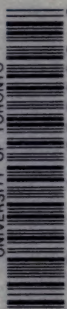



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THE HIND AND THE PANTHER



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DRYDEN

THE HIND
AND THE PANTHER

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

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PREFACE.

THIS edition is intended for the use of the upper classes in schools and the junior students, especially of colonial universities, where the poem is frequently prescribed for examination. It is hoped that the notes will supply all the help in language, historical allusion, and theological controversy, necessary for an intelligent appreciation of the finest example of ratiocinative verse in English literature, which has not hitherto been adequately annotated, except in the monumental and not always accessible edition of Scott. No attempt has been made to discuss controversial questions, partly from a sense of incompetence, but also from a desire to avoid giving offence to either side, perhaps, too, because nowadays in the face of a common foe these differences of opinion on points of doctrine between the various religious denominations are by tacit agreement less acrimoniously debated. The poem has been treated as literature, not as polemic, the notes on points of theology being strictly confined to explanations necessary for understanding the argument. For the exact meaning of words as employed in the time of Dryden Bailey's *Dictionary* (1731 and 1733) has been found very useful. All obligations to Scott's edition (revised by Saintsbury), which cannot be

overestimated, are acknowledged in the notes. References to Green (*Short History*) and Macaulay have frequently been made to avoid lengthy historical notes on trite topics. The text adopted is that of Mr. Christie in the Clarendon Press edition, with a few corrections. In order to render the poem suitable for the use of mixed classes, a few lines have been omitted here and there without injury to the context.

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why chosen

INTRODUCTION.

The Hind and the Panther was licensed on the 11th of April, 1687, and was published a few days after by Jacob Tonson. It is important to notice the date with reference to the Declaration of Indulgence, which had appeared on the 4th of April in the same year.

The poem is in form, as the title indicates, an animal fable, in which the Hind and the Panther play the chief parts—the former representing the Roman Catholic Church, the latter the Church of England. The Hind was chosen as the emblem of grace, purity, and innocence. Dryden, who was thoroughly versed in the language of the Authorized Version of the Bible, which he uses so freely and with such effect throughout the poem, may have been influenced in his choice by the scriptural conception of the Hind as suggested by such passages as “Naphtali is a hind let loose: he giveth goodly words” (Gen. xlix. 21); “He maketh my feet like hinds’ feet, and setteth me upon my high places” (II. Sam. xxii. 34; Ps. xviii. 33; Hab. iii. 19); (“Let her be as the loving hind and pleasant roe” (Prov. v. 19).) The Panther, according to the old derivation, was so called “because it has the fierceness of all beasts put together,” and hieroglyphically, we are told, it represents “hypocrisy and deceit.”

✓
Scott quotes a passage from one of the Fathers to the effect that "panthers are naturally inspired by such monstrous and savage hatred against mankind that they furiously attack even statues, and tear the counterfeit presentment as fiercely as if it were the real man."

↓ In the framework of the poem Dryden has followed, with considerable enlargement, the precedent of Eastern apologues, such as Jotham's "Parable of the Trees" (Judges ix. 7-15); Aesop's *Fables*, to which he specially refers (iii. 6); the famous *History of Reynard the Fox* (first translated into English and printed by William Caxton, June, 1481; reprinted by Arber in the English Scholar's Library), from which he borrows some of the names for his animals, as Isgrim for the wolf (i. 449) and Partlet for the hen (iii. 1024); Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules* and *The Nonne Prestes Tale*; Spenser's *Prosopopoia, or Mother Hubberds Tale*, to which he also alludes (iii. 8). He may also have been influenced to some extent by Horace's fable of the town and country mouse (*Sat.* II. vi. 79-117), as Montague and Prior apparently felt when they selected it as an appropriate travesty of *The Hind and the Panther*.

✓ In the conduct of the fable Dryden has been variously censured and defended, in each case not always with discrimination. To say with Johnson, following Montague and Prior, that "a fable which exhibits two beasts talking theology appears at once full of absurdity," or that "the scheme of the work is injudicious and incommodious—for what can be more absurd than that one beast should counsel another to rest her faith upon a pope and council?"—is, as Scott points out, to condemn such universally admired parables as that of Jotham,

such popular fables as those of Aesop, and *Reynard the Fox*, in which we agree to accept certain objects or animals as representative of typical human beings, or personifications of abstract qualities, and allow them to speak in accordance with the character they have assumed. But it must be admitted that when the convention has once been established, and we have adjusted our ideas to the new conditions, it does rudely destroy the illusion in which we have acquiesced to find the beasts, whom we have consented to regard as rational creatures, again dehumanized and expressed in terms of the brute creation. As long as they confine themselves to discussing dogma we are conscious of no improbability, because we have agreed to treat them as symbols of rival schools of theology, but we are recalled with a shock to the world of sense when, after abstruse debate upon the doctrine of transubstantiation, we find them suddenly reverting to their natural characteristics, and the Hind drinking at the common watering-place, or the Panther pacifying her tail and licking her frothy jaws. And yet even this treatment is not consistently maintained. After drinking at the watering-place with the other animals at the end of the First Part, they are described at the end of the Second Part as entering a cottage, sitting at a homely board, and quaffing a grace-cup to the health of the King. But, as Professor Saintsbury says, "no defender of *The Hind and the Panther* has ever attempted to defend it as a regular or classically proportioned piece of work. Its main theme is, as always with Dryden, merely a canvas whereon to embroider all sorts of episodes, digressions, and ornaments." In spite, however, of the incongruities and inconsistencies of con-

N.B. instruction, we cannot fail to admire the ingenuity with which the analogues are chosen, and their physical characteristics employed to satirize the various peculiarities of their several antitypes. Montague and Prior's miserable parody plays the part of *advocatus diaboli* to *The Hind and the Panther*. It only serves to enhance by contrast the immeasurable superiority of the original.

AB { The poem is essentially a *satira* in the original meaning of the word—an olio, a hotch-potch, a medley of heterogeneous ingredients—in which topics of all kinds are discussed—theological, political, personal—loosely connected by one leading idea, the advocacy of the Roman Catholic Church, to which Dryden had recently become a convert. On the 19th of January, 1686, Evelyn records: “Dryden, the famous play-writer, and his two sons, and Mrs. Nelly were said to go to masse”; adding his opinion that “such proselytes were no greate losse to the church.” With the proverbial zeal of the neophyte, Dryden immediately proceeded to vindicate the sincerity of his conversion by taking up the cudgels on behalf of the cause he had espoused, first in prose against Stillingfleet in defence of the posthumous papers of Charles II. and the Duchess of York, then, when worsted by his veteran antagonist, exchanging them for the more familiar weapon of satirical verse, in which he had no rival. The form of the poem—a dialogue between two animals representing the opposed churches—was elastic enough to permit him to touch with his matchless dexterity the current points in dispute between the conflicting parties, the stock subjects of the coffee-house and the pamphlet, without being hampered by the rigid limitations of a regularly conducted debate upon pre-

dialogue
inspired
him

joined the Church of England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The two next debate some of the main points at issue between Dryden and Stillingfleet in the controversy about the religious papers of the late King and the Duchess of York, such as the real cause of the English Reformation and the existence of any Protestant treatise on the Christian grace of humility, in the course of which Dryden puts into the mouth of the Hind an impassioned and magnanimous defence of his own character and conduct against the personalities of Stillingfleet and the stock charges of hypocrisy and mercenary motive which were freely brought against him on the occasion of his secession to the Church of Rome. This brilliant *Apologia pro vita sua* is written with such apparent earnestness and sincerity as to win the sympathy, if not the judgment, of the unprejudiced reader in favour of the poet. The recent conversions to Popery are then discussed, and the causes of their scarcity analysed with great acumen. The first of the two episodes follows, in which the disasters awaiting the Roman Catholics, who are represented as swallows tempted by sanguine counsellors to postpone their migration till it was too late, are foretold by the Panther with curious prescience of subsequent events. The Hind then appeals to the Panther to consent to the removal of disabilities from the Roman Catholics, and exposes the inconsistency of professing toleration while refusing to rescind the oppressive enactments of earlier times. The plea of conscientious scruples, so frequently urged at the time, is dismissed with contempt, and conscience is identified with self-interest. The Panther vainly alleges the need of defence against the encroachments of the Papacy

written
by the
author
 during the reign of a Roman Catholic, and foreshadows the abolition of religious tests under a Protestant successor. After an ineffectual effort to win her over to the wishes of the King, the Hind abandons her to her new ally the Wolf (the Presbyterians), and answers the episode of the Swallows by the fable of the Pigeons and the Buzzard, representing respectively the clergy of the Church of England and Dr. Burnet, the famous Bishop of Salisbury. This part of the poem (from l. 892 to the end), which contains distinct references to the Declaration of Indulgence, together with the Preface, may be supposed to have been written between the appearance of the Declaration of Indulgence on the 4th of April and the publication of the poem about a week after. The poem abruptly terminates with a prediction of the decay of the Church of England and the revival of arts and commerce as the results of the Declaration of Indulgence.

It is evident from internal considerations that the whole poem, with the exception of the last episode, was written before Dryden was aware of James' change of attitude towards the Church of England as it is directed to promoting an *entente cordiale* between her and the Church of Rome at the expense of the Nonconformists. This was James' original policy, until he found it thwarted by the refusal of the English Church to consent to the repeal of the Test Act, when he formed the design of bribing the Protestant dissenters to support him in removing the religious disabilities of the Roman Catholics by letting them share the benefits of the Declaration of Indulgence. This fully supports Dryden's own statement in the Preface that the task "was neither imposed

on me, nor so much as the subject given me by any man." The change in the royal policy rendered the poem useless for its original intention, and left it valuable solely as a masterly contribution to the general controversy, and the most brilliant example of cogent and luminous reasoning in verse, combined with pungent satire and splendid passages of declamation, within the whole range of English literature.

Of *The Hind and the Panther* especially it may be said, as Johnson says of Dryden's poetry in general, that "it abounds with knowledge, and sparkles with illustrations. There is scarcely any science or faculty that does not supply him with occasional images and lucky similitudes; every page discovers a mind very widely acquainted both with art and nature and in full possession of great stores of intellectual wealth." Allusions to the Bible, seen not only in definite quotation, but in single expressions and the very turn of the phrase; to the great classical writers of antiquity, especially Virgil whom he afterwards translated; to the Fathers of the Church; to the mediaeval schoolmen and to contemporary authors, are freely interwoven with the variegated fabric of the composition. He draws his illustrations from Neoplatonism and the Koran, from the Apocrypha and the Bestiaries, from the Thirty-nine Articles and from Aesop's Fables. He borrows his terms from astrology (in which he was a firm believer) and from alchemy, from the jargon of the law courts and the technicalities of navigation, from the learned language of theological controversy and the racy idioms of the street corner. Congreve tells us that "as his reading had been very extensive, so was he very happy in a

memory tenacious of everything he had read," and Dryden himself says that his thoughts flowed in upon him so fast that his only care was which to choose and which to reject.

Yet with all this exuberance of imagination and fertility of language it cannot be said with Pope that "copious Dryden wanted or forgot the last and greatest art, the art to blot." It cannot be said that he fell into the snare of the facile penman, the mob of gentlemen who write with ease—that easy writing which is hard reading—or composed two hundred verses in an hour, standing on one foot. He must have practised his "care which to choose and which to reject" with the utmost assiduity, so that *detereret sibi multa, recideret omne quod ultra perfectum traheretur*. He had the rare faculty of clear, consecutive, and sustained thought, and the equally rare faculty of expressing that thought in lucid, vigorous, and yet melodious language. His words seem to be just the right words, the inevitable words, the only words to represent the idea, so that when he has said a thing it has been said once for all—it seems impossible to conceive of it as otherwise said. "By him we were taught," says Johnson, "*sapere et fari*, to think naturally and express forcibly."

In reading *The Hind and the Panther*, we are conscious of being in the presence of a powerful intellect directed and controlled by robust common sense. We feel that "the power that predominated in his intellectual operations was rather strong reason than quick sensibility." Matthew Arnold calls Dryden "the inaugurator of an age of prose and reason." Yet it would be wrong to deny him any *divinae particulam aurae*, any spark of the etherial fire of romantic poetry. With more sympathetic

discrimination Lowell calls him "a strong thinker, who sometimes carried common sense to a height where it catches the light of a diviner air, and warmed reason till it had well nigh the illuminating property of intuition." He is not far from the kingdom of poesy who can write such lines as these :

"And saw (but scarcely could believe their eyes)
New blossoms flourish and new flowers arise,
As God had been abroad, and walking there
Had left His footsteps and reformed the year.
The sunny hills from far were seen to glow
With glittering beams, and in the meads below
The burnished brooks appeared with liquid gold to flow."

H. and P., III. 552-558.

Or describe the gradual decay of the faculties, the gathering gloom of old age, in a couplet like this :

"Behold him setting in his western skies,
The shadows lengthening as the vapours rise."

Abs. and Ach., 268, 269.

What Dryden might have done in the highest poetry had his genius (to use his own pathetic phrase) not been curbed, had he fallen on days more favourable for the development of the poetic imagination, it is hard to say without seeming to exaggerate. He was essentially the creature of his environment, and his environment was essentially prosaic. He was not one of those great literary pioneers who create their own epoch; he followed rather than led his public, taking up the fashion of the hour and carrying it to the highest perfection of which it was capable. The fashion of the hour was in favour of the rational rather than the emotional. In religion and in poetry the emotional had been hopelessly discredited. The fervour of Puritanism had degenerated

into the fanaticism of the Commonwealth, from which the reason of the nation had revolted. The fervour of Elizabethan literature had degenerated into the forced conceits and metaphysical subtleties of the Caroline decadence, from which the nation had equally revolted. In politics the ideal had yielded to expediency and compromise. After the confused clashing of the Civil War men had leisure to pause, to reflect, to analyse motive and to balance claims. Society was a chaos of conflicting elements which called for judgment and deliberation to reduce them to order. The spirit of the age was opposed to impulse and enthusiasm, and demanded the sober guidance and control of common sense. Certitude was sought in the unchanging laws of nature and the exact investigation of physical phenomena. The Royal Society was founded. The spirit of inquiry spread into every department of thought, and the Coffee House became the centre of discussion on all debateable topics, politics, religion, or literature. "We conquered France, but felt our captive's charms"—the charms of the new criticism of which Boileau was the great exponent, the apostle of the reasonable in writing. Nothing was now to be left to inspiration, "wit grew polite," and "correctness grew our care." A fit prose, as Matthew Arnold says, was needed, and it was impossible that a fit prose should establish itself among us without some touch of frost to the imaginative life of the soul, without some repression and silencing of poetry. Dryden gave the nation what it craved, and gave it of the very best of its kind, but not without some repression and silencing of poetry, some curbing of his imaginative genius.

It was not only an age of prose and reason, but of

Read
Done
not true!

political pamphleteering. The sword of the civil wars had been beaten into the pen of party strife, and the services of literary men were eagerly enlisted on one side or other of the great conflict. Dryden, with his practical character, his strong grasp of actuality, set himself to cater for the public taste, but his Pegasus was too fiery to conform its paces to the dull jog-trot of the political hack. His imaginative genius, repressed on the romantic side, found an outlet for its energies in satire, which he so touched with live coal from the altar of inspiration that it became no longer an ephemeral engine of party warfare, but a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰέ*, an everlasting possession of literature. In satire he found an ample field for the exercise of his wit and humour, his quick perception of the ludicrous, his penetrating insight into human nature, his keen and accurate observation, his power of vivid description, and his unrivalled command of clear and nervous language. If debarred from the supreme springs of Helicon, he found a secondary source of inspiration in the *sæva indignatio* of the satirist; the swift unerring intuition of inconsistency, self-deception, or wilful hypocrisy; the large and generous disdain of all that is petty, mean, and dishonourable. Though a terribly hard hitter he fought fairly, and when the bout was ended was willing to shake hands and bear no malice. "He was of a nature," says Congreve, "exceedingly humane and compassionate, ready to forgive injuries, and capable of a sincere reconciliation with those that had offended him." He did not "make satire a lampoon," or say, with the spitefulness of Pope,

"Whoe'er offends, at some unlucky time
Slides into verse, and hitches in a rhyme."

P+D
 Dryden's satire was not prompted by petty piques and personal antipathies, but by zeal for party and the strength of his convictions. Hence he dwelt not so much upon the moles and pimples, as upon the expression of the countenance, the spirit of the man that peers through the outward lineaments, and produced not caricatures but portraits. Like Shakespeare, he dealt with the universal in human nature, rather than with the "humours" of Ben Jonson, the peculiarities and eccentricities that Pope loved to exaggerate. Thus, as Lowell says, "Dryden's satire is still quoted for its comprehensiveness of application, Pope's rather for the elegance of its finish and the point of its phrase than for any deeper qualities." Pope's satirical descriptions are generally mere strings of polished epigrams with no organic unity of design. Each limb may be elaborately chiselled, but he is *infelix operis summa, quia ponere totum nescit*. We are momentarily dazzled by the rapid succession of brilliant effects, but they leave no definite impression on the mind. Dryden saw the character steadily and saw it whole. He thought, not in couplets like Pope, but in paragraphs, which gives the impression of sustained power, of "energy divine," to his "two coursers of ethereal race."

The general characteristics of *The Hind and the Panther* may be summed up in the words of Johnson: "The poem is written with great smoothness of metre, a wide extent of knowledge, and an abundant multiplicity of images; the controversy is embellished with pointed sentences, diversified by illustrations, and enlivened by sallies of invective."

THE HIND AND THE PANTHER.

A POEM.

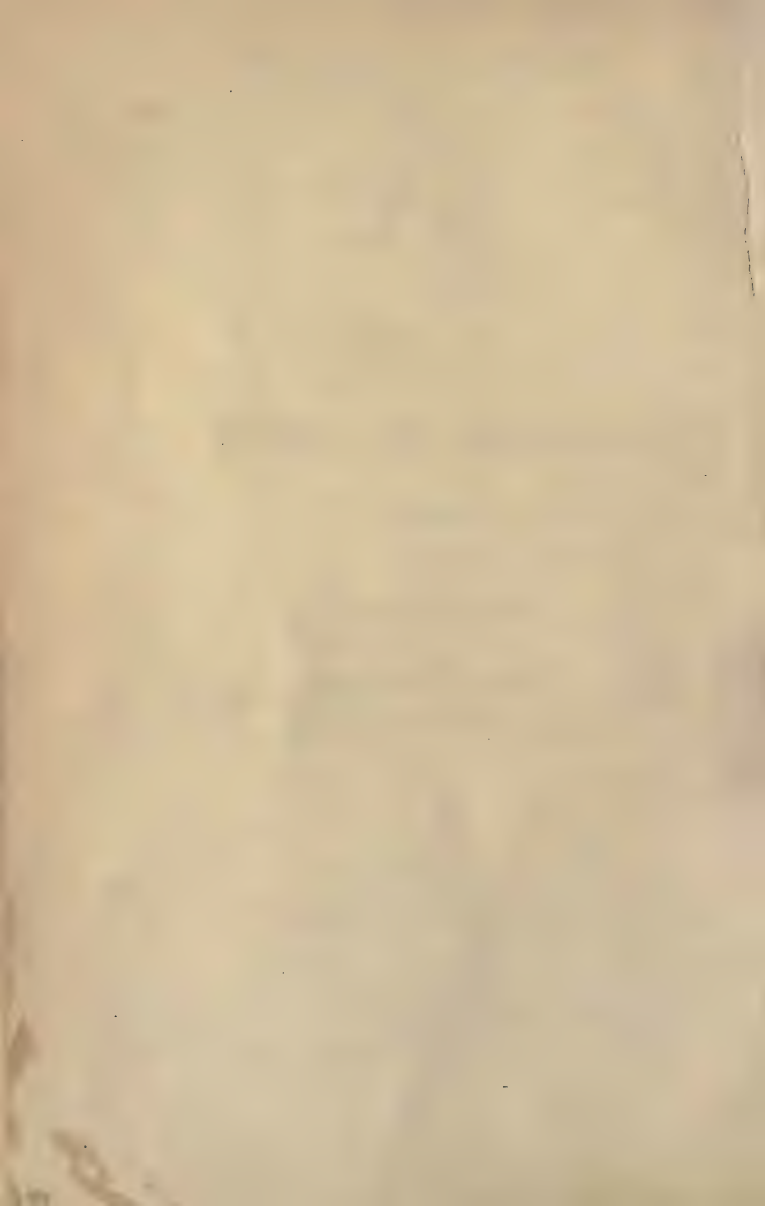
IN THREE PARTS.

'Antiquam exquirite matrem.'

VIRG. [*Aen.* iii. 96].

'Et vera incesso patuit Dea.'

[*Ibid.* i. 405].



TO THE READER.

THE nation is in too high a ferment for me to expect either fair war or even so much as fair quarter from a reader of the opposite party. All men are engaged either on this side or that; and though conscience is the common word which is given by both, yet if a writer fall among enemies and cannot give the marks of their conscience, he is knocked down before the reasons of his own are heard. A Preface, therefore, which is but a bespeaking of favour, is altogether useless. What I desire the reader should know concerning me he will find in the body of the poem, if he have but the patience to peruse it. Only this advertisement let him take beforehand, which relates to the merits of the cause. No general characters of parties (call 'em either Sects or Churches) can be so fully and exactly drawn as to comprehend all the several members of 'em; at least all such as are received under that denomination. For example: there are some of the Church by law established who envy not liberty of conscience to Dissenters, as being well satisfied that, according to their own principles, they ought not to persecute them. Yet these by reason of their fewness I could not distinguish from the numbers of the rest, with whom they are embodied in one common name. On the other side, there are many of our sects, and more indeed than I could reasonably have hoped, who have withdrawn themselves from the communion of the Panther and embraced this gracious Indulgence

of his Majesty in point of toleration. But neither to the one nor the other of these is this Satire any way intended: 'tis aimed only at the refractory and disobedient on either side. For those who have come over to the royal party are consequently supposed to be out of gun-shot. Our physicians have observed, that in process of time some diseases have abated of their virulence and have in a manner worn out their malignity, so as to be no longer mortal: and why may not I suppose the same concerning some of those who have formerly been enemies to kingly government as well as Catholic religion? I hope they have now another notion of both, as having found by comfortable experience that the doctrine of persecution is far from being an article of our faith.

'Tis not for any private man to censure the proceedings of a foreign Prince; but without suspicion of flattery I may praise our own, who has taken contrary measures, and those more suitable to the spirit of Christianity. Some of the Dissenters, in their addresses to his Majesty, have said 'that he has restored God to his empire over conscience.' I confess I dare not stretch the figure to so great a boldness; but I may safely say, that conscience is the royalty and prerogative of every private man. He is absolute in his own breast, and accountable to no earthly power for that which passes only betwixt God and him. Those who are driven into the fold are, generally speaking, rather made hypocrites than converts.

This indulgence being granted to all the sects, it ought in reason to be expected that they should both receive it and receive it thankfully. For at this time of day to refuse the benefit and adhere to those whom they have esteemed their persecutors, what is it else but publicly to own that they suffered not before for conscience sake, but only out of pride and obstinacy to separate from a Church for those impositions which they now judge may be lawfully obeyed? After they have so long contended for their classical ordination (not to

speaking of rites and ceremonies), will they at length submit to an episcopal? If they can go so far out of complaisance to their old enemies, methinks a little reason should persuade 'em to take another step, and see whither that would lead 'em.

Of the receiving this toleration thankfully I shall say no more than that they ought, and I doubt not they will, consider from what hands they received it. 'Tis not from a Cyrus, a heathen prince and a foreigner, but from a Christian king, their native sovereign, who expects a return in specie from them, that the kindness which he has graciously shown them may be retaliated on those of his own persuasion.

As for the Poem in general, I will only thus far satisfy the reader, that it was neither imposed on me nor so much as the subject given me by any man. It was written during the last winter and the beginning of this spring; though with long interruptions of ill health and other hindrances. About a fortnight before I had finished it, his Majesty's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience came abroad: which if I had so soon expected, I might have spared myself the labour of writing many things which are contained in the Third Part of it. But I was always in some hope that the Church of England might have been persuaded to have taken off the Penal Laws and the Test, which was one design of the Poem when I proposed to myself the writing of it.

It is evident that some part of it was only occasional, and not first intended: I mean that defence of myself, to which every honest man is bound, when he is injuriously attacked in print: and I refer myself to the judgment of those who have read the Answer to the Defence of the late King's Papers, and that of the Duchess (in which last I was concerned), how charitably I have been represented there. I am now informed both of the author and supervisors of his pamphlet, and will reply, when I think he can affront me: for I am of Socrates's opinion, that all creatures cannot. In the mean time let him consider whether he deserved not a more severe reprehension than I gave him formerly, for using

so little respect to the memory of those whom he pretended to answer ; and at his leisure look out for some original Treatise of Humility, written by any Protestant in English, I believe I may say in any other tongue : for the magnified piece of Duncomb on that subject, which either he must mean or none, and with which another of his fellows has upbraided me, was translated from the Spanish of Rodriguez ; though with the omission of the seventeenth, the twenty-fourth, the twenty-fifth, and the last chapter, which will be found in comparing of the books.

He would have insinuated to the world, that her late Highness died not a Roman Catholic ; he declares himself to be now satisfied to the contrary, in which he has given up the cause, for matter of fact was the principal debate betwixt us. In the mean time, he would dispute the motives of her change ; how preposterously, let all men judge, when he seemed to deny the subject of the controversy, the change itself. And because I would not take up this ridiculous challenge, he tells the world I cannot argue : but he may as well infer that a Catholic cannot fast because he will not take up the cudgels against Mrs. James to confute the Protestant religion.

3 I have but one word more to say concerning the Poem as such, and abstracting from the matters, either religious or civil, which are handled in it. The First Part, consisting most in general characters and narration, I have endeavoured to raise, and give it the majestic turn of heroic poesy. The second being matter of dispute, and chiefly concerning Church authority, I was obliged to make as plain and perspicuous as possibly I could ; yet not wholly neglecting the numbers, though I had not frequent occasions for the magnificence of verse. The third, which has more of the nature of domestic conversation, is or ought to be more free and familiar than the two former.

6 There are in it two Episodes or Fables, which are interwoven with the main design ; so that they are properly

parts of it, though they are also distinct stories of themselves. In both of these I have made use of the commonplaces of satire, whether true or false, which are urged by the members of the one Church against the other ; at which I hope no reader of either party will be scandalized, because they are not of my invention, but as old, to my knowledge, as the times of Boccace and Chaucer on the one side and as those of the Reformation on the other.

5.41.

THE HIND AND THE PANTHER.

A MILK-WHITE Hind, immortal and unchanged,
 Fed on the lawns and in the forest ranged ;
 Without unspotted, innocent within,
 She feared no danger, for she knew no sin.
 Yet had she oft been chased with horns and hounds 5
 And Scythian shafts, and many winged wounds
 Aimed at her heart ; was often forced to fly,
 And doomed to death, though fated not to die.✓)

Not so her young ; for their unequal line
 Was hero's make, half human, half divine. 10
 Their earthly mould obnoxious was to fate,
 The immortal part assumed immortal state.
 Of these a slaughtered army lay in blood,
 Extended o'er the Caledonian wood,
 Their native walk ; whose vocal blood arose 15
 And cried for pardon on their perjured foes.
 Their fate was fruitful, and the sanguine seed,
 Endued with souls, increased the sacred breed.
 So captive Israel multiplied in chains,
 A numerous exile, and enjoyed her pains. 20
 With grief and gladness mixed, their mother viewed
 Her martyred offspring and their race renewed ;
 Their corps to perish, but their kind to last,
 So much the deathless plant the dying fruit surpassed.
 Panting and pensive now she ranged alone, 25

And wandered in the kingdoms once her own.
 The common hunt, though from their rage restrained
 By sovereign power, her company disdained,
 Grinned as they passed, and with a glaring eye
 Gave gloomy signs of secret enmity. 30
 'Tis true she bounded by and tripped so light,
 They had not time to take a steady sight ;
 For truth has such a face and such a mien
 As to be loved needs only to be seen.
 The bloody Bear, an independent beast, 35
 Unlicked to form, in groans her hate expressed.
 Among the timorous kind the quaking Hare
 Professed neutrality, but would not swear.
 Next her the buffoon Ape, as atheists use,
 Mimicked all sects and had his own to chuse ; 40
 Still when the Lion looked, his knees he bent,
 And paid at church a courtier's compliment.
 The bristled baptist Boar, impure as he,
 But whitened with the foam of sanctity,
 With fat pollutions filled the sacred place 45
 And mountains levelled in his furious race ;
 ✓ So first rebellion founded was in grace.
 But, since the mighty ravage which he made
 In German forests had his guilt betrayed,
 With broken tusks and with a borrowed name, 50
 He shunned the vengeance and concealed the shame,
 So lurked in sects unseen. With greater guile
False Reynard fed on consecrated spoil ;
 The graceless beast by Athanasius first
 Was chased from Nice, then by Socinus nursed ; 55
 His impious race their blasphemy renewed,
 And Nature's king through Nature's optics viewed ;
 Reversed they viewed him lessened to their eye,
 Nor in an infant could a God descry.
 New swarming sects to this obliquely tend, 60
 Hence they began, and here they all will end.

