

Dryden, J.

Astraea Redux

pp. 36-54

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7 *Astraea Redux*

Date and publication. *Astraea Redux. A Poem On the Happy Restoration & Return Of His Sacred Majesty Charles the Second* was published by Herringman in 1660 (advertised in *Mercurius Publicus* 21–8 June); George Thomason's copy in the BL is dated 19 June. There are two states of 1660, the second incorporating press corrections, including one substantive change which is probably authorial (see l. 298*n*), and another which could have been made by the printing house (see l. 195*n*). The poem was reprinted in the 1688 edition of *AM*. The present edition follows 1660 with the two press corrections included.

Context. General George Monck (1608–70), commander of the army in Scotland, led his forces into England on 1 January 1660, and occupied London on 3 February. He recalled those members of the Long Parliament who had been excluded by Colonel Pride; an election was held, and on 25 April the new 'Convention Parliament' met. Charles Stuart's Declaration of Breda, which proposed the basis of a political settlement, was accepted, and he was proclaimed King on 8 May. On 25 May he landed at Dover, and entered London on the 29th, his thirtieth birthday. Monck was created Duke of Albemarle. For the political changes see Ogg 1–34; Hutton, *The Restoration* 3–123. For the rhetoric of sermons welcoming Charles see Caroline Edie, *BJRL* lxii (1979–80) 61–86.

Sources. Charles was greeted by scores of similar panegyrics; samples from these are quoted by H. T. Swedenberg in his account of the political context of D.'s poem (*SP* I (1953) 30–44), and by Nicholas Jose in *Ideas of the Restoration in English Literature, 1660–71* (1984) 1–66. D. definitely knew Martin Lluelyn, *To the King's most excellent Majesty* (Thomason's copy in BL dated 24 May); Thomas Higgons, *A Panegyrick to the King* (10 June); Cowley, *Ode upon the blessed Restoration and Returne* (31 May); and Waller, *To the King* (9 June). But many of D.'s images are the common stock of other panegyrics, notably in the two university collections, Oxford's *Britannia Rediviva* (7 July) and *Academiae Cantabrigiensis ΣΩΣΤΡΑ* (10 July). Winn 561 suggests some parallels with poems by Malherbe. For the poem's relation to the wider tradition of panegyric, see Garrison 155–64.

Astraea Redux

A Poem on the Happy Restoration and Return of His Sacred Majesty Charles the Second

Iam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.

Virgil

Now with a general peace the world was blessed,
While ours, a world divided from the rest,

¶7. *Title.* *Astraea Redux* means 'Justice brought back'. Ovid in *Met.* i 89–150 (ll. 113–92 in D.'s translation, 'The First Book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*' (1693)) recounts that the golden age of Saturn was succeeded by the increasingly degenerate ages of silver, brass and iron; in the latter *Astraea* (Justice) left the earth. Virgil in *Ecl.* iv prophesies that the golden age is about to begin anew: *Iam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna* (l. 6: 'now the virgin [*Astraea*] returns, the kingdom of Saturn returns'). This prophecy was associated with Augustus (cp. ll. 320–3*n* below), and was later read as a prophecy of the birth of Christ. In the Renaissance, *Astraea* was associated with the monarch, particularly with Elizabeth I (see Frances Yates, *Astraea* (1975)), though James I was also greeted as *Astraea* in his coronation entry into London, when the motto from *Ecl.* iv appeared on the Temple Bar arch. For the Augustan imagery see Swedenberg, and Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Augustan Idea in English Literature* (1983) 213–22. D.'s handling (here and elsewhere) of the myth of the Golden Age is discussed by Thomas H. Fujimura in *PLL* xi (1975) 149–67. The example of *Astraea* is also used by Samuel Wiles, *To the King's Most Sacred Majesty* (1660) 5, and in *Academiae Cantabrigiensis ΣΩΣΤΡΑ* sig. *3^v.

1. This hyperbole is understandable. The war between France and Spain had been ended by the Treaty of the Pyrenees (7 November 1659) and this peace was sealed by the spectacular wedding of Louis XIV and Maria Theresa in June 1660; and the War of the North involving Sweden, Denmark and Brandenburg was concluded by the Treaties of Oliva and Copenhagen (May and June 1660).

1–2. D. echoes, and reverses, Sir Richard Fanshawe's 'An Ode Upon occasion of His Majesties Proclamation in the yeare 1630', which opens: 'Now warre is all the world about', and presents Britain as a haven of peace, 'A world without the world' (*Shorter Poems and Translations*, edited by N. W. Bawcutt (1964) 5–6; Michael Cordner, *N & Q* ccxxix (1984) 341–2). Cowley begins his poem by praising the stars which 'calm the stormy World, and still the rage of Warrs' (*Poems* 420).

2. From Virgil, *Ecl.* i 66: *penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos* ('the Britons,

- A dreadful quiet felt, and worsèr far
 Than arms, a sullen interval of war:
 5 Thus when black clouds draw down the labouring
 skies,
 Ere yet abroad the wingèd thunder flies,
 An horrid stillness first invades the ear,
 And in that silence we the tempest fear.
 Th' ambitious Swede like restless billows tossed,
 10 On this hand gaining what on that he lost,
 Though in his life he blood and ruin breathed,
 To his now guideless kingdom peace bequeathed;
 And heaven that seemed regardless of our fate,
 For France and Spain did miracles create,
 15 Such mortal quarrels to compose in peace
 As nature bred and interest did increase.

completely cut off from the whole world'). This motto was used on the Fenchurch arch in James I's coronation entry, and in Jonson's *The Masque of Blacknesse* (1605) l. 248.

