

The Early Modern Englishwoman:
A Facsimile Library of Essential Works

Series II

Printed Writings, 1641–1700: Part 3

Volume 4

Miscellaneous Short Poetry, 1641–1700



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ASHGATE

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CONTENTS

Preface by the General Editors

Introductory Notes

POETRY ON RELIGION

Anne Wentworth, ed. Robert C. Evans

THE REVELATION OF Jesus Christ: just as he spake it in Verses at several times, and sometimes in Prose, unto his faithful Servant Anne Wentworth, who suffereth for his Name: CONTAINING Mercy and Judgment, Comforts to Zion, but woes to Babylon / published by a friend in love to souls, for the good of such as will receive and believe the truth (Wing W1355)

Elizabeth Rone, ed. Robert C. Evans

The DESCRIPTION of the Singers of Israel, or the Family of LOVE, in a song of Zion (Wing R1914aA)
Elizabeth Rone's SHORT ANSVVER TO ELLINOR JAMES'S LONG PREAMBLE, OR VINDICATION OF THE NEW TEST, &c. (Wing R1914B)
A Reproof to those Church Men or Ministers that Refused to Read the KINGS most Gracious Declaration (Wing R1914A)

Mary Wells, ed. Robert C. Evans

A DIVINE POEM written by Mary Wells, who Recommends it as a fit Token for all Young Men and Maids, instead of profane Songs and Ballads (Wing W1296)

Elizabeth Tipper, ed. Mary Jane Curry

THE Pilgrim's Viaticum, OR, THE DESTITUTE, but not FORLORN. BEING A DIVINE POEM Digested from MEDITATIONS UPON THE Holy Scripture (Wing T1305)

POETRY ON POLITICS

Rachel Jevon, ed. Joseph P. Crowley

CARMEN THRIAMBEUTIKON REGIAE MAJESTATI Caroli II. PRINCIPUM ET CHRISTIANORUM OPTIMI IN EXOPTATISSIMAM EJUS RESTAURATIONEM, A RACHELE JEVONE Compositum, & propriâ manu Humilè Exhibitum, Aug. 16 (Wing J729)
Exultationis Carmen TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY UPON HIS MOST Desired Return. By Rachel Jevon, Presented with her own Hand, Aug. 16th (Wing J730)

Mrs. A. M., ed. Robert C. Evans

An HEROICAL PANEGYRICK, Humbly Dedicated to the Reverend Father in God, GILBERT, Lord Bishop of Salisbury (Wing M2)

Young Lady, ed. Robert C. Evans

MARIA to HENRIC, AND HENRIC to MARIA, OR, THE QUEEN to the KING IN HOLLAND, AND HIS Majesty's Answer; TWO heroical Epistles IN Imitation of the Stile and Manner of Ovid (Wing M598)

POETRY ON SOCIETY

Mrs. A.K., ed. Robert C. Evans

A Contemplation on Bassets-down-Hill: by the most Sacred adorer of the Muses, Mrs. A.K. (Wing K257)

Lady of Honour, ed. Eric Sterling

THE GOLDEN ISLAND, OR, the DARIAN SONG: in Commendation of All Concerned in that Noble Enterprize Of the VALIANT SCOTS (Wing G1018)

POETRY ON DOMESTIC/SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Elizabeth With, ed. Robert C. Evans

ELIZABETH FOOLS WARNING, Being a true and most perfect relation of all that has happened to her since her marriage. Being a Caveat for all young women to marry with old men (Wing W3139)

Young Lady, ed. Robert C. Evans

TRIUMPHS OF FEMALE WIT, In Some Pindarick Odes, OR, THE EMULATION. TOGETHER With an Answer to an OBJECTOR against Female Ingenuity, and Capacity of Learning. ALSO, A Preface to the Masculine Sex (Wing T2295)

Mary Evelyn, ed. Joan Perkins

Mundus Muliebris: OR, THE LADIES Dressing-Room UNLOCK'D, And her TOILETTE SPREAD. In Burlesque. Together With the FOP-DICTIONARY, Compiled for the Use of the FAIR SEX. The Second Edition: To which is added a most rare and incomparable Receipt, to make Pig, or Puppidog-Water for the Face (Wing E3523)