What weight of ancient witness can prevail,
If private reason hold the public scale?
But, gracious God, how well dost thou provide
For erring judgments an unerring guide! 65
Thy throne is darkness in the abyss of light,
A blaze of glory that forbids the sight.
O teach me to believe Thee thus concealed,
And search no farther than Thy self revealed;
But her alone for my director take, 70
Whom Thou hast promised never to forsake!
My thoughtless youth was winged with vain desires;
My manhood, long misled by wandering fires,
Followed false lights; and when their glimpse was gone
My pride struck out new sparkles of her own. 75
Such was I, such by nature still I am;
Be Thine the glory and be mine the shame!
Good life be now my task; my doubts are done; —
What more could fright my faith than Three in One?
Can I believe eternal God could lie 80
Disguised in mortal mould and infancy,
That the great Maker of the world could die?
And, after that, trust my imperfect sense
Which calls in question His omnipotence?
Can I my reason to my faith compel, 85
And shall my sight and touch and taste rebel?
Superior faculties are set aside;
Shall their subservient organs be my guide?
Then let the moon usurp the rule of day,
And winking tapers show the sun his way; 90
For what my senses can themselves perceive
I need no revelation to believe.
Can they, who say the Host should be descried
By sense, define a body glorified,
Impassible, and penetrating parts? 95
Let them declare by what mysterious arts
He shot that body through the opposing might

Of bolts and bars impervious to the light,
 And stood before His train confessed in open sight.
 For since thus wondrously He passed, 'tis plain 100
 One single place two bodies did contain,
 And sure the same omnipotence as well
 Can make one body in more places dwell.
 Let Reason then at her own quarry fly,
 But how can finite grasp infinity? 105
 'Tis urged again, that faith did first commence
 By miracles, which are appeals to sense,
 And thence concluded, that our sense must be
 The motive still of credibility.
 For latter ages must on former wait, 110
 And what began belief must propagate.
 But winnow well this thought, and you shall find
 'Tis light as chaff that flies before the wind.
 Were all those wonders wrought by power divine
 As means or ends of some more deep design? 115
 Most sure as means, whose end was this alone,
 To prove the Godhead of the Eternal Son.
 God thus asserted, man is to believe
 Beyond what Sense and Reason can conceive,
 And for mysterious things of faith rely 120
 On the proponent Heaven's authority.
 If then our faith we for our guide admit,
 Vain is the farther search of human wit;
 As when the building gains a surer stay,
 We take the unuseful scaffolding away. 125
 Reason by sense no more can understand;
 The game is played into another hand.
 Why choose we then like bilanders to creep
 Along the coast, and land in view to keep,
 When safely we may launch into the deep? 130
 In the same vessel which our Saviour bore,
 Himself the pilot, let us leave the shore,
 And with a better guide a better world explore.

[Could He his Godhead veil with flesh and blood,
And not veil these again to be our food ? 135
His grace in both is equal in extent ;
The first affords us life, the second nourishment.
And if He can, why all this frantic pain
To construe what his clearest words contain,
And make a riddle what He made so plain ? 140
To take up half on trust and half to try,
Name it not faith, but bungling bigotry.
Both knave and fool the merchant we may call
To pay great sums and to compound the small, 144
For who would break with Heaven, and would not break for all ?
Rest then, my soul, from endless anguish freed :
Nor sciences thy guide, nor sense thy creed.
X | Faith is the best insurer of thy bliss ;
The bank above must fail before the venture miss.
But Heaven and heaven-born faith are far from thee, ✓ 150
Thou first apostate to divinity.
Unkennelled range in thy Polonian plains ;
A fiercer foe, the insatiate Wolf remains.
Too boastful Britain, please thyself no more
That beasts of prey are banished from thy shore ; 155
The Bear, the Boar, and every savage name,
Wild in effect, though in appearance tame,
Lay waste thy woods, destroy thy blissful bower,
And, muzzled though they seem, the mutes devour.
More haughty than the rest, the wolfish race 160
Appear with belly gaunt and famished face ;
Never was so deformed a beast of grace.
His ragged tail betwixt his legs he wears,
Close clapped for shame ; but his rough crest he rears,
And pricks up his predestinating ears. 165
His wild disordered walk, his haggared eyes,
Did all the bestial citizens surprise ;
Though feared and hated, yet he ruled a while,
As captain or companion of the spoil.

Full many a year his hateful head had been 170
 For tribute paid, nor since in Cambria seen ;
 The last of all the litter scaped by chance,
 And from Geneva first infested France.
 Some authors thus his pedigree will trace,
 But others write him of an upstart race ; 175
 Because of Wickliff's brood no mark he brings
 But his innate antipathy to kings.
 In Israel some believed him whelped long since,
 When the proud Sanhedrim oppressed the Prince,
 Or, since he will be Jew, derive him higher, 180
 When Corah with his brethren did conspire
 From Moses' hand the sovereign sway to wrest,
 And Aaron of his ephod to devest ;
 Till opening earth made way for all to pass,
 And could not bear the burden of a class. 185
 The Fox and he came shuffled in the dark,
 If ever they were stowed in Noah's ark ;
 Perhaps not made ; for all their barking train
 The Dog (a common species) will contain ;
 And some wild curs, who from their masters ran, 190
 Abhorring the supremacy of man,
 In woods and caves the rebel-race began.
 O happy pair, how well have you increased !
 What ills in Church and State have you redressed !
 With teeth untried and rudiments of claws, 195
 Your first essay was on your native laws :
 Those having torn with ease and trampled down,
 Your fangs you fastened on the mitred crown,
 And freed from God and monarchy your town.
 What though your native kennel still be small, 200
 Bounded betwixt a puddle and a wall ;
 Yet your victorious colonies are sent
 Where the North Ocean girds the continent.
 Quickened with fire below, your monsters breed
 In fenny Holland and in fruitful Tweed ; 205

And, like the first, the last affects to be
Drawn to the dregs of a democracy.
As, where in fields the fairy rounds are seen,
A rank sour herbage rises on the green ;
So, springing where these midnight elves advance, 210
Rebellion prints the footsteps of the dance.
Such are their doctrines, such contempt they show
To Heaven above and to their Prince below,
As none but traitors and blasphemers know.
God like the tyrant of the skies is placed, 215
And kings, like slaves, beneath the crowd debased.
So fulsome is their food that flocks refuse
To bite, and only dogs for physic use.
As, where the lightning runs along the ground,
No husbandry can heal the blasting wound ; 220
Nor bladed grass nor bearded corn succeeds,
But scales of scurf and putrefaction breeds :
Such wars, such waste, such fiery tracks of dearth
Their zeal has left, and such a teemless earth.
But as the poisons of the deadliest kind 225
Are to their own unhappy coasts confined,
As only Indian shades of sight deprive,
And magic plants will but in Colchos thrive,
So Presbytery and pestilential zeal
Can only flourish in a common-weal. 230
From Celtic woods is chased the wolfish crew ;
But ah ! some pity e'en to brutes is due :
Their native walks, methinks, they might enjoy,
Curbed of their native malice to destroy.
Of all the tyrannies on human kind 235
The worst is that which persecutes the mind.
Let us but weigh at what offence we strike ;
'Tis but because we cannot think alike.
In punishing of this, we overthrow
The laws of nations and of nature too. 240
Beasts are the subjects of tyrannic sway,

Where still the stronger on the weaker prey ;

Man only of a softer mould is made,

Not for his fellows' ruin, but their aid ;

Created kind, beneficent and free,

245

The noble image of the Deity.

One portion of informing fire was given

To brutes, the inferior family of Heaven :

The Smith Divine, as with a careless beat,

Struck out the mute creation at a heat ;

250

But when arrived at last to human race,

The Godhead took a deep considering space,

And, to distinguish man from all the rest,

Unlocked the sacred treasures of his breast,

And mercy mixed with reason did impart,

255

One to his head, the other to his heart ;

Reason to rule, but mercy to forgive,

The first is law, the last prerogative.

And like his mind his outward form appeared,

When issuing naked to the wondering herd

260

He charmed their eyes, and for they loved they feared.

Not armed with horns of arbitrary might,

Or claws to seize their furry spoils in fight,

Or with increase of feet to o'ertake them in their flight :

Of easy shape, and pliant every way,

265

Confessing still the softness of his clay,

And kind as kings upon their coronation day ;

With open hands, and with extended space

Of arms to satisfy a large embrace.

Thus kneaded up with milk, the new-made man

270

His kingdom o'er his kindred world began ;

Till knowledge misapplied, misunderstood,

And pride of empire, soured his balmy blood.

Then, first rebelling, his own stamp he coins ;

The murderer Cain was latent in his loins ;

275

And blood began its first and loudest cry

For differing worship of the Deity.

Thus persecution rose, and farther space
Produced the mighty hunter of his race.

'Not so the blessed Pan his flock increased, 280
Content to fold them from the famished beast :
Mild were his laws ; the Sheep and harmless Hind
Were never of the persecuting kind.

Such pity now the pious pastor shows,
Such mercy from the British Lion flows, 285
That both provide protection for their foes.

Oh happy regions, Italy and Spain,
Which never did those monsters entertain !
The Wolf, the Bear, the Boar, can there advance
No native claim of just inheritance ; 290

And self-preserving laws, severe in show,
May guard their fences from the invading foe.
Where birth has placed them, let them safely share
The common benefit of vital air ;

Themselves unharmed, let them live unharmed, 295
Their jaws disabled and their claws disarmed ;
Here, only in nocturnal howlings bold,
They dare not seize the Hind nor leap the fold.

More powerful, and as vigilant as they,
The Lion awfully forbids the prey. 300

Their rage repressed, though pinched with famine sore,
They stand aloof, and tremble at his roar ;
Much is their hunger, but their fear is more.

These are the chief ; to number o'er the rest
^{Enthusiasts} And stand, like Adam, naming every beast, 305

Were weary work ; nor will the Muse describe
A slimy-born and sun-begotten tribe,
Who, far from steeples and their sacred sound,
In fields their sullen conventicles found.

These gross, half-animated lumps I leave, 310
Nor can I think what thoughts they can conceive.
But if they think at all, 'tis sure no higher
Than matter put in motion may aspire ;

Souls that can scarce ferment their mass of clay,
 So drossy, so divisible are they, 315
 As would but serve pure bodies for allay,
 Such souls as shards produce, such beetle things,
 As only buzz to heaven with evening wings,
 Strike in the dark, offending but by chance,
 Such are the blindfold blows of ignorance. 320
 They know not beings, and but hate a name ;
 To them the Hind and Panther are the same.
 The Panther, sure the noblest next the Hind,
 And fairest creature of the spotted kind ;
 Oh, could her inborn stains be washed away, 325
 She were too good to be a beast of prey !
 How can I praise or blame, and not offend,
 Or how divide the frailty from the friend ?
 Her faults and virtues lie so mixed, that she
 Nor wholly stands condemned nor wholly free. 330
 Then, like her injured Lion, let me speak ;
 He cannot bend her and he would not break.
 Unkind already, and estranged in part,
 The Wolf begins to share her wandering heart.
 Though unpolluted yet with actual ill, 335
 She half commits who sins but in her will.
 If, as our dreaming Platonists report,
 There could be spirits of a middle sort,
 Too black for heaven and yet too white for hell,
 Who just dropped half-way down, nor lower fell ; 340
 So poised, so gently she descends from high,
 It seems a soft dismissal from the sky.
 Her house not ancient, whatso'er pretence
 Her clergy heralds make in her defence ;
 A second century not half-way run, 345
 Since the new honours of her blood begun.
 So schism begot ; and sacrilege and she,
 A well matched pair, got graceless heresy.
 God's and kings' rebels have the same good cause,

To trample down divine and human laws ; 350
Both would be called reformers, and their hate
Alike destructive both to Church and State.
The fruit proclaims the plant ; a lawless Prince
By luxury reformed incontinence,
By ruins charity, by riots abstinence. 355
Confessions, fasts, and penance set aside ;
Oh with what ease we follow such a guide,
Where souls are starved and senses gratified !
Religion shows a rosy-coloured face,
Not hattered out with drudging works of grace : 360
A down-hill reformation rolls apace.
What flesh and blood would crowd the narrow gate,
Or, till they waste their pampered paunches, wait ?
All would be happy at the cheapest rate.
Though our lean faith these rigid laws has given, 365
The full-fed Mussulman goes fat to heaven ;
For his Arabian prophet with delights
Of sense allured his Eastern proselytes.
The jolly Luther, reading him, began
To interpret Scriptures by his Alcoran ; 370
To grub the thorns beneath our tender feet
And make the paths of Paradise more sweet,
Bethought him of a wife, ere half-way gone,
For 'twas uneasy travelling alone ;
And in this masquerade of mirth and love 375
Mistook the bliss of Heaven for Bacchanals above.
Sure he presumed of praise, who came to stock
The etherial pastures with so fair a flock,
Burnished and battenning on their food, to show
The diligence of careful herds below. 380
Our Panther, though like these she changed her head,
Her front erect with majesty she bore,
The crosier wielded and the mitre wore.
Her upper part of decent discipline
Showed affectation of an ancient line ; 385

And Fathers, Councils, Church and Church's head,
 Were on her reverend phylacteries read.
 But what disgraced and disavowed the rest
 Was Calvin's brand, that stigmatised the beast.
 Thus, like a creature of a double kind, 390
 In her own labyrinth she lives confined;
 To foreign lands no sound of her is come,
 Humbly content to be despised at home.
 Such is her faith, where good cannot be had,
 At least she leaves the refuse of the bad. 395
 Nice in her choice of ill, though not of best,
 And least deformed, because reformed the least.
 In doubtful points betwixt her differing friends,
 Where one for substance, one for sign contends,
 Their contradicting terms she strives to join; 400
 Sign shall be substance, substance shall be sign.
 A real presence all her sons allow,
 And yet 'tis flat idolatry to bow,
 Because the Godhead's there they know not how.
 Her novices are taught that bread and wine 405
 Are but the visible and outward sign,
 Received by those who in communion join.
 But the inward grace or the thing signified,
 His blood and body who to save us died,
 The faithful this thing signified receive: 410
 What is't those faithful then partake or leave?
 For what is signified and understood
 Is by her own confession flesh and blood.
 Then by the same acknowledgment we know
 They take the sign and take the substance too. 415
 The literal sense is hard to flesh and blood,
 But ~~nonsense never can be understood.~~
 Her ~~wild belief on every wave~~ is tost;
 But sure no Church can better morals boast.
 True to her King her principles are found; 420
 Oh that her practice were but half so sound!

Stedfast in various turns of state she stood,
And sealed her vowed affection with her blood :
Nor will I meanly tax her constancy,
That interest or obligation made the tie, 425
(Bound to the fate of murdered monarchy.)
Before the sounding axe so falls the vine,
Whose tender branches round the poplar twine.
She chose her ruin, and resigned her life,
In death undaunted as an Indian wife : 430
A rare example ! but some souls we see
Grow hard and stiffen with adversity :
Yet these by Fortune's favours are undone ;
Resolved, into a baser form they run,
And bore the wind, but cannot bear the sun. 435
Let this be nature's frailty or her fate,
Or Isgrim's counsel, her new chosen mate ;
Still she's the fairest of the fallen crew ;
No mother more indulgent but the true.
Fierce to her foes, yet fears her force to try, 440
Because she wants innate aucturity ;
For how can she constrain them to obey
Who has herself cast off the lawful sway ?
Rebellion equals all, and those who toil
In common theft will share the common spoil. 445
Let her produce the title and the right
Against her old superiors first to fight ;
If she reform by text, even that's as plain
For her own rebels to reform again.
As long as words a different sense will bear, 450
And each may be his own interpreter,
Our airy faith will no foundation find :
The word's a weathercock for every wind :
The Bear, the Fox, the Wolf by turns prevail ;
The most in power supplies the present gale. 455
The wretched Panther cries aloud for aid
To Church and Councils, whom she first betrayed ;

No help from Fathers or Tradition's train :
Those ancient guides she taught us to disdain,
And by that Scripture, which she once abused 460
To Reformation, stands herself accused.
What bills for breach of laws can she prefer,
Expounding which she owns herself may err ?
And, after all her winding ways are tried,
If doubts arise, she slips herself aside 465
And leaves the private conscience for the guide.
If then that conscience set the offender free,
It bars her claim to Church aucturity.
How can she censure, or what crime pretend,
But Scripture may be construed to defend ? 470
Even those whom for rebellion she transmits
To civil power, her doctrine first acquits ;
Because no disobedience can ensue,
Where no submission to a judge is due ;
Each judging for himself, by her consent, 475
Whom thus absolved she sends to punishment.
Suppose the magistrate revenge her cause,
'Tis only for transgressing human laws.
How answering to its end a Church is made
Whose power is but to counsel and persuade ? 480
~~Oh solid rock, on which secure she stands !~~
~~Eternal house, not built with mortal hands !~~
Oh sure defence against the infernal gate,
A patent during pleasure of the State !
Thus is the Panther neither loved nor feared, 485
A mere mock queen of a divided herd ;
Whom soon by lawful power she might control,
Her self a part submitted to the whole.
Then, as the moon who first receives the light
By which she makes our nether regions bright, 490
So might she shine, reflecting from afar
The rays she borrowed from a better star ;
~~Big with the beams which from her mother flew,~~

And reigning o'er the rising tides below :
Now mixing with a savage crowd she goes, 495
And meanly flatters her inveterate foes,
Ruled while she rules, and losing every hour
Her wretched remnants of precarious power.

One evening, while the cooler shade she sought,
Revolving many a melancholy thought, 500
Alone she walked, and looked around in vain
With rueful visage for her vanished train :
None of her sylvan subjects made their court ;
Levees and couchees passed without resort.

So hardly can usurpers manage well 505
Those whom they first instructed to rebel.

More liberty begets desire of more ;
The hunger still increases with the store.

Without respect they brushed along the wood,
Each in his clan, and filled with loathsome food 510

Asked no permission to the neighbouring flood.

The Panther, full of inward discontent,
Since they would go, before them wisely went ;

Supplying want of power by drinking first,
As if she gave them leave to quench their thirst. 515

Among the rest, the Hind with fearful face
Beheld from far the common watering-place,

Nor durst approach ; till with an awful roar
The sovereign Lion bad her fear no more.

Encouraged thus, she brought her younglings nigh, 520
Watching the motions of her patron's eye,

And drank a sober draught ; the rest amazed
Stood mutely still and on the stranger gazed ;

Surveyed her part by part, and sought to find
The ten-horned monster in the harmless Hind, 525

Such as the Wolf and Panther had designed.

They thought at first they dreamed ; for 'twas offence
With them to question certitude of sense,

Their guide in faith : but nearer when they drew,

(And had the faultless object full in view, 530
Lord, how they all admired her heavenly hue !
Some who before her fellowship disdained,
Scarce, and but scarce, from inborn rage restrained,
Now frisked about her and old kindred feigned.
Whether for love or interest, every sect 535
Of all the savage nation showed respect.
The viceroy Panther could not awe the herd ;
The more the company, the less they feared.
The surly Wolf with secret envy burst,
Yet could not howl, the Hind had seen him first ; 540
But what he durst not speak, the Panther durst.
For when the herd sufficed did late repair
To ferny heaths and to their forest lair,
She made a mannerly excuse to stay,
Proffering the Hind to wait her half the way ; 545
That, since the sky was clear, an hour of talk
Might help her to beguile the tedious walk.
With much good-will the motion was embraced,
To chat a while on their adventures passed ;
Nor had the grateful Hind so soon forgot 550
Her friend and fellow-sufferer in the Plot.
Yet wondering how of late she grew estranged,
Her forehead cloudy and her countenance changed,
She thought this hour the occasion would present
To learn her secret cause of discontent, 555
Which well she hoped might be with ease redressed,
Considering her a well-bred civil beast
And more a gentlewoman than the rest.
After some common talk what rumours ran,
The lady of the spotted muff began. 560

THE SECOND PART.

'DAME,' said the Panther, 'times are mended well *Am I right?*
 Since late among the Philistines you fell.
 The toils were pitched, a spacious tract of ground
 With expert huntsmen was encompassed round ;
 The enclosure narrowed ; the sagacious power 5
 Of hounds and death drew nearer every hour.
 'Tis true, the younger Lion scaped the snare,
 But all your priestly calves lay struggling there,
 As sacrifices on their altars laid ;
 While you, their careful mother, wisely fled, 10
 Not trusting destiny to save your head.
 For whate'er promises you have applied
 To your unfailing Church, the surer side
 Is four fair legs in danger to provide ;
 And whate'er tales of Peter's chair you tell, 15
 Yet, saving reverence of the miracle,
 The better luck was yours to scape so well.'
 'As I remember,' said the sober Hind,
 'Those toils were for your own dear self designed,
 As well as me ; and with the self-same throw 20
 To catch the quarry and the vermin too,
 (Forgive the slanderous tongues that called you so.)
 Howe'er you take it now, the common cry
 Then ran you down for your rank loyalty.
 Besides, in Popery they thought you nurst, 25
 As evil tongues will ever speak the worst,
 Because some forms and ceremonies some
 You kept, and stood in the main question dumb.
 Dumb you were born indeed ; but thinking long,
 The Test, it seems, at last has loosed your tongue. 30
 And to explain what your forefathers meant

By real presence in the Sacrament,
After long fencing pushed against a wall,
Your salvo comes, that he's not there at all :
There changed your faith, and what may change may fall.
Who can believe what varies every day, 36
Nor ever was nor ever will be at a stay ?'

'Tortures may force the tongue untruths to tell,
And I ne'er owned myself infallible,'
Replied the Panther : 'grant such presence were, 40
Yet in your sense I never owned it there.
A real virtue we by faith receive,
And that we in the sacrament believe.'

'Then,' said the Hind, 'as you the matter state,
Not only Jesuits can equivocate ; 45
For *real*, as you now the word expound,
From solid substance dwindles to a sound.
Methinks an Æsop's fable you repeat ;
You know who took the shadow for the meat.
Your Church's substance thus you change at will, 50
And yet retain your former figure still.
I freely grant you spoke to save your life,
For then you lay beneath the butcher's knife.
Long time you fought, redoubled battery bore,
But, after all, against your self you swore ; 55
Your former self, for every hour your form
Is chopped and changed, like winds before a storm.
Thus fear and interest will prevail with some ;
For all have not the gift of martyrdom.'

The Panther grinned at this, and thus replied : 60
'That men may err was never yet denied.
But, if that common principle be true,
The cannon, dame, is levelled full at you.
But, shunning long disputes, I fain would see
That wondrous wight, Infallibility. 65
Is he from Heaven, this mighty champion, come ?
Or lodged below in subterranean Rome ?

First, seat him somewhere, and derive his race,
Or else conclude that nothing has no place.'

' Suppose, (though I disown it,)' said the Hind, 70

' The certain mansion were not yet assigned :

The doubtful residence no proof can bring

Against the plain existence of the thing.

Because philosophers may disagree

If sight by emission or reception be, 75

Shall it be thence inferred I do not see ?

But you require an answer positive,

Which yet, when I demand, you dare not give ;

For fallacies in universals live.

I then affirm that this unfailing guide 80

In Pope and General Councils must reside ;

Both lawful, both combined ; what one decrees

By numerous votes, the other ratifies ;

On this undoubted sense the Church relies.

'Tis true some doctors in a scantier space, 85

I mean in each apart, contract the place.

Some, *who to greater length extend the line,

The Church's after acceptation join.

This last circumference appears too wide ;

The Church diffused is by the Council tied ; 90

As members by their representatives

Obliged to laws which Prince and Senate gives.

Thus some contract and some enlarge the space :

In Pope and Council who denies the place, ✓

Assisted from above with God's unfailing grace ? 95

Those canons all the needful points contain ;

Their sense so obvious and their words so plain,

That no disputes about the doubtful text

Have hitherto the labouring world perplexed.

If any should in after times appear, 100

New Councils must be called, to make the meaning clear ;

Because in them the power supreme resides,

And all the promises are to the guides.

This may be taught with sound and safe defence ;
But mark how sandy is your own pretence, 105
Who, setting Councils, Pope, and Church aside,
Are every man his own presuming guide. ✓
The Sacred Books, you say, are full and plain,
And every needful point of truth contain ;
All who can read interpreters may be. 110
Thus, though your several Churches disagree,
Yet every saint has to himself alone
The secret of this philosophic stone.
These principles your jarring sects unite,
When differing doctors and disciples fight ; 115
Though Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, holy chiefs,
Have made a battle royal of beliefs,
Or, like wild horses, several ways have whirled
The tortured text about the Christian world,
Each Jehu lashing on with furious force, 120
That Turk or Jew could not have used it worse.
No matter what dissension leaders make,
Where every private man may save a stake :
Ruled by the Scripture and his own advice,
Each has a blind by-path to Paradise, 125
Where driving in a circle slow or fast
Opposing sects are sure to meet at last.
A wondrous charity you have in store
For all reformed to pass the narrow door,
So much, that Mahomet had scarcely more. 130
For he, kind prophet, was for damning none,
But Christ and Moses were to save their own ;
Himself was to secure his chosen race,
Though reason good for Turks to take the place,
And he allowed to be the better man 135
In virtue of his holier Alcoran.'

'True,' said the Panther, 'I shall ne'er deny
My brethren may be saved as well as I :
Though Huguenots condemn our ordination,

Succession, ministerial vocation, 140
And Luther, more mistaking what he read,
Misjoins the sacred body with the bread,
Yet, lady, still remember I maintain
The Word in needful points is only plain.'

'Needless or needful I not now contend, 145
For still you have a loophole for a friend,'
Rejoined the matron; 'but the rule you lay
Has led whole flocks and leads them still astray
In weighty points, and full damnation's way.

For did not Arius first, Socinus now 150
The Son's eternal Godhead disavow?

And did not these by gospel texts alone
Condemn our doctrine and maintain their own?
Have not all heretics the same pretence,
To plead the Scriptures in their own defence? 155
How did the Nicene Council then decide

That strong debate? was it by Scriptures tried?
No, sure to those the rebel would not yield;
Squadrons of texts he marshalled in the field:
That was but civil war, an equal set, 160

Where piles with piles, and eagles eagles met.
With texts point-blank and plain he faced the foe:
And did not Satan tempt our Saviour so?

The good old bishops took a simpler way;
Each asked but what he heard his father say, 165
Or how he was instructed in his youth,
And by tradition's force upheld the truth.'

The Panther smiled at this, and 'when,' said she,
'Were those first Councils disallowed by me?
Or where did I at sure tradition strike, 170
Provided still it were apostolic?'

'Friend,' said the Hind, 'you quit your former ground,
Where all your faith you did on Scripture found:
Now, 'tis tradition joined with Holy Writ;
But thus your memory betrays your wit.' 175

'No,' said the Panther, 'for in that I view
 When your tradition's forged, and when 'tis true.
 I set them by the rule, and as they square
 Or deviate from undoubted doctrine there,
 This oral fiction, that old faith declare.' 180
 (*Hind.*) 'The Council steered, it seems, a different course ;
 They tried the Scripture by tradition's force ;
 But you tradition by the Scripture try ;
 Pursued by sects, from this to that you fly,
 Nor dare on one foundation to rely. 185
 The Word is then deposed, and in this view
 You rule the Scripture, not the Scripture you.' ✓
 Thus said the dame, and, smiling, thus pursued :
 'I see tradition then is disallowed,
 When not evinced by Scripture to be true, 190
 And Scripture as interpreted by you.
 But here you tread upon unfaithful ground,
 Unless you could infallibly expound ;
 Which you reject as odious Popery,
 And throw that doctrine back with scorn on me. 195
 Suppose we on things traditive divide,
 And both appeal to Scripture to decide ;
 By various texts we both uphold our claim,
 Nay, often ground our titles on the same :
 After long labour lost and time's expense, 200
 Both grant the words and quarrel for the sense.
 Thus all disputes for ever must depend,
 For no dumb rule can controversies end.
 Thus, when you said tradition must be tried
 By Sacred Writ, whose sense your selves decide, 205
 You said no more but that your selves must be
 The judges of the Scripture sense, not we. ✓
 Against our Church-tradition you declare,
 And yet your clerks would sit in Moses' chair ; ✓
 At least 'tis proved against your argument, 210
 The rule is far from plain, where all dissent.'

'If not by Scriptures, how can we be sure,'
Replied the Panther, 'what tradition's pure ?
For you may palm upon us new for old ;
All, as they say, that glitters is not gold.' 215

'How but by following her,' replied the dame,
'To whom derived from sire to son they came ;
Where every age does on another move,
And trusts no farther than the next above ;
Where all the rounds like Jacob's ladder rise, 220
The lowest hid in earth, the topmost in the skies ?'