3. *dreadful quiet*] Echoes Tacitus: *ducemque terruit dira quies* ('a fearful quiet terrified the general': *Annales* i 45; Christie). *worsèr*] a common seventeenth-century variant of *worse*.

5. *labouring*] moving strenuously (*OED* labour 12); troubled (*OED* labour 15).

7. This line was ridiculed by several of D.'s critics: in *A Letter from a Gentleman to the Honourable Ed. Howard Esq* (1668) 6; in *The Censure of the Rota* (1673) 9; *The Friendly Vindication of Mr. Dryden* (1673) 16; and Martin Clifford, *Notes upon Mr. Dryden's Poems* (1687) 13. *Works* cites a comparable line from Cowley: 'A dreadful Silence fill'd the hollow place' (*Davideis* i; *Poems* 245).

9-12. Charles X of Sweden invaded Poland in 1655, but failed to secure it. In 1657-8 he twice invaded Denmark. He gained Scania, the island of Bornholm, and other territories which gave Sweden control of the Sound, but was forced to give up his claim to Prussia. At his death in February 1660 his son Charles XI was a minor, and his regents concluded peace in May-June 1660, returning Bornholm to Denmark. Contemporary English interest in his death is evidenced by *The Most Heavenly and Christian Speech of the Magnanimous and Victorious King of Sweden . . . on his Death-Bed* (1660) and the satirical *The Last Will and Testament of Carolus Gustavus* (1660).

9-10. Cp. Sir Robert Howard: 'So when the Trojan Prince was almost lost / In Storms, among ungente billows tost' ('A Panegyrick to Generall Monck', *Poems* (1660) 283).

13-18. See l. 11. The lily was the emblem of the French monarchy.

- We sighed to hear the fair Iberian bride
 Must grow a lily to the lily's side,
 While our cross stars denied us Charles his bed
 20 Whom our first flames and virgin love did wed.
 For his long absence church and state did groan,
 Madness the pulpit, faction seized the throne;
 Experienced age in deep despair was lost
 To see the rebel thrive, the loyal crossed;
 25 Youth that with joys had unacquainted been
 Envied grey hairs that once good days had seen:
 We thought our sires, not with their own content,
 Had ere we came to age our portion spent.
 Nor could our nobles hope their bold attempt
 30 Who ruined crowns would coronets exempt:
 For when by their designing leaders taught
 To strike at power which for themselves they sought,
 The vulgar, gulled into rebellion, armed;
 Their blood to action by the prize was warmed.
 35 The sacred purple then and scarlet gown
 Like sanguine dye to elephants was shown.
 Thus when the bold Typhoeus scaled the sky,
 And forced great Jove from his own heaven to fly,
 (What king, what crown from treason's reach is free,

17. *Iberian bride*] Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip IV of Spain.

27-8. D. applies the same image to pre-war dramatists in *EDP*: 'We acknowledge them our Fathers in wit, but they have ruin'd their Estates themselves before they came to their childrens hands' (*Works* xvii 73).

33. *The vulgar*] the common people.'

35. The purple of bishops and scarlet of peers.

36. From *Maccabees* vi 34: 'And to the end they might provoke the elephants to fight, they showed them the blood of grapes and mulberries' (Winn, privately).

37-44. Typhoeus or Typhon was the monstrous offspring of Earth and Hell, who had a hundred heads which spoke with changeable voices. When he assaulted Olympus the gods fled to Egypt; Zeus eventually buried him under Mount Etna, where he generated winds which wreak havoc at sea (Hesiod, *Theogony* ll. 820-80; Apollodorus I vi 3). The image is used similarly in *Academiae Cantabrigiensis ΣΩΣΤΡΑ* sigs *4^r; B4^v and D1^r. *Mercurius Publicus* (24-31 May) describing Charles's entry into London recalled that 'Jupiter himself was not quiet in Heaven till after a long war with the Giants' (351). The myth of Typhon had been variously applied by seventeenth-century writers. Francis Bacon interpreted it as an allegory of rebellion in his *De Sapientia Veterum* (1609) ch. 2.

- 40 If Jove and heaven can violated be?)
 The lesser gods that shared his prosperous state
 All suffered in the exiled Thunderer's fate.
 The rabble now such freedom did enjoy
 As winds at sea that use it to destroy:
- 45 Blind as the Cyclops, and as wild as he,
 They owned a lawless salvage liberty,
 Like that our painted ancestors so prized
 Ere empire's arts their breasts had civilized.
 How great were then our Charles his woes, who thus
- 50 Was forced to suffer for himself and us!
 He, tossed by Fate, and hurried up and down,
 Heir to his father's sorrows with his crown,
 Could taste no sweets of youth's desired age,
 But found his life too true a pilgrimage.
- 55 Unconquered yet in that forlorn estate,
 His manly courage overcame his fate.
 His wounds he took like Romans on his breast,
 Which by his virtue were with laurels dressed.

45. *Cyclops*] Polyphemus, who was blinded by Odysseus (*Odyssey* ix 375–97). The commonwealth without a king is compared to Polyphemus without an eye by Ross 73; John Gauden, *Κακὸν ἔργον* (1660; sermon preached 28 February, printed text dated 28 March by Thomason on his copy in BL) 63; and Waller, ll. 19–21. D. uses the image again in *The Medal* ll. 226–7.