POETRY OF MOURNING

Miss Pretty [Elizabeth Collett], ed. Robert C. Evans

AN ELEGY Upon the Death of that Worthy Gentleman, Mr. PETER PRETTY, The Son of a Divine. From his SISTER (Wing P3320A)

Young Lady of Quality, ed. Robert C. Evans

AN ELEGY UPON The Death of Mrs. A. BEHN; The Incomparable ASTREA (Wing E467A)

Young Lady, ed. Robert C. Evans

AN ODE Occasion'd by the DEATH OF Her Sacred Majesty (Wing O132)

Gentlewoman of Quality, ed. Robert C. Evans

A POEM ON THE DEATH OF THE QUEEN (Wing P2692)

APPENDIX

Anne Wentworth, ed. Robert C. Evans

ENGLANDS SPIRITUAL PILL Which Will Purge, Cure, or Kill; DECLARING The Great and Wonderful Things WHICH The Almighty and Most High God JESUS CHRIST King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, Hath Revealed unto ANNE WENTWORTH CONCERNING a Thorough-Reformation of Church-worship, from all Hypocritical and Idolatrous Formalities, the downfall of Babylon, and finishing of her Testimony (no ESTC number presently assigned)

PREFACE

BY THE GENERAL EDITORS

Until very recently, scholars of the early modern period have assumed that there were no Judith Shakespeares in early modern England. Much of the energy of the current generation of scholars has been devoted to constructing a history of early modern England that takes into account what women actually wrote, what women actually read, and what women actually did. In so doing, contemporary scholars have revised the traditional representation of early modern women as constructed both in their own time and in ours. The study of early modern women has thus become one of the most important – indeed perhaps the most important – means for the rewriting of early modern history.

The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works is one of the developments of this energetic reappraisal of the period. As the names on our advisory board and our list of editors testify, it has been the beneficiary of scholarship in the field, and we hope it will also be an essential part of that scholarship's continuing momentum.

The Early Modern Englishwoman is designed to make available a comprehensive and focused collection of writings in English from 1500 to 1750, both by women and for and about them. The three series of *Printed Writings* (1500–1640, 1641–1700, and 1701–1750) provide a comprehensive if not entirely complete collection of the separately published writings by women. In reprinting these writings we intend to remedy one of the major obstacles to the advancement of feminist criticism of the early modern period, namely the limited availability of the very texts upon which the field is based. The volumes in the facsimile library reproduce carefully chosen copies of these texts, incorporating significant variants (usually in appendices). Each text is preceded by a short introduction providing an overview of the life and work of a writer along with a survey of important scholarship. These works, we strongly believe, deserve a large readership – of historians, literary critics, feminist critics, and non-specialist readers.

The Early Modern Englishwoman also includes separate facsimile series of *Essential Works for the Study of Early Modern Women* and of *Manuscript Writings*. These facsimile series are complemented by *The Early Modern Englishwoman 1500–1750: Contemporary Editions*. Also under our general editorship, this series includes both old-spelling and modernized editions of works by and about women and gender in early modern England.

New York City
2006

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

[Printed Writings by Women, 1641–1700 *has reproduced long poems written by or attributed to women like 'Eliza' or An Collins in a number of separate volumes. Miscellaneous Poetry, 1641–1700 reproduces 20 shorter texts written by named and unnamed women in those same years. These texts, selected and introduced by various hands, are grouped in thematic clusters for the reader's ease. They are arranged chronologically within each cluster, and the name of the editor of each poem appears below the introductory note for that poem.* – Robert C. Evans]

POETRY ON RELIGION

The poems printed below by Anne Wentworth, Elizabeth Rone, Mary Wells and Elizabeth Tipper demonstrate religious divisions and concerns that continued to characterize England after the civil wars of the mid-seventeenth century and the Restoration of Charles II.