Sternly the savage did her answer mark,
Her glowing eye-balls glittering in the dark,
And said but this :—'Since lucre was your trade,
Succeeding times such dreadful gaps have made, 225
'Tis dangerous climbing : to your sons and you
I leave the ladder, and its omen too.'

(*Hind.*) 'The Panther's breath was ever famed for sweet,
But from the Wolf such wishes oft I meet ;
You learned this language from the blatant beast, 230
Or rather did not speak, but were possessed,
As for your answer, 'tis but barely urged,
You must evince tradition to be forged,
Produce plain proofs, unblemished authors use,
As ancient as those ages they accuse ; 235
Till when, 'tis not sufficient to defame ;
An old possession stands till elder quits the claim.
Then for our interest, which is named alone
To load with envy, we retort your own ;
For, when traditions in your faces fly, 240
Resolving not to yield, you must decry.
As when the cause goes hard, the guilty man
Excepts, and thins his jury all he can ;
So when you stand of other aid bereft,
You to the twelve Apostles would be left. 245
Your friend the Wolf did with more craft provide
To set those toys, traditions, quite aside ;

And Fathers too, unless when, reason spent,
He cites them but sometimes for ornament.
The private spirit is a better blind 250
Than all the dodging tricks your authors find.
For they who left the Scripture to the crowd,
Each for his own peculiar judge allowed ;
The way to please them was to make them proud.
Thus with full sails they ran upon the shelf ; 255
Who could suspect a cozenage from himself ?
On his own reason safer 'tis to stand
Than be deceived and damned at second hand.
But you who Fathers and traditions take
And garble some, and some you quite forsake, 260
Pretending Church aucturity to fix,
And yet some grains of private spirit mix,
Are like a mule made up of differing seed,
And that's the reason why you never breed,
At least, not propagate your kind abroad, 265
For home-dissenters are by statutes awed.
And yet they grow upon you every day,
While you, to speak the best, are at a stay,
For sects that are extremes abhor a middle way.
Like tricks of state to stop a raging flood 270
Or mollify a mad-brained senate's mood,
Of all expedients never one was good.
Well may they argue, (nor can you deny,)
If we must fix on Church-aucturity,
Best on the best, the fountain, not the flood ; 275
That must be better still, if this be good.
Shall she command who has herself rebelled ?
Is Antichrist by Antichrist expelled ?
Did we a lawful tyranny displace,
To set aloft a bastard of the race ? 280
Why all these wars to win the Book, if we
Must not interpret for ourselves, but she ?
Either be wholly slaves or wholly free.

For purging fires traditions must not fight ;
But they must prove episcopacy's right. 285

Thus, those led horses are from service freed ;
You never mount them but in time of need.
Like mercenaries, hired for home defence,
They will not serve against their native Prince.
Against domestic foes of hierarchy 290

These are drawn forth, to make fanatics fly ;
But, when they see their countrymen at hand,
Marching against them under Church command,
Straight they forsake their colours and disband.'

Thus she ; nor could the Panther well enlarge 295
With weak defence against so strong a charge ;
But said, ' For what did Christ his word provide,
If still his Church must want a living guide ?
And if all saving doctrines are not there,
Or sacred penmen could not make them clear, 300
From after ages we should hope in vain
For truths, which men inspired could not explain.'

' Before the Word was written,' said the Hind,
' Our Saviour preached his faith to human kind :
From his Apostles the first age received 305
Eternal truth, and what they taught believed.

Thus by tradition faith was planted first ;
Succeeding flocks succeeding pastors nursed.
This was the way our wise Redeemer chose,
Who sure could all things for the best dispose, 310
To fence his fold from their encroaching foes.

He could have writ himself, but well foresaw
The event would be like that of Moses' law ;
Some difference would arise, some doubts remain,
Like those which yet the jarring Jews maintain. 315

No written laws can be so plain, so pure,
But wit may gloss and malice may obscure ;
Not those indited by his first command,
A prophet graved the text, an angel held his hand.

Thus faith was ere the written Word appeared, 320
And men believed, not what they read, but heard.
But since the Apostles could not be confined
To these or those, but severally designed
Their large commission round the world to blow,
To spread their faith, they spread their labours too. 325
Yet still their absent flock their pains did share ;
They hearkened still, for love produces care.
And as mistakes arose or discords fell,
Or bold seducers taught them to rebel,
As charity grew cold or faction hot, 330
Or long neglect their lessons had forgot,
For all their wants they wisely did provide,
And preaching by Epistles was supplied :
So, great physicians cannot all attend,
But some they visit and to some they send. 335
Yet all those letters were not writ to all,
Nor first intended but occasional,
Their absent sermons ; nor, if they contain
All needful doctrines, are those doctrines plain.
Clearness by frequent preaching must be wrought ; 340
They writ but seldom, but they daily taught ;
And what one saint has said of holy Paul,
He darkly writ, is true applied to all.
For this obscurity could Heaven provide
More prudently than by a living guide, 345
As doubts arose, the difference to decide ?
A guide was therefore needful, therefore made ;
And, if appointed, sure to be obeyed.
Thus, with due reverence to the Apostles' writ,
By which my sons are taught, to which submit, 350
I think those truths their sacred works contain
The Church alone can certainly explain ;
That following ages, leaning on the past,
May rest upon the primitive at last.
Nor would I thence the Word no rule infer, 355

But none without the Church-interpreter ;
 Because, as I have urged before, 'tis mute,
 And is it self the subject of dispute.
 But what the Apostles their successors taught,
 They to the next, from them to us is brought, 360
 The undoubted sense which is in Scripture sought.
 From hence the Church is armed, when errors rise
 To stop their entrance and prevent surprise,
 And, safe-entrenched within, her foes without defies.
 By these all-festerings sores her councils heal, 365
 Which time or has disclosed or shall reveal ;
 For discord cannot end without a last appeal.
 Nor can a council national decide,
 But with subordination to her guide,
 (I wish the cause were on that issue tried ;) 370
 Much less the Scripture ; for suppose debate
 Betwixt pretenders to a fair estate,
 Bequeathed by some legator's last intent,
 (Such is our dying Saviour's Testament ;) 375
 The will is proved, is opened, and is read,
 The doubtful heirs their differing titles plead ;
 All vouch the words, their interest to maintain,
 And each pretends by those his cause is plain.
 Shall then the testament award the right ?
 No, that's the Hungary for which they fight, 380
 The field of battle, subject of debate,
 The thing contended for, the fair estate.
 The sense is intricate, 'tis only clear
 What vowels and what consonants are there.
 Therefore 'tis plain, its meaning must be tried 385
 Before some judge appointed to decide.'
 'Suppose,' the fair apostate said, 'I grant,
 The faithful flock some living guide should want,
 Your arguments an endless chase pursue :
 Produce this vaunted leader to our view, 390
 This mighty Moses of the chosen crew.'

The dame, who saw her fainting foe retired,
With force renewed, to victory aspired ;
And, looking upward to her kindred sky,
As once our Saviour owned his Deity 395
Pronounced His words—*She whom ye seek am I.*
Nor less amazed this voice the Panther heard
Than were those Jews to hear a God declared.
Then thus the matron modestly renewed :
' Let all your prophets and their sects be viewed, 400
And see to which of them your selves think fit
The conduct of your conscience to submit ;
Each proselyte would vote his doctor best,
With absolute exclusion to the rest :
Thus would your Polish Diet disagree, 405
And end, as it began, in anarchy ;
Your self the fairest for election stand,
Because you seem crown-general of the land :
But soon against your superstitious lawn
Some Presbyterian sabre would be drawn ; 410
In your established laws of sovereignty
The rest some fundamental flaw would see,
And call rebellion gospel-liberty.
To Church-decrees your articles require
Submission modified, if not entire. 415
Homage denied, to censures you proceed :
But when Curtana will not do the deed,
You lay that pointless clergy-weapon by,
And to the laws, your sword of justice, fly.
Now this your sects the more unkindly take, 420
(Those prying varlets hit the blots you make,)
Because some ancient friends of yours declare
Your only rule of faith the Scriptures are,
Interpreted by men of judgment sound,
Which every sect will for themselves expound, 425
Nor think less reverence to their doctors due
For sound interpretation, than to you.

If then by able heads are understood
Your brother prophets, who reformed abroad ;
Those able heads expound a wiser way, 430
That their own sheep their shepherd should obey.
But if you mean your selves are only sound,
That doctrine turns the Reformation round,
And all the rest are false reformers found ;
Because in sundry points you stand alone, 435
Not in communion joined with any one,
And therefore must be all the Church, or none.
Then, till you have agreed whose judge is best,
Against this forced submission they protest ;
While sound and sound a different sense explains, 440
Both play at hard-head till they break their brains ;
And from their chairs each other's force defy,
While unregarded thunders vainly fly.
I pass the rest, because your Church alone
Of all usurpers best could fill the throne. 445
But neither you nor any sect beside
For this high office can be qualified
With necessary gifts required in such a guide.
For that which must direct the whole must be
Bound in one bond of faith and unity ; 450
But all your several Churches disagree.
The consubstantiating Church and priest
Refuse communion to the Calvinist ;
The French reformed from preaching you restrain,
Because you judge their ordination vain ; 455
And so they judge of yours, but donors must ordain.
In short, in doctrine or in discipline
Not one reformed can with another join :
But all from each, as from damnation, fly :
No union they pretend, but in Non-Popery. 460
Nor, should their members in a synod meet,
Could any Church presume to mount the seat
Above the rest, their discords to decide ;

None would obey, but each would be the guide ;
And, face to face, dissensions would increase, 465
For only distance now preserves the peace.
All in their turns accusers and accused,
Babel was never half so much confused.
What one can plead the rest can plead as well,
For amongst equals lies no last appeal, ✓ 470
And all confess themselves are fallible.
Now, since you grant some necessary guide,
All who can err are justly laid aside,
Because a trust so sacred to confer
Shows want of such a sure interpreter, 475
And how can he be needful who can err ?
Then, granting that unerring guide we want,
That such there is you stand obliged to grant ;
Our Saviour else were wanting to supply
Our needs and obviate that necessity. 480
It then remains, that Church can only be
The guide which owns unfailing certainty ;
Or else you slip your hold and change your side,
Relapsing from a necessary guide.
But this annexed condition of the crown, 485
Immunity from errors, you disown ;
Here then you shrink, and lay your weak pretensions down.
For petty royalties you raise debate,
But this unfailing universal State
You shun, nor dare succeed to such a glorious weight ; 490
And for that cause those promises detest
With which our Saviour did his Church invest ; ✓
But strive to evade, and fear to find them true,
As conscious they were never meant to you ;
All which the Mother-Church asserts her own, 495
And with unrivalled claim ascends the throne.
So, when of old the Almighty Father sate
In council to redeem our ruined state,
Millions of millions, at a distance round,

Silent the sacred consistory crowned, 500
To hear what mercy mixed with justice could propound ;
All prompt with eager pity to fulfil
The full extent of their Creator's will.
But when the stern conditions were declared,
A mournful whisper through the host was heard, 505
And the whole hierarchy with heads hung down
Submissively declined the ponderous proffered crown.
Then, not till then, the eternal Son from high
Rose in the strength of all the Deity ;
Stood forth to accept the terms, and underwent 510
A weight which all the frame of heaven had bent,
Nor he himself could bear, but as omnipotent.
Now, to remove the least remaining doubt,
That even the blear-eyed sects may find her out,
Behold what heavenly rays adorn her brows, 515
What from his wardrobe her beloved allows
To deck the wedding-day of his unspotted spouse.
Behold what marks of majesty she brings,
Richer than ancient heirs of Eastern kings !
Her right hand holds the sceptre and the keys, 520
To show whom she commands, and who obeys :
With these to bind or set the sinner free,
With that to assert spiritual royalty.
‘One in herself, not rent by schism, but sound,
Entire, one solid shining diamond, 525
Not sparkles shattered into sects like you :
One is the Church, and must be to be true,
One central principle of unity.
As undivided, so from errors free ; ✓
As one in faith, so one in sanctity. ✓ 530
Thus she, and none but she, the insulting rage
Of heretics opposed from age to age ;
Still when the giant-brood invades her throne,
She stoops from heaven and meets them half way down,
And with paternal thunder vindicates her crown. 535

But like Egyptian sorcerers you stand,
And vainly lift aloft your magic wand
To sweep away the swarms of vermin from the land.
You could like them, with like infernal force,
Produce the plague, but not arrest the course. 540
But when the boils and botches with disgrace
And public scandal sat upon the face,
Themselves attacked, the Magi strove no more,
They saw God's finger, and their fate deplore ;
Themselves they could not cure of the dishonest sore. 545
 'Thus one, thus pure, behold her largely spread,
Like the fair ocean from her mother-bed ;
From east to west triumphantly she rides,
All shores are watered by her wealthy tides.
The gospel-sound, diffused from pole to pole, 550
Where winds can carry and where waves can roll,
The self same doctrine of the sacred page
Conveyed to every clime, in every age.
 'Here let my sorrow give my satire place,
To raise new blushes on my British race. 555
Our sailing ships like common shores we use,
And through our distant colonies diffuse
The draughts of dungeons and the stench of stews,
Whom, when their home-bred honesty is lost,
We disembody on some far Indian coast ; 560
Thieves, pandars, palliards, sins of every sort ;
Those are the manufactures we export,
And these the missionaries our zeal has made ;
For, with my country's pardon be it said,
Religion is the least of all our trade. 565
 'Yet some improve their traffic more than we ;
For they on gain, their only god, rely,
And set a public price on piety.
Industrious of the needle and the chart,
They run full sail to their Japonian mart ; 570
Prevention fear, and prodigal of fame,

Sell all of Christian to the very name,
Nor leave enough of that to hide their naked shame.

‘Thus of three marks, which in the creed we view,
Not one of all can be applied to you ; 575

Much less the fourth. In vain, alas ! you seek
The ambitious title of Apostolic :

✓ God-like descent ! ’tis well your blood can be
Proved noble in the third or fourth degree ;
For all of ancient that you had before, 580
(I mean what is not borrowed from our store,)

Was error fulminated o’er and o’er ;
Old heresies condemned in ages past,
By care and time recovered from the blast.

‘Tis said with ease, but never can be proved, 585

The Church her old foundations has removed,
And built new doctrines on unstable sands :

Judge that, ye winds and rains ! you proved her, yet she stands. ✓

Those ancient doctrines charged on her for new,
Show when, and how, and from what hands they grew. 590

We claim no power, when heresies grow bold,
To coin new faith, but still declare the old.

How else could that obscene disease be purged,
When controverted texts are vainly urged ?

To prove tradition new, there’s somewhat more 595

Required, than saying, ’Twas not used before.

Those monumental arms are never stirred,
Till schism or heresy call down Goliath’s sword.

‘Thus what you call corruptions are in truth
The first plantations of the gospel’s youth, 600

Old standard faith ; but cast your eyes again,
And view those errors which new sects maintain,
Or which of old disturbed the Church’s peaceful reign ;

And we can point each period of the time,
When they began, and who begot the crime ; 605

Can calculate how long the eclipse endured,
Who interposed, what digits were obscured :

Of all which are already passed away,
We know the rise, the progress, and decay.

‘Despair at our foundations then to strike, 610
Till you can prove your faith Apostolic,
A limpid stream drawn from the native source,
Succession lawful in a lineal course.

Prove any Church, opposed to this our head,
So one, so pure, so unconfinedly spread, 615
Under one chief of the spiritual state,
The members all combined, and all subordinate.
Show such a seamless coat, from schism so free,
In no communion joined with heresy.

If such a one you find, let truth prevail : 620
Till when, your weights will in the balance fail ;
A Church unprincipled kicks up the scale.

‘But if you cannot think (nor sure you can
Suppose in God what were unjust in man)
That He, the fountain of eternal grace, 625
Should suffer falsehood, for so long a space,
To banish truth and to usurp her place ;
That seven successive ages should be lost,
And preach damnation at their proper cost ;
That all your erring ancestors should die 630
Drowned in the abyss of deep idolatry ;

If piety forbid such thoughts to rise,
Awake, and open your unwilling eyes :
God hath left nothing for each age undone,
From this to that wherein He sent his Son ; 635
Then think but well of Him, and half your work is done.

‘See how his Church, adorned with every grace,
With open arms, a kind forgiving face,
Stands ready to prevent her long-lost son’s embrace !
Not more did Joseph o’er his brethren weep, 640
Nor less himself could from discovery keep,
When in the crowd of suppliants they were seen,
And in their crew his best-beloved Benjamin.

That pious Joseph in the Church behold,
To feed your famine and refuse your gold ; 645
The Joseph you exiled, the Joseph whom you sold.'

Thus, while with heavenly charity she spoke,
A streaming blaze the silent shadows broke ;
Shot from the skies a cheerful azure light ;
The birds obscene to forests winged their flight, 650
And gaping graves received the wandering guilty spright.

Such were the pleasing triumphs of the sky
For James his late nocturnal victory ;
The pledge of his Almighty Patron's love,
The fireworks which his angels made above. 655
I saw my self the lambent easy light
Gild the brown horror and dispel the night :
The messenger with speed the tidings bore,
News which three labouring nations did restore ;
But Heaven's own Nuncius was arrived before. 660

By this the Hind had reached her lonely cell,
And vapours rose, and dews unwholesome fell ;
When she, by frequent observation wise, ✓
As one who long on heaven had fixed her eyes,
Discerned a change of weather in the skies. 665

The western borders were with crimson spread,
The moon descending looked all flaming red ;
She thought good manners bound her to invite
The stranger dame to be her guest that night.
'Tis true, coarse diet and a short repast, 670

She said, were weak inducements to the taste
Of one so nicely bred and so unused to fast ;
But what plain fare her cottage could afford,
A hearty welcome at a homely board
Was freely hers ; and to supply the rest, 675
An honest meaning and an open breast.

Last, with content of mind, the poor man's wealth,
A grace-cup to their common patron's health.
This she desired her to accept, and stay,

For fear she might be wildered in her way, 680
Because she wanted an unerring guide ;
And then the dew drops on her silken hide
Her tender constitution did declare
Too lady-like a long fatigue to bear,
And rough inclemencies of raw nocturnal air. 685
But most she feared that, travelling so late,
Some evil-minded beasts might lie in wait,
And without witness wreak their hidden hate
The Panther, though she lent a listening ear,
Had more of Lion in her than to fear ; 690
Yet wisely weighing, since she had to deal
With many foes, their numbers might prevail,
Returned her all the thanks she could afford,
And took her friendly hostess at her word ;
Who, entering first her lowly roof, a shed 695
With hoary moss and winding ivy spread,
Honest enough to hide an humble hermit's head,
Thus graciously bespoke her welcome guest :
'So might these walls, with your fair presence blest,
Become your dwelling-place of everlasting rest, 700
Not for a night, or quick revolving year,
Welcome an owner, not a sojourner.
This peaceful seat my poverty secures ;
War seldom enters but where wealth allures :
Nor yet despise it, for this poor abode 705
Has oft received and yet receives a God ;
A God victorious of the Stygian race
Here laid his sacred limbs, and sanctified the place.
This mean retreat did mighty Pan contain ;
Be emulous of him, and pomp disdain, 710
And dare not to debase your soul to gain.'
The silent stranger stood amazed to see
Contempt of wealth and wilful poverty :
And, though ill habits are not soon controlled,
A while suspended her desire of gold ; 715

But civilly drew in her sharpened paws,
 Not violating hospitable laws,
 And pacified her tail and licked her frothy jaws.

The Hind did first her country cates provide :
 Then couched herself securely by her side.

720

THE THIRD PART.

MUCH malice mingled with a little wit
 Perhaps may censure this mysterious writ,
 Because the Muse has peopled Caledon
 With Panthers, Bears, and Wolves and beasts unknown,
 As if we were not stocked with monsters of our own. 5
 Let Æsop answer, who has set to view
 Such kinds as Greece and Phrygia never knew ;
 And Mother Hubbard in her homely dress
 Has sharply blamed a British Lioness,
 That Queen, whose feast the factious rabble keep. 10
 Led by those great examples, may not I
 The wanted organs of their words supply ?
 If men transact like brutes, 'tis equal then
 For brutes to claim the privilege of men.

Others our Hind of folly will indite 15
 To entertain a dangerous guest by night.
 Let those remember that she cannot die
 Till rolling time is lost in round eternity ✓
 Nor need she fear the Panther, though untamed,
 Because the Lion's peace was now proclaimed : 20
 The wary savage would not give offence,
 To forfeit the protection of her Prince,
 But watched the time her vengeance to complete,
 When all her furry sons in frequent senate met ;
 Meanwhile she quenched her fury at the flood 25
 And with a lenten salad cooled her blood.

Their commons, though but coarse, were nothing scant,
Nor did their minds an equal banquet want.

For now the Hind, whose noble nature strove
To express her plain simplicity of love, 30
Did all the honours of her house so well,
No sharp debates disturbed the friendly meal.
She turned the talk, avoiding that extreme,
To common dangers past, a sadly pleasing theme ;
Remembering every storm which tossed the State, 35
When both were objects of the public hate,
And dropped a tear betwixt for her own children's fate.

Nor failed she then a full review to make
Of what the Panther suffered for her sake :
Her lost esteem, her truth, her loyal care, 40
Her faith unshaken to an exiled heir,
Her strength to endure, her courage to defy,
Her choice of honourable infamy.
On these prolixly thankful she enlarged ;
Then with acknowledgments her self she charged ; 45
For friendship, of it self an holy tie,
Is made more sacred by adversity.
Now should they part, malicious tongues would say
They met like chance companions on the way,
Whom mutual fear of robbers had possessed ; 50
While danger lasted, kindness was professed ;
But that once o'er, the short-lived union ends,
The road divides, and there divide the friends.

The Panther nodded when her speech was done,
And thanked her coldly in a hollow tone : 55
But said, her gratitude had gone too far
For common offices of Christian care.
If to the lawful heir she had been true,
She paid but Cæsar what was Cæsar's due.
'I might,' she added, 'with like praise describe 60
Your suffering sons, and so return your bribe :
But incense from my hands is poorly prized,

For gifts are scorned where givers are despised.
I served a turn, and then was cast away ;
You, like the gaudy fly, your wings display, 65
And sip the sweets, and bask in your great Patron's day.'

This heard, the matron was not slow to find
What sort of malady had seized her mind :
Disdain, with gnawing envy, fell despite,
And cankered malice stood in open sight : 70
Ambition, interest, pride without control,
And jealousy, the jaundice of the soul ;
Revenge, the bloody minister of ill,
With all the lean tormenters of the will.

'Twas easy now to guess from whence arose 75
Her new-made union with her ancient foes,
Her forced civilities, her faint embrace,
Affected kindness with an altered face :
Yet durst she not too deeply probe the wound,
As hoping still the nobler parts were sound ; 80
But strove with anodynes to assuage the smart,
And mildly thus her medicine did impart :

'Complaints of lovers help to ease their pain ;
It shows a rest of kindness to complain,
A friendship loth to quit its former hold ; 85
And conscious merit may be justly bold.
But much more just your jealousy would show,
If others' good were injury to you :
Witness, ye heavens, how I rejoice to see
Rewarded worth and rising loyalty ! 90
Your warrior offspring that upheld the crown,
The scarlet honours of your peaceful gown,
Are the most pleasing objects I can find,
Charms to my sight and cordials to my mind.
When virtue spooms before a prosperous gale, 95
My heaving wishes help to fill the sail ;
And if my prayers for all the brave were heard,
Cæsar should still have such, and such should still reward.

‘The laboured earth your pains have sowed and tilled
’Tis just you reap the product of the field. 100
Yours be the harvest, ’tis the beggar’s gain
To glean the fallings of the loaded wain.
Such scattered ears as are not worth your care
Your charity for alms may safely spare,
And alms are but the vehicles of prayer. 105
My daily bread is literally implored ;
I have no barns nor granaries to hoard.
If Cæsar to his own his hand extends,
Say which of yours his charity offends ;
You know, he largely gives to more than are his friends. 110
Are you defrauded, when he feeds the poor ?
Our mite decreases nothing of your store.
I am but few, and by your fare you see
My crying sins are not of luxury.
Some juster motive sure your mind withdraws 115
And makes you break our friendship’s holy laws,
For barefaced envy is too base a cause.
‘Show more occasion for your discontent ;
Your love, the Wolf, would help you to invent.
Some German quarrel, or, as times go now, 120
Some French, where force is uppermost, will do.
When at the fountain’s head, as merit ought
To claim the place, you take a swilling draught,
How easy ’tis an envious eye to throw
And tax the sheep for troubling streams below ; 125
Or call her, when no farther cause you find,
An enemy professed of all your kind !
But then, perhaps, the wicked world would think
The Wolf designed to eat as well as drink.’
This last allusion galled the Panther more, 130
Because indeed it rubbed upon the sore ;
Yet seemed she not to wince, though shrewdly pained,
But thus her passive character maintained :
‘I never grudged, whate’er my foes report,

Your flaunting fortune in the Lion's court. 135

You have your day, or you are much belied,

But I am always on the suffering side :

You know my doctrine, and I need not say

I will not, but I cannot disobey.

On this firm principle I ever stood : 140

He of my sons who fails to make it good

By one rebellious act renounces to my blood.'

'Ah !' said the Hind, 'how many sons have you

Who call you mother whom you never knew !

But most of them who that relation plead 145

Are such ungracious youths as wish you dead.

They gape at rich revenues which you hold

And fain would nibble at your grandam gold ;

Inquire into your years, and laugh to find

Your crazy temper shows you much declined. 150

Were you not dim and doted, you might see

A pack of cheats that claim a pedigree,

No more of kin to you than you to me.

Do you not know that for a little coin

Heralds can foist a name into the line ? 155

They ask you blessing but for what you have ;

But once possessed of what with care you save,

The wanton boys would desecrate your grave.

'Your sons of latitude that court your grace,

Though most resembling you in form and face, 160

Are far the worst of your pretended race ;

And, but I blush your honesty to blot,

Pray God you prove them lawfully begot :

For in some Popish libels I have read

The Wolf has been too busy in your bed ; 165

At least their hinder parts, the belly-piece,

The paunch and all that Scorpio claims are his.

Their malice too a sore suspicion brings,

For though they dare not bark, they snarl at kings.

Nor blame them for intruding in your line ; 170

Fat bishoprics are still of right divine.

‘Think you your new French proselytes are come
To starve abroad, because they starved at home ?
Your benefices twinkled from afar,
They found the new Messiah by the star. 175
Those Swisses fight on any side for pay,
And ’tis the living that conforms, not they.
Mark with what management their tribes divide,
Some stick to you, and some to t’other side,
That many churches may for many mouths provide. 180
More vacant pulpits would more converts make ;
All would have latitude enough to take.
The rest unbeneficed your sects maintain,
For ordinations without cures are vain,
And chamber practice is a silent gain. 185
Your sons of breadth at home are much like these ;
Their soft and yielding metals run with ease ;
They melt, and take the figure of the mould,
But harden and preserve it best in gold.’
‘Your Delphic sword,’ the Panther then replied, 190
‘Is double-edged and cuts on either side.
Some sons of mine, who bear upon their shield
Three steeples argent in a sable field,
Have sharply taxed your converts, who unfed
Have followed you for miracles of bread ; 195
Such who themselves of no religion are,
Allured with gain, for any will declare.
Bare lies with bold assertions they can face,
But dint of argument is out of place ;
The grim logician puts them in a fright, 200
’Tis easier far to flourish than to fight.
Thus, our eighth Henry’s marriage they defame ;
They say the schism of beds began the game,
Divorcing from the Church to wed the dame ;
Though largely proved, and by himself professed, 205
That conscience, conscience would not let him rest,

I mean, not till possessed of her he loved,
And old, uncharming Catherine was removed.
For sundry years before did he complain,
And told his ghostly confessor his pain. 210
With the same impudence, without a ground
They say that, look the Reformation round,
No Treatise of Humility is found.
But if none were, the Gospel does not want,
Our Saviour preached it, and I hope you grant 215
The Sermon in the mount was Protestant.’
‘No doubt,’ replied the Hind, ‘as sure as all
The writings of Saint Peter and Saint Paul ;
On that decision let it stand or fall.
Now for my converts, who, you say, unfed 220
Have followed me for miracles of bread,
Judge not by hearsay, but observe at least,
If since their change their loaves have been increast.
The Lion buys no converts ; if he did,
Beasts would be sold as fast as he could bid. 225
Tax those of interest who conform for gain
Or stay the market of another reign :
Your broad-way sons would never be too nice
To close with Calvin, if he paid their price ; 229
But, raised three steeples higher, would change their note,
And quit the cassock for the canting-coat.
Now, if you damn this censure as too bold,
Judge by your selves, and think not others sold.
‘Meantime my sons accused by fame’s report
Pay small attendance at the Lion’s court, 235
Nor rise with early crowds, nor flatter late,
(For silently they beg who daily wait.)
Preferment is bestowed that comes unsought ;
Attendance is a bribe, and then ’tis bought.
How they should speed, their fortune is untried ; 240
For not to ask is not to be denied.
For what they have their God and King they bless,

And hope they should not murmur had they less.
 But if reduced subsistence to implore,
 In common prudence they would pass your door. 245
 Unpitied Hudibras, your champion friend,
 Has shown how far your charities extend.
 This lasting verse shall on his tomb be read,
He shamed you living, and upbraids you dead.