46–8. For this picture of man in the state of nature cp. Virgil's account of society before the reign of Saturn: *Aen.* viii 314–18 (translated in D.'s 'The Eighth Book of the *Aeneis*' ll. 417–24). In *AA* ll. 53–6 D. again associates the Commonwealth with the lawless state of nature. In *1 Conquest of Granada* D. has Almanzor imagine the state of nature as a time of innocence, anticipating Rousseau: 'I am as free as Nature first made man / 'Ere the base Laws of Servitude began / When wild in woods the noble Savage ran.' (l i 207–9). See also 'To Dr Charleton' l. 13n.

46. *salvage*] variant form of *savage* (the spelling recalls the word's Latin origin from *silva*, 'wood').

49. *Charles his*] Charles's (again at l. 111).

51. Cp. Higgons: 'Thus great Æneas when his Troy was lost, / And nought but ruine left of all that State, / Wander'd at Land, and on the Floods was tost, / And hurried up and down the World by Fate' (*A Panegyrick* 10). See also Cowley (st. xiii) and Robert Howard (*Poems* (1660) 283).

52. Apparently echoed by J. Ailmer in the anthology *Britannia Rediviva*: 'Heir to thy Fathers Sufferings, and his Crown' (sig. Bb3').

55. *estate*] condition.

57. Roman soldiers considered it a dishonour to receive wounds behind.

- As souls reach heaven while yet in bodies pent,
 60 So did he live above his banishment.
 That sun which we beheld with cozened eyes
 Within the water, moved along the skies.
 How easy 'tis when Destiny proves kind
 With full-spread sails to run before the wind;
 65 But those that 'gainst stiff gales laveering go
 Must be at once resolved and skilful too.
 He would not like soft Otho hope prevent
 But stayed and suffered Fortune to repent:
 These virtues Galba in a stranger sought,
 70 And Piso to adopted empire brought.
 How shall I then my doubtful thoughts express
 That must his sufferings both regret and bless!
 For when his early valour heaven had crossed,
 And all at Worcester but the honour lost,
 75 Forced into exile from his rightful throne
 He made all countries where he came his own;

59. Referring either to the soul's capacity for mystical contact with God while still on earth, or to the bodily translation of some prophets to heaven (e.g. Enoch and Elijah).

61-2. i.e. we could see Charles's movements only indirectly, like people who see the sun's movements reflected in water.

61. *cozened*] deceived.

65. *laveering*] tacking.

67-70. Galba, Emperor of Rome AD 68-9, adopted Piso as his heir instead of the effeminate Otho. Otho revolted, had Galba and Piso murdered, and briefly gained power. But he was attacked by Vitellius, and after being defeated at Brixillum killed himself in despair (Suetonius).

67. *prevent*] anticipate.

68. *suffered*] allowed.

74. Recalls the statement of François I of France to his mother after his defeat at Pavia (1525): 'all is lost except our honour'. Cp. Higgon's: 'And won Renown, although you lost the field' (*A Panegyrick* 8). Charles was defeated by Cromwell at the Battle of Worcester in 1651 and subsequently escaped to France.

76-86. This passage resembles (and perhaps contributed to) T. Topping's verses in the anthology *Britannia Rediviva*: 'the Universe must be his School: / Thus Fate prov'd kind even against her will, / And whiles she did neglect him, taught him skill. / Thrice happy we! that our great Monarch thus / Must learn to Govern *Europe* first, then us. / While other Kings only their Crowns inherit, / The Crown is his by Birth-right and by Merit' (sig. Cc3^v).

76-7. Cp. Waller: 'For, having viewed the persons and the things, / The

- And viewing monarchs' secret arts of sway
 A royal factor for their kingdoms lay.
 Thus banished David spent abroad his time,
 80 When to be God's anointed was his crime,
 And when restored made his proud neighbours rue
 Those choice remarks he from his travels drew.
 Nor is he only by afflictions shown
 To conquer others' realms, but rule his own:
 85 Recov'ring hardly what he lost before,
 His right endears it much, his purchase more.
 Inured to suffer ere he came to reign,
 No rash procedure will his actions stain;
 To business ripened by digestive thought,
 90 His future rule is into method brought:
 As they who first proportion understand
 With easy practice reach a master's hand.

councils, state, and strength of Europe's kings, / You know your work' (ll. 41-3); and cp. Jonson, 'To William Roe': 'th'art now, to goe / Countries, and climes, manners, and men to know, / T'extract, and choose the best of all these knowne, / And those to turne to bloud, and make thine owne' (ll. 1-4; *Epigrammes* cxxviii). D. commented again on the results of Charles's exile in his 'Defence of the Epilogue': 'His own misfortunes and the Nations, afforded him an opportunity, which is rarely allow'd to Sovereign Princes, I mean of travelling, and being conversant in the most polish'd Courts of *Europe*; and, thereby, of cultivating a Spirit, which was form'd by Nature, to receive the impression of a gallant and generous education. At his return, he found a Nation lost as much in Barbarism as in Rebellion: and as the excellency of his Nature forgave the one, so the excellency of his manners reform'd the other' (*Works* xi 216; Kinsley).

78. *factor*] deputy: i.e. by being a kind of understudy, Charles learned the art of government.