Anne Wentworth's prolific outpourings of the late 1670s are unusual, since most prophetic writings by early modern Englishwomen were published in the 1640s and 1650s, in the years just before or immediately after the civil wars. Elaine Hobby, who has done more than any other scholar to emphasize the significance of Wentworth's writings – especially her prose works *A true Account ...* (1676, Wing W1355A) and *A VINDICATION ...* (1677, Wing W1356) – calls them the 'most striking example of later Restoration female prophecy' (2002, p. 277). Establishing Wentworth's chronology is difficult, not only because many relevant references are scattered but also because of the complications of reckoning dates before the British finally adopted in 1752 what we still call the 'Gregorian' calendar: the calendar used in Britain was ten days behind that of continental Europe, and although the English routinely imagined 1 January as New Year's Day, the official dating system placed the new year on 25 March. Thus what we would call 3 January 1671 was often labelled 3 January 1670. In modern scholarly writings the date would be cited as 3 January 1670/71 (or, even more precisely, 13 January 1671, because of the ten-day difference between the Julian and Gregorian calendars). These complications matter because many important dates in Wentworth's life occur from January through March, because New Year's Day was often a crucial date in her prophetic calculations, and because her prophecies – and her poems – are tightly bound up with the details of her day-to-day life.

The texts by Elizabeth Rone of the widely vilified Family of Love are also unusual. Indeed, as J.W. Martin notes (pp. 65–66), most surviving information about the Familists comes from opponents' attacks – which makes Rone's defiantly unapologetic pro-Familist writings all the more historically significant, especially since any remaining Familists had strong incentives to be discreet, even secret. Scholarly opinion varies, in fact, as to whether and in what form(s) the Family persisted as an organized body very far into the seventeenth century, but in any case credible traces of actual Familists – as opposed to attacks on their ideas and practices – are hard to find in the second half of the century. As the period wore on, says Marsh (p. 236), 'Familist' and 'Family of Love' were used frequently but imprecisely. A report by the diarist John Evelyn notes that in June 1687 King James II was visited by a delegation 'of the *Family of Love*. His Majesty asked them what this worship consisted in, and how many their party might consist of; they told him their custom was to read the Scripture, and then to preach, but did not give any further account, only said that for the rest they were a sort

of refined Quakers, but their number very small, not consisting, as they said, of above threescore in all, and those chiefly belonging to the Isle of Ely', near Cambridge (vol. 3, p. 224). The reference to them as 'refined Quakers' is especially intriguing, since the precise relation between these two sects has been a matter of much debate, and this makes Rone's petition to King Charles II – written apparently late in his reign, before 1685 – on behalf of an unnamed man being maltreated by the Quakers worth quoting in its entirety:

Deare Sovereign, I beseech you pittie a poor innocent captive, who is and was always a true ffriend to your Majesty to [sic] his power, who was once a drum major vnder Prince Maurice, in which service he received much damages in body and goods, and now hath he done nothing against the law of God or man, but for speaking words that were misinterpreted by those envious people called Quaquers, and lyes added to them, he hath been sett in the pillory and is fined a thousand markes, which he is no way capable to pay, and so lyable to perpetuall imprisonment. My humble request is that you would be pleased to permit him to be brought into your presence, that he may speake in your Majesties hearing, that you may judge if he be a man fitt to suffer these things so wrongfully; for I always was much affected for any that suffered wrongfully, and have taken great notice that [what] befell those that abused innocency in any age, although no way related to him in the flesh, but because it is a christian duty to be godly which is good and doth good, and for the love I beare your Majesty that God may continue his blessings to you, which I ever prayed and shall pray for; who am your Majesties most humble and obedient subject and handmaid ELIZABETH RONE.
From Queen Street in the Parke in Southwark. (Macray, pp. 349–50)

This petition – the only piece of prose by Rone known to survive (see Bodleian Library MSS Rawlinson D 18; transcribed in Macray – demonstrates the combativeness that also characterizes her extant poems.