‘With odious atheist names you load your foes ; 250
 Your liberal clergy why did I expose ?
 It never fails in charities like those.
 In climes where true religion is professed,
 That imputation were no laughing jest ;
 But *Imprimatur*, with a chaplain’s name, 255
 Is here sufficient licence to defame.
 What wonder is’t that black detraction thrives :
 The homicide of names is less than lives,
 And yet the perjured murderer survives.’

This said, she paused a little, and suppressed 260
 The boiling indignation of her breast.
 She knew the virtue of her blade, nor would
 Pollute her satire with ignoble blood ;
 Her panting foes she saw before her lie,
 And back she drew the shining weapon dry. 265
 So when the generous Lion has in sight
 His equal match, he rouses for the fight ;
 But when his foe lies prostrate on the plain,
 He sheathes his paws, uncurls his angry mane,
 And, pleased with bloodless honours of the day, 270
 Walks over and disdains the inglorious prey.
 So James, if great with less we may compare,
 Arrests his rolling thunder-bolts in air ;
 And grants ungrateful friends a lengthened space
 To implore the remnants of long-suffering grace. 275

This breathing-time the matron took ; and then
 Resumed the thrird of her discourse again.

‘Be vengeance wholly left to powers divine,

And let Heaven judge betwixt your sons and mine :
If joys hereafter must be purchased here 280
With loss of all that mortals hold so dear,
Then welcome infamy and public shame,
And last, a long farewell to wordly fame.
'Tis said with ease, but oh, how hardly tried
By haughty souls to human honour tied ! 285
O sharp convulsive pangs of agonizing pride !
Down then, thou rebel, never more to rise ;
And what thou didst and dost so dearly prize,
That fame, that darling fame, make that thy sacrifice.
'Tis nothing thou hast given ; then add thy tears 290
For a long race of unrepenting years :
'Tis nothing yet, yet all thou hast to give :
Then add those may-be years thou hast to live :
Yet nothing still : then poor and naked come,
Thy Father will receive his unthrift home, 295
And thy blest Saviour's blood discharge the mighty sum.'

'Thus,' she pursued, ' I discipline a son,
Whose unchecked fury to revenge would run ;
He champs the bit, impatient of his loss,
And starts aside and flounders at the Cross. 300
Instruct him better, gracious God, to know
As Thine is vengeance, so forgiveness too ;
That, suffering from ill tongues, he bears no more
Than what his Sovereign bears and what his Saviour bore.

'It now remains for you to school your child, 305
And ask why God's anointed be reviled ;
A King and Princess dead ! did Shimei worse ?
The curser's punishment should fright the curse ;
Your son was warned, and wisely gave it o'er,
But he who counselled him has paid the score ; 310
The heavy malice could no higher tend,
But woe to him on whom the weights descend.
So to permitted ills the dæmon flies ;
His rage is aimed at him who rules the skies :

- Constrained to quit his cause, no succour found, 315
The foe discharges every tire around,
In clouds of smoke abandoning the fight ;
But his own thundering peals proclaim his flight.
‘ In Henry’s change his charge as ill succeeds ;
To that long story little answer needs : 320
Confront but Henry’s words with Henry’s deeds.
Were space allowed, with ease it might be proved,
What springs his blessed reformation moved.
The dire effects appeared in open sight,
Which from the cause he calls a distant flight, 325
And yet no larger leap than from the sun to light.
‘ Now last, your sons a double pæan sound,
A Treatise of Humility is found.
’Tis found, but better had it ne’er been sought
Than thus in Protestant procession brought. 330
The famed original through Spain is known,
Rodriguez’ work, my celebrated son,
Which yours by ill-translating made his own ;
Concealed its author, and usurped the name,
The basest and ignoblest theft of fame. 335
My altars kindled first that living coal ;
Restore, or practise better what you stole ;
That virtue could this humble verse inspire,
’Tis all the restitution I require.’
Glad was the Panther that the charge was closed, 340
And none of all her favourite sons exposed ;
For laws of arms permit each injured man
To make himself a saver where he can.
Perhaps the plundered merchant cannot tell
The names of pirates in whose hands he fell ; 345
But at the den of thieves he justly flies,
And every Algerine is lawful prize.
No private person in the foe’s estate
Can plead exemption from the public fate.
Yet Christian laws allow not such redress ; 350

Then let the greater supersede the less :
But let the abettors of the Panther's crime
Learn to make fairer wars another time.
Some characters may sure be found to write
Among her sons ; for 'tis no common sight, 355
A spotted dam, and all her offspring white.

The savage, though she saw her plea controlled,
Yet would not wholly seem to quit her hold,
But offered fairly to compound the strife
And judge conversion by the convert's life. 360
'Tis true,' she said, 'I think it somewhat strange
So few should follow profitable change ;
For present joys are more to flesh and blood
Than a dull prospect of a distant good.
'Twas well alluded by a son of mine, 365
(I hope to quote him is not to purloin,)
Two magnets, heaven and earth, allure to bliss ;
The larger loadstone that, the nearer this :
The weak attraction of the greater fails ;
We nod awhile, but neighbourhood prevails ; 370
But when the greater proves the nearer too,
I wonder more your converts come so slow.
Methinks in those who firm with me remain,
It shows a nobler principle than gain.'

'Your inference would be strong,' the Hind replied, 375
'If yours were in effect the suffering side ;
Your clergy-sons their own in peace possess,
Nor are their prospects in reversion less.
My proselytes are struck with awful dread,
Your bloody comet-laws hang blazing o'er their head ; 380
The respite they enjoy but only lent,
The best they have to hope, protracted punishment.
Be judge your self, if interest may prevail,
Which motives, yours or mine, will turn the scale.
While pride and pomp allure, and plenteous ease, 385
That is, till man's predominant passions cease,

Admire no longer at my slow increase.

‘By education most have been misled ;
So they believe, because they so were bred.
The priest continues what the nurse began, 390
And thus the child imposes on the man.

The rest I named before, nor need repeat ;
But interest is the most prevailing cheat,
The sly seducer both of age and youth ;
They study that, and think they study truth. 395
When interest fortifies an argument,
Weak reason serves to gain the will’s assent ;
For souls already warped receive an easy bent.

‘Add long prescription of established laws,
And pique of honour to maintain a cause, 400
And shame of change, and fear of future ill,
And zeal, the blind conductor of the will ;
And chief among the still-mistaking crowd,
The fame of teachers obstinate and proud ;
And, more than all, the private judge allowed ; 405
Disdain of Fathers, which the dance began,
And last, uncertain whose the narrower span,
The clown unread and half-read gentleman.’

To this the Panther, with a scornful smile :
‘Yet still you travail with unwearied toil, 410
And range around the realm without control,
Among my sons for proselytes to prowl,
And here and there you snap some silly soul.
You hinted fears of future change in state ;
Pray Heaven you did not prophesy your fate ! 415
Perhaps, you think your time of triumph near,
But may mistake the season of the year ;
The Swallows’ fortune gives you cause to fear.’

‘For charity,’ replied the matron, ‘tell
What sad mischance those pretty birds befel.’ 420

‘Nay, no mischance,’ the savage dame replied,
‘But want of wit in their unerring guide,

And eager haste and gaudy hopes and giddy pride.
Yet, wishing timely warning may prevail,
Make you the moral, and I'll tell the tale.

425

'The Swallow, privileged above the rest
Of all the birds as man's familiar guest,
Pursues the sun in summer, brisk and bold,
But wisely shuns the persecuting cold ;
Is well to chancels and to chimneys known,
Though 'tis not thought she feeds on smoke alone.
From hence she has been held of heavenly line,
Endued with particles of soul divine.

430

This merry chorister had long possessed
Her summer seat, and feathered well her nest ;
Till frowning skies began to change their cheer,
And time turned up the wrong side of the year ;
The shedding trees began the ground to strow
With yellow leaves, and bitter blasts to blow.
Sad auguries of winter thence she drew,
Which by instinct or prophecy she knew :
When prudence warned her to remove betimes,
And seek a better heaven and warmer climes.

435

440

'Her sons were summoned on a steeple's height,
And, called in common council, vote a flight ;
The day was named, the next that should be fair ;
All to the general rendezvous repair,
They try their fluttering wings and trust themselves in air.
But whether upward to the moon they go,
Or dream the winter out in caves below,
Or hawk at flies elsewhere, concerns not us to know.

445

450

'Southwards, you may be sure, they bent their flight,
And harboured in a hollow rock at night ;
Next morn they rose, and set up every sail ;
The wind was fair, but blew a mackrel gale :
The sickly young sat shivering on the shore,
Abhorred salt-water never seen before,
And prayed their tender mothers to delay

455

The passage, and expect a fairer day.

‘ With these the Martin readily concurred, 460

A church-begot and church-believing bird ;

Of little body, but of lofty mind,

Round bellied, for a dignity designed,

And much a dunce, as Martins are by kind ;

Yet often quoted Canon-laws and Code 465

And Fathers which he never understood ;

But little learning needs in noble blood.

For, sooth to say, the Swallow brought him in

Her household chaplain and her next of kin :

In superstition silly to excess, 470

And casting schemes by planetary guess ;

In fine, short-winged, unfit himself to fly,

His fear foretold foul weather in the sky.

‘ Besides, a Raven from a withered oak

Left of their lodging was observed to croak. 475

That omen liked him not ; so his advice

Was present safety, bought at any price ;

A seeming pious care that covered cowardice.

To strengthen this, he told a boding dream,

Of rising waters and a troubled stream, 480

Sure signs of anguish, dangers, and distress,

With something more not lawful to express :

By which he slyly seemed to intimate

Some secret revelation of their fate.

For he concluded, once upon a time, 485

He found a leaf inscribed with sacred rhyme,

Whose antique characters did well denote

The Sibyl’s hand of the Cumæan grot :

The mad divineress had plainly writ,

A time should come (but many ages yet) 490

In which sinister destinies ordain

A dame should drown with all her feathered train,

And seas from thence be called the Chelidonian main.

At this, some shook for fear ; the more devout

Arose, and blessed themselves from head to foot. 495

"Tis true, some stagers of the wiser sort
Made all these idle wonderments their sport :
They said, their only danger was delay,
And he who heard what every fool could say
Would never fix his thoughts, but trim his time away. 500

The passage yet was good ; the wind, 'tis true,
Was somewhat high, but that was nothing new,
Nor more than usual equinoxes blew.
The sun, already from the Scales declined,
Gave little hopes of better days behind, 505

But change from bad to worse of weather and of wind.
Nor need they fear the dampness of the sky
Should flag their wings, and hinder them to fly ;
'Twas only water thrown on sails too dry.
But, least of all, philosophy presumes 510

Of truth in dreams from melancholy fumes ;
Perhaps the Martin, housed in holy ground,
Might think of ghosts that walk their midnight round,
Till grosser atoms tumbling in the stream
Of fancy madly met and clubbed into a dream : 515

As little weight his vain presages bear,
Of ill effect to such alone who fear ;
Most prophecies are of a piece with these,
Each Nostradamus can foretell with ease :
Not naming persons, and confounding times, 520
One casual truth supports a thousand lying rhymes.

'The advice was true ; but fear had seized the most,
And all good counsel is on cowards lost.
The question crudely put to shun delay,
'Twas carried by the major part to stay. 525

'His point thus gained, Sir Martin dated thence
His power, and from a priest became a prince.
He ordered all things with a busy care,
And cells and refectories did prepare,
And large provisions laid of winter fare ; 530

But now and then let fall a word or two,
Of hope, that Heaven some miracle might show,
And for their sakes the sun should backward go,
Against the laws of nature upward climb,
And, mounted on the Ram, renew the prime ; 535
For which two proofs in sacred story lay,
Of Ahaz' dial and of Joshua's day.

In expectation of such times as these,
A chapel housed them, truly called of ease ;
For Martin much devotion did not ask ; 540
They prayed sometimes, and that was all their task.

'It happened (as beyond the reach of wit
Blind prophecies may have a lucky hit)
That this accomplished, or at least in part,
Gave great repute to their new Merlin's art. 545

Some Swifts, the giants of the Swallow kind,
Large-limbed, stout-hearted, but of stupid mind,
(For Swisses or for Gibeonites designed,)

These lubbers, peeping through a broken pane
To suck fresh air, surveyed the neighbouring plain, 550

And saw (but scarcely could believe their eyes)
New blossoms flourish and new flowers arise,
As God had been abroad, and walking there
Had left his footsteps and reformed the year.

The sunny hills from far were seen to glow 555

With glittering beams, and in the meads below
The burnished brooks appeared with liquid gold to flow.

At last they heard the foolish Cuckoo sing,
Whose note proclaimed the holy-day of spring.

'No longer doubting, all prepare to fly 560
And repossess their patrimonial sky.

The priest before them did his wings display ;
And that good omens might attend their way,
As luck would have it, 'twas St. Martin's day.

'Who but the Swallow now triumphs alone ? 565
The canopy of heaven is all her own ;

Her youthful offspring to their haunts repair,
And glide along in glades, and skim in air,
And dip for insects in the purling springs,
And stoop on rivers to refresh their wings. 570
Their mothers think a fair provision made,
That every son can live upon his trade,
And, now the careful charge is off their hands,
Look out for husbands and new nuptial bands.
But first the lover is by lawyers tied 575
To settle jointure-chimneys on the bride.
So thick they couple, in so short a space,
That Martin's marriage-offerings rise apace ;
Their ancient houses, running to decay,
Are furbished up and cemented with clay. 580
They teem already ; stores of eggs are laid,
And brooding mothers call Lucina's aid.
Fame spreads the news, and foreign fowls appear
In flocks to greet the new returning year,
To bless the founder and partake the cheer. 585
‘ And now ’twas time (so fast their numbers rise)
To plant abroad, and people colonies.
The youth drawn forth, as Martin had desired
(For so their cruel destiny required),
Were sent far off on an ill-fated day ; 590
The rest would need conduct them on their way,
And Martin went, because he feared alone to stay.
‘ So long they flew with inconsiderate haste,
That now their afternoon began to waste ;
And, what was ominous, that very morn 595
The Sun was entered into Capricorn :
Which, by their bad astronomers' account,
That week the virgin Balance should remount.
An infant moon eclipsed him in his way,
And hid the small remainders of his day. 600
The crowd amazed pursued no certain mark,
But birds met birds, and justled in the dark.

Few mind the public in a panic fright,
And fear increased the horror of the night.
Night came, but unattended with repose ; 605
Alone she came, no sleep their eyes to close ;
Alone, and black she came ; no friendly stars arose.
‘ What should they do, beset with dangers round,
No neighbouring dorp, no lodging to be found,
But bleak plains, and bare unhospitable ground ? 610
The latter brood, who just began to fly,
Sick-feathered and unpractised in the sky,
For succour to their helpless mother call :
She spread her wings ; some few beneath them crawl ;
She spread them wider yet, but could not cover all. 615
To augment their woes, the winds began to move
Debate in air for empty fields above,
Till Boreas got the skies, and poured amain
His rattling hailstones mixed with snow and rain.
‘ The joyless morning late arose, and found 620
A dreadful desolation reign around,
Some buried in the snow, some frozen to the ground.
The rest were struggling still with death, and lay
The Crows’ and Ravens’ rights, an undefended prey,
Excepting Martin’s race ; for they and he 625
Had gained the shelter of a hollow tree :
But soon discovered by a sturdy clown,
He headed all the rabble of a town,
And finished them with bats or polled them down.
Martin himself was caught alive, and tried 630
For treasonous crimes, because the laws provide
No Martin there in winter shall abide.
High on an oak which never leaf shall bear,
He breathed his last, exposed to open air ;
And there his corps, unblessed, is hanging still, 635
To show the change of winds with his prophetic bill.’
The patience of the Hind did almost fail,
For well she marked the malice of the tale ;

Which ribald art their Church to Luther owes ;
In malice it began, by malice grows ; 640
He sowed the serpent's teeth, an iron harvest rose.
But most in Martin's character and fate
She saw her slandered sons, the Panther's hate,
The people's rage, the persecuting State :
Then said, 'I take the advice in friendly part ; 645
You clear your conscience, or at least your heart.
Perhaps you failed in your foreseeing skill,
For Swallows are unlucky birds to kill :
As for my sons, the family is blessed
Whose every child is equal to the rest ; 650
No church reformed can boast a blameless line,
Such Martins build in yours, and more than mine ;
Or else an old fanatic author lies,
Who summed their scandals up by centuries.
But through your parable I plainly see 655
The bloody laws, the crowd's barbarity,
The sunshine that offends the purblind sight ;
Had some their wishes, it would soon be night.
Mistake me not ; the charge concerns not you ;
Your sons are malcontents, but yet are true, 660
As far as non-resistance makes them so ;
But that's a word of neutral sense, you know,
A passive term, which no relief will bring,
But trims betwixt a rebel and a king.'
'Rest well assured,' the Pardalis replied, 665
'My sons would all support the regal side,
Though Heaven forbid the cause by battle should be tried.'
The matron answered with a loud 'Amen !'
And thus pursued her argument again :
'If, as you say, and as I hope no less, 670
Your sons will practise what your self profess,
What angry power prevents our present peace ?
The Lion, studious of our common good,
Desires (and kings' desires are ill withstood)

To join our nations in a lasting love ; 675
The bars betwixt are easy to remove,
For sanguinary laws were never made above.
If you condemn that Prince of tyranny,
Whose mandate forced your Gallic friends to fly,
Make not a worse example of your own ; 680
Or cease to rail at causeless rigour shown,
And let the guiltless person throw the stone.
His blunted sword your suffering brotherhood
Has seldom felt ; he stops it short of blood :
But you have ground the persecuting knife 685
And set it to a razor edge on life.
Cursed be the wit which cruelty refines
Or to his father's rod the scorpion joins ;
Your finger is more gross than the great monarch's loins.
But you perhaps remove that bloody note 690
And stick it on the first Reformers' coat.
Oh, let their crime in long oblivion sleep ;
'Twas theirs indeed to make, 'tis yours to keep.
Unjust or just is all the question now ;
'Tis plain that, not repealing, you allow. 695
 'To name the Test would put you in a rage ;
You charge not that on any former age,
But smile to think how innocent you stand,
Armed by a weapon put into your hand.
Yet still remember that you wield a sword 700
Forged by your foes against your sovereign lord ;
Designed to hew the imperial cedar down,
Defraud succession and disheir the crown.
To abhor the makers and their laws approve
Is to hate traitors and the treason love : 705
What means it else, which now your children say,
We made it not, nor will we take away ?
 'Suppose some great oppressor had by slight
Of law disseised your brother of his right,
Your common sire surrendering in a fright ; 710

Would you to that unrighteous title stand,
Left by the villain's will to heir the land ?
More just was Judas, who his Saviour sold ;
The sacrilegious bribe he could not hold,
Nor hang in peace, before he rendered back the gold. 715
What more could you have done than now you do,
Had Oates and Bedlow and their Plot been true ?
Some specious reasons for those wrongs were found ;
The dire magicians threw their mists around,
And wise men walked as on enchanted ground. 720
But now, when Time has made the imposture plain
(Late though he followed truth, and limping held her train),
What new delusion charms your cheated eyes again ?

‘The first Reformers were a modest race ;
Our peers possessed in peace their native place, 725
And when rebellious arms o’erturned the State
They suffered only in the common fate ;
But now the Sovereign mounts the regal chair,
And mitred seats are full, yet David’s bench is bare.
Your answer is, they were not dispossessed ; 730
They need but rub their metal on the Test
To prove their ore ; ’twere well if gold alone
Were touched and tried on your discerning stone,
But that unfaithful Test unfound will pass
The dross of atheists and sectarian brass ; 735
As if the experiment were made to hold
For base productions, and reject the gold.
Thus men ungodded may to places rise,
And sects may be preferred without disguise ;
No danger to the Church or State from these ; 740
The Papist only has his writ of ease.
No gainful office gives him the pretence
To grind the subject or defraud the prince.
Wrong conscience or no conscience may deserve
To thrive, but ours alone is privileged to sterve. 745
‘Still thank your selves, you cry ; your noble race

We banish not, but they forsake the place :
Our doors are open. True, but ere they come,
You toss your censuring Test and fume the room ;
As if 'twere Toby's rival to expel, 750
And fright the fiend who could not bear the smell.'

To this the Panther sharply had replied ;
But, having gained a verdict on her side,
She wisely gave the loser leave to chide ;
Well satisfied to have the butt and peace, 755
And for the plaintiff's cause she cared the less,
Because she sued *in forma pauperis* ;
Yet thought it decent something should be said,
For secret guilt by silence is betrayed.
So neither granted all, nor much denied, 760
But answered with a yawning kind of pride :

'Methinks such terms of proffered peace you bring,
As once Æneas to the Italian king.
By long possession all the land is mine ;
You strangers come with your intruding line 765
To share my sceptre, which you call to join.
You plead like him an ancient pedigree
And claim a peaceful seat by Fate's decree :
In ready pomp your sacrificer stands,
To unite the Trojan and the Latin bands : 770
And, that the league more firmly may be tied,
Demand the fair Lavinia for your bride.
Thus plausibly you veil the intended wrong,
But still you bring your exiled gods along ;
And will endeavour, in succeeding space, 775
Those household poppits on our hearths to place.
Perhaps some barbarous laws have been preferred ;
I spake against the Test, but was not heard.
These to rescind and peerage to restore
My gracious Sovereign would my vote implore ; 780
I owe him much, but owe my conscience more.'

'Conscience is then your plea,' replied the dame,

' Which, well-informed, will ever be the same.
But yours is much of the cameleon hue,
To change the dye with every different view. 785
When first the Lion sat with awful sway,
Your conscience taught you duty to obey ;
He might have had your statutes and your Test ;
No conscience but of subjects was professed.
He found your temper, and no farther tried, 790
But on that broken reed, your Church, relied.
In vain the sects assayed their utmost art,
With offered treasure to espouse their part ;
Their treasures were a bribe too mean to move his heart.
But when, by long experience, you had proved 795
How far he could forgive, how well he loved ;
A goodness that excelled his god-like race,
And only short of Heaven's unbounded grace ;
A flood of mercy that o'erflowed our isle,
Calm in the rise, and fruitful as the Nile ; 800
Forgetting whence your Egypt was supplied,
You thought your Sovereign bound to send the tide ;
Nor upward looked on that immortal spring,
But vainly deemed he durst not be a king :
Then Conscience, unrestrained, by fear, began 805
To stretch her limits, and extend the span ;
Did his indulgence as her gift dispose,
And make a wise alliance with her foes.
Can Conscience own the associating name,
And raise no blushes to conceal her shame ? 810
For sure she has been thought a bashful dame.
But if the cause by battle should be tried,
You grant she must espouse the regal side ;
O Proteus Conscience, never to be tied !
What Phœbus from the tripod shall disclose 815
Which are in last resort your friends or foes ?
Homer, who learned the language of the sky,
The seeming Gordian knot would soon untie ;

Immortal powers the term of Conscience know,
But Interest is her name with men below.' 820

'Conscience or Interest be it, or both in one,'
The Panther answered in a surly tone ;
'The first commands me to maintain the crown,
The last forbids to throw my barriers down.
Our penal laws no sons of yours admit, 825
Our Test excludes your tribe from benefit.
These are my banks your ocean to withstand,
Which proudly rising overlooks the land, ✓
And, once let in, with unresisted sway
Would sweep the pastors and their flocks away. 830

Think not my judgment leads me to comply
With laws unjust, but hard necessity :
Imperious need, which cannot be withstood,
Makes ill authentic for a greater good.
Possess your soul with patience, and attend ; 835
A more auspicious planet may ascend ;
Good fortune may present some happier time,
With means to cancel my unwilling crime ;
(Unwilling, witness all ye Powers above !)
To mend my errors and redeem your love ; 840
That little space you safely may allow ;
Your all-dispensing power protects you now.'

'Hold,' said the Hind, 'tis needless to explain ;
You would postpone me to another reign ;
Till when, you are content to be unjust : 845
Your part is to possess, and mine to trust.
A fair exchange proposed of future chance
For present profit and inheritance.
Few words will serve to finish our dispute ;
Who will not now repeal would persecute. 850
To ripen green revenge your hopes attend,
Wishing that happier planet would ascend.
For shame, let conscience be your plea no more ;
To will hereafter proves she might before.

'Your care about your banks infers a fear 855
Of threatening floods and inundations near ;
If so, a just reprise would only be
Of what the land usurped upon the sea ;
And all your jealousies but serve to show
Your ground is, like your neighbour-nation, low. 860
To entrench in what you grant unrighteous laws
Is to distrust the justice of your cause,
And argues, that the true religion lies
In those weak adversaries you despise.

'Tyrannic force is that which least you fear ; 865
The sound is frightful in a Christian's ear :
Avert it, Heaven ! nor let that plague be sent
To us from the dispeopled continent.

'But piety commands me to refrain ;
Those prayers are needless in this Monarch's reign. 870
Behold how he protects your friends oppress,
Receives the banished, succours the distressed !
Behold, for you may read an honest open breast.
He stands in daylight, and disdains to hide
An act to which by honour he is tied, 875
A generous, laudable, and kingly pride.
Your Test he would repeal, his peers restore ;
This when he says he means, he means no more.'

'Well,' said the Panther, 'I believe him just,
And yet——'

'And yet, 'tis but because you must ; 880
You would be trusted, but you would not trust.'
The Hind thus briefly ; and disdained to enlarge
On power of kings and their superior charge,
As Heaven's Trustees before the people's choice,
Though sure the Panther did not much rejoice 885
To hear those echoes given of her once loyal voice.

'The matron wooed her kindness to the last,
But could not win ; her hour of grace was past.
Whom thus persisting when she could not bring

To leave the Wolf and to believe her King, 890
She gave her up, and fairly wished her joy
Of her late treaty with her new ally :
Which well she hoped would more successful prove
Than was the Pigeon's and the Buzzard's love.
The Panther asked what concord there could be 895
Betwixt two kinds whose natures disagree ?
The dame replied : ' 'Tis sung in every street,
The common chat of gossips when they meet ;
But, since unheard by you, 'tis worth your while
To take a wholesome tale, though told in homely style. 900
 ' A plain good man, whose name is understood,
(So few deserve the name of plain and good,)
Of three fair lineal lordships stood possessed,
And lived, as reason was, upon the best.
Inured to hardships from his early youth, 905
Much had he done and suffered for his truth :
At land and sea, in many a doubtful fight,
Was never known a more adventurous knight,
Who oftener drew his sword, and always for the right.
 ' As Fortune would, (his fortune came though late,) 910
He took possession of his just estate ;
Nor racked his tenants with increase of rent,
Nor lived too sparing, nor too largely spent ;
But overlooked his hinds ; their pay was just
And ready, for he scorned to go on trust : 915
Slow to resolve, but in performance quick,
So true that he was awkward at a trick.
For little souls on little shifts rely
And coward arts of mean expedients try ;
The noble mind will dare do anything but lie. 920
False friends (his deadliest foes) could find no way
But shows of honest bluntness, to betray ;
That unsuspected plainness he believed ;
He looked into himself, and was deceived.
Some lucky planet sure attends his birth 925

Or Heaven would make a miracle on earth,
 For prosperous honesty is seldom seen
 To bear so dead a weight, and yet to win ;
 It looks as Fate with Nature's law would strive
 To show plain-dealing once an age may thrive ; 930
 And, when so tough a frame she could not bend,
 Exceeded her commission to befriend.

'This grateful man, as Heaven increased his store,
 Gave God again, and daily fed his poor.
 His house with all convenience was purveyed ; 935
 The rest he found, but raised the fabric where he prayed ;
 And in that sacred place his beauteous wife
 Employed her happiest hours of holy life.

'Nor did their alms extend to those alone
 Whom common faith more strictly made their own ; 940
 A sort of Doves were housed too near their hall,
 Who cross the proverb, and abound with gall.
 Though some, 'tis true, are passively inclined,
 The greater part degenerate from their kind ;
 Voracious birds, that hotly bill and breed, 945
 And largely drink, because on salt they feed.
 Small gain from them their bounteous owner draws,
 Yet, bound by promise, he supports their cause,
 As corporations privileged by laws.

