* acted;—published 1676.

1677. *All for Love* acted;—published 1678. A poem prefixed to Lee's *Alexander*.

1678. *The Kind Keeper or Mr. Limberham* acted and published.

1679. *Œdipus* (with N. Lee, the first and third acts by Dryden), acted and published. *Troilus and Cressida* acted and published with an Essay prefixed on the *Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy*.

1680. Poem prefixed to Roscommon's *Essay on Translated Verse*. The translation of Ovid's Epistles with Preface.

1681. *The Spanish Friar* acted and published. The Poem, *Absalom and Achitophel*, part 1.

1682. *The Duke of Guise* (with N. Lee, the first scene, the fourth, and half the fifth act by Dryden) acted;—published 1683. Poems, *The Medal*, *Mac Flecknoe*, the second part of *Absalom and Achitophel*, and *Religio Laici*.

1683. *A Life of Plutarch* (prose) prefixed to translations by several hands.

1684. *Miscellany Poems*, containing reprints of his *Satires* with translations from Ovid, Theocritus and Virgil, etc. Translation of Maimbourg's *History of the League*.

1685. *Albion and Albanius* acted and published. Poem, *Threnodia Augustalis*. The second volume of *Miscellany Poems*, with the additional title *Sylvæ*, containing translations from the *Æneid*, Theocritus and Horace.

1686. *Ode to the Pious Memory of the Accomplished Young Lady, Mrs. Anne Killigrew*, and in prose, *Defence of Papers written by the late King*.

1687. Poems, *The Hind and the Panther*. *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*.

1688. Poem, *Britannia Rediviva*. Prose, translation of Bouhours's *Life of Xavier*.

1690. *Don Sebastian* acted and published. *Amphitryon* acted and published.

1691. *King Arthur* acted and published. Preface to Walsh's *Dialogue concerning Women*.

1692. *Cleomenes* acted and published. Poem, *Eleonora*. Prose, *Character of St. Evremont*, prefixed to St. Evremont's *Miscellaneous Essays*.

1693. *Love Triumphant* acted;—published 1694. Poetical translations from *Juvenal and Persius*. The third volume of *Miscellany Poems*, with the additional title *Examen Poeticum*, containing translations from Ovid, the *Veni Creatus Spiritus*, and *Hector and Andromache*, from the *Iliad*. In prose, *A Cha-*

racter of Polybius, prefixed to a translation by Sir Henry Sheere.

1694. Poem prefixed to Congreve's *Double Dealer*. The fourth volume of *Miscellany Poems*, called also the *Annual Miscellany*, containing a translation of the *Georgics*, book III. (The third and fourth vols. of this *Miscellany* were principally by other writers, the first and second were almost entirely Dryden's.)

1695. A prose translation of Du Fresnoy's *Art of Painting*.

1697. Poetical translation of Virgil. The poem, *Alexander's Feast*.

1700. *Fables*, translated into verse from Homer, Ovid, Boccaccio and Chaucer, with original *Poems*.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

COWLEY'S WILL.

First Printed by Peter Cunningham in the "Shakespeare Society's Papers."

TESTAMENT.

IN the name of God Almighty, to whom bee for ever all glory, Amen. I, Abraham Cowley, of Chertsea, in the county of Surrey, being at present by God's mercy in perfect health and understanding, and well considering the uncertainty of human life, most especially in these tymes of sicknes and mortality, doe, in attendance of God's blessed pleasure concerning my life or death, make and declare this my last Will and Testament as followeth. I humbly recommend my soule to that greate God from whom I had it, beseeching him to receive it into his bosome for the merits of his sonne, the saviour of sinners, amongst whome I am one of the greatest, and my body to the earth, from whence it came, in hopes of a happy resurrection. O Lord, I believe, help my unbelief; O Lord, I repent, pardon the weakness of my repentance.

All my worldly goods, moneys, and chattels, I bequeath to my brother Thomas Cowley, whome I doe hereby constitute my sole heyr and executor, hee paying out of y^{t} estate, w^{ch} it has pleased God to bestowe upon me, much above my deserts, these ensueing Legacies.