Mary Wells's ballad provides evidence of a woman's concern with contemporary corruption, despite the recent claim that in the 'short-lived, cyclonic movement variously called the Reformation of Manners and the Moral Revolution of 1688 ... women played hardly any visible part' and that the societies for reforming manners were male-dominated (Thompson, p. 232). Wells's poem reminds us that religious matters during this period were often topics of contention – a point shown even more obviously by Elizabeth Tipper's poems in her collection *THE Pilgrim's Viaticum*. Some ambiguous phrases in the poems suggest that Tipper had been a Catholic who had converted to the Church of England. The evidence for this possible conversion rests on two allusions. First, in her poem 'To My Mother the Church', Tipper refers to having 'selected' the best of the Church 'from corrupted Rome', and she praises the Church of England itself for preserving the essence of 'the Church' while rejecting 'Superstition' and 'Zeal' (pp. 80–81). Second, a prefatory poem by 'A. L., Esq.' praises her for rejecting 'Usurping Arbitrary Law' (p. 12). This 'Arbitrary Law' may refer to forces backing Queen Mary's Catholic half-brother James, 'The Old Pretender' (son of James II), as successor to King William and Queen Mary (Willcox and Arnstein, pp. 12–13).

As all the poems discussed in this section indicate, religion remained a central issue in early modern private life and was intimately bound up with politics, gender, culture and society.

Anne Wentworth

On her valuable internet website, Vickie Taft speculates that Wentworth was probably born in 1630 (Gregorian 1631?), that she married in 1652 or 1653, and that she gave birth to a female child sometime in the mid-1660s. In 1666 she seems to have moved to Kingshead Court, Whitecross Street, near Cripplegate, London. By the end of the 1660s she evidently felt increasingly oppressed by, and alienated from, her husband of approximately 18 years. She claims that by the end of this period she was both mentally tormented and physically near death, but at this point God intervened dramatically, healing her on 3 January 1670 – a date which must be Gregorian 1671, since she elsewhere mentions being healed on 'the 3rd [day] of the 11th month 1670' (*VINDICATION*, p. 193) – or, eleven months after the official start of the new year on 25 March 1670 (that is, January 1670/71).

God's next major intervention (*VINDICATION*, p. 192), after an initial flurry of divine visits, was on 12 December 1673, when He revealed the 'unprofitableness of the best outward forms of religion' (*VINDICATION*, p. 192). This revelation seems to have caused Wentworth direct conflict with her husband and his Anabaptist church, for on 13 February 1673/74 he brought three men to her who 'did fright, and amaze, and astonish' her

in their efforts to convince her of her errors. Unconvinced, Wentworth continued practising her writing and preparing for six months to publish her revelations. *A true Account of ANNE WENTWORTHS Being cruelly, unjustly, and unchristianly dealt with by some of those people called ANABAPTISTS ...* (Wing W1355A), a prose tract, was completed by 26 June 1676, at which time she claimed to have been living for ten years in her house at Kingshead Court.

A year later – around 24 June 1677 – Wentworth's husband ordered her out of that house, renting it to another occupant. When Wentworth refused to leave, she was evicted. She wrote to King Charles II on 31 July, claiming that on 20 June she had heard a 'most dreadful terrible voice concerning this nation' telling her to expect that 'it will not stand long as it is' ('Letters', pp. 279–80). In a slightly later letter to London's Lord Mayor she asked him to convey her missive to the King, promising that if Charles should 'please to hear what I have to say with tenderness and not use me roughly ... I shall give him a token, whereby he may know I speak a truth and lie not, and what are the judgements of God that will come on the nation and ... how the beginnings of them will be seen before next New Year's Day to come to pass' ('Letters', pp. 279–80).

Autumn 1677 was the most intense period of Wentworth's public fame and marked the beginning of the period of the poetic revelations that would later result in *THE REVELATION OF Jesus Christ* (1679; Wing W1355). The first of this series of revelations occurred on 6 September 1677; in it, London in particular and England in general were warned of the Lord's impending wrath. By October, however, Wentworth was living apart from her husband with her daughter and was in dire straits; indeed, her husband and his allies allegedly seized a number of works she had composed during the past several years. Nonetheless, Wentworth apparently attracted some supporters, including an intriguing if still mysterious Lady Tyddle and Lady Hanson; 'Lady Hanson, dwelling on Snow Hill', publicly urged the husband and his accomplices to return the writings, including the following: '1. A book with a white parchment cover. The Epistle to the Lady Tyddle. The title, A Mother's Legacy to her Daughter, dated 22 Sept., 1677; 2. A little book with a painted red cover having 8 or 9 titles with a prayer of faith to show my wrestling with God till I prevailed; 3. A paper of verses dated 22 Sept' (Anonymous, pp. 435–36). Though Wentworth signed her rights to the papers over to Lady Hanson in order to pressure her husband to return them, their fate is unknown; Taft suggests that they were destroyed.