'That house, which harbour to their kind affords, 950
 Was built long since, God knows, for better birds ;
 But fluttering there, they nestle near the throne,
 And lodge in habitations not their own,
 By their high crops and corny gizzards known.
 Like harpies, they could scent a plenteous board ; 955
 Then, to be sure, they never failed their lord :
 The rest was form, and bare attendance paid ;
 They drunk, and eat, and grudgingly obeyed.
 The more they fed, they ravened still for more ;
 They drained from Dan, and left Beersheba poor ; 960
 All this they had by law, and none repined ;

The preference was but due to Levi's kind :
But when some lay-preferment fell by chance,
The gourmands made it their inheritance.
When once possessed, they never quit their claim, 965
For then, 'tis sanctified to Heaven's high name ;
And, hallowed thus, they cannot give consent
The gifts should be profaned by worldly management.

' Their flesh was never to the table served ;
Though 'tis not thence inferred the birds were starved ; 970
But that their master did not like the food,
As rank, and breeding melancholy blood.
Nor did it with his gracious nature suit,
Even though they were not Doves, to persecute :
Yet he refused (nor could they take offence) 975
Their glutton kind should teach him abstinence.
Nor consecrated grain their wheat he thought ;
But left his hinds each in his private power,
That those who like the bran might leave the flour.
He for himself, and not for others, chose, 980
Nor would he be imposed on, nor impose ;
But in their faces his devotion paid,
And sacrifice with solemn rites was made,
And sacred incense on his altars laid.

' Besides these jolly birds, whose crops impure 985
Repaid their commons with their salt manure,
Another farm he had behind his house,
Not overstocked, but barely for his use ;
Wherein his poor domestic poultry fed
And from his pious hands received their bread. 990
Our pampered Pigeons with malignant eyes
Beheld these inmates and their nurseries ;
Though hard their fare, at evening and at morn,
A cruise of water and an ear of corn,
Yet still they grudged that modicum, and thought 995
A sheaf in every single grain was brought.
Fain would they filch that little food away,

While unrestrained those happy gluttons prey.
 And much they grieved to see so nigh their hall
 The bird that warned St. Peter of his fall ; 1000
 That he should raise his mitred crest on high,
 And clap his wings and call his family
 To sacred rites ; and vex the etherial powers
 With midnight matins at uncivil hours ;
 Nay more, his quiet neighbours should molest, 1005
 Just in the sweetness of their morning rest.
 'Beast of a bird, supinely when he might
 Lie snug and sleep, to rise before the light !
 What if his dull forefathers used that cry,
 Could he not let a bad example die ? 1010
 The world was fallen into an easier way ;
 This age knew better than to fast and pray.
 Good sense in sacred worship would appear
 So to begin as they might end the year.
 Such feats in former times had wrought the falls 1015
 Of crowing Chanticleers in cloistered walls.
 Expelled for this and for their lands, they fled,
 And Sister Partlet, with her hooded head,
 Was hooted hence, because she would not pray a-bed.
 The way to win the restiff world to God 1020
 Was to lay by the disciplining rod,
 Unnatural fasts, and foreign forms of prayer :
 Religion frights us with a mien severe.
 'Tis prudence to reform her into ease,
 And put her in undress, to make her please ; 1025
 A lively faith will bear aloft the mind
 And leave the luggage of good works behind.
 'Such doctrines in the Pigeon-house were taught ;
 You need not ask how wondrously they wrought ;
 But sure the common cry was all for these, 1030
 Whose life and precepts both encouraged ease.
 Yet fearing those alluring baits might fail,
 And holy deeds o'er all their arts prevail,

(For vice, though frontless and of hardened face,
 Is daunted at the sight of awful grace,) 1035
 An hideous figure of their foes they drew,
 Nor lines, nor looks, nor shades, nor colours true ;
 And this grotesque design exposed to public view.
 One would have thought it an Egyptian piece,
 With garden-gods and barking deities, 1040
 More thick than Ptolemy has stuck the skies.
 All so perverse a draught, so far unlike,
 It was no libel where it meant to strike.
 Yet still the daubing pleased, and great and small
 To view the monster crowded Pigeon-hall. 1045
 There Chanticleer was drawn upon his knees,
 Adoring shrines and stocks of sainted trees ;
 And by him a misshapen ugly race ;
 The curse of God was seen on every face.
 No Holland emblem could that malice mend, 1050
 But still the worse the look the fitter for a fiend.

'The master of the farm, displeased to find
 So much of rancour in so mild a kind,
 Inquired into the cause, and came to know
 The passive Church had struck the foremost blow ; 1055
 With groundless fears and jealousies possest,
 As if this troublesome intruding guest
 Would drive the birds of Venus from their nest :
 A deed his inborn equity abhorred ; 1059
 But Interest will not trust, though God should plight his word.

'A law, the source of many future harms,
 Had banished all the poultry from the farms,
 With loss of life, if any should be found
 To crow or peck on this forbidden ground.
 That bloody statute chiefly was designed 1065
 For Chanticleer the white, of clergy kind ;
 But after-malice did not long forget
 The lay that wore the robe and coronet.
 For them, for their inferiors and allies,

Their foes a deadly Shibboleth devise : 1070

By which unrighteously it was decreed,

That none to trust or profit should succeed,

Who would not swallow first a poisonous wicked weed ;

Or that to which old Socrates was curst,

Or henbane juice to swell them till they burst. 1075

The patron, as in reason, thought it hard

To see this inquisition in his yard,

By which the Sovereign was of subjects' use debarred.

‘All gentle means he tried, which might withdraw

The effects of so unnatural a law : 1080

But still the Dove-house obstinately stood

Deaf to their own and to their neighbours' good ;

And which was worse, if any worse could be,

Repented of their boasted loyalty ;

Now made the champions of a cruel cause, 1085

And drunk with fumes of popular applause :

For those whom God to ruin has designed,

He fits for fate, and first destroys their mind.

‘New doubts indeed they daily strove to raise,

Suggested dangers, interposed delays ; 1090

And emissary Pigeons had in store,

Such as the Meccan prophet used of yore,

To whisper counsels in their patron's ear ;

And veiled their false advice with zealous fear.

The master smiled to see them work in vain, 1095

To wear him out and make an idle reign :

He saw, but suffered their protractive arts,

And strove by mildness to reduce their hearts ;

But they abused that grace to make allies

And fondly closed with former enemies ; 1100

For fools are double fools, endeavouring to be wise.

‘After a grave consult what course were best,

One, more mature in folly than the rest,

Stood up, and told them with his head aside,

That desperate cures must be to desperate ills applied : 1105

And therefore, since their main impending fear
Was from the increasing race of Chanticleer,
Some potent bird of prey they ought to find,
A foe professed to him and all his kind :
Some haggard Hawk, who had her eyry nigh, 1110
Well pounced to fasten, and well winged to fly :
One they might trust their common wrongs to wreak.
The Musquet and the Coystrel were too weak ;
Too fierce the Falcon ; but, above the rest,
The noble Buzzard ever pleased me best : 1115
Of small renown, 'tis true ; for, not to lie,
We call him but a Hawk by courtesy.
I know he haunts the Pigeon-house and farm,
And more, in time of war has done us harm :
But all his hate on trivial points depends ; 1120
Give up our forms, and we shall soon be friends.
For pigeons' flesh he seems not much to care ;
Crammed chickens are a more delicious fare.
On this high potentate, without delay,
I wish you would confer the sovereign sway ; 1125
Petition him to accept the government,
And let a splendid embassy be sent.
 'This pithy speech prevailed ; and all agreed,
Old enmities forgot, the Buzzard should succeed.
 'Their welcome suit was granted soon as heard, 1130
His lodgings furnished, and a train prepared,
With B's upon their breast, appointed for his guard.
He came, and crowned with great solemnity,
God save king Buzzard ! was the general cry.
 'A portly prince, and goodly to the sight, 1135
He seemed a son of Anak for his height :
Like those whom stature did to crowns prefer ;
Black-browed and bluff, like Homer's Jupiter ;
Broad-backed and brawny built for love's delight,
A prophet formed to make a female proselyte. 1140
A theologue more by need than genial bent ;

By breeding sharp, by nature confident,
Interest in all his actions was discerned ;
More learned than honest, more a wit than learned ;
Or forced by fear or by his profit led, 1145
Or both conjoined, his native clime he fled :
But brought the virtues of his heaven along ;
A fair behaviour, and a fluent tongue.
And yet with all his arts he could not thrive,
The most unlucky parasite alive ; 1150
Loud praises to prepare his paths he sent,
And then himself pursued his compliment ;
But by reverse of fortune chased away,
His gifts no longer than their author stay ;
He shakes the dust against the ungrateful race. 1155
Oft has he flattered and blasphemed the same,
For in his rage he spares no sovereign's name :
The hero and the tyrant change their style
By the same measure that they frown or smile.
When well received by hospitable foes, 1160
The kindness he returns is to expose ;
For courtesies, though undeserved and great,
No gratitude in felon-minds beget ;
As tribute to his wit the churl receives the treat.
His praise of foes is venomously nice ; 1165
So touched, it turns a virtue to a vice :
A Greek, and bountiful, forewarns us twice.
Seven sacraments he wisely does disown,
Because he knows Confession stands for one ;
Where sins to sacred silence are conveyed, 1170
And not for fear or love to be betrayed :
But he, uncalled, his patron to control,
Divulged the secret whispers of his soul ;
Stood forth the accusing Satan of his crimes,
And offered to the Moloch of the times. 1175
Prompt to assail, and careless of defence,
Invulnerable in his impudence,

He dares the world and, eager of a name,
 He thrusts about and justles into fame.
 Frontless and satire-proof, he scours the streets, 1180
 And runs an Indian muck at all he meets.
 So fond of loud report, that not to miss
 Of being known (his last and utmost bliss,)
 He rather would be known for what he is.
 'Such was and is the Captain of the Test, 1185
 Though half his virtues are not here exprest ;
 The modesty of fame conceals the rest.
 The spleenful Pigeons never could create
 A prince more proper to revenge their hate ;
 Indeed, more proper to revenge than save ; 1190
 A king whom in His wrath the Almighty gave :
 For all the grace the landlord had allowed
 But made the Buzzard and the Pigeons proud,
 Gave time to fix their friends and to seduce the crowd.
 They long their fellow-subjects to enthrall, 1195
 Their patron's promise into question call,
 And vainly think he meant to make them lords of all.
 'False fears their leaders failed not to suggest,
 As if the Doves were to be dispossessed ;
 Nor sighs nor groans nor goggling eyes did want, 1200
 For now the Pigeons too had learned to cant.
 The house of prayer is stocked with large increase,
 Nor doors nor windows can contain the press :
 For birds of every feather fill the abode ;
 Even Atheists out of envy own a God. 1205
 That Conscience, which to all their crimes was mute,
 Now calls aloud and cries to persecute :
 No rigour of the laws to be released,
 And much the less, because it was their Lord's request :
 They thought it great their Sovereign to control, 1210
 And named their pride nobility of soul.
 'Tis true, the Pigeons and their prince elect
 Were short of power their purpose to effect :

But with their quills did all the hurt they could
And cuffed the tender chickens from their food : 1215
And much the Buzzard in their cause did stir,
Though naming not the patron, to infer,
With all respect, he was a gross idolater.

‘But when the imperial owner did espy
That thus they turned his grace to villany, 1220
Not suffering wrath to discompose his mind,
He strove a temper for the extremes to find,
So to be just as he might still be kind :

Then, all maturely weighed, pronounced a doom
Of sacred strength for every age to come. 1225

By this the Doves their wealth and state possess,
No rights infringed, but licence to oppress :
Such power have they as factious lawyers long
To crowns ascribed, that kings can do no wrong.
But since his own domestic birds have tried 1230

The dire effects of their destructive pride,
He deems that proof a measure to the rest,
Concluding well within his kingly breast
His fowl of nature too unjustly were oppressed.
He therefore makes all birds of every sect 1235

Free of his farm, with promise to respect
Their several kinds alike, and equally protect.
His gracious edict the same franchise yields
To all the wild increase of woods and fields,
And who in rocks aloof, and who in steeples builds ; 1240

To Crows the like impartial grace affords,
And Choughs and Daws, and such republic birds ;
Secured with ample privilege to feed,
Each has his district and his bounds decreed :
Combined in common interest with his own, 1245
But not to pass the Pigeons’ Rubicon.

‘Here ends the reign of this pretended Dove,
All prophecies accomplished from above ;
For Shiloh comes the sceptre to remove.

Reduced from her imperial high abode, 1250
Like Dionysius to a private rod,
The passive Church, that with pretended grace
Did her distinctive mark in duty place,
Now touched, reviles her Maker to his face.

‘What after happened is not hard to guess ; 1255
The small beginnings had a large increase,
And arts and wealth succeed, the secret spoils of peace.
’Tis said the Doves repented, though too late,
Become the smiths of their own foolish fate :
Nor did their owner hasten their ill hour, 1260
But, sunk in credit, they decreased in power :
Like snows in warmth that mildly pass away,
Dissolving in the silence of decay.

‘The Buzzard, not content with equal place,
Invites the feathered Nimrods of his race, 1265
To hide the thinness of their flock from sight,
And all together make a seeming goodly flight :
But each have separate interests of their own ;
Two Czars are one too many for a throne.
Nor can the usurper long abstain from food ; 1270
Already he has tasted Pigeon’s blood,
And may be tempted to his former fare,
When this indulgent lord shall late to Heaven repair.
Bare bending times and moulting months may come,
When lagging late they cannot reach their home, 1275
Or rent in schism (for so their fate decrees) ~~✂~~
Like the tumultuous College of the Bees,
They fight their quarrel, by themselves oppress ;
The tyrant smiles below, and waits the falling feast.’

Thus did the gentle Hind her fable end, 1280
Nor would the Panther blame it nor commend ;
But, with affected yawnings at the close,
Seemed to require her natural repose ;
For now the streaky light began to peep,
And setting stars admonished both to sleep. 1285

The dame withdrew, and wishing to her guest
The peace of Heaven, betook her self to rest.
Ten thousand angels on her slumbers wait
With glorious visions of her future state.

NOTES.

PART I.

1. The Hind represents the Roman Catholic Church, and the three epithets are used to imply its purity, permanence, and immutability in contrast with the Church of England and the Nonconformists.

3. **unspotted**, in implied contrast with the Panther.

6. **Scythian**, a literary epithet, the *Scythica sagitta* of Ovid, *Met.* x. 588, etc.

wounds, by metonymy for 'darts,' in imitation of Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 529, *infesto vulnere*, etc.

8. This line is criticised by Montague and Prior in their burlesque, "The Hind and the Panther transvers'd to the story of the Country and the City Mouse," where Johnson asks, "How was she *doom'd to death*, if she was *fated not to dye*; are not *doom* and *fate* much the same thing?" and when Bayes (Dryden's nickname, borrowed from Buckingham's *Rehearsal*), answers that "*doom'd* and *fated* are quite different things," Smith retorts, "Faith, Mr. Bayes, if you were *doom'd* to be hang'd, whatever you were *fated* to, 'twould give you but small comfort." Scott, however, shows that Dryden is right, *doom* meaning merely a sentence, without implying its execution. "The doom, or sentence, of an earthly tribunal is placed in opposition to the decree of Providence."

9. **her young**, according to the parody, means the "priests, martyrs, and confessors, that were hanged in Oates' plot."

10. **hero**, in the classical sense of demigod. So Horace (*Odes*, i. xii. 1) makes *heroa* the middle term between *virum* and *deum*.

11. **obnoxious**, a Latinism, from *obnoxius*, liable to.

14. **Caledonian wood**, the *Caledonia silva* of Pliny and Florus, used generally for Britain.

15. **vocal blood**, taken from *Gen.* iv. 10, "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground."

16. **pardon**, by *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, for *vengeance*.

17. **sanguine seed** alludes, according to Montague and Prior, to the Latin saying, *Sanguis martyrū semen ecclesiæ*.

19. **captive Israel**, from *Ex. i. 7*, "And the children of Israel were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty."

27. **The common hunt**, perhaps the Protestant mob, which used to 'rabble' the Roman Catholics.

28. **sovereign power**, i.e. of James II.

34. Imitated by Pope, *Essay on Man*, ii. 217:

"Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen."

35. **The Bear** represents the Independents, called *unlicked to form* because, according to Hume (quoted by Scott), they "rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no spiritual courts, no government among pastors, no interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns, no fixed encouragement annexed to any system of doctrines or opinions." Compare Green, *Short History*, p. 559.

37. **the quaking Hare** represents the Quakers, who refused to bear arms or take oaths.

39. **the buffoon Ape**, the Freethinkers.

41. **the Lion**, James II. The language is based upon *II Kings*, v. 18, and is thought to have some personal reference, perhaps to Sunderland. In the parody Dryden is made to say, "That gauls somewhere; I gad, I can't leave it off, tho' I were cudgel'd every day for it."

43. **The baptist Boar**, the Anabaptists.

44. **the foam of sanctity** refers to the Anabaptist dogma that every true believer attains in this life perfect freedom from sin.

45. **fat pollutions**, the excesses perpetrated by Boccoldt (John of Leyden), Matthias, and the other leaders of the Anabaptists, when, in 1532, they seized and occupied Münster, which they called Mount Zion ("the sacred place").

49. **German forests**. The sect of the Anabaptists arose in Germany and the Low Countries about the year 1521.

50. **borrowed name**. To avoid persecution the remains of the Anabaptists after their dispersion were said to have assumed the names of various sects, such as the Mennonites, the Water-nameans, the Baptists ("sects unseen"), with whom they had land in common but the doctrine of adult baptism.

little else Reynard, the Arians. Cf. Spenser's *Mother Hubberds*

53. **Fish Tale**, 883.

53. **consecrated spoil**, the divinity of Christ. Arius (died A.D. 336) denied that the Son was *ὁμοούσιος*, of the same substance, with the Father.

54. **Athanasius** (A.D. 296-373), bishop of Alexandria, the most influential opponent of Arianism at the Council of Nice (Nicaea), A.D. 325.

55. **Socinus**. Laelius Socinus of Sienna (1525-1562) and his nephew Faustus (1541-1604) developed Arianism into Unitarianism, teaching the worship of one God, without distinction of persons.

58. Johnson's criticism on this line is: "His vanity now and then betrays his ignorance: he had heard of reversing a telescope, and unluckily reverses the object." *not necessarily - dry up*

70. *her*, i.e. the Church.

71. *St. Matthew*, xxviii. 20.

73. Compare the opening of *Religio Laici*, where reason is compared to the "borrowed beams of moon and stars," which are called "rolling fires" and "nightly tapers," in contrast with the sun, religion.

79-92. Dryden argues that Protestants are inconsistent in subjecting reason to faith in the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Crucifixion, and yet rejecting the doctrine of Transubstantiation because it is repugnant to sense—an inferior faculty to reason.

93-105. The Protestants, Dryden says, repudiate the doctrine of the Real Presence, on the ground that it violates a law of nature, viz. that the same body cannot be in two places at once. But this is applying natural laws to a spiritual body, which they allow, in the case of Christ's appearance to the disciples, violated another law of nature, viz. that two bodies cannot occupy the same space at the same time.

95. **penetrating parts**, i.e. occupying the same space at the same time as another body. "Things are *penetrable* when two or more can exist in the same space, as two angels; *impenetrable*, when not, as two stones" (Fleming, *Vocab. Phil.*). Impenetrability in this sense is one of the primary qualities of matter.

96-99. *St. John*, xx. 19 and 26.

103. One of the Protestant arguments against Transubstantiation was that, as the Host was consecrated in various places at the same time, in each of which the body of Christ was present, it made the same body be in two places at once.

106-127. The Protestants argued that, as faith in the instance was produced by miracles, which appealed to the senses, the senses must always be the criteria of credibility. *the first*
the senses,
in answer

to this Dryden says that miracles were not an end in themselves, but a means to an end, viz. the proof of the divinity of Christ. When this was attained, appeals to sense became unnecessary, and the question was raised to a higher level, viz. faith. The divinity of Christ having been proved by the evidence of the senses must now be assumed as one of the premises for further conclusions.

118. **God thus asserted**, the divinity of Christ being thus proved, *i.e.* by appeals to the senses.

127. **another hand**, viz. faith.

128. **bilander**, from Dutch *bijlander* (*bij*, by, and *land*, land), a two-masted merchant-vessel, used in Holland for coast and canal traffic (Murray, *The New Eng. Dict.*).

135. **to be our food**, *i.e.* in the Eucharist.

139. **his clearest words**, "This is my body" (*St. Matt.* xxvi. 26, etc.).

150. Dryden here reverts to the Socinians after his digression on the controversy between Roman Catholics and Protestants as to the Real Presence in the Eucharist.

152. **Polonian plains**. "(Socinianism) was adopted by the Protestants of Poland and Hungary, especially those who were about this time in arms under Count Teckeli against the Emperor" (Scott).

153. **the insatiate Wolf**, the Presbyterians.

159. **muzzled**, *i.e.* by the Test Act.

163. **His ragged tail** refers to the Geneva cloak of the Presbyterian clergy.

164. **his rough crest**, the black skull-cap.

165. **predestinating ears**. Cf. Scott's *Legend of Montrose*, ch. xi., "They were followed by a Presbyterian clergyman, in his Geneva cloak, and wearing a black silk skull-cap, covering his short hair so closely that it could scarcely be seen at all, so that the unrestricted ears had an undue predominance in the general aspect."

166. **haggered**, originally *hagged*, hag-like, confused with *hagard*, a wild hawk (living in the *hag*, hedge). Bailey's *Dictionary* (1733) gives "*Hagger*, lean, thin."

169. **As captain**, during the Civil War; as *companion*, during the Commonwealth (Green, p. 560 seq., and p. 590).

171. **For tribute paid**. William of Malmesbury tells us that Edgar, in 963, *Judvalo regi Walensium edictum imposuerit ut sibi quotannis tributum trecentorum luporum pensitaret, quod cum tribus annis fecisset, quarto destitit, nullum se ulterius posse invenire professus*.

171. **Cambria**, Wales.

173. **Geneva**, where Calvin lived and taught from 1536 till his death in 1564.

France. From Geneva Calvinism spread first into France.

176. **Wickliff's brood**. Wyclif's views generally "appear to have resembled those of Calvin more nearly than those of any other great leader of the Reformation of the sixteenth century."

177. **antipathy to kings**. Wyclif was charged with complicity in the insurrection of the peasants under Wat Tyler, in 1381 (Green, p. 240).

179. **Sanhedrim**, *St. Matt.* xxvii. 1.

180. **higher**, *i.e.* in time, earlier.

181. **Corah**, *Numb.* xvi.

183. **devest**, so spelt in Bailey's *Dict.* (1733).

185. **class**, an ecclesiastical term "in the Reformed American, Dutch, and French Churches, a judicatory corresponding to a presbytery" (*Imp. Dict.*).

189. **a common species**. According to the Linnaean classification, wolves and foxes are comprehended under the genus *Canis*.

198. **mitred crown**. "The citizens of Geneva, before they adopted the reformed religion, were under the temporal as well as the ecclesiastical authority of a bishop. But in 1528, when they followed the example of the city of Berne in destroying images and abolishing the Roman ceremonies, the bishop and his clergy were expelled from the city" (Scott).

201. **a puddle**, the lake of Geneva. **a wall**, the Alps.

203. **the North Ocean**, *i.e.* the North Sea, between "fenny Holland" and "fruitful Tweed."

204. Montague and Prior satirize this couplet: "Now to write something new and out of the way, to elevate and surprize, and all that, I fetch, you see, this *quickning fire* from the bottom of *boggs* and *rivers*." So also Scott questions "whether *fenny Holland* and *fruitful Tweed*, in other words, a marsh and a river, could form a favourable medium for communicating the influence of the *quickening fire below*." But surely the effect of subterranean heat on marshy ground would be to force vegetation and foster animal life.

207. This line has been used before by Dryden in *Absalom and Achitophel*, 227, where Christie quotes the following couplet from *Lachrymae Musarum*, a collection of verses on the death of Lord Hastings, in 1649, to which Dryden contributed his first known poem:

"It is decreed we must be drained, I see,
Down to the dregs of a democracy."

The origin of the phrase may be Lucretius, v. 1141, *Res itaque ad summam faecem turbasque redibat.*

208. **fairy rounds.** Cf. Shak. *Tempest*, v. i. 36:

“ You demi-puppets that
By moonshine do the green sour ringlets make,
Whereof the ewe not bites.”

217. **fulsome.** Bailey's *Dict.* (1733) gives “*Fulsom*, nasty, noisom, distastful, loathsom, luscious.”

refuse to bite. Cf. note on 208.

218. Cf. Lyly, *Euphues* (ed. Arber, p. 61), “The dog eateth grasse and findeth remedy.”

224. **teemless**, from A.S. *tēam*, child-bearing, progeny, race.

227. **Indian shades**, perhaps with reference to the fabulous properties of the upas tree.

228. **Colchos.** Medea, famous for her magic powers, was daughter of Aetes, King of Colchis or Colchos.

231. **Celtic woods**, i.e. France, with reference to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. in 1685 (Green, p. 667).

233, 234. The partial toleration granted in Scotland, Feb. 1687 (Macaulay, pop. ed., i. 429).

240. **of nature.** This point is proved in the next forty lines, which show that it is a law of nature that animals should persecute other animals, but contrary to nature that man should persecute man, and trace the development of persecution for difference of religious opinions from its first example in Cain.

247. **informing**, in the metaphysical sense of animating, giving life to. Cf. Pope, *Essay on Man*, i. 275, “Informs our mortal part.”

fire. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* II. ii., 79, *divinae particulam aurae*; Virg. *Aen.* vi. 747, *aurai simplicis ignem.*

249. **Smith Divine**, the Platonic *δημιουργός*. “The Demiurgus of Plato is not conceived as a Creator, but as a Constructor or Artist” (Grote, *Plato*, iv. 220). This account of the creation of man seems imitated from Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, *Divine Weekes and Workes*, (The Sixt Day of the First Week).

258. **prerogative.** Cowell, *Interpreter* (1637), defines the prerogative of the king as “that especiall power, preeminence, or privilege that the King hath in any kinde over and above other persons, and above the ordinarie course of the common law, in the right of his crown.” Dryden dexterously identifies the exercise of the prerogative in favour of Roman Catholics with mercy.

267. **coronation day**, “which is usually distinguished by an act of grace or general pardon” (Scott).

276. *Genesis*, iv. 10.

279. *Genesis*, x. 9.

280. **Pan**, Jesus Christ. So also Milton, *Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, 88, "Full little thought they then, That the mighty Pan Was kindly come to live with them below." The origin of this identification is to be found in the tradition related by Plutarch, that at the time of the crucifixion a loud cry was heard across the sea by certain sailors, "Great Pan is dead!" and the oracles ceased. Cf. E. B. Browning, *The Dead Pan*.

285. **British Lion**, James II.

286. **foes**, the Scottish Presbyterians, to whom James had granted partial toleration on the 12th of February, 1687. Cf. Macaulay (pop. ed.), vol. i., p. 429.

290. **native**, in point. Cf. 233 and 293.

295. **unharmful**, *i.e.* so long as they are.

296. *i.e.* by the new Test Act, which enfranchised the Scotch Catholics, but imposed vexatious disabilities on the Presbyterians, who might worship only in private dwellings. Cf. Macaulay (pop. ed.), i. 429.

305. **Adam**, *Genesis*, ii. 19.

309. **In fields**, etc. "The dregs of the fanaticism of the last age fermented during that of Charles II. into various sects of sullen enthusiasts, who distinguished themselves by the different names of Brownists, Families of Love, etc. In many cases they rejected all the usual aids of devotion, and, holding their meetings in the open air and in solitary spots, nursed their fanaticism by separating themselves from the more rational part of mankind" (Scott).

315. **divisible**, "material; divisibility being a criterion of matter" (Christie).

316. **allay**, a common spelling for *alloy*. Bailey (vol. ii., 1731) gives "*Allay*, the tempering and mixture of other metals with gold and silver." It is derived from the Old French *a lai*, Lat. *ad legem*, "according to rule," and has no etymological connection with the ordinary word *allay*=to assuage.

317. **shards**, probably, as Christie, = dung. Halliwell (*Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*) gives *shard* as a northern word meaning "cow dung," quoting from Elyot (1559), "Sharde and dunge." The cockchafer, he says, is called a *sharn-bug* in Sussex, *sharn* also meaning cow-dung. Add Lyly, *Euphues and his England* (ed. Arber, p. 240), "The Fly that shunneth the Rose, to light in a cowshard." Others take *shards* to mean the hard wing-case of the beetle, from A.S. *sceard*, a fragment of pottery, though it is difficult to see how in this case they could

be said to "produce" souls. The same uncertainty of interpretation hangs over the phrase "shard-borne beetle" in *Macbeth*, III. ii. 42, which some commentators explain as = born in dung.

322. "In Scotland, large conventicles were held in the mountains and morasses by the fiercest of the Covenanters, whom persecution had driven frantic. These men, known now by the name of Cameronians, considered popery and prelacy as synonymous terms; and even stigmatised as Erastians and self-seekers the more moderate Presbyterians who were contented to exercise their religion as tolerated by the Government" (Scott). Cf. David Deans in the *Heart of Midlothian*, ch. xlii.