79. See 2 Samuel xv-xxi. For the comparison of David and Charles see the headnote to AA.

80. Cp. Lluelyn: 'But to be born our Prince, was all Thy Crimes' (*To the King's . . . Majesty* 3).

82. *remarks*] observations.

85. *hardly*] with difficulty (*OED* 6).

86. *purchase*] acquisition of property by one's own action, as distinct from inheritance (*OED* 5).

89. *digestive*] tending to methodize and reduce to order (*OED* 6; sole example).

91-2. An image from drawing.

- Well might the ancient poets then confer
 On night the honoured name of counsellor,
 95 Since struck with rays of prosperous fortune blind,
 We light alone in dark afflictions find.
 In such adversities to sceptres trained,
 The name of Great his famous grandsire gained;
 Who yet a king alone in name and right,
 100 With hunger, cold and angry Jove did fight;
 Shocked by a covenanting league's vast powers,
 As holy and as catholic as ours,
 Till Fortune's fruitless spite had made it known
 Her blows not shook but riveted his throne.
 105 Some lazy ages, lost in sleep and ease,
 No action leave to busy chronicles;
 Such whose supine felicity but makes
 In story chasms, in epoches mistakes;
 O'er whom Time gently shakes his wings of down
 110 Till with his silent sickle they are mown:
 Such is not Charles his too, too active age,
 Which governed by the wild distempered rage
 Of some black star infecting all the skies,
 Made him at his own cost like Adam wise.

93-4. Proverbial. In his comments on the adage *In nocte consilium* in his *Adagiorum Chiliades* Erasmus cites Sophocles, Plato and Plutarch. Cp. also Spenser, *FQ* I i 33.

98-104. Charles's maternal grandfather Henri IV of France (1553-1610) became nominal King in 1589. A Protestant, he was opposed by many of his subjects through the Catholic League, until he became a Catholic in 1593. Henri extended the powers of the crown and restored prosperity to the country. D.'s perception of a parallel with the English Solemn League and Covenant (1643) was anticipated by the royalist pamphlet *Mercurius Rusticus* (1646): 'the holy League in France, the Prototype of the present Rebellion in England' (sig. N1^r). D. said that he sketched a play about the Catholic League in 1660, which was completed in 1682 as *The Duke of Guise*. D. returns to the parallel in the Postscript to his translation of Maimbourg's *History of the League* (1684; *Works* xviii 393-415).

105-6. *ease . . . chronicles*] Christie notes that D. similarly rhymes *ease* and *articles* in 'To Sir George Etherege' ll. 36-7; for a comparable pronunciation of *miracles* see *Threnodia Augustalis* l. 414n.

107. *supine*] accented on the second syllable. See *Threnodia Augustalis* l. 14n.

108. *epoches*] dates of historical events (*OED* 3); probably trisyllabic, as in the Greek ἑποχή.

112. *distempered*] immoderate, intemperate (*OED* 5).

- 115 Tremble ye nations who, secure before,
 Laughed at those arms that 'gainst ourselves we bore;
 Roused by the lash of his own stubborn tail
 Our lion now will foreign foes assail.
 With alga who the sacred altar strows?
- 120 To all the sea-gods Charles an offering owes:
 A bull to thee, Portunus, shall be slain,
 A lamb to you, the tempests of the main:
 For those loud storms that did against him roar
 Have cast his shipwrecked vessel on the shore.
- 125 Yet as wise artists mix their colours so
 That by degrees they from each other go,
 Black steals unheeded from the neighbouring white
 Without offending the well-cozened sight:
 So on us stole our blessèd change, while we
- 130 Th' effect did feel, but scarce the manner see.
 Frosts that constrain the ground, and birth deny
 To flowers, that in its womb expecting lie,
 Do seldom their usurping power withdraw,
 But raging floods pursue their hasty thaw:
- 135 Our thaw was mild, the cold not chased away,

115-18. Cp. Waller, 'To My Lord of Falkland': 'our proud neighbours . . . ere long shall mourn / (Though now they joy in our expected harms) / . . . A lion so with self-provoking smart, / (His rebel tail scourging his noble part) / Calls up his courage; then begins to roar / And charge his foes, who thought him mad before' (ll. 34-40). With D.'s political viewpoint here contrast *Heroic Stanzas* ll. 113-16.

119. *alga*] seaweed. *strows*] strews.

121. *Portunus*] the god of harbours (see *Aen.* v 241-3; Ovid, *Fasti* vi 545-8).

122. A lamb is sacrificed to the Tempests in *Aen.* v 772.

125-30. Sir Robert Howard also saw the Restoration as happening by degrees: 'Yet by degrees you mov'd, as after Night / The Sun begins to shew the World its light. / At whose approach, darknesse its place resignes, / And though it seems to move not, yet it shines. / So softly you began to spread your beams, / Through all our factions, dark in all extreame' ('A Panegyrick to Generall Monck', *Poems* (1660) 285).

125-8. This technique is advocated by William Sanderson: 'the sight must be sweetly deceived, by degrees, in breaking the Colours, by insensible passage, from higher Colours, to more dimme'; 'deceiving the Eye with a stealth of change' they 'lightly and smoothly coosin the Eye' (*Graphice* (1658) 23, 48).

130. Cp. Cowley: 'The manner *How* lies hid, th' *effect* we see' (*Dauides* ii; *Poems* 284).

131-6. Cp. *AM* ll. 1133-8.