I leave to my neveu —— Cowley (if hee bee yet alive) ten pounds; To my cosen Beniamin Hind, towards his education in learning, fivety pounds; To my cosen —— Gauton, of Nutfield, in Surrey, for y^{e} same use of his eldest sonne, fivety pounds; To my cosen Mary Gauton, twenty pounds; To Thomas

Fotherby, of Canterbury, Esquire, one hundred pounds, w^ch^ [I] beseech him to accept of as a small remembrance of his ancient kindness to mee; To Sir Will Davenant, twenty pounds; To Mr. Mart Clifford, twenty pounds; To Mr. Thomas Sprat, twenty pounds; To Mr. Thomas Cook, twenty pounds; To Dr. Charles Scarburgh, twenty pounds; To Dr. Thomas Croyden, twenty pounds; To my mayd, Mary (besides what I ow her, and all my wearing linen), twenty pounds; To my servant, Thomas Waldron, ten pounds and most of my wearing clothes at my brother's choise; To Mary, my brother's mayd, five pounds; To the poore of the town of Chertsea, twenty pounds.

I doe farther leave to the Honourable John Hervey, of Ickworth, Esquire, my share and interest in his Highnes the Duke of York's Theater. And to y^e^ Right Hon^ble^ the Earl of S^t^ Albans, my Lord, and once kind Master, a Ring of ten pounds, onely in memory of my duty and affection to him, not being able to give anything worthy his acceptance, nor hee (God bee praised) in need of any gifts from such persons as I.

If anything bee due to mee from Trinity College [Cambridge], I leave it to bee bestowed in books upon y^t^ library; and I leave besides to Doctor Robert Crane, Fellowe of y^e^ said College, a Ring of five pounds valew, as a small token of o^r^ friendship.

I desire my dear friend, M^r^ Thomas Sprat, to trouble himselfe w^th^ y^e^ collection and revision of all such writings of mine (whether printed before or not) as hee shall thinke fit to be published, Beseeching him not to let any passe which hee shall judge unworthy of the name of his friend, and most especially nothing (if anything of y^t^ kind have escaped my pen) w^ch^ may give the least offence in point of religion or good manners. And in consideration of this unpleasant task, I desire him to accept of my Study of Books.

This I declare to bee my last Will and Testament. Lord have mercy upon my soul. Written by my own hand, signed and sealed, at Chertsea, this 28th day of September, 1665.

ABRAHAM COWLEY.

Signed and sealed in
the presence of

Thomas Waldron.

The mark of ‡ *John Symonds,*
Wheelwright, of Chertsey.

APPENDIX B.

STATUTE AND DECREE OF THE DIET OF THE KINGDOM OF WARSAW.

DEC. 5, 1650.

(*Translation.*)

"ACKNOWLEDGING the good will of the Grandfather of the King of England, who, during the embarrassing period of the Turkish War (*tempore necessitatis belli Turciei*), gave evidence thereof to the Republic, and wishing on our part in some way to render aid in this his similar misfortune (*opem ferre in hac ipsius calamitate*), we order all English and Scotch merchants residing in the Kingdom, and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as well as in all provinces of the Republic, individually and under oath, after having valued his property, to pay 10 florins for every 100 florins in his possession, and to deposit them with the magistrates of our Royal boroughs, and in those (towns) subject to (belonging to) the nobility and clergy, that they deposit them with their landlords, at the end of 8 weeks at the latest, under penalty due to embezzlement (*sub pœna peculatis*). And the landlords (*seigneurs*), as well as the municipal magistrates, are ordered to forward this money to the officers of our treasury of the Kingdom and Grand Duchy of Lithuania before the 13th of March: and our treasurers are to place this money, in return for a receipt, in the hands of the ambassador of the King of England. And the said English and Scotch merchants, after having paid this tax, shall be exempt from all other taxes of the Republic decreed by the same Diet, the Custom Duties of the Republic excepted."—*Volumina Legum* Cracow.