Panther, the Church of England. "Hieroglyphically, is put to represent hypocrisy and deceit" (Bailey, *Dict.*).

338. **spirits of a middle sort**. Cf. Milton, *P.L.* iii. 460:

"Those argent fields more likely habitants,
Translated Saints, or middle Spirits, hold,
Betwixt the angelical and human kind;"

Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, pt. i., sec. 2, mem. 1, subs. 2, "Some will have his [the devil's] proper place the air; all that space between us and the moon for them that transgressed least." Addison, *Spect.* No. 183, "The middle station of Nature ... was inhabited by Creatures of a middle kind, neither so Virtuous as the one, nor so Vicious as the other." Cf. *Piers Plowman*, i. 123, with Skeat's note.

340. **half-way down**. Scott quotes from Dryden's *King Arthur*:

"An airy shape, the tenderest of my kind,
The least seduced, and least deformed, of hell,
Half-white, and shuffled in the crowd, I fell,
Desirous to repent and loath to sin;
Awkward in mischief, piteous of mankind.
My name is Philidel, my lot in air,
Where, next beneath the moon and nearest heaven,
I soar, and have a glimpse to be received."

345. It was about a century and a half from the Act of Supremacy (1534) by which Henry VIII. was declared "the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England," and the publication of *The Hind and the Panther* (1687).

354. **luxury**, in the Elizabethan sense of sensuality, licentiousness.

incontinence refers to the dissolution of the monasteries in 1536. "It was acknowledged that about a third of the religious houses were fairly and decently conducted. The rest were charged with drunkenness, with simony, and with the foulest and most revolting crimes" (Green, p. 339).

360. **hattered out**, worn out. The *Promptorium Parvulorum* (1440) has "HATYR, rent clothe. *Scrutum, pannucia*." Nares quotes "hattering bullets" from Taylor's Works (1630). Jamieson quotes from *Gawan and Gologras* (about 1450), "Helmys of hard steill thai hatterit and heuch."

368. In the Koran virtuous and pious Moslems are to be rewarded after death with everlasting happiness in a paradise of heavenly virgins, shady groves, clear streams, and delicious fruits.

369. **jolly Luther**, called "that lean, mortified apostle," in Dryden's *Defence of the Duchess of York's Papers*.

373. Luther was *more* "than half-way gone" when he married Catherine de Bora in 1525, being then 42. He died in 1546.

376. **Bacchanals**, *i.e.* Bacchanalia. Bailey gives "*Bacchanals*, the Drunken Feasts or Revels of Bacchus the God of Wine."

377. **presumed of**, in imitation of the French idiom *présumer de*.

380. **herds**, herdsmen; A.S. *hierde*, shepherd. Cf. Chaucer, *C. T.*, A, 603: "Ther nas baillif, ne *herde*, ne other hyne." It survives in the compounds *cow-herd*, *neat-herd*.

381. **these**, *i.e.* the Nonconformists.

her head, *i.e.* from Pope to King.

384. **of**, *i.e.* consisting of.

387. **phylacteries**, perhaps with accent on penult in accordance with the quantity in Greek.

389. **stigmatised**, in its literal sense, as Bailey, "to brand or mark with a hot Iron."

390. **creature of a double kind** refers to the Minotaur, "a double-formed monster, having partly the shape of a man and partly that of a bull ... kept by Minos in the *labyrinth* of Crete" (Bailey).

393. **despised**, a good instance of Dryden's *παρά προσδοκίαν* sarcasms. We should have expected "admired."

399. "The Lutherans adopt the doctrine of consubstantiation; that is to say, they believe that, though the elements are not changed into the body and blood of Christ by consecration, which is the Roman faith, yet the participants, at the moment of communicating, do actually receive the real body and blood. The Calvinists utterly deny the real presence in the Eucharist, and affirm that the words of Christ were only symbolical. The Church of England announces a doctrine somewhat between these" (Scott).

405. **novices**, *i.e.* catechists.

406. In the *Catechism of the Church of England* we are taught (1) that there are two parts in a Sacrament—"the outward visible sign and the inward spiritual grace"; (2) that bread and wine are "the outward part or sign of the Lord's Supper."

408. "Question. What is the inward part or thing signified? Answer. The Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper" (*Catechism of the Church of England*).

418. Cf. *Epistle of St. James*, i. 6, "For he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea driven with the wind and tossed."

420. "Thus gratitude, hope, fear, common attachments, common enmities, bound her [the Church of England] to the throne. All her traditions, all her tastes, were monarchical. Loyalty became a point of professional honour among her clergy, the peculiar badge which distinguished them at once from Calvinists and from Papists" (Macaulay, ch. i.).

424. tax, reproach. Cf. Wordsworth, *Sonnet*, xxxix., "Tax not the royal saint with vain expense."

425. "The interest of the Church had been deeply interwoven with that of the Crown; their struggle, sufferings, and fall during the civil wars had been in common, as well as their triumphant restoration: the maxim of 'no king, no bishop' was indelibly imprinted on the hearts of the clergy; in fine, it seemed impossible that anything should cut asunder the ties which combined them" (Scott).

435. With reference to the fable of the wind and the sun trying their strength upon the traveller.

437. *Isgrim* is the name of the wolf in Caxton's translation of the *History of Reynard the Fox*, a reprint of which may be found in Arber's "English Scholar's Library." Montague and Prior ridicule this reference: "*Smith*. I have heard you quote *Reynard the Fox*. *Bayes*. Why, there's it now; take it from me, Mr. *Smith*, there is as good morality and as sound precepts in the delicate *History of Reynard the Fox* as in any book I know, except *Seneca*. Pray, tell me where in any other author could I have found so pretty a name for a wolf as *Isgrim*?"

439. the true, i.e. the Church of Rome.

448. Scott quotes from a contemporary pamphlet, advocating union between the Churches of England and Rome, a similar argument: "If I [the Church of England] tell the Church of Rome I did not forsake her but her errors, which I reformed, my rebellious subjects tell me the same, and that they must make a thorough reformation; and, let me bring what arguments I please to justify my dissent, they still produce the same against me."

458. Dryden's argument is, "The English divines halt between two opinions; they will not allow the weight of tradition when they dispute with the Church of Rome, but refer to the Scripture, interpreted by each man's private opinion, as the sole rule of faith; while, on the other hand, they are obliged to have recourse to tradition in their disputes with the Presbyterians and dissenters, because without its aid they could not vindicate from Scripture alone their hierarchy and Church government" (Scott).

462. bills. One meaning of *bill*, given by Cowell, *Interpreter* (1637), is "a declaration in writing that expresseth some fault that the partie complained of hath committed against some law or statute of the Commonwealth."

463. The pamphlet quoted above (448) uses the same argument; "If, on the other hand, I plead against the Puritan dissenter, and show that he ought to stand to Church authority where he is not infallibly certain it commands a sin, the Papist presently catches at it, and tells me I destroy my own grounds of reformation, unless I will pretend to that infallibility which I condemn in them."

482. *II. Corinthians*, v. 1.

483. *St. Matthew*, xvi. 18.

484. patent. Cowell defines *letters patents* as "Writings sealed with the broad Seale of England, whereby a man is authorized to doe or enjoy any thing that otherwise of himselfe he could not."

494. rising tides, i.e. control, as the mode, the rising tide of Nonconformist revolt.

504. couchees (from Fr. *couchée*), an evening reception, as opposed to *levée*, a morning one. Burnet has, "The duke's levées and couchees were so crowded that the antechambers were full" (*Imp. Dict.*).

511. the neighbouring flood seems to typify civil and political rights and privileges from which the Test Act debarred all dissidents (Green, p. 641).

514. drinking first, i.e. claiming precedence as the Established Church.

519. "The principle laid down by the judges asserted the right of the King to dispense with penal laws according to his own judgment, and it was applied by James with a reckless impatience of all decency and self-restraint. Catholics were admitted into civil and military offices without stint, and four Catholic peers were sworn as members of the Privy Council" (Green, p. 667).

525. **ten-horned monster** (*Rev.* xiii. 1), supposed by Protestants to represent the Church of Rome.

529. **Their guide in faith**, with reference to their attitude to the doctrine of the Real Presence.

531. Ridiculed by Montague and Prior as not in keeping with "the majestic turn of heroic poesy," which Dryden claims for the first part in the Preface.

540. Dryden here reverses the old superstition that if a man met a wolf without catching its eye first he was struck dumb. Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* ix. 53, *vox quoque Moerim iam fugit ipsa; lupi Moerim videre priores*; Theocritus, xiv. 22, οὐ φθεγξῇ; λύκον εἶδες. In Plato, *Rep.* i. 336, D, Socrates says of Thrasyarchus, καὶ μοι δοκῶ, εἰ μὴ πρότερος ἑώρακεν αὐτὸν ἢ ἐκεῖνος ἐμέ, ἀφωνος ἂν γενέσθαι; Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, v. 7, "Why, how now, Signior Deliro! has the wolf seen you, ha?" Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, iii. 381.

545. **wait her**. Bailey gives, "*To wait, to stay for, to attend upon.*"

551. **the Plot**, Green, p. 649.

560. **The lady of the spotted muff**. "*Smith.* I did not hear she had a *spotted muff* before. *Bayes.* Why, no more she has not now: but she has a skin that might make a *spotted muff*. There's a pretty figure now, unknown to the ancients" (*The Hind and the Panther Transversed*).

PART II.

2. **Philistines**, with accent on the first syllable. The reference is to the persecution of the Roman Catholics at the time of the Popish Plot (Green, p. 649).

5. **sagacious power**, a Latinism in imitation of Virgil's *odora canum vis* (*Aen.* iv. 132), 'sagacious' meaning keen-scented (*sagax*).

7. **the younger Lion**, James II., then Duke of York (Green, pp. 656, 657).

8. **calves**. One meaning of *calf* given by Bailey is "a male Hart or Hind of the first year." Cf. *Job*, xxxix. 1, "When the hinds do calve"; *Psa.* xxix. 9.

9. "Plunket, the titular primate of Ireland, Whitebread, provincial of the Jesuits, and several other Roman Catholic priests suffered for the alleged plot" (Scott).

16. **saving reverence**, the Latin *salvâ reverentiâ*, an apologetic phrase for an irreverent expression. Cf. Shak. *Cymb.* iv. i. 5, "Saving reverence of the word."

21. **quarry** means 'game,' as contrasted with *vermin*, wild animals that are not regarded as 'game.' It was originally a hunting term = "a Reward given Hounds after they have taken the Game" (Bailey). Cotgrave (1673) gives: "*Curée*, a dog's reward; the hounds' fees of, or part in, the game they have killed."

23. **cry**, a pack of hounds. Cf. Shak. *Cor.* III. iii. 120, "You common cry of curs!" Milt. *P.L.* ii. 654, "A cry of Hell-hounds never ceasing barked."

24. "The country party, during 1679 and the succeeding years, were as much incensed against the divines of the High Church of England as against the Papists" (Scott).

28. **the main question**, the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

29. **Dumb**, because declining to give authoritative utterances on disputed points, and referring controversies to the "dumb rule" of Scripture (l. 203).

30. **The Test**, the Test Act, "which required from every one in the civil and military employment of the State the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, *a declaration against transubstantiation*, and a reception of the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England" (Green, p. 641).

34. **salvo**, "an Exception, a come off" (Bailey). Addison has "any private *salvoes* or evasions" (*Imp. Dict.*).

49. Phaedrus, I. iv. 6, *Et quem tenebat ore, dimisit cibum, Nec, quem petebat, potuit adeo attingere.*

63. **cannon**, with play upon *canon* ("that common principle"), with which it is etymologically identical.

67. **subterranean Rome**, "'Roma Sotteranea,' an extensive cavern near Rome, formerly inhabited, described in a work of that name published at Rome, circa 1632. Evelyn describes his visit to this cavern in his *Diary*, April 11, 1645" (Christie).

69. Loosely expressed for "conclude that it is nothing, because that which has no place is nothing."

75. "There was a dispute among naturalists whether sight was accomplished *per emissionem vel per receptionem specierum*" (Scott). In the *Theaetetus* of Plato sight is explained to be produced by the meeting of two motions, one passing from the eye, the other from the object.

79. "*Dolus versatur in generalibus* was an axiom of the schools" (Scott).

81. Dryden refers to four theories of the *locus* of infallibility: (1) Pope, (2) General Council, (3) Pope and General Council together, (4) Pope, General Council, and Church. The first two he rejects as too narrow, the last as too wide, and accepts the third as the *via media*.

82. Both lawful, both combined, *i.e.* both are lawful exponents of infallibility when both are combined. "Dryden does not plead the cause of infallibility so high as to declare it lodged in the Pope alone; but inclines to the milder and more moderate opinion which vests it in the Church and Pope jointly. This was the shape in which the doctrine was stated in the pamphlets generally dispersed from the King's printing press about this time" (Scott).

113. philosophic stone, the philosopher's stone of the alchemists, which was thought to have the power of transmuting the inferior metals into gold.

120. Jehu, *II. Kings*, ix. 20.

126. circle, "in Logick, the fault of an argument that supposes the principle it should prove, and afterwards proves the principle by the thing it seem'd to have proved" (Bailey's *Dict.*).

132. According to the Koran, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Christ were true prophets of God, but Mohammed is the last and by far the most illustrious apostle; and "as the Scripture and Gospels have been altered by superstitious Jews and idolatrous Christians, the Koran must be revered as the only genuine revelation by which former religions are corroborated and verified."

142. According to Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation, the bread and wine after consecration are not *transformed into* but *accompanied by* the body and blood of Christ. "In transubstantiation the divine body and blood is present *without* the bread and wine; and in consubstantiation it is present *with* the bread and wine: the former effects a change of nature, the latter a change of circumstance."

156. Nicene Council, cf. Part I., l. 54.

161. Scott refers to Lucan's description of the Civil War, *Pharsalia*, i. 7, *infestisque obvia signis signa, pares aquilas, et pila minantia pilis*.

piles, Anglicised from the Latin *pilum* in Lucan. Halliwell quotes "pierced with piles" from Howard's *British Princes* (1669). Chapman has "steele pile."

169-171. The emphatic words are *first*, *sure*, and *apostolic*.

169. first Councils, *i.e.* Nice (325); Constantinople (381); Ephesus (431); Chalcedon (451).

179. there, *i.e.* in Scripture (l. 173).

181. The Council, cf. l. 156.

209. *St. Matthew*, xxiii. 2.

215. This proverb occurs as early as *Ralph Roister Doister* (1553), Act v., Sc. 1, l. 13, "Ah sirra, nowe I see truthe in the prouerbe olde, All things that shineth is not by and by pure golde."

221. *Genesis*, xxviii. 12.

227. the ladder refers to the gallows. Cf. Swift, *Tale of a Tub*, Sect. i.

228. Bailey (*Dict.*) tells us that "it is related that the scent of the Panther's skin attracts all other beasts." So Lyly, *Euphues* (ed. Arber, p. 54), speaks of "a sweet Panther with a deuouring paunch," and *Euphues and his Ephoebus* (*ib.* p. 149), "Panthers which haue a sweete smel, but a deuouring minde." Christie refers to Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxi. 7), and quotes from Ben Jonson, *The Fox*, iii. 5, and from Shirley, *The Royal Master* iii. 1, "Or hunt this spotted panther to his ruin, Whose breath is only sweet to poison virtue."

230. the blatant beast, taken from Spenser, *F.Q.* v. 12, 37, and vi. (*passim*), where it personifies Slander, though here it may be used merely as a synonym of the Wolf in the sense of 'howling.' Nares quotes a passage from the *Returne from Per-nassus* (1606), where it means the multitude.

232. barely urged, *i.e.* mere statement, unsupported by proof.

237. quits the claim. "Quit claim [in Law] is the releasing a Man from any Action one hath or might have against him" (Bailey).

243. Excepts, *i.e.* takes exception against or challenges. Cowell (*Interpreter*) says: "Challenge made to the Jurors is either made to the array or to the polles. Challenge to the array is when the whole number is excepted against as partially empaneled: challenge to or by the polle, when some one or more are excepted against as not indifferent."

245. Cf. l. 171.

(247.) "The Presbyterian Church utterly rejects traditions, and appeals to the Scripture as the sole rule of faith" (Scott).

251. The language is based upon the fable of the cat and the fox.

255. shelf, "a Heap of Sand in the Sea" (Bailey).

266. statutes, *e.g.*, Act of Uniformity (1662); Conventicle Act (1664); Five Mile Act (1665).

275. the fountain, *i.e.* the Church of Rome.

(284.) purging fires, *i.e.* the Church of England rejects tradition when arguing with the Church of Rome in the case of purgatory, but appeals to it against the Presbyterians in defence of episcopacy.

288. Traditions can be employed against Nonconformists but not against Rome.

303-308. Priority of oral teaching.

309-321. Reason of priority of oral teaching.

319. *Exodus*, xxxii. 16 ; xxxiv. 28.

322-335. Cause of written teaching.

337. Concisely expressed for "not intended at first to be more than occasional, their sermons in their absence." *Absent* refers to *them* implied in *their*, a common idiom in Latin (e.g. *nostros vidistis flentis ocellos*). Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, §. 219.

343. *II. Peter*, iii. 16.

348. Concise for "and one who, if appointed, was sure to be obeyed."

374. Scott thinks that from this passage Swift took the idea of comparing the Scripture to a testament in his *Tale of a Tub*. But it is obvious enough.

377. *vouch*, "[in Law] to call one into Court to make good his warrant" (Bailey).

380. *Hungary*, "then the object of contention between the Turks and Germany" (Christie).

396. *St. John*, xviii. 4, 5.

405. *Polish Diet*. "In a Polish Diet, where unanimity was necessary, the mode adopted of ensuring it was for the majority to hew to pieces the first individual who expressed his dissent by the fatal *veto*" (Scott).

408. *crown-general*, probably coined by Dryden to express the head of a religious order appointed by the Crown. Bailey gives as one meaning of *general* "the principal Governor of a religious Order." *Crown* would then refer to the state establishment of the Church of England. The phrase is ridiculed by Montague and Prior in connection with the epithet *viceroys* (i. 537): "*Bayes*. There's a pretty name, now, for the spotted mouse, the *Viceroy*! *Smith*. But, pray, why d'e call her so? *Bayes*. Why! Because it sounds prettily: I'll call her the *Crown-General* presently, if I've a mind to it."

409. *lawn*, the fine linen used in the vestments of bishops, hence the episcopacy. Cf. Pope's line: "A saint in crape is twice a saint in lawn."

414. Article xx., *Of the Authority of the Church*, says: "The Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in Controversies of Faith: And yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be

repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ, yet, as it ought not to decree anything against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of Salvation."

417. *Curtana*, "King Edward the Confessor's Sword, without a Point (an Emblem of Mercy), which is carried before the Kings and Queens of England at their Coronation" (Bailey).

428. *able heads* refers to "men of judgment sound" in l. 424.

440. Cf. l. 383.

441. *hard head*. Halliwell (*Dict. Archaic and Provincial Words*) gives *hardheads* as being the same game as *Cocks*, which he explains as "a puerile game with the tough tufted stems of the ribwort plantain. One holds a stem, and the other strikes on it with another."

452. The Lutherans.

455. "The Huguenot preachers, being Calvinists, had received classical and not episcopal ordination: hence, unless re-ordained, they were not admitted to preach in the Established Church of England" (Scott).

456. *donors must ordain*. Many of the Huguenot clergy who took refuge in England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes received benefices from the Church of England. Cf. III. 172-175.

472. *Grant*, in l. 388.

472-484. The argument is (a) an *unerring* guide is *needed*; (b) if *needed* therefore *given*; (c) if *unerring*, must be found in an *infallible* church.

516. *Rev.* xxi. 2.

524. "I believe one Catholick and Apostolick Church" (Nicene Creed).

533. The language is based upon the legend of the contest between the giants and the gods, in which Athene, typifying the Church, is represented as smiting the giants (the heretics) with the thunder of her father Zeus ('fulmination').

536. *Exodus*, viii. 7.

541. *Exodus*, ix. 11.

546. *largely spread*, i.e. Catholic.

556. *common shores*. Bailey has "*Common Shore*, corrupted for *Sewer*." Halliwell says it is still used in Devon.

561. *palliards* (from Fr. *paillard*), for which Cotgrave gives "knave, rascal, varlet, scoundrel, filthy fellow."

566. *some*, i.e. the Dutch.

569. **Industrious of.** Christie quotes the same idiom from Dryden's *Address to his Cousin, John Driden*, "Industrious of the common good."

✓570. **Japonian mart**, *i.e.* Japan, "where the Christians, having raised a rebellion against the heathens, were exterminated, root and branch. This excited such an utter hatred of Catholic priests and their religion that they were prohibited, under the deepest denunciations of death and confiscation, from landing in Japan. Nevertheless, the severity of this law did not prevent the Hollanders from sharing in the gainful traffic of the island, which they gained permission to do by declaring that they were not Christians" (Scott).

571. **prevention**, *i.e.* being forestalled. Scott reads *preventing*.

574. **three marks**, (1) one; (2) holy; (3) Catholic. The second is not mentioned in the Nicene Creed, but occurs in the Apostles' Creed.

576. **fourth**, *i.e.* Apostolic.

577. **Apostolic**, *i.e.* in doctrine, as the context shows. Cf. l. 611.

582. **fulminated**, denounced, censured. Bailey says, "*Fulmination* is the sentence of a bishop or other ecclesiastick appointed by the Pope, whereby it is decreed that some bull sent from the Pope shall be executed; it is also the execution of a sentence of anathema made in publick with due solemnity."

583. "Alluding to the doctrines of Wicliffe and the Lollards, condemned as heresies in their own times, but revived by the reformers" (Scott).

588. *St. Matthew*, vii. 25.

589. **charged on her**. Cf. Pope, *Prol. to Sat.* 378, "Let Budget charge low Grub-street on his quill."

590. Cf. l. 605.

✓597. **monumental arms**. Cf. Shak. *Richard III.*, i. i. 6, "Our bruised arms hung up for monuments." As the sword of Goliath was kept wrapped in a cloth behind the ephod (*I. Sam.* xxi. 9), not for use, but to commemorate the victory of David over the Philistine, and was used by David under the pressure of necessity; so the Roman Catholic Church keeps its ancient doctrines as memorials of victories over heretics, and appeals to them only when compelled against heresy or schism.

601. **standard**, perhaps used (cf. *plantations*) in the sense given by Bailey, "Trees reserved at the felling of Wood for Growth for Timber," though there may be a reference to the other meaning, "the standing Measures of the King or State, to which all Measures are framed."

602. **maintain**, cf. 315.

604. **we**, emphatic ; cf. 590.

607. **digits** "[in Astronomy] is the twelfth part of the Diameter of the Sun or Moon, and is used to denote the Quantity of an Eclipse" (Bailey).

615. Cf. l. 546.

616. **spiritual**, distinguishing Pope from King.

618. **seamless coat**, *St. John*, xix. 23. Cf. Bacon, *Essay* ^{III.}, "For, as it is noted by one of the Fathers ; *Christs Coat, indeed, had no seame : But the Churches Vesture was of divers colours ; whereupon he saith, In veste varietas sit, Scissura non sit.*"

628. **seven**. The first edition reads *nine*, which would approximately represent the period from the landing of Augustine in 597 and the dawn of the Reformation.

638. *St. Luke*, xv. 20.

639. **prevent**, anticipate.

640. *Genesis*, xlii. 24.

643. *Genesis*, xliii. 30.

645. "The English Benedictine monks executed a renunciation of the abbey lands belonging to the order before the Reformation, in order to satisfy the minds of the possessors, and reconcile them to the re-establishment of the ancient religion, by guaranteeing the stability of their property" (Scott).

650. **birds obscene**, Virgil's *obsценae volucres*.

653. **nocturnal victory**, Sedgemoor, fought between 1 and 4 o'clock in the morning of Monday, July 6th, 1685.

655. **fireworks**. "The northern streamers were shining brilliantly" (Macaulay, ch. v.).

657. **Gild the brown horror**. Christie quotes the same phrase from *Love Triumphant*, Act iv. sc. 1. It is used by metonymy for that which causes horror, in imitation of such phrases as *ferri frigidus horror* (*Lucr.* vi. 1011), and *serrae stridentis acerbum horrorem* (*ib.* ii. 410).

660. **Heaven's own Nundus**, *i.e.* the news of the victory at Sedgemoor was conveyed to England, Scotland, and Ireland by the *aurora borealis* before the arrival of the messenger who actually announced it.

666. Refers to the rebellion under Monmouth in the west of England.

669. Seems to indicate a *rapprochement* between the Church of England and the Church of Rome in prospect of Monmouth's rebellion.

670. An allusion to the asceticism of the Roman Catholics.

672. Another gibe at the alleged self-indulgence of the Anglican clergy. Cf. i. 353-380.

675. supply, "to make up what was wanting" (Bailey).

677. Cf. *Lucr.* v. 1118, *Divitiae grandes homini sunt vivere parce aequo animo.*

681. The Anglican repudiation of the dogma of infallibility.

✓ 682-685. It was a common taunt against the Established Church in the controversial literature of the time that she needed the artificial support of the Test Act to bolster up the weakness of her cause against Roman Catholics and Nonconformists.

697. The excessive alliteration is relieved by the fact that two of the aspirates are silent.

699-702. An invitation to the Church of England to return to Rome.

705. Based upon Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 362 seq.:

*Haec, inquit, limina victor
Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit.
Aude, hospes, contemnere opes, et te quoque dignum
Finge deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis.*

707. of, over.

709. Pan, cf. i. 280. So Spenser, *Shepheards' Calender*, v. 54, "When great Pan account of shepherdes shall aske"; *Ib.* vii. 49, "And wonned not the great God Pan Upon mount Olivet?"

713. wilful, voluntary.

715. gold, the State endowments of the Established Church.

PART III.

3. Caledon, Britain, as in i. 14. Christie thinks it is a misprint for Calydon, in Aetolia, the haunt of the mythological boar, but *we* is evidently used as synonymous with *Caledon*.

7. Phrygia. Aesop is said to have been a Phrygian by birth.

8. Mother Hubbard, i.e. Spenser in his satirical allegory *Prosopopoia, or Mother Hubberds Tale*, in which the Ape and the Fox are represented as stealing the Lion's hide which he had doffed on account of the heat.

9. British Lioness, i.e. Elizabeth, represented as the Lion in *Mother Hubberds Tale*. She is "sharply blamed" by Mercury,

who rouses her from her trance, during which the Ape, instigated by the Fox, commits all sorts of abuses, with these reproaches:

“ Arise (said Mercurie), thou sluggish beast,
That here liest senseless, like the corpse deceast,
The whilst thy kingdome from thy head is rent,
And thy throne royall with dishonour blent.”

10. *feast*, the anniversary of Elizabeth's accession, Nov. 17th, called Queen Elizabeth's Day, celebrated from 1679 to 1681 with violent anti-papistical demonstrations and pope-burnings. For a full account of these commemorations, with illustrations taken from contemporary pamphlets, see Chambers' *Book of Days*, ii. 558. Cf. Hone's *Everyday Book*, p. 744. Christie refers to Dryden's *Prologue to Southerne's Loyal Brother* (p. 453 of Globe edition).

12. *wanted*. Scott's edition reads *wonted*.

15. *of*, Latinism on the analogy of the genitive after *insimulo*, etc.

17. Cf. 'immortal' in i. l.

18. *round*. “Eternity has neither beginning nor end” (Christie).

20. *the Lion's peace*, the Declaration of Indulgence.

24. *furry sons*, i.e. the clergy wearing the fur hoods of graduates. Cf. Milton, *Comus*, 707, “Those budge doctors of the Stoic fur.”

frequent senate, i.e. Convocation. *Frequent*, crowded (from Lat. *frequens senatus*).

41. *an exiled heir*, i.e. James II., then Duke of York, in exile at Brussels, whither he had retired by order of Charles II. after the Popish Plot (Macaulay, pop. ed., p. 117).

59. *St. Matthew*, xxii. 21.

64. “The Church of England complained, with great reason, of the coldness which they experience from James, in whose behalf they had exerted themselves so successfully” (Scott).

69. With this description of the feelings of the Church of England towards James, cf. Macaulay (pop. ed.), i., p. 433 (chap. vii.).

83. Terence, *Andria*, III. iii. 23, *amantium irae amoris integratiost*.

84. *a rest*, remainder. Now only used with *the*.

92. *scarlet honours*, academic and ecclesiastical distinctions, from the scarlet robes worn by Doctors, etc.

95. *spooms*, sometimes spelt *spoons*. “*Spooning* [Sea Term] is when a Ship, being under Sail, is put right before the Wind,

which is generally done in some great Storm, when they find the Ship too weak to endure the lying under the Sea, and when there is danger lest she should bring her Masts by the Board by her violent seeling or rolling about, and so founder; they generally set up the Fore-sail to make her go the steadier, and this is termed *Spooning the Fore-Sail*" (Bailey). The meaning is thus, as Nares says, to sail on steadily rather than rapidly. In Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Double Marriage*, II. i.: "We'll spare her our main-top-sail; Down with the fore-sail too! we'll spoom before her," it means to run before the wind without any sail.