- But lost in kindly heat of lengthened day.
 Heaven would no bargain for its blessings drive,
 But what we could not pay for, freely give.
 The Prince of Peace would, like himself, confer
 140 A gift unhopèd without the price of war:
 Yet as he knew his blessing's worth, took care
 That we should know it by repeated prayer,
 Which stormed the skies and ravished Charles from
 thence,
 As heaven itself is took by violence.
 145 Booth's forward valour only served to show
 He durst that duty pay we all did owe:
 Th' attempt was fair, but heaven's prefixèd hour
 Not come; so like the watchful traveller
 That by the moon's mistaken light did rise,
 150 Lay down again, and closed his weary eyes.
 'Twas Monck whom Providence designed to loose
 Those real bonds false freedom did impose.
 The blessèd saints that watched this turning scene
 Did from their stars with joyful wonder lean
 155 To see small clues draw vastest weights along,
 Not in their bulk but in their order strong.

136 kindly] nurturing.

137-40. The idea of God's free gift comes from Romans v 15-18.

139. Prince of Peace] a title for the Messiah from Isaiah ix 6.

144. The phrasing is from Matthew xi 12 ('the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence'); the idea of prayer as importunate is from Luke xi 5-10.

145. Booth] In August 1659 Sir George Booth led a rising for Charles in Cheshire, but was defeated by the Republic's forces under John Lambert. forward] ready, prompt (*OED* 6).

147-8. hour / Not come] echoing John viii 20.

151. Monck] See headnote.

155. clues] threads. The image is of a pulley; D. could have found such machines described and illustrated in John Wilkins, *Mathematicall Magick* (1648) 86-102. This apparent paradox was the subject of University Act verses at Cambridge: see *Minima vis potest movere maximum pondus* [c. 1585-90], which has a large woodcut of cogwheels. Bacon said that historians must attend to the hidden causes of public events, for God 'doth hang the greatest weight upon the smallest wires' (*The Advancement of Learning* (1605) II ii 5). Cp. Cowley: 'Strange Play of Fate! when might'iest humane things / Hang on such small, Imperceptible Strings!' (*Davideis* iv; *Poems* 374).

156. order] arrangement.

- Thus pencils can by one slight touch restore
 Smiles to that changèd face that wept before.
 With ease such fond chimeras we pursue
 160 As fancy frames for fancy to subdue,
 But when ourselves to action we betake
 It shuns the mint like gold that chymists make.
 How hard was then his task, at once to be
 What in the body natural we see
 165 Man's architect distinctly did ordain
 The charge of muscles, nerves and of the brain;
 Through viewless conduits spirits to dispense,
 The springs of motion from the seat of sense.
 'Twas not the hasty product of a day,
 170 But the well-ripened fruit of wise delay.
 He like a patient angler, ere he strook
 Would let them play a while upon the hook.
 Our healthful food the stomach labours thus,
 At first embracing what it straight doth crush.
 175 Wise leeches will not vain receipts obtrude,
 While growing pains pronounce the humours crude;
 Deaf to complaints, they wait upon the ill
 Till some safe crisis authorize their skill.

157. *pencils*] paint brushes (*OED* 1).

160. *fancy*] the imagination.

162. *It*] The antecedent is probably *fancy* (but possibly *chimera* or *action*).
mint] place of assay; test. *chymists*] alchemists.

163-8. i.e. 'How hard for Monck to perform [in the body politic] the three functions which we see that God, in designing the natural body, has ordained to be the separate responsibility of muscles, nerves and brain: to send through invisible channels of communication impulses from the brain which will stimulate action'. The image comes from contemporary physiology: 'The animal spirits . . . resemble a very subtle wind, or rather a flame which is very pure and very vivid, and which, continually rising up in great abundance from the heart to the brain, thence proceeds through the nerves to the muscles, thereby giving the power of motion to all the members' (Descartes, *Discours de la Méthode* (1637) V; *Philosophical Works* tr. Elizabeth S. Haldane and G. R. T. Ross, 2 vols (1911) i 115).

167. *viewless*] invisible.

175-6. The medical metaphor is the theme of John Gauden's sermon *Κακὸν ἔργον* (see l. 45n).

175. *leeches*] doctors. *receipts*] recipes.

176. *humours*] bodily fluids which were thought to determine health.
crude] undigested (*OED* 3).

- Nor could his acts too close a vizard wear
 180 To scape their eyes whom guilt had taught to fear,
 And guard with caution that polluted nest
 Whence Legion twice before was dispossessed;
 Once sacred house which when they entered in
 They thought the place could sanctify a sin,
 185 Like those that vainly hoped kind heaven would wink
 While to excess on martyrs' tombs they drink:
 And as devouter Turks first warn their souls
 To part, before they taste forbidden bowls,
 So these when their black crimes they went about
 190 First timely charmed their useless conscience out.
 Religion's name against itself was made;
 The shadow served the substance to invade:
 Like zealous missions they did care pretend
 Of souls in show, but made the gold their end.
 195 Th' incensèd powers beheld with scorn from high
 An heaven so far distant from the sky,
 Which durst with horses' hoofs that beat the ground
 And martial brass belie the thunder's sound.
 'Twas hence at length just Vengeance thought it fit

181-2. Parliament was dissolved by Cromwell in 1653 and by Lambert in 1659. *Legion* is the devil in Luke viii 26-36.