"1651, 21st Jan., Warsaw, Jean Casimir, King of Poland, in carrying out the resolution of the preceding Diet by way of help (*ratione subsidii*) to the King of England, being in need (*se*

trouvant en necessité), commands Henri Drioss, Notary of the Royal Treasury, to exact for this purpose, the tenth part of the possessions of the English and Scotch residents in Poland."

"In carrying out this royal decree the said notary of the royal treasury laid informations before the Chief Magistrate of Cracow against Alexander Dixon, merchant of Cracow, Anna, widow of William Huyson, merchant of Cracow, James Chaubert, James Larmine, James Cramer, citizen of Brady, Richard Gordon, merchant of Leopol, and Abraham Osyerth, citizen and merchant of Wegrow, who refuse to pay this tax."—*Acte, inscript.* tom. 39.

APPENDIX C.

THE SCOTS IN POLAND DURING THE FIFTEENTH, SIXTEENTH, AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

"I HAVE formerly read without much reflection of the multitude of Scotchmen that travelled with their wares in Poland; and that their numbers were not small the success of this negotiation gives sufficient evidence." Vol. i. p. 80.

The statement, that there were in the sixteenth century 30,000 Scotch families in Poland, astounding as it seems, does not rest solely on the report of the Scotch traveller William Lithgow. We find it asserted in a letter dated March 24, 1621, (Chamberlain to Carleton *Cal. State Papers, Dom. Ser.* 38): "The Polish Ambassador has had an audience and requests men to resist the Turk. The King promises well: it is thought he will have leave to raise Scotch and Irish troops, there being 30,000 Scotch families in Poland." This must, therefore, have been the generally accepted belief on the subject; but even if we reduce the number to 20,000, the fact that £10,000 only was extracted by the "decimation" shows that the mass of the people must have been extremely poor, especially as we know that a few among them had amassed considerable wealth.

There seems little doubt that the generality of these settlers commenced their career as pedlars,[1] and probably most of them

[1] It can hardly be necessary to refer to the Poem in which Wordsworth has idealized the "Vagrant Merchant" ("Excursion" bk. I. line 319 *et seq.*) but some may like to be reminded of the note (Works, vol. vi. p. 345, ed. 1837) to line 344 "much did he see of men" in which the poet quotes an interesting passage on "those who carry the pack" from Heron's *Journey in Scotland* (Perth, 1793), vol. i. p. 89.

continued in that line, so that the "Scotch Pedlar in Poland" became almost a proverbial expression. Thus Howel, writing in 1633, makes the following amusing comparison: "There was as much difference between them (speaking of two letters from his nephew) as 'twixt a Scotch pedlar's pack in Poland and the magazine of an English merchant in Naples, the one being usually full of Taffety Silks and Sattins, the other of Callicoes, thred, ribbons and such polldavy ware" (*Epist. Ho Elianae*, p. 316, 7th ed. 1705).

In confirmation of this we find in the Decrees of the Diets of Poland of the years 1589, 1591, 1595, and 1598, the following decree repeated: "The Scotch who carry their goods on foot in boxes and who have no carts, shall pay 1 florin per head, and those who possess carts and horses are to pay 2 florins for each horse and the duties on their goods are to be the same as those on other merchants." The Diet of 1613 doubled this tax.[1] Among other things they carried a particular kind of drapery called "Scotch," which seems to have been of wool, and very probably the linen damask cloths bearing representations of the victories over the Turks[2] would in later times be included in their "pudhill," "crame," or pack.