108. Cf. Green, p. 671.

113. *your fare*, cf. l. 27.

120. German quarrel. Cotgrave (1673) has "*Querelle d'Aleman*. A quarrel, or brable, entred into upon a slight or drunken occasion."

121. French, Green, p. 666.

123. *swilling*. "*To Swill*, to gulp or swallow down greedily, to drink hard" (Bailey).

125. Phaedrus, I. i. 5.

127. *Ib.* 10-12.

132, *wince*, spelt *winch* by Dryden, an alternative form given by Bailey.

133. The doctrine of passive obedience.

142. *renounces to*, a Gallicism. "The memorable judgment and decree of the University of Oxford, passed in the Convocation, 21st July, 1683, condemns as heretical all works which teach or infer the lawfulness of resistance to lawful governors, even when they become tyrants, or in case of persecution for religion, or infringement on the laws of the country, or, in short, in any case whatever" (Scott).

151. *doted*, foolish. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, i. 138, "Thow doted daffe"; Spenser, *F.Q.* I. viii. 34, "doted ignorance."

159. *sons of latitude*, a party in the Church of England called by themselves Moderate Divines, by High Churchmen Latitudinarians, the most prominent being Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Burnet. "They distinguished themselves by a less violent ardour for the ceremonies and even the government of the Church; for all those particulars, in short, by which she is distinguished from other Protestant congregations" (Scott). Cf. Macaulay (pop. ed.), I. 433 (chap. vii.).

165. *The Wolf*. Dryden, in his *Defence of the Duchess of York's Paper*, had said that a Latitudinarian "in plain terms is no otherwise different from a Presbyterian than by whatsoever titles and dignities he is distinguished."

167. Chaucer, *Astrolabe*, i., §21, "And everich of thise twelve signes hath respecte to a certein parcelle of the body of a man and hath it in governance; as Aries hath thyn heved, and Taurus thy nekke and thy throte, Gemini thyn armholes and thyn armes, and so forth." Lyly, *Gallathea*, III. ii., "Signes which governe the bodie. The ram governeth the head. . . . Then the bull for the throte, Capricornus for the knees." Cf. Shak. *T.N.* I. iii. 125; Middleton, *No Wit*, etc. II. i. the whole of which scene turns upon this fancy.

169. "Being thus, as it were, an opposition party, it cannot be supposed that the Low Church divines united cordially with their high-flying brethren in renouncing the right of resisting oppression, or in professing passive obedience to the royal will. They were of opinion that there was a mutual compact between the king and subject, and that acts of tyranny on the part of the former absolved the latter from his allegiance" (Scott).

172. French proselytes, the Huguenot clergy, who took refuge in England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. "Many conformed to the Church of England; and, having submitted to new ordination, some of them obtained benefices: others joined in communion with the Presbyterians and dissenters of various kinds" (Scott).

175. *St. Matthew*, ii. 2.

176. Swisses. Cf. Nash, *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem*, "Law, logicke, and the Switzers may be hired to fight for anybody"; Shak. *Hamlet*. IV. v. 93.

181. "Dryden insinuates that, had the Church of England presented vacancies sufficient for the provision of these foreign divines, she would probably have had the honour of attracting them all within her pale" (Scott).

186. sons of breadth, the Latitudinarians.

190. Delphic sword, the *Δελφικὴ μάχαιρα* of Aristotle, *Pol.* I. ii. 3, 'contrived a double debt to pay' (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις ποιεῖ τοιοῦτον οἶον οἱ χαλκοτύποι τὴν Δελφικὴν μάχαιραν πενιχρῶς, ἀλλ' ἐν πρὸς ἔν).

192-216. This paragraph refers to the controversy between Dryden and Stillingfleet about the late Duchess of York's Paper, explaining the reasons of her secession to the Roman Catholic Church. This, with two others written by Charles II. in support of that Church and found in his strong box after his death, had been published in 1686 by order of James II., and circulated throughout the kingdom. These elicited an anonymous pamphlet by Stillingfleet, entitled "An Answer to some Papers lately printed, concerning the authority of the Catholic Church in matters of Faith and the Reformation of the Church of England." This was in three parts, corresponding to the three

papers. In answer to this appeared, also in three parts and probably by three different hands, "A Defence of the Papers written by the late King, of blessed Memory, and Duchess of York, against the Answer made to them." Dryden seems to have been concerned only in the last of the three parts, the one which referred to the Duchess of York. Stillingfleet retorted in "A Vindication of the Answer to some late Papers," in which he made a personal attack on Dryden as a mercenary pervert. Dryden here puts into the mouth of the Panther some of the arguments used in the *Vindication*.

193. **Three steeples**, etc. Scott says this "obviously alludes to the pluralities enjoyed, perhaps by Stillingfleet, and certainly by some of the divines of the Established Church." But it may refer to three Church dignitaries, such as Burnet, Stillingfleet, and Tillotson, whom Dryden supposed to be the authors of the three parts of the *Answer* mentioned above. *Argent* would then represent their professed purity, in strong contrast with the *sable field* of their real motives.

194. In the *Vindication* Stillingfleet had violently attacked Dryden as the "new convert" to Rome.

196. Stillingfleet had said of Dryden: "Why should not one who believes no religion declare for any?"

198. "If bold sayings and confident declarations will do the business, he is never unprovided; but if you expect any reason from him, he begs your pardon" (Stillingfleet, *A Vindication*, etc.).

199. **dint**, "the Force or Bent of a Discourse" (Bailey). Cf. Milton, *Areopagitica* (ed. Hales), p. 52, l. 21.

200. **grim logician**, i.e. Dryden. This expression was first used by Dryden, in his *Defence of the Duchess of York's Paper*, of the anonymous author of the *Answer*: "And yet such poor people have souls to save, as precious in the sight of God as the grim logician's." It was then taken up by Stillingfleet in his *Answer to the Defence*, and applied again and again to Dryden himself.

201. **flourish**. At the beginning of the *Vindication* Stillingfleet had said: "But lest I be again thought to have a mind to flourish before I offer to pass."

✓ 202. Dryden says in his *Defence*: "Now the immediate cause which produced the separation of Harry the Eighth from the Church of Rome was the refusal of the Pope to grant him a divorce from his first wife, and to gratify his desires in a dispensation for a second marriage."

206. "The King only knew whether it was conscience and love, or love alone, which moved him to sue for a divorce." Dryden, *A Defence*, etc. (ed. Scott and Saintsbury, vol. xvii., p. 244). Cf. Shak. *Hen. VIII.*, II. ii. 143, "But, conscience, conscience!"

210. "And he affirms, that he moved it himself in confession to the Bishop of Lincoln, and appeals to him concerning the truth of it in open court" (Stillingfleet, *Answer to the Defence*, etc. For the accent *confessor*, cf. Shak. *Hen. VIII.*, i. ii. 149; *Meas. for Meas.* iv. iii. 133, "One of our covent, and his *confessor*."

✓ 213. Dryden ends his *Defence* by saying that "among all the volumes of divinity written by the Protestants there is not one original treatise, at least that I have seen or heard of, which has handled distinctly, and by itself, that Christian virtue of humility." In reply to this, Stillingfleet, in his *Answer to the Defence*, etc., calls this "a bare-faced assertion of a thing so well known to be false," and affirms "since within a few years (besides what hath been printed formerly), such a book hath been published in London." For further developments in this controversy, see Dryden's Preface, p. 6.

214. Stillingfleet's argument: "Suppose we had not such particular books, we think the Holy Scripture gives the best rules and examples of humility of any book in the world."

226. Tax of. Cf. Middleton, *Anything for a Quiet Life*, i. i. 275, "You tax me well of irresolution."

227. *I.e.* remain Protestants in the hope of promotion in case of a Protestant successor to James. For the language, cf. the beginning of Bacon's *Essay, Of Delays*.

228. *broadway sons*, *i.e.* the Latitudinarians.

238. The antithesis is between *bestowed* and *bought*. Preference is bestowed when it is unsought; bought, when it is gained by attendance at Court.

246. *Hudibras*. Samuel Butler, the author of the wittiest and most popular burlesque during the Restoration, was neglected by the King and Court, and rescued from starvation only by a bencher of the Middle Temple, who at last paid for his funeral. But, as Scott says, unless Dryden alludes to some incident now unknown, it is difficult to see how the Church of England could have rewarded his merit. Dryden, in asking for unpaid arrears of his own salary, wrote, "It is enough for one age to have neglected Mr. Cowley, and starved Mr. Butler." So Otway, in the Prologue to a play: "Tell 'em how Spenser died, how Cowley mourned, How Butler's faith and service were returned" (Morley's *First Sketch of Eng. Lit.*, p. 676).

250. *atheist*, cf. note on l. 196. Stillingfleet, in his *Answer to the Defence*, also says of Dryden: "But this gentleman talks like a mere novice as to matters of faith, as though believing were a new thing to him." But I cannot find that he directly charges him with being an atheist.

251, 252. Scott explains these two lines to mean that "Dryden, conscious of having given the first offence, justifies his having done so from personal abuse being the never-failing resort of the liberal clergy." But the general sense may be, "Why was I so foolish as to expose the Latitudinarians? I might have been sure of abuse." Dryden, in his *Defence*, "exposes" the author of the *Answer to the Duchess's Paper* by calling him "disingenuous, foul-mouthed, and shuffling," and speaking of his "subtle calumny and sly aspersion" (Dryden's *Works*, ed. Scott and Saintsbury, vol. xvii., pp. 211, 212).

255. Stillingfleet's *Vindication* was licensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury's chaplain. Cf. Milton's *Areopagitica* on the whole question of licensing books.

277. *thrid*. Halliwell quotes this form from the *Chester Plays*, i. 37, "And of this wolle I will spynne thride by thride."

280-283. In these lines Dryden versifies a sentence from the Duchess of York's Paper: "It will be plain enough to everybody, that I must lose all the friends and credit I have here by it; and have very well weighed which I could best part with,—my share in this world or the next: I thank God, I found no difficulty in the choice."

284-286. So Dryden in his *Defence* says of the Duchess of York: "The loss of friends, of wordly honours and esteem, the defamation of ill tongues, and the reproach of the cross,—all these, though not without the strugglings of flesh and blood, were surmounted by her."

287. Cf. Shak. *Lear*, II. iv. 116, "O me, my heart, my rising heart! But, down!"

295. *unthrift*, prodigal (Bailey).

297. *a son*, i.e. Dryden.

305. *your child*, i.e. Stillingfleet. "The Hind having shown that her influence over Dryden was such as to induce him to submit patiently, and without vengeance, to injury and reproach, now calls upon the Panther to exert her authority in turn over Stillingfleet, for his irreverent attack upon the royal papers in favour of the Catholic religion" (Scott).

306. "Upon a careful perusal of the *Answers and Vindication* of that great divine, it is impossible to find any grounds for the charge of his having *reviled* Charles II. or the Duchess of York; on the contrary, their names are always mentioned with great respect" (Scott).

307. *Shimei*, II. *Sam.* xvi. 5-13.

308. I. *Kings*, ii. 36-46.

310. "Probably Burnet; and the score which he paid is the severe description given of him under the character of the Buzzard" (Scott).

311, 312. Burnet's malice was too heavy to reach James at whom it was aimed, and returned with deadly effect upon himself.

313. *Job*, i. 12; ii. 6.

316. *tire*, "a Row of great Guns placed along the Ship's Side, either above upon Deck, or below" (Bailey).

317, 318. Dryden claims a victory over Stillingfleet, because the latter, having at first doubted the authenticity of the Duchess of York's Paper, subsequently admitted it.

318. Stillingfleet is compared to a defeated vessel retiring under cover of its last broadside.

324-327. Stillingfleet, in his *Answer to the Defence*, says of Dryden: "However, he takes a leap from causes to effects; and here he tells us, 'the immediate effects of this schism were sacrilege, and a bloody persecution, of such as denied the King's supremacy in matters wholly spiritual, which no layman, no king of Israel, ever exercised.'"

328. Cf. note on l. 213 and Dryden's Preface, p. 6.

330. *procession*, "a solemn March of the Clergy and People of the Romish Church, in their Ornamental Habits, with Musick, etc." (Bailey).

332. *Rodriquez*, "probably the Jesuit Alonso Rodriquez, who wrote *Exercicio de perfeccion y Virtudes Christianas*, Sevilla, 1609" (Scott).

333. *yours*, i.e. Duncomb, according to Dryden in his Preface. In the introduction to *The Hind and the Panther Transversed* Montague and Prior say that Dryden has confused Duncomb and Allen, who, he had been told, "had written a discourse of humility." Scott says that in a list of books subjoined to "*The Practice of a Holy Life*, by Thomas Allen, rector of Kettering, in Northamptonshire," he finds "*The Virtue of Humility*, recommended to be printed by the late Reverend and Learned Dr. Henry Hammond," which may be the book alluded to by Stillingfleet.

336. *Isaiah*, vi. 6.

338. i.e. if this humble verse could inspire you with humility.

340-356. Dryden means that, in reprisal for the personal attack made upon him by the anonymous authors of the *Answer* to the royal papers, he would have been justified by the law of arms in retaliating upon some of the most prominent dignitaries of the Church of England, but that, in obedience to the laws of Christianity, he refrains.

342. laws of arms, contrasted with *Christian laws*, l. 350.

343. make himself a saver apparently means "to indemnify himself for damages." A metaphor from bowls. Cf. Middleton, *No Wit, no Help, like a Woman's*, II. iii. 83, "Yet if my bowl take bank, I shall go nigh to make myself a saver. Here's alley-room enough."

347. *Algierne*. Algiers, from about 1500 till its occupation by the French in 1830, was a nest of pirates.

354. characters, satirical sketches, a collection of which, beginning with Theophrastus and ending with Samuel Butler, whose characters had just (1759) been published, may be found in the *Character Writings of the Seventeenth Century* (Carisbrooke Library), edited by the late Dr. Henry Morley.

to write, i.e. for writing.

357. her plea, i.e. 190-216.

362. "These converts were neither numerous nor respectable" (Scott). Cf. Macaulay (pop. ed.), i. 423.

364. Cf. l. 227.

365. alluded, metaphorically expressed. "*Allude*, to play upon, or speak in Reference to some other Thing or Matter" (Bailey).

382. protracted, deferred. "*Protraction*, a putting off, a deferring or delaying" (Bailey).

387. Admire, "to look upon with Wonder, to be surprized at" (Bailey).

388-408. Dryden's reasons for the small number of converts to the Roman Catholic Church.

392. before, i.e. lines 377-387.

393. Cf. Shak. *King John*, II. i. 561-598.

405. the private judge allowed, i.e. the right of private judgment allowed in the reformed churches.

407, 408. Elliptically expressed for "Add lastly the illiteracy of the clown and the sciolism of the gentleman, being uncertain which has the narrower intellectual grasp." Or *uncertain* may be taken as neuter nominative absolute, "it being uncertain," on the analogy of the use of *incertum* in Tacitus.

410-413. The alliteration in these lines seems intended to express scorn. Cf. *θάρτον γὰρ θανάτου θεῖ*, Plato, *Apol.* 39 A; *τυφλὸς τὰ τ' ὦτα τὸν τε νοῦν τὰ τ' ὀμματ' εἶ*, Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 371 (with Jebb's note).

414. hinted, in l. 227 and in l. 381.

418. The Swallows. The apologue of the Swallows refers to the meeting of the leading Roman Catholics held at the Savoy under

the presidency of Father Petre in 1686 to consider the best way to take advantage of their temporary success. The majority were in favour of a compromise. "Some were for a petition to the king that he would only so far interpose in their favour that their estates might be secured to them by Act of Parliament, with exemption from all employments, and liberty to worship God in their own way, in their own houses. Others were for obtaining the king's leave to sell their estates and transport themselves and their effects to France" (Scott).

426. **The Swallow** represents the Roman Catholic clergy.

428. **Pursues the sun.** Cf. Burton, *Anat. Mel.*, part ii. sc. 2, mem. 3, "Or do they [swallows, etc.] follow the sun?" The sun typifies prosperity.

433. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. ii. 79, *divinae particulam aurae*.

434. Refers to the privileges and emoluments enjoyed by the Roman Catholic clergy under James II.

436. **cheer**, face, look, mien, as in M.E. *chere*, O.F. *chere*, the face, look, connected with Gk. *kápa*.

437. Imitated from Horace's *simul inversum contristat Aquarius annum*, *Sat.* i. i. 36.

444. **steeple's height**, i.e. the Savoy.

450. "Do they sleep in winter . . . or lie they hid in caves?" Burton, *Anat. Mel.*, part ii., sc. 2, mem. 3.

452. **Southwards**, i.e. to France. Cf. note on l. 418.

455. **mackerel gale.** Prof. Saintsbury quotes the phrase from Dryden's *The Tempest*, i. i, "A mackerel gale, master," and refers to Elspeth's song in Scott's *Antiquary* (ch. xl.), "The mackerel loves the wind."

459. **expect**, "to look for, to stay for or wait for" (Bailey).

460. **Martin**, i.e. Father Petre. "The name of Martin may contain an allusion to the Parish of St. Martin's, in which Whitehall and the royal chapel are situated" (Scott.)

464. Perhaps another scoff at Martin Luther.

467. "One Petre, descended from a noble family; a man of no learning, nor any way famed for his virtue, but who made up all in boldness and zeal, was the Jesuit of them all, that seemed animated with the most courage" (Burnet, quoted by Scott).

469. **household chaplain.** Petre was the "king's confessor and prime adviser in state matters, both spiritual and temporal" (Scott).

471. **casting.** "To cast, to think or contrive" (Bailey).

474. **Raven** "may be conjectured to mean Tennison, within whose parish Whitehall was situated, and who stood in the front of battle during all the Roman Catholic controversy" (Scott).

475. From Virgil, *Ecl.* ix. 15, *Ante sinistra cava monuisset ab ilice cornix.*

476. **liked**, pleased (Abbott, *Shak. Gram.*, § 297).

487. **antique**, with accent on first syllable, as always in Shakespeare.

488. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* xiv. 104, *Litora Cumarum vivacisque antra Sibyllae.*

489. **mad divineress**, the *insanam vatem* of Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 443.

491. **sinister**, with accent on second syllable, as in Shak. *Hen. V.*, II. iv. 85 (Abbott, § 490).

493. **Chelidonian**, from Gk. *χελιδών*, a swallow. These etymological myths are common in classical literature, e.g. the Icarian Sea is derived from Icarus (Ovid, *Tristia*, I. i. 90); the Tiber from Tiberinus (Livy, I. iii. 8); Cape Palinurus from the pilot of Aeneas (Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 381).

495. **blessed**, crossed. Cf. Chaucer, *C.T.* B, 449, "She blesseth hir," i.e. crosses herself.

500. **fix**, as in Bacon, *Essay of Truth*, "Count it a Bondage to fix a Beleefe."

trim, waste by vacillation.

504. **Scales**, i.e. *Libra*, the seventh sign in the Zodiac, which the sun enters at the autumnal equinox in September.

508. **hinder to**, as in Shak. *Rich. III.*, II. ii. 34, "Oh, who shall hinder me to wail and weep?" (Abbott, § 356).

510. **presumes of**, cf. I. 377.

512. Cf. I. 461.

519. **Nostradamus**, the Latinized form of Michel Notre Dame, the famous physician and prophet, born at St. Rémy in 1503, died 1566. He represented himself as divinely inspired, and published his predictions, first in prose, then in quatrains. The following distich was composed on his name:

*Nostra damus, cum falsa damus, nam fallere nostrum est ;
Et cum falsa damus, nil nisi nostra damus.*

528-530. "This alludes to the numerous schools and religious establishments which the Jesuits prepared to establish throughout England" (Scott).

535. **Ram**, the first of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, which the sun enters at the vernal equinox, about March 21.

537. *II. Kings*, xx. 11 ; *Joshua*, x. 12-14.

539. chapel, "obviously the royal chapel, where the priests were privileged to exercise their functions even during the subsistence of the penal laws" (Scott).

of ease. A chapel of ease is defined by Cowell, *Interpreter*, as one "separate from the Mother Church, where the Parish is wide, builded for the ease of one or more Parishioners that dwell over farre from the Church."

545. Merlin, the famous enchanter, who, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, flourished in Britain about the middle of the fifth century. Cf. Spenser, *F.Q.* III. iii. and Tennyson's *Merlin and Vivien*.

546. Swifts, the Irish Catholics.

548. Gibeonites, *Joshua*, ix. 23.

549. lubbers. "*Lubber*, a Drudge, a lazy Drone" (Bailey).

552-557. "The transient gleam of sunshine which invited the Swallows forth from their retirement is the Declaration of Indulgence, in consequence of which the Catholics assumed the open and general exercise of their religion" (Scott).

558. Cuckoo. "I cannot help thinking that our author, still speaking in the character of the English Church, describes himself as the 'foolish Cuckoo,' whose premature annunciation of spring completed the Swallow's delusion" (Scott).

564. St. Martin's day, the eleventh of November.

565. triumphs, with accent on last syllable, as often in Shakespeare, e.g. "rebels' arms triumph in massacre," *Hen. IV.* (A), v. iv. 14.

573. careful, anxious.

580. cemented, both in the noun and the verb accented on the first syllable in Shakespeare. Cf. *Ant. and Cl.* II. i. 48, "How the fear of us may cement their division" (Abbott, § 492).

583. foreign fowls, "the foreign priests and Catholic officers, whom hopes of promotion now brought into England" (Scott).

587. To plant, "to people a Country" (Bailey). Cf. the use of *plantation* = colony.

591. need, by loss of adverbial suffix for *needs*. Cf. Morris' *English Accidence* (revised by Kellner and Bradley), § 326.

596. Capricorn, i.e. the winter solstice.

598. the virgin Balance, i.e. Libra, which it had not entered before. The sun enters Libra at the equinox in September. Scott, followed by Christie, reads "the Virgin balance."

600. remainders, for the plural Christie quotes "the remnants of the night" (*Ann. Mir.* 102).

602. "A parody on Lee's famous rant in *Oedipus* :

'May there not be a glimpse, one starry spark,
But gods meet gods, and jostle in the dark' " (Scott).

609. **dorp**, "a Country Town or Village" (Bailey). It is the O.E. *þorp*, O.H.G. *dorf*, Mod. Eng. *thorp* in local names.

610. **bleaky**. The *Imp. Dict.* quotes from Dryden, "The bleaky top of rugged hills." For this formation of adjectives, v. Abbott, § 450.

628. "It is well known how exactly the event corresponded to the prophecy; even the circumstance of the rabble rising upon the Catholic priests was most literally verified" (Scott).

629. **bats**. Cotgrave has "*Baston*, a staff, bat, cudgel, trunchion, club."

polled. Phillips, *The New World of Words* (1720), gives "To *polt* (country-word), to beat, bang, or thrash." Bailey, "to *polt*, to beat back, or thresh."

632. *i.e.* Roman Catholic priests would be banished under a Protestant successor.

636. Sir Thomas Browne mentions this superstition in connection with the *kingfisher*: "That a kingfisher, hanged by the bill, sheweth us what quarter the wind is, by an occult and secret propriety, converting the breast to that point of the horizon from whence the wind doth blow, is a received opinion and very strange."

641. The metaphor is taken from the legend of Cadmus, who, after slaying the dragon, sowed its teeth, from which sprang a host of armed men. Cf. Milton, *Areopagitica* (ed. Hales), p. 5, l. 32, "as those fabulous Dragons teeth ... being sown up and down may chance to spring up armed men" (with Hales' note).

648. "Though useless to us, and rather of molestation, we commonly refrain from killing swallows, and esteem it unlucky to destroy them." Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseud. Ep.* v. xxiv. 3. Cf. Brand, *Pop. Ant.* iii. 194; Hone, *Everyday Book*, 256.

653. **old fanatic author**, John White, commonly called Century White (1590-1644). He was a Puritan, a member of the Long Parliament, and a violent opponent of the Church of England. In order to defend the expulsion of the clergy from their benefices he published in 1643 a treatise entitled, "The First Century of Scandalous Malignant Priests, made and admitted into benefices by the Prelates," containing a hundred cases of alleged scandals in the Church of England.

658. "The Hind intimates that, as the sunshine of Catholic prosperity, in the fable, depended on the king's life, there existed those among her enemies who would fain have it

shortened. But from this insinuation she exempts the Church of England, and only expresses her fears that her passive principles would incline her to neutrality" (Scott).

661. **non-resistance**, Green, p. 670.

665. **Pardalis**, Gk. *πάρδαλις*, a leopard, panther.

677. **sanguinary laws**, *i.e.* the penal laws against the Roman Catholics, called 'sanguinary' in a pamphlet in favour of union between the two Churches quoted by Scott.

678. **that Prince**, Louis XIV.

of tyranny, depends on *condemn*, not on *that Prince* as Scott says.

679. **mandate**, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

682. *St. John*, viii. 7.

683. **blunted sword**, cf. II. 417.

684. "As that monarch [Louis XIV.] did not proceed to the extremity of capital punishment against the Huguenots, Dryden contends his edicts were more merciful than the penal laws by which mass-priests are denounced as guilty of high treason" (Scott).

688, 689. *I. Kings*, xii. 10, 11.

690. **note**, stigma, brand, Lat. *nota*. Cf. Shak. *Lucr.* 208, "My posterity, shamed with the note."

691. *i.e.* allege that the penal laws against the Roman Catholics were originally enacted in the early days of the Reformation.

695. **allow**, approve (*allaudo*), as often in Elizabethan English. *St. Luke*, xi. 48, "Ye allow the deeds of your fathers."

696. **the Test**, Green, p. 641.

702. **imperial cedar**, *II. Kings*, xiv. 9.

703. "The Test Act was passed in 1678, while the Popish Plot was in its vigour, and the Earl of Shaftesbury was urging every point against the Catholics, with his eyes uniformly fixed upon the Bill of Exclusion as his crowning measure" (Scott).

707. "But though the Test Act was devised by a statesman whom they hated, and carried by a party whom they had opposed, the High Church clergy were not the less unwilling to part with it when they found the advantages which it gave them against the Papists in King James' reign" (Scott).

708. **slight**, "a cunning trick" (Bailey).

709. **disseised**. "*Disseisin* signifieth in the Common Lawe an unlawfull dispossessioning of a man of his land, tenement, or other immoveable or incorporeall right" (Cowell, *Interpreter*).

710. "Charles sullenly gave way" (Green, p. 641).

712. *heir*. Dryden's translation of Virgil's *Sola domum et tantas servabat filia sedes* (*Aen.* vii. 52) is "One only daughter heired the royal state."

715. *St. Matthew*, xxvii. 3-5.

717. Green, p. 651.

724, 725. *i.e.* at the Reformation Roman Catholic peers were not excluded from the House of Lords.

726. *i.e.* under the Commonwealth.

729. *mitred seats*, *i.e.* the bishops of the Established Church retain their seats in the House of Lords.

David's bench, *i.e.* the seats of the Roman Catholic peers, called *David's* apparently because they supported Charles II. who appears as David in *Absalom and Achitophel*.

731. *the Test*, the Test Act of 1678. "By this test, which required the renunciation of their religion as idolatrous, the Catholic peerage were effectually and for ever excluded from their seats in the House of Lords" (Scott).

735. "It was known that the Protestant dissidents were prepared to waive all objection to oath [*i.e.* of allegiance and supremacy] or sacrament [*i.e.* the reception of the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England], while the Bill would wholly exclude Catholics from share in the Government" (Green, p. 641).

736. *hold*, *i.e.* be satisfactorily passed, a specialisation of the ordinary meaning, which would be neutral.

741. *writ of ease* apparently means a writ by which a Member of Parliament (who, if not in any way disqualified, cannot immediately resign his seat) may be relieved of the position, very much in the same way as is now done in accepting the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds. Dryden uses it again in the Epilogue to *All for Love*: "He does his best; and if he cannot please, Would quietly sue out his writ of ease." Prof. Saintsbury, to whom this reference is due, explains the phrase as meaning "discharge from office."

744. *Wrong conscience* = sectarian; *no conscience* = atheists, of l. 735.

745. "to sterve, to die" (Bailey). A.S. *steorfan* = to die.

749. *censing*. Cf. Dryden's translation of *Aen.* viii. 285, "The Salii sing, and cense his altars round With Saban smoke."

750. In the apocryphal *Book of Tobit* (chs. vi. and vii.), Sara, the daughter of Raguel, is haunted by an evil spirit, which had killed seven men to whom she had been betrothed. But Tobias "took the ashes of the perfumes, and put the heart and the liver

of the fish thereupon, and made a smoke therewith. The which smell, when the evil spirit had smelled, he fled into the outmost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him" (viii. 2, 3). Cf. Milton, *P.L.* iv. 166-171,

"So entertained those odorous sweets the Fiend
Who came their bane, though with them better pleased
Than Asmodeus with the fishy fume
That drove him, though enamoured, from the spouse
Of Tobit's son, and with a vengeance sent
From Media post to Egypt, there fast bound."