185. *wink*] close its eyes.

186. Probably a reference to the desecration of churches during the Civil War: soldiers quartered in Westminster Abbey 'set Formes about the Communion Table, there they eat, and there they drink Ale' (*Mercurius Rusticus* (1646) 216). Henry King's elegy for Charles I catalogues similar outrages (*Poems* (1664) 25-7). St Augustine knew of some early Christians who held sacrilegious banquets on tombs (*Patrologia Latina* xxxii 1342).

187-8. 'One [Turk] drinking wine . . . made great clamors; being asked the cause, he said he did it to warne his soule to flee into some corner of the bodie, or else be quite gone, lest it should be polluted with that sinne' (*Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1614) 294); cp. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) III iv 1. 3.

189-90. Commanders of the Parliamentary armies held prayer meetings before major actions.

190. *timely*] quickly (*OED* 1).

191. *made*] pressed into military service, enlisted (*OED* 15a).

195-8. Salmonius tried to imitate the thunder and lightning of Jove by waving torches and driving his chariot over brass arches, in order to be worshipped as a god by his subjects. Jove struck him with a thunderbolt (Virgil, *Aen.* vi 585-94).

195. *beheld*] 1660 *second state*; behold 1660 *first state*.

- 200 To speed their ruin by their impious wit.
 Thus Sforza, cursed with a too fertile brain,
 Lost by his wiles the power his wit did gain.
 Henceforth their fogue must spend at lesser rate
 Than in its flames to wrap a nation's fate.
- 205 Suffered to live, they are like helots set
 A virtuous shame within us to beget:
 For by example most we sinned before,
 And glass-like, clearness mixed with frailty bore.
 But since reformed by what we did amiss,
- 210 We by our sufferings learn to prize our bliss:
 Like early lovers whose unpractised hearts
 Were long the May-game of malicious arts,
 When once they find their jealousies were vain
 With double heat renew their fires again.
- 215 'Twas this produced the joy that hurried o'er
 Such swarms of English to the neighbouring shore,
 To fetch that prize by which Batavia made
 So rich amends for our impoverished trade.

200. *wit*] intelligence.

201-2. Lodovico Sforza, *il Moro* (1451-1508) poisoned his nephew Giovanni and succeeded him as Duke of Milan. He was betrayed by his own mercenaries to Louis XII of France in 1500, and died a prisoner. 'He carried a mind vaine, and full of thoughts busie and ambitious, and nourishing alwayes intentions dissembled, he kept no reckoning of his promises and faith. . . . This was a grosse error in his policie, to breed the storme, . . . fire suffered to runne, burnes without limite, even to the consuming of such as first kindled it' (Guicciardini, *Historie*, tr. G. Fenton, third edition (1618) 183, 30-1).

203. *fogue*] fury, passion (*OED*'s first example); a borrowing from French.

205-6. The Spartans would sometimes make their slaves (Helots) drunk and exhibit them to their young men to show them the evil of drunkenness (Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 28).

208. *And glass-like*] 1660 *second state*; Like glass we 1660 *first state*.

216. Clarendon recalled that 'Breda swarmed with English, a multitude repairing thither . . . with presents, and protestations how much they had longed and prayed for this blessed change, and magnifying their sufferings under the late tyrannical government, when many of them had been zealous ministers and promoters of it' (*History* xvi 234). One such was D.'s cousin John Pickering (Pepys, 16, 22 May 1660).

217. *Batavia*] Holland.

218. In 1660 English trade was depressed, partly because of competition from Holland for the conveyance of goods (Ogg 219-23).

- O had you seen from Scheveline's barren shore
 220 (Crowded with troops, and barren now no more)
 Afflicted Holland to his farewell bring
 True sorrow, Holland to regret a king;
 While waiting him his royal fleet did ride,
 And willing winds to their low'red sails denied,
 225 The wavering streamers, flags and standard out,
 The merry seamen's rude but cheerful shout,
 And last the cannons' voice that shook the skies
 And, as it fares in sudden ecstasies,
 At once bereft us both of ears and eyes. }
 230 The *Naseby* now no longer England's shame,
 But better to be lost in Charles his name
 (Like some unequal bride in nobler sheets)
 Receives her lord: the joyful *London* meets
 The princely York, himself alone a freight;
 235 The *Swiftsure* groans beneath great Gloucester's
 weight.
 Secure as when the halcyon breeds, with these
 He that was born to drown might cross the seas.
 Heaven could not own a providence and take

219–20. Charles embarked from Sheveling (now Scheveningen) near The Hague on 23 May. Pepys noted on 22 May that 'the shore was so full of people . . . as that it was as black (which otherwise is white sand) as everyone would stand by another'.

222. The United Provinces of the Netherlands was a republic. (Holland was one of the chief constituent states, though its name was loosely applied in English to the whole federation.)

226. *rude*] rough.

227–9. 'My Lord fired all his guns round twice, and all the fleet after him; which in the end fell into disorder, which seemed very handsome. . . . Nothing in the world but going of guns almost all this day' (Pepys, 22 May).

228. *fares*] happens. *ecstasies*] trances.

230–1. 'After dinner, the King and Duke . . . altered the name of some of the Shippes, viz. the *Nazeby* into *Charles* . . .' (Pepys, 23 May).

232. *unequal*] of lower social status.

233–5. 'The Duke of Yorke went on board the *London*, and the Duke of Gloucester the *Swiftsure*' (Pepys, 23 May).