Great numbers settled in Cracow, and though highly approved by the Court, the nobles, and buyers in general, they were far from welcome to the tradesmen of the country, and towards the end of the sixteenth century a complaint against them was laid before the Stadtrath of Cracow, as being "troublesome disturbers of the trade of this place." "We, old and young, Masters of the Company of Cutlers bemoan ourselves to your Worships and state our grievances. These Scotchmen ruin us with their trade tricks; for one who has the wares sells them in two stalls at the same time, and, not satisfied with that, makes his boys sit by the houses selling knives, or sends them round from house to house with vans. These same Scotchmen frequently conceal inferior workmen in their houses whom they supply with materials for their trade, and they get the knives thus made and sell them, whereby our Company is ruined, our means of living destroyed, and our workpeople corrupted."[3]

[1] Grabow, *Alt. Nach. über Krakau.*
[2] See *Northern Notes and Queries*, vol. i. p. 29, vol. iv. p. 74.
[3] Grabow, *Alt. Nach. über Krakau* (1).

But the Scots had made themselves indispensable to the Court, and a decree was published as follows:—

"Stephen, by the Grace of God, King of Poland, &c., &c., to the honourable and famous officers and Senate of our State of Cracovia, greeting, &c., &c. Beloved Subjects! the Scots who continually follow our Court, and to whom there has been conceded by us in all places where we shall be with our Council (*curia*) a free faculty of exposing and selling their wares, complain that they are prohibited by you our trusty subjects from using in Cracovia the liberty conceded to them by us. We command you our trusty subjects to offer no hindrance to them in that matter, to those especially who hold the privileges (licences?) conceded by us and a definite area for that business. . . . For if by reason of their trade being stopped they should have deserted our Court, *no one of you perchance would follow us* into Lithuania and other places to which we may go, while still our Court cannot do without these men who supply it with necessary wares. Therefore, what in other places they do, and in former wars have done to provide an abundance of necessary wares for sale to every one in our Court, it is just that it should be lawful for them to do in Cracovia also where our Court now is. That it be by all means admitted that there is no prohibition on them, and that a defined area be marked out as aforesaid, we enjoin upon you our trusty subjects, and for our sake let not our trusty subjects act otherwise. Given at Niplomice this 27th day of March in the year of our Lord 1585, the 9th year of our reign. Stephen King. S. p. t. Pi. Thileczki." This document is written on parchment with the Seal of the Royal Chamber below the attestation. *Act. Hist. Pol. VIII.* lib. I. i. (*Leg. Privil. Stat. Civil. Cracow.* 1507-1586. p. 367. Edit. Colleg. Univ. Cracow).

The satirical touch "no one of you perchance would follow us" throws a light on the character of the Poles as amusing as the hint of Scottish peculiarities in Lithgow's "Travels," where he says (p. 421, ed. 1632): "Between Cracovia and Warsaw . . . I found abundance of gallant rich merchants, my country men, who were all very kind to me, and so were in every place where I came the conclusion being *ever sealed with deepe draughts and 'God be with you.'*"

A glimpse of the causes that had made Poland so attractive a hunting ground to the canny Scot is given in the following

curious passage: "A certain person thus described Poland: The famous kingdom of the Poles is the Heaven of the nobility, the Paradise of Jews,[1] the Purgatory of the commonalty, the infernal regions of the peasantry, the gold mine of strangers, the cause of the luxury of women: rich indeed with much wool, yet always needing garments; it produces plenty of flax yet seeks a foreign web: foreign wares it loves, those manufactured at home it neglects; in things dearly bought it boasts, things cheaply bought it despises." R. P. M. Radau, *Artis Oratoris*, p. 9. Lond. 1657.

That the country was very well adapted by road and water for travelling merchants is shown in an oration delivered at Rome in 1567 to Pope Pius by M. Antony Muretus, in behalf and in the name of Sigismund, King of Poland. After describing the boundaries of Poland he says: "Nearly the whole region is level and flat, watered by many and great rivers, most sufficient for fertility and commerce, rich even to abundance with things necessary for life."[2] He eulogizes the country and the people in highly rhetorical fashion, and represents it as a sort of divinely appointed fortress and citadel of the Christian faith, where brave men can "meet and repel the savagery of the barbarians and for keeping perpetual watch on behalf *of all Christians*." Of course, "dissidents" would be excluded from this wide-sounding term, but that the "faithful" would have a hearty welcome at the hands of the king would be an additional attraction to men who in the middle of the sixteenth century had no rest for the *religious* sole of their foot in Scotland.