755. **the butt and peace.** In Dryden's *Tempest* (III. iii.), Stephano, Mustacho, and Ventoso offer to make peace with Trincalo on condition that "the butt [*i.e.* of wine] may be comprehended in the treaty." And again in Act IV., Sc. iii., when Trincalo asks "Peace or war?" Mustacho replies, "Peace, and the butt." Christie quotes the phrase again from Dryden's Prologue to *Mistakes*, "Peace and the butt is all our business here" (Globe edition, p. 473).

757. **forma pauperis** "is when any person has cause of suit, and is so poor that he cannot dispense the usual charges of suing at law or equity" (Bailey).

761. **yawning**, "indicating an irksome weariness" (Bailey).

763. **the Italian King**, *i.e.* Latinus. Virg. *Aen.* vii. 213 seq.

767. Virg. *Aen.* vii. 219, *Ab Iove principium generis.*

768. *Ib.* 229, *Dis sedem exiguum patriis litusque rogamus Innocuum.*

772. **Lavinia**, daughter of Latinus.

774. **exiled gods.** Cf. *sum pius Aeneas raptos qui ex hoste Penates classe veho mecum* (*Aen.* i. 378).

776. **poppits.** Palsgrave (*L'éclaircissement de la langue Française*, 1530) gives "Popet for chyldre to play with—*porpee* s. f. Minshew (*The Guide into Tongues*, 1627), has "a *Poppet*. Vi. *Puppet*." Halliwell quotes *poppet* in the sense of 'idol' from the *Play of Wit and Science*, "Wyth lyeng and swerying by no poppets."

777. **preferred.** Bailey gives "*To Prefer*, to bring in, in speaking of a Bill, Indictment, or Law."

780. Green, p. 669.

784. **cameleon**, "a Creature like a Lizard, frequenting the Rocks, living on the Air or Flies, which, as is said, will turn himself into all Colours but Red and White" (Bailey). Cf. Shak., *Gent. Ver.* II. iv. 24, "*Sil.* What, angry, Sir Thurio! do you change colour? *Val.* Give him leave, madam; he is a kind of chameleon."

786-789. "James II. and the Established Church set out on the highest terms of good humour with each other. This, as the king afterwards assured the dissenters, was owing to the professions made to him by some of the Churchmen, whom he named, who had promised favour to the Catholics, provided he would abandon all idea of general toleration, and leave them their ancient authority over the fanatics" (Scott).

789. Green, p. 664.

793. to espouse, *i.e.* treasure offered for espousing. This loose use of the infinitive, a survival of the old *gerund*, is common in Elizabethan English. Cf. Abbott's *Shak. Gram.*, § 356.

795-800. The extension of toleration to Nonconformists as well as Roman Catholics.

796. Cf. the description of James in *Absalom and Achitophel*, 359, "His mercy even the offending crowd will find, For sure he comes of a forgiving kind."

797. his godlike race, *i.e.* Charles II. as described in *Absalom and Achitophel*, 323-326, "Inclined to mercy and averse from blood."

808. "Two pamphlets were published, urging the necessity of an alliance between the Church of England and the Dissenters, and warmly exhorting the latter not to be cajoled to serve the purposes of their joint enemies of Rome by the pretended toleration which was held out as a snare to them. One of these, called 'Reflections on the Declaration of Indulgence,' is ascribed to Burnet; the other, called 'Advice to Dissenters' is supposed to come from the masterly pen of Halifax" (Scott).

809. the associating name, *i.e.* the title of an *associator*, or one who makes *socii*, with reference to the 'wise alliance' of the preceding line. Cf. Bailey, "*To Associate*, to bring into Society or Fellowship."

812-813. Cf. 665, 666.

814. Proteus. Cf. Hor. *Ep.* i. i. 90, *Quo teneam vultus mutan-tem Protea nodo?* Hor. *Sat.* ii. iii. 71-73; Virg. *Georg.* iv. 387 seq.

819, 820. Scott quotes, in illustration of this, Hom. *Il.* i. 403, *ὃν Βριάρεων καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες Αἰγυπῶν'.*

821. Cf. the description of 'tickling Commodity' in *Shak. King John*, ii. i. 567-580, with that of conscience in *Rich. III.*, i. iv. 130 seq.

821-842. The argument of the Panther in this speech is, with the simile of the inundation, literally versified from a pamphlet entitled "Some Reflections on a Discourse entitled, 'Good Advice to the Church of England,'" quoted by Scott: "The penal laws cannot prejudice the Papists in this king's

reign, seeing he can connive at the non-execution of them, and the repeal of them now cannot benefit the Papists when he is gone; because, if they do not behave themselves modestly, we can either re-establish them, or enact others which they will be as little fond of. But their abrogation at this time would infallibly prejudice us, and would prove to be the pulling up of the sluices, and the throwing down the dikes, which stem the deluge that is breaking in upon us, and which hinder the threatening waves from overflowing us."

834. **authentic**, in the sense given by Bailey (s.v.), "generally approved or allowed of."

835. Cf. *St. Luke*, xxi. 9, "In your patience possess ye your souls." According to Scott, a favourite expression with Dryden. **attend, wait.**

836. *i.e.* the accession of the Prince of Orange.
ascend, a technical term in astrology.

842. **all-dispensing power**, "the power claimed and liberally exercised by the king of dispensing with the penal statutes" (Scott). Cf. Green, p. 670.

852. Cf. l. 836.

856. Cf. l. 827.

857. **reprise**, "a retaking" (Bailey).

858. "This conveys a perilous insinuation, which perhaps it would, at the time, have been prudent to suppress; since it goes the length of preparing a justification of the resumption of the power, authority, lands, and revenues of the Church of England, upon the footing of their having originally belonged to that of Rome. It cannot be supposed that this hint could be passed over at the time, without a strong feeling of a meditated revolution in Church government and property" (Scott).

860. *i.e.* Holland, the "Low Countries."

868. **dispeopled continent**, cf. l. 679.

871, 872. This refers to the Huguenots who fled to England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. According to Burnet (quoted by Scott), James "was very kind to the refugees; he was liberal to many of them; he ordered a brief for a charitable collection over the nation for them all, upon which great sums were sent in. They were deposited in good hands and well distributed. The king also ordered them to be denizen'd, without paying fees, and gave them great immunities."

884. The Divine Right of Kings (Green, p. 478).

894. **the Pigeon**, the clergy of the Church of England.

the Buzzard, Dr. Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

900. **homely style.** In the Preface Dryden says that the third part, "which has more of the nature of domestic conversation, is or ought to be more free and familiar than the two former."

901. James II. Pope has borrowed the expression *a plain good man* in *Moral Essays*, Ep. III., l. 342.

903. England, Scotland, and Ireland.

911. *i.e.* succeeded to the throne.

912. *i.e.* did not increase taxation.

914. **overlooked**, "to have an eye upon, or look after" (Bailey).

916. With this cf. Macaulay's description: "Though a libertine, James was diligent, methodical, and fond of authority and business. His understanding was singularly slow and narrow, and his temper obstinate, harsh, and unforgiving" (pop. ed., i. 84).

929-932. It is a law of nature that plain-dealing does not gain worldly success, but it looks as if fate wished to prove James an exception to the rule, and, being unable to do so by relaxing the rigour of his honesty, produced the same result by an act of favouritism.

936. The Catholic chapel at Whitehall (Scott).

941. **sort**, company, flock. Cotgrave has "*Tas*, a deal, sort, rabble, company, troop." Used in a bad sense in Shakespeare, *e.g.* "a sort of traitors" (*Rich. II.*, iv. 246); "a sort of naughty persons" (*Hen. VI.*, B, II. i. 167).

Doves, "the clergy of the Church of England, and those of London in particular" (Scott, who calls attention to the changed attitude of Dryden towards the Church of England, as indicating that the passage was written after the Declaration of Indulgence).

942. It was a popular belief that pigeons had no gall. Cf. Shak. *Hamlet*. II. ii. 604, "I am pigeon-livered and lack gall"; Sir Thomas Browne, *Vulgar Errors*, bk. III., ch. iii., "That a Pidgeon hath no gall"; Drayton, *Ninth Eclogue*, "A milk-white Doue, About whose Necke was in a Choller wrought 'Only like me my mistress hath no gall.'"

943. **passively inclined**, another allusion to the doctrine of passive obedience.

946. **salt**, perhaps with reference to the State endowments of the Established Church (*salarium*, originally "salt-money").

948. **bound by promise.** The Declaration in Council, issued on the accession of James II., contained these words: "I know the principles of the Church of England are for monarchy, and the members of it have shown themselves good and loyal subjects, therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it." Cf. Green, p. 664.

950. **that house**, *i.e.* England.

951. **better birds**, *i.e.* the Roman Catholics.

955. **Virg. *Aen.* iii. 210 seq.**

958. **eat=ate.** Morris, *Hist. Outl.* (revised by Kellner and Bradley), §286. Ben Jonson, in his *Grammar*, gives *et* as the past tense.

960. **Dan ... Beersheba**, the extreme north and south, the John o' Groats and Land's End of Palestine (*I. Sam.* iii. 20).

962. **Levi's kind**, *i.e.* the recognised priesthood.

965. **quit their claim**, cf. ii. 237.

969. **served rhymes with *starved*.** An *ar* sound was developed from an original *er* in some words. This change began in Middle English, but was perhaps carried out more fully in early Modern English times (Emerson, *Hist. of Eng. Lang.*, § 230). Cf. the modern pronunciation of *clerk*, *Derby*, etc. *Parson* was originally *person*.

972. Burton (*Anat. Mel.*, pt. i., sec. 2, mem. 2, subs. 1) includes pigeons among fowl whose flesh is "hard, black, unwholesome, dangerous, melancholy meat."

976. Another allusion to the absence of asceticism in the Church of England.

977. He did not consider the elements in the Eucharist as duly consecrated by the clergy of the Established Church.

978, 979. He allowed his ministers to be communicants of the Church of England.

983, 984. Mass was celebrated in the royal chapel.

985. **jolly**, cf. "the jolly Luther," i. 369.

989. **domestic poultry**, the Catholic clergy maintained by King James (Scott).

1000. "The cock is made an emblem of the regular clergy of Rome, on account of their nocturnal devotions and matins" (Scott).

1018. **sister Partlet**, *i.e.* the nuns. *Pertelot* is the name of the hen in Caxton's translation of "Reynard the Fox" (Arber's *Eng. Schol. Libr.*, p. 31). Cf. Chaucer, *C.T.*, B, 4060, "Sevene hennes ... of whiche the faireste ... was cleped faire damoysele Pertelote."

1020-1027. Ironical exposition of the Protestant views of asceticism.

1027. **luggage**, "a heavy Weight or Burden" (Bailey).

1030. **common cry**, cf. ii. 23.

1034. **frontless**, shameless, the *frons* in Latin being regarded as the seat of bashfulness. Cf. "the most frontless flatterers" in the Preface to *Rel. Laici* and l. 1180 of the present book.

1038. "The Roman Catholic pamphlets of the time are filled with complaints that their principles were misrepresented by the Protestant divines ; and that king-killing tenets, and others of a pernicious or absurd nature, were unjustly ascribed to them " (Scott).

1040. **barking deities.** The Egyptian god, Anubis, was represented with the head of a jackal or dog-ape. The Romans represented him in the form of a dog. Serapis too was represented with an animal by his side having the head of a dog, lion, or wolf.

1041. **Ptolemy**, the famous Greek mathematician, astronomer, and geographer of the second century, whose system of the universe, regarding the earth as a fixed centre, was generally accepted till superseded by the Copernican.

1042. **draught**, "the Resemblance of a Thing drawn " (Bailey).

1047. "The worship of images, charged upon the Romish Church by Protestants as idolatrous " (Scott).

1050. **Holland emblem**, *i.e.* Dutch caricature. "The Dutch seem to have been remarkable for them, of which their old-fashioned prints and figured pantiles are existing evidence " (Scott). Bayes, in *The Hind and Panther Transversed*, is made to say : "I was proffered a pension to go into Holland and contrive their emblems ; but, hang 'em, they are dull rogues, and would spoil my invention."

1058. **birds of Venus**, *i.e.* the doves, with reference to the non-celibacy of the clergy of the Church of England.

1066. "The laws imposing the penalty of high treason on priests saying mass in England " (Scott).

1068. "The Roman Catholic nobility, excluded from the House of Peers by the imposition of the Test " (Scott).

1070. **Shibboleth**, *Judges*, xii. 6.

1072, 1073. By the first Test Act passed in 1563 an oath of allegiance to the Queen and abjuration of the temporal authority of the Pope was exacted from all holders of office, lay or spiritual, with the exception of peers (Green, p. 384). The Test Act passed in 1673 enforced the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, the declaration against Transubstantiation, and the receiving of the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England upon all holding civil or military offices (Green, p. 641).

1074. Socrates was put to death by being compelled to drink the juice of hemlock.

1075. Henbane is said to be particularly destructive to domestic fowls, whence it derives its name.

1087, 1088. From a fragment of Euripides, preserved by Athenagoras: "Ὅταν δὲ δαίμων ἀνδρὶ πορσύνῃ κακὰ Τὸν νοῦν ἐβλαψέ πρῶτον. The Latin rendering is *Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat* (Christie).

1092. Alludes to the story of the pigeon which Mahomet is said to have trained to pick peas from his ear. Cf. Shak. *Henry VI.* (A), i. ii. 140, "Was Mahomet inspired with a dove?"

1097. **protractive**, temporising.

1102. **consult**, "is a Consultation, but commonly taken in an ill sense for a secret Cabal of Plotters against the State" (Bailey).

1110. **haggard Hawk**, "a wild Hawk which prey'd for herself before she was taken" (Bailey). Cf. Spenser, *F.Q.* i. xi. 19:

"As haggard hauke, presuming to contend

With hardy fowle above his hable might,

His wearie pounces all in vaine doth spend."

The old French *hagard* literally means 'living in a hedge,' from Middle High German *hag*, a hedge.

eyry, "the Nest where Hawks sit and hatch their Young" (Bailey). Originally *aery*, from Lat. *area*, corrupted into *eyry*, as if from Mid. Eng. *ey*, an egg.

1111. **pounced**. Bailey gives "*Strong-pounced Eagle*, an Eagle having strong Talons or Claws." Cf. the quotation from Spenser on l. 1110.

1113. **Musquet**. Palsgrave (*L'éclaircissement de la langue Française*, 1530) has "Musket, a lytell hauke—*mouchet*." Minsheu (*Guide into Tongues*, 1627), "*Musket*, the male of a Sparrow-hauke." Cotgrave (*French and English Dictionary*, 1673), "*Mouchet*, a Musket; the tassel of a Sparhawk." (Under *Tiercelet* Cotgrave explains *tassel* to be the male of any kind of hawk.)

Coystrel, the kestrel, a common kind of falcon, called also stannel and windhover. Spelt *coistrel* in *Liberality and Prodigality* (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, viii. 339), but generally *kastril* (Ben Jonson); *castrel* (Beaumont and Fletcher); *kastrell* (Cotgrave); or *castrell* (Minsheu).

1115. **Buzzard**, "a sort of great Hawk or Kite; also a senseless Fellow, an ignorant Fool" (Bailey). The Buzzard represents the famous Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. Bayes, in *The Hind and Panther Transversed*, is made to say, "His true name begins with a 'B.,' which makes me slily contrive him this to begin with the same letter."

1119. This alludes, according to Scott, to the fact that Burnet, while vicar of Salton, in East Lothian, drew up a memorial of the abuses of the Scotch bishops, and was instrumental in procuring the induction of Presbyterian divines into vacant churches.

1121. *forms*. "Burnet's opinion, or rather indifference, concerning forms may be guessed at from the applause with which he quotes a saying of Dr. Henry More: 'None of them are bad enough to make men bad, and I am sure none of them are good enough to make men good'" (Scott). The forms in this case would be the episcopacy to which he was supposed to be unfavourable.

1126. After Burnet's breach with the Court he went abroad, and settled in Holland at the Court of the Prince of Orange. "From this place of refuge he sent forth several papers in single sheets relating to the controversy in England; and the clergy, who had formerly looked upon him with some suspicion, began now to treat with great attention and respect a person so capable of serving their cause" (Scott).

1136. *son of Anak*, *Numbers*, xiii. 33.

1137. *I. Samuel*, ix. 2.

1138. Cf. *Shak. Ham.* III. iv. 56, "The front of Jove himself."

1140. Refers, according to Scott, to Burnet's having just acquired the right of naturalisation in Holland by marrying Mrs. Mary Scott, a Dutch lady, but of Scottish extraction.

1141. *theologue*, "a theologer, a divine, a professor, etc., of divinity" (Bailey).

genial, natural. Sir Thomas Browne has "natural incapacity and genial indisposition."

Burnet was at one time Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, but, as Scott says, "as his active temper led him to mingle much in political life, he speedily distinguished himself rather as a politician than a theologian."

1146. Cf. note on L. 1126.

1156. *the same*, *i.e.* the same person, *e.g.* Charles II., whose favour, as Scott tells us, he forfeited by sending him a letter in which he treated his personal vices and the faults of his Government with great severity.

1158, 1159. *i.e.* the same person is called hero or tyrant according as he smiles or frowns. "His opinions were often hastily adopted, and of course sometimes awkwardly retracted, and his patrons were frequently changed.... In short, his having the address to attach himself for a time to almost every leading character whom he had an opportunity of approaching, gives us room to suspect that, if Burnet did not change his opinions, he had at least the art of disguising such as could be accommodated to those of his immediate patron" (Scott).

1161. "When the king demanded that Burnet should be delivered up by the States, he threatened in return to justify himself, by giving an account of the share he had in affairs for twenty years past, in which he intimated he might be driven to mention some particulars which would displease the king" (Scott).

1164. **treat**, "an entertainment" (Bailey).

1165. **nice**, fastidious, scrupulous. Cf. Pope's phrase, "Damns with faint praise."

1166. "This applies to the sketches of characters introduced by Burnet in his controversial tracts" (Scott, who, with regard to the *History of his Own Times*, adds): "It is a general and just objection to the Bishop's historical characters, that they are drawn up with too much severity, and that the keenness of party has induced him, in many cases, to impose upon the reader a caricature for a resemblance."

1167. From Virg. *Aen.* ii. 49, *quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*

1168. **Seven sacraments**. "In the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Church it is held that there are seven sacraments, viz.: baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, holy orders, and matrimony" (*Imp. Dict.*).

1169. **Confession**, in the Roman Catholic Church part of the sacrament of penance.

1172-1174. "In 1675 the House of Commons, being resolved to assail the Duke of Lauderdale, and knowing that Burnet, in whom he had once reposed much confidence, could bear witness to some dangerous designs and expressions, appointed the Doctor to attend and be examined" (Scott). In the *History of his Own Times* Burnet gives an account of the examination, and the pressure that was brought to bear upon him, to which he finally yielded, concluding, "I was much blamed for what I had done. Some, to make it look worse, added that I had been his chaplain, which was false, and that I had been much obliged to him, though I had never received any real obligation from him, but had done him great services, for which I had been very unworthily requited: yet the thing had an ill appearance, as the disclosing of what had passed in confidence..."

1174. **accusing**, *διάβολος*.

1175. **Moloch**, "The God of the Amorites, to whom they sacrificed their children in the Valley of Tophet" (Bailey).

1180. **Frontless**, cf. l. 1034.

1181. **Indian muck**. "'To run amuck' is a phrase derived from the practice of the Malays. When one of this nation has lost his whole substance by gaming, or sustained any other great

or insupportable calamity, he intoxicates himself with opium, and, having dishevelled his hair, rushes into the streets, crying *Amocca*, or *Kill*, and stabbing every one whom he meets with his creese, until he is cut down, or shot, like a mad dog" (Scott). Skeat says it is derived from the Malay *ámuk* "engaging furiously in battle, attacking with desperate resolution, rushing in a state of frenzy to the commission of indiscriminate murder." Bailey, apparently connecting it with *Mecca*, gives it as *Muc* or *Moqua*, "running the *Muc*, is when a Mahometan has been at Mecca, and, having procured a dagger half-poisoned, runs about, and kills all he meets that are not Mahometans, till he is kill'd himself, after which he is buried, and esteemed a saint.

1184. Cf. Lowell's "Essay on Dryden" in *My Study Windows* (Camelot Series), p. 326.

1185. **Captain of the Test.** Burnet took a prominent part in the controversy about the Test Act, especially by writing several pamphlets on the subject against Dr. Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford.

1188, 1189. "Burnet himself admits that his papers in this controversy with Parker were written with an acrimony of style which nothing but such a time and such a man could excuse. His papers were so bitter, that nobody durst offer them to the Bishop of Oxford, till the king himself sent them to him in hopes to stimulate him to an answer" (Scott).

1191. Phaedrus, i. ii.

1196. "The promise to maintain the Church of England, made in James' first proclamation after his accession, which the Church party alleged he had now broken. Part of the controversy which now raged turned on the precise meaning of the king's promise to maintain the Church of England as by law established. The Church party insisted that the Declaration of Indulgence was a breach of this promise, as it suspended their legal safeguards, the test and penal laws. The advocates for the toleration answered that the promise was conditional, and depended on the Church consenting to the abrogation of these laws" (Scott).

1214. quills, *i.e.* pens.

1217, 1218. Referring to a pamphlet by Burnet, entitled "Reasons against Repealing the Act of Parliament concerning the Test," in the course of which he says: "I hope none will be wanting in all possible respect to his sacred person; and as we ought to be infinitely sorry to find him engaged in a religion which we must believe idolatrous, so we are far from the ill-manners of reflecting on his person, or calling him an idolater."

1222. **temper**, *i.e.* a *via media*, a mean.

1224. **doom**, judgment, decision, *i.e.* the Declaration of Indulgence, the provisions of which were: 1. That the king would protect and maintain the bishops, etc., of the Church of England, as by law established, in the free exercise of their religion and quiet enjoyment of their possessions. 2. That all executions of penal laws against Nonconformists be suspended. 3. That all His Majesty's subjects should be at liberty to serve God after their own way, in public and private, so nothing was preached against the royal authority. 4. That the oaths of supremacy and allegiance and the tests made in the 25th and 30th years of Charles II. be discontinued. 5. That all Nonconformists be pardoned for former offences against the penal laws and test. 6. That abbey and church lands be assured to the possessors (Scott).

1232. **measure**, *i.e.* ground of inference, *τεκμήριον*.

1234. **fowl of nature**, wild fowl, *i.e.* the Nonconformists; not = "pure-bred," as Prof. Saintsbury says. *Too* = also, and goes with *fowl of nature*, as both sense and rhythm show.

oppressed. "When the king had irreconcilably quarrelled with the Church he began to affect a great favour for the dissenters, and endeavoured to represent the measure of universal toleration to be intended as much for the benefit of the Protestant dissenters as of the Catholics. He dwelt upon the rigour of the church courts, and directed an inquiry to be made into all the vexatious suits which had been instituted against the dissenters, and the compositions which had been exacted from them under pretence of enforcing the laws" (Scott).

1235-1237. Cf. note on l. 1224.

1249. *Genesis*, xlix. 10.

1251. **Dionysius**, *i.e.* Dionysius the Younger, tyrant of Syracuse from B.C. 367 to 343. After his expulsion by Timoleon he is said to have kept school at Corinth. Cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* III. xii. 27, *Dionysius quidem tyrannus, Syracusis expulsus, Corinthi pueros docebat: usque eo imperio carere non poterat*.

private rod, *i.e.* the *ferula* of the schoolmaster, in contrast with the *sceptrum* (cf. l. 1249) of the tyrant.

1257. In the Declaration of Indulgence James expressed his conviction that persecution was unfavourable to population and trade.

1259. From the *Epistola ad Caesarem de Republica Ordinanda*, ascribed to Sallust: *Res docuit id verum esse quod in carminibus Appius ait, fabrum esse quemque fortunae suae* (Christie). Cf. Plautus, *Trinummus*, 363, "*sapiens quidem pol ipse fingit fortunam sibi*."

1263. "In the preceding lines the poet had intimated the increase of trade and wealth, an effect of toleration much dwelt upon in James' proclamation for liberty of conscience, and, indeed, the ostensible cause of its being issued. But Dryden, as every one else, further augured from the Declaration of Indulgence, under the circumstances of the time, the speedy downfall of the Church of England, though he is willing to spare the king the odium of hastening what he represents as the natural consequence of her own ambition and intolerance" (Scott).

1269. "Dryden insinuates the improbability that the High and Low Church party would long continue in union, since the authority assumed by Burnet, their present advocate, was inconsistent with that of Sancroft, the Primate, Compton, Bishop of London, and other leaders of the High Church party among the clergy" (Scott).

1271. Refers to Burnet's former attack upon episcopacy. In his account of the controversy between the clergy and dissenters, as given in the MS. of his *History*, though considerably modified in the published edition, he speaks very harshly of the Church of England clergy, calling them "the worst natured, the fiercest, indiscreetest, and most persecuting sort of people that are in the nation." After inveighing against their simony, worldliness, sensuality, and bigotry, he ends by saying: "In a word, many of them are a reproach to Christianity and to their profession, and are now, perhaps, one of the most corrupt bodies of men in the nation" (Somers' *Tracts*, p. 116, quoted by Scott).

1273. Cf. Horace, *Odes*, i. ii. 45, *Serus in caelum redeas; Abs. and Ach.* 350, "And late augment the number of the blest."

1274. *benting times*, i.e. the time when 'bents' or grass-seeds are ripe. "To go a-benting" is a phrase used of pigeons, to be driven by hunger to eat the seeds of grass. The *English Dialect Dictionary* quotes the Derbyshire proverb:

"Pigeons never know such woe,
As when they a-benting go";

and from Suffolk:

"The dow she dew no sorrow know
Until she dew a-benten go,"

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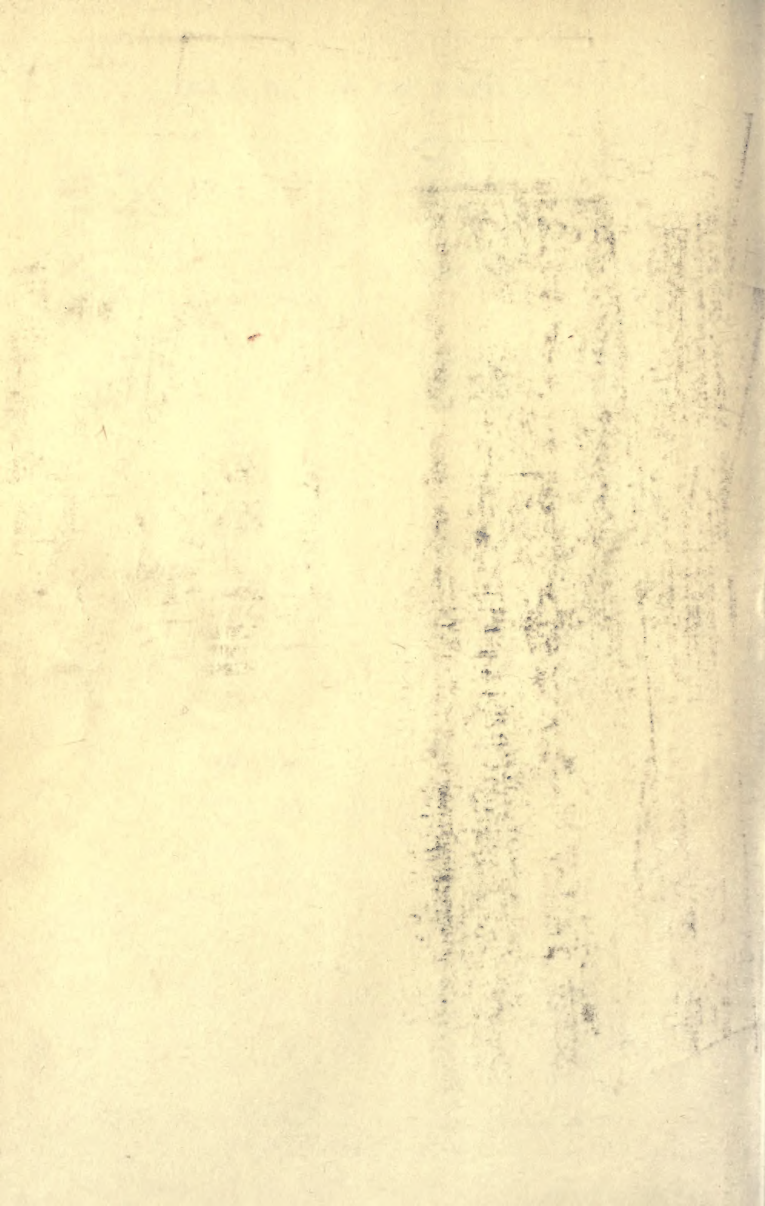
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