235. From *Aen.* vi 412–13: *accipit alveo / ingentem Aenean. gemuit sub pondere cumba* ('[Charon] received great Aeneas in his boat. The boat groaned under the weight').

236. For halcyons see *Heroic Stanzas* l. 144n.

238. *own a providence*] say that the world is governed by divine providence.

- The wealth three nations ventured at a stake.
 240 The same indulgence Charles his voyage blessed
 Which in his right had miracles confessed.
 The winds that never moderation knew,
 Afraid to blow too much, too faintly blew;
 Or out of breath with joy could not enlarge
 245 Their straitened lungs, or conscious of their charge.
 The British Amphitryte smooth and clear
 In richer azure never did appear;
 Proud her returning Prince to entertain
 With the submitted fasces of the main.
- 250 And welcome now, great monarch, to your own;
 Behold th' approaching cliffs of Albion;
 It is no longer motion cheats your view,
 As you meet it, the land approacheth you.
 The land returns, and in the white it wears
 255 The marks of penitence and sorrow bears.
 But you, whose goodness your descent doth show,
 Your heavenly parentage, and earthly too;
 By that same mildness which your father's crown
 Before did ravish, shall secure your own.

243. Thomas Fuller writes that the wind 'fearing that his *Breath* might be too rough, / Prov'd *over-civil*, and was scarce enough' (*A Panegyrick to his Majesty* 8).

244-5. Or . . . or] Either . . . or.

246. *Amphitryte*] wife of Neptune and goddess of the sea.

249. *submitted fasces*] When the consul Publius Valerius appeared before the people to answer allegations of ambition he ordered the lictors to walk with lowered fasces (*submitissis fascibus*) as a sign of the people's superior authority (Livy ii 7). Many panegyrists write of Neptune surrendering his trident (e.g. Robert Wild, *Iter Boreale* 19; *Britannia Rediviva* sigs B3^r, F4^f). For D.'s later uses of the image see 'Verses to her Highness the Duchess' (prefixed to *AM*) ll. 15-16; *AM* ll. 197-200; *Threnodia Augustalis* ll. 516-17; and his addition of the line 'And Neptune shall resign the Fasces of the Sea' to Virgil's praise of Augustus in 'The First Book of the *Georgics*' l. 42.

253. Hoffman 12 sees this as an accurate image for the Restoration, which was not a surrender, but a rapprochement on agreed terms.

254. *white*] The cliffs of Dover; to stand publicly in a white sheet was a form of penance for fornication or adultery.

258-65. For mercy as a characteristic of Charles cp. *AA* l. 939 and *Threnodia Augustalis* l. 86n.

- 260 Not tied to rules of policy, you find
 Revenge less sweet than a forgiving mind.
 Thus when th' Almighty would to Moses give
 A sight of all he could behold and live,
 A voice before his entry did proclaim
- 265 Long-suffering, goodness, mercy in his name.
 Your power to justice doth submit your cause,
 Your goodness only is above the laws,
 Whose rigid letter while pronounced by you
 Is softer made. So winds that tempests brew
- 270 When through Arabian groves they take their flight,
 Made wanton with rich odours, lose their spite.
 And as those lees that trouble it, refine
 The agitated soul of generous wine,
 So tears of joy for your returning spilt,
- 275 Work out and expiate our former guilt.
 Methinks I see those crowds on Dover's strand,
 Who in their haste to welcome you to land
 Choked up the beach with their still growing store,
 And made a wilder torrent on the shore;
- 280 While spurred with eager thoughts of past delight,
 Those who had seen you court a second sight,
 Preventing still your steps, and making haste
 To meet you often wheresoe'er you passed.
 How shall I speak of that triumphant day
- 285 When you renewed th' expiring pomp of May?

260. *rules of policy*] As in Machiavelli, who wrote that an incoming ruler should decide what cruelty was necessary and inflict it immediately (*Prince* ch. 8). For Machiavelli, cp. *Heroic Stanzas* ll. 29–30n.

261, 266–9. In the Declaration of Breda (14 April) Charles offered pardon to all except those whom Parliament decided to exclude; this was effected in the Act of Indemnity of 29 August.

262–5. See Exodus xxxiii 19 to xxxiv 10; and cp. *AA* ll. 1007–9n.

267. The idea may recall Cowley: 'To do much *Good* his *sole Prerogative*' (*Dauides* iv; *Poems* 377).

272–3. *Trouble* and *agitate* are technical terms from fermentation (W. Hughes, *Compleat Vineyard* (1670) 53). *generous*] rich, strong; a common epithet for wine.

276–8. Pepys (25 May) noted: 'Infinite the Croud of people and the gallantry of the Horsmen, Citizens, and Noblemen of all sorts.' The scene is described by John Price in *A Letter written from Dover* (1660).

282. *Preventing*] going ahead of.

- (A month that owns an interest in your name:
 You and the flowers are its peculiar claim.)
 That star that at your birth shone out so bright
 It stained the duller sun's meridian light,
 290 Did once again its potent fires renew,
 Guiding our eyes to find and worship you.
 And now time's whiter series is begun,
 Which in soft centuries shall smoothly run;
 Those clouds that overcast your morn shall fly
 295 Dispelled to farthest corners of the sky.
 Our nation with united interest blessed,
 Not now content to poise, shall sway the rest:

286-7. This idea is also used by Whichcote: *Mensis erat Maius quem Tu nascendo beasse / Diceris, & roseis condecorasse genis* ('It was the month of May which you are said to have blessed with your birth, and to have ornamented it with roses': *Academiae Cantabrigiensis ΣΩΣΤΡΑ* sig. A3^v).