In the Records (*Acten Büchern*) of the Council (Warsaw, 1573-1626), are many Scotch names. From a list of forty-one a few only may here be quoted. Of citizens we find two Burnets, a Cramer, Tom Robertson, a Fraser, a Hodgson, a Carmichael, and a Wood. Three Dixons were merchants and tailors in 1607. W. Forbes kept an ironmonger's shop. George Embsle kept a shop with hardware, which was also sold from trays in the streets. In 1612 John Rynt, a Scot, farmed the sulphur mines near

[1] It does not seem, however, that any privileges were accorded to the Jews such as the Scots enjoyed, and they would probably have been very unwilling to assent to this description. See the complaint of Manasseh Ben Israel, in 1656, in *Vindicae Judaeorum*, sect. i. p. 18. London, 1656.

[2] P. 147. *Orat.* 14, edit. *Coloniæ*, 1601.

Cracow, and in 1652 the family still lived there, for we find that the messenger of the Council notes in that year, "I went to the sulphur mines where the Rynts live with the copy of the King's decree," doubtless to enforce the tax (for England) which should have been paid in March, 1651.

Among Scotch names at Cracow we find also Alex Duff, David Dundas, James Dumfries, Alex Duncan, Smart, Scott (noted as dwelling in the castle with the King), and among the citizens of one year's creation are a Fraser, a Hodgson, a Carmichael, and a Wood. Many were known merely by their Christian names, but these were probably beginners in trade, it seems to have been the custom very frequently, when the trader's credit was established, or perhaps when requiring recommendations for some coveted office, to obtain from home, as Scotland would still be called, certificates of their birth and family. Such are the "Birth Brieves," from the Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1637-1705, published in the "Spalding Miscellanies," vol. v.

The successful among these early emigrants either returned to Scotland with their hardly-earned wealth, bought land [1] and founded a branch of the family of which they were so proud, or they settled in Poland, buying land and establishing their family in the country of their adoption. The first class were by far the most numerous, and there is little doubt that careful search would discover that as Lithgow said, speaking as a Scotchman (p. 422), "Poland was the mother of our commons, the first commencement of all our best merchants' wealth, or at least the most part of them." We can only here mention (by the courtesy of Dr. Skene, H. M. Historiographer for Scotland) the Skene family, several members of which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are known to have emigrated to Poland. One was a postmaster, two were burgesses of Posen, another was a merchant in Lymoski, and married a daughter of Robert Chalmers, merchant of Dantzig, while another was "apprenticed to Mr. George Adie," merchant in Dantzig, where he learnt his trade, by which he acquired a handsome fortune there, returned with it to Scotland, and purchased the lands of Wester Finstray and Robeslaw.[2]

[1] How readily the Scotch pedlars would do this is well illustrated by a passage in *The Fortunes of Nigel*, ch. xxxvii., by Scott, who, in the *Tales of a Grandfather*, ch. xl., has also an interesting passage on the pedlars, but his remarks apply only to a later period.

[2] It will be remembered that it was a James Skene, of Robeslaw,

Of the Scots who established themselves for good in Poland one striking example may be mentioned. Both among the Scotch names in the "Records" at Cracow, and in the "Birth Brieves" at Aberdeen, the name of Gordon frequently appears. In 1645, a Richard Gordon, trader (probably banker) at the Royal Court, was licensed as royal servant and factor "in respect of his services in various warlike expeditions, so as to be subject only to the jurisdiction of the Marshall," [1] and it was probably he whose name appears among those Scots who refused to pay the tax of 1651 for the benefit of the English king. A similar refusal caused the removal of many Scotch families from Cracow,[2] but Gordon seems to have been too valuable a servant to be lost, for whether he paid or not, we find his privileges officially confirmed in 1679. His success no doubt encouraged others of the same name to try their fortune, and finally we find the following certificate: "*Oct.* 9, 1717: The Provost and Councils of the ancient state of Aberdeen in Scotland signify that Nathaniel Gordon who, being then in his 14th year left Aberdeen in the month of May 1701 for foreign parts and who lives in Cracow, is the legitimate son of William Gordon, and Christina Wylie grandson indeed of James Gordon of Seatown, Keeper of the Privy Seal of the Kingdom of Scotland and Elizabeth Forbes, great grandson of James Gordon and Janet Kirk." (*Lib. Relat. Cast. Crac.*)