287. *peculiar*] special.

288-9. On the day of Charles's birth in 1630 a bright star was seen in the midday sky. This is a commonplace of panegyrics on the Restoration, but D. particularly echoes Cowley: the star 'At Charls his Birth, did, in despight / Of the proud Sun's Meridian Light, / His future Glories, and this Year foreshow / . . . Auspicious Star again arise' (*Poems* 421). Roettier's medal commemorating Charles's landing at Dover shows a star over the King's ship (Hawkins i 457-8).

289. *stained*] obscured the lustre of (*OED* 1b, c).

291. Evocations of the birth of Christ were likewise common; cp. 'I've seen your Star, and worship' (William Fairebrother, *An Essay of a Loyal Brest* (1660) 2; cp. *Britannia Rediviva* sigs a3^v, Bb2^v). At his birth Herrick had written: 'At Noone of Day, was seene a silver Star, / Bright as the Wise-mens Torch, which guided them / To Gods sweet Babe, when borne at Bethlehem' ('A Pastorall upon the Birth of Prince Charles' ll. 20-2, in *Hesperides*; Kinsley). Cp. also the implications of D.'s epigraph (see note on title).

292-3. The renewal of time is a feature of the return of the golden age in Virgil's *Ecl.* iv 4-7. Cp. Cowley: 'Such are the years (great Charles) which now we see / Begin their glorious March with Thee' (*Poems* 427); John Tatham, *London's Glory* (1660) 1; and *AM* ll. 69-72; *AA* ll. 1028-9 (Kinsley).

292. *whiter*] more innocent (*OED* 7); more fortunate (*OED* 8); senses of the Latin *alba series*] perhaps also a Latinism: cp. *innumerabilis annorum series et fuga temporum* ('innumerable series of years and flight of time'; Horace, *Carm.* III xxx 5-6).

293. *soft*] The Latin *mollis* when applied to time can have the sense of 'propitious' (e.g. Virgil, *Aen.* iv 293).

297. See *Heroic Stanzas* l. 911.

- Abroad your empire shall no limits know,
 But like the sea in boundless circles flow.
- 300 Your much-loved fleet shall with a wide command
 Besiege the petty monarchs of the land:
 And as old Time his offspring swallowed down,
 Our ocean in its depths all seas shall drown.
 Their wealthy trade from pirates' rapine free,
- 305 Our merchants shall no more adventurers be:
 Nor in the farthest east those dangers fear
 Which humble Holland must dissemble here.
 Spain to your gift alone her Indies owes,
 For what the powerful takes not, he bestows;
- 310 And France that did an exile's presence fear
 May justly apprehend you still too near.
 At home the hateful names of parties cease
 And factious souls are wearied into peace.
 The discontented now are only they
- 315 Whose crimes before did your just cause betray:
 Of those your edicts some reclaim from sins,
 But most your life and blessed example wins.
 O happy prince, whom heaven hath taught the way
 By paying vows, to have more vows to pay!

302. Chronos (Time) swallowed his children because it was prophesied that one of his sons would dethrone him (Hesiod, *Theogony* ll. 453-67).

305. *adventurers*] Merchants will still be sharers in commercial enterprises (OED 4), but they will no longer be waging war at their own risk (OED 3).

306-7. The Dutch had a virtual monopoly of the spice trade with the Far East; now they will humbly have to pretend not to notice (*dissemble*, OED 3) the threats to their economic survival posed by English naval dominance in the Channel.

308-9. Jamaica had been captured from Spain in 1655, and attempts were made to colonize Guiana; but the only threat to the wealthy and extensive Spanish possessions on the American mainland was to come from pirates.

310. Mazarin offered financial inducements to Charles to leave France for Germany in 1654 as he was negotiating an alliance with Cromwell. Under this treaty, signed on 24 October 1655, France excluded Charles, James and seventeen royalists from her territories.

316. Sir Charles Firth saw that this refers to Charles's 'Proclamation against vicious, debauched, and prophane persons' of 30 May 1660.

319. 'By keeping (OED pay 7a) your kingly vows of faithfulness to your people and church you have attracted more vows of obedience from them, which you must in turn honour' (and perhaps 'reward': OED pay 4).

- 320 O happy age! O times like those alone
 By Fate reserved for great Augustus' throne!
 When the joint growth of arms and arts foreshow
 The world a monarch, and that monarch *you*.

320-3. In Virgil, *Aen.* vi 791-4 Anchises prophesies the return of the golden age with Augustus: *hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis, / Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet / saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva / Saturno quondam* ('Augustus, promis'd oft, and long foretold, / Sent to the Realm that Saturn rul'd of old; / Born to restore a better Age of Gold': tr. by D., ll. 1079-81). Higgons also saw a parallel: 'When Rome was ruin'd with intestine hate, / Augustus took the rudder of the State' (*A Panegyrick* 5).

322. *foreshow*] The spelling *foreshew* in 1660 provides a perfect rhyme with *you*.

323. Cp. Lluelyn: 'We still request a King, and that King, Thee' (*To the King's . . . Majesty* 5; *Works*).