This certificate, which is preserved at the University Jagelloniénne at Cracow, is written on parchment with a border of arms painted, among which are the arms of the Gordon family, the escutcheon blue divided transversely into three fields, the upper one has two boar's heads, argent, with the moon between them, the middle one, an exchequer of three rows of white and black squares, the lowest field has a boar's head, argent.

Dr. Isidor Kopernicki, who has so kindly furnished these extracts from the "Records" in his keeping, adds that this same Nathaniel Gordon, merchant at Cracow, is the founder of the noble Polish family of Gordons, who at the present time live in Poland, and

who is gratefully mentioned by Scott as assisting him in the preparation of *Anne of Geierstein*.

[1] *Lib. Relat. Castri Cracoviensis.*

[2] For instance we find the following entry:—"John Duget, Goldsmith, of Cracow, with his wife Anna, *née* Hunter, and their children, left Cracow for Thorn in consequence of the affair before mentioned," *i. e.* the enforcing of the tax.

who have taken in addition the title of Marquis of Huntly, residing on a charming estate named Vjcow, some little distance north of Cracow, near the Russian frontier.

Lastly, mention must be made of Andrew Leek (*Andreas Læchius*), an author of some reputation, to judge from the number of his works found in the Polish bibliography, fifteen of which appeared between 1603 and 1609. These were chiefly Latin poems, one of which was entitled *Jovis arbitrium sive Jus.* Londini, Knight, 1603, but he also wrote in the Polish language, and in one of his poems, *The Muse of the Mountain*, describes the country and its mineral springs.

The influence of James VI. in Poland is forcibly illustrated by the beheading, at his instigation, of John Stercovius, a Pole, who having been mobbed and hooted in the streets when he visited Scotland, published on his return to Poland, *A Legend of Reproaches against the Scotch nation*, which cost him his life. *Dom. Ann. Scot.* i. 448.

APPENDIX D.

THE NUNCUPATIVE WILL OF JOHN MILTON.

Discovered by Thomas Warton. First Printed in 1791.

(From the original in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.)

MEMORANDUM, that John Milton, late of the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, in the countie of Middlesex, gentleman, deceased, at severall times before his death, and in particular on or about the twentieth day of July, in the year of our Lord God 1674, being of perfect mind and memorie, declared his Will and intent as to the disposall of his estate after his death, in these words following, or like effect:—

"The portion due to me from Mr. Powell, my former wife's father, I leave to the unkind children I had by her, having received no parte of it: but my meaning is, they shall have no other benefit of my estate than the said portion, and what I have besides done for them; they having been very undutiful to me. All the residue of my estate I leave to [the] disposall of Elizabeth, my loving wife." Which words, or to the same effect, were spoken in the presence of Christopher Milton.

× (Mark of) Elizabeth Fisher.

Nov. 23, 1674.

This will was contested by Anne, Mary, and Deborah Milton, the only children of the poet, being his daughters by his first wife, Mary Powell. The cause was tried before Sir Leoline Jenkins, Judge of the Prerogative Court and Secretary of State, and the depositions were taken in part before Dr. (afterwards Sir William) Trumbull, the friend of Pope. The witnesses on

the part of the widow were Christopher Milton, the poet's only brother, and Mary and Elizabeth Fisher, his servant maids.

The brother deposed that "he is a practicer in the law and a bencher in the Inner Temple, but living in vacations at Ipswich; that he did usually at the end of the Term visit John Milton, his brother, before going home, and so at the end of Midsummer Term last past he went to visit his said brother, and then found him within his chamber, in his own house, situate on Bunhill, within the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and that he did then, not being well, and in a serious manner, declare his will in the aforesaid very words, as near as the deponent can now call to mind, being at the time of perfect mind and memory." To the *second* interrogation of the judge, he replied, "that he does not remember the exact day of the month or week, but well remembereth it was in a forenoon, and on the very day on which he, the deponent, was going into the country in the Ipswich coach, which goeth not out of town until noon or thereabouts." To the *third*, that the said deceased was then ill of the gout, and what he then spake touching his will was in a very calm manner, only he complained, but without passion, that his children had been unkind to him, but that his wife had been very kind and careful of him. To the *fourth*, that he knoweth not how the parties ministering these interrogatories frequent the church, or what manner of life or conversation they are of, they living apart from their father four or five years last past; and as touching deceased displeasure with them, he only heard him say at the time of declaring his will that they were undutiful and unkind to him, not expressing any particulars, but in former times he hath heard him complain that they were careless of him being blind, and made nothing of deserting him. To the *sixth*, that what is left to the parties ministering these interrogatories by the deceased's will is in the hands of persons of ability, able to pay the same, being their grandmother and uncle, and he hath seen the grandfather's will, wherein 'tis particularly directed to be paid unto them by his executors. To the *seventh*, that the respondent did draw up the very will executed in this cause, and write it with his own hand when he came to this Court about the 23rd November last, and at that time did read it over to Elizabeth Fisher; that respondent also waited once on deceased's widow at Dr. Exton's chambers about this suit, at which time she wanted

some half-crowns, and that he lent her then two half-crowns; and to the *eighth* interrogation he replies that Anne Milton is lame and helpless.

Mary Fisher deposed that she knew and was well acquainted with John Milton for about a twelvemonth before his death, who died about a month since, to the best of deponent's remembrance; that about two months since, as near as she can remember, this deponent being then in the kitchen of the house of the foresaid John Milton, situate against the Artillery Yard, near Bunhill Fields, and about noon of the same day, the deceased and Elizabeth his wife being then at dinner in the kitchen, he, the deceased, amongst other discourse to his wife did utter these words, viz. "Make much of me as long as I live, for thou knowest I have given thee all when I die at thy disposal;" there being then present in the kitchen deponent's sister and *contest* [fellow-witness] Elizabeth Fisher, and the said deceased was at that time of perfect mind and memory, and talked and discoursed sensibly and well, and was very merry, and seemed to be in good health of body.

Elizabeth Fisher, by whom the will is signed, deposed that she was servant unto Mr. John Milton for about a year before his death, who died upon a Sunday the 15th of November last, at night. That she remembers in the month of July last the said deceased being in his lodging-chamber at dinner with his wife, and the said Elizabeth Milton having provided something for the deceased's dinner which he very well liked, he spoke to his said wife these or the like words, viz. "God have mercy, Betty; I see thou wilt perform according to thy promise in providing me such dishes as I think fit, whilst I live; and when I die, thou knowest that I have left thee all." To the *second* and *third* interrogations of the judge, the witness replied that these words were spoken in a Sunday on the afternoon, upon the deceased's wife providing such victuals for his dinner as he liked, and that he was then indifferent well in health, saving that sometime he was troubled with the pain of the gout, and that he was at that time very merry, and not in any passion or angry humour, neither at that time spoke anything against any of his children that this respondent heard. To the *fourth*, that she had heard the deceased declare his displeasure against his children, and particularly he had told her that a little before he was married

to Elizabeth Minshull, a former servant of his told Mary his daughter that she heard the deceased was to be married, to which the said Mary replied that that was no news to hear of his wedding, but if she could hear of his death that was something; and the deceased further told this respondent that his children did combine together and counsel his maid servant to cheat him in her marketings, and that his children had made away some of his books, and would have sold the rest of his books to the dunghill women; and in reply to the *eighth*, the witness deposes that Anne Milton is lame, but hath a trade and can live by the same, which is the making of gold and silver lace, and which the deceased bred her up to.

END OF VOL. I.

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