Wentworth's pen nevertheless remained productive. In addition to the works composed on 22 September, she was inspired to compose, on 9 October, a brief 'Song of the Night' and then, on 10 October, a much longer 'Triumphant Victorious Song' – both of which were later appended to her prose *VINDICATION*. A letter on 21 October by Thomas Barnes, a government informant, reports that Wentworth's predictions are widely known and discussed. One dated 30 November notes that even some of her friends had begun to doubt the prophetess and her predictions, but yet another letter, dated 26 December, records that 300 copies of her predictions had already been issued, with more to come. Perhaps this allusion is to Wentworth's prose *VINDICATION*, probably composed and published sometime between October and the end of 1677.

Despite the flurry of activity and interest surrounding Wentworth in the autumn of 1677, there was little public discussion of her in 1678, perhaps because she had predicted that a dire calamity (which failed to occur in any obvious way) would overtake England some time after New Year's Day, 1678. Divine revelations continued, and Wentworth faithfully recorded them in prose in *ENGLANDS SPIRITUAL PILL* (1678, according to Taft; 1680, according to Hobby) and in verse (*THE REVELATION*). God visited her repeatedly during 1678, the visits recorded in *THE REVELATION* occurring on 22 March, 6 April, 26 April, and 8 October. Further divine visitations occurred in 1679; the ones recorded in *THE REVELATION* occurred on 8 March, 29 March, 31 March, 3 April, 23 April, 15 July, 20 July, 24 July (twice), 3 August, and 14 August. By midsummer 1679 she had (just as the Lord had foretold) resumed residence in her old house, and she was confidently predicting the divine punishment of her husband and various other foes and eagerly anticipating the fulfilment of these predictions on or about New Year's Day, 1680. In the meantime, her volume of poems was printed, very likely sometime in the autumn or early winter of 1679; it seems to have been followed shortly by the prose tract (also full of revelations) entitled *ENGLANDS SPIRITUAL PILL*. In the ensuing decade, however, it seems that Wentworth disappeared from the public scene.

Wentworth's *REVELATION* consists of seventeen sections, some in prose, some in poetry, and some combining the two. Some of the sections are quite short; others are considerably longer. Some of the poems are in couplets; others use alternating rhyme words. Most of the poems in *THE REVELATION* are not nearly as effective as its prose, or as the prose contained in *A VINDICATION, A True Account*, or *ENGLANDS SPIRITUAL PILL*. Though Wentworth claims that the words recorded in *THE REVELATION* were directly dictated by God as she slept and that she copied them down immediately after she awoke, the work is less interesting for its literary qualities than as a historical document, and part of the latter interest lies in the fact that at least one other woman seems to have had a hand in preparing its publication. A preface reports that after the poems had fallen 'into the hand of one, that was once an Enemy to [Wentworth], they so wrought upon her, that she resolved to have them Printed' (sig. A2). Who was this mysterious woman? Could she have been the Lady Hanson, or perhaps the Lady Tyddle, mentioned earlier? And could the mysterious friend herself be the author of the preface? If so, *THE REVELATION* contains the writing of at least two women, not just one. Indeed, since *THE REVELATION* closes with another direct address, and since this epilogue, like the prologue, refers to Wentworth in the third person, the possibilities are even more complex. If we assume that the prologue and epilogue were not in fact written, in disguise, by Wentworth herself, then it seems plausible that the same unknown woman composed both the opening and the closing addresses to Wentworth's readers. *THE REVELATION*, in other words, seems to have been printed with the active encouragement of at least one other woman, and that woman may also have composed both its introduction and its conclusion.

Wentworth's extremely scarce prose text entitled *ENGLANDS SPIRITUAL PILL* (which as yet has no *ESTC* number assigned to it) has never been reprinted; it is therefore included in this volume as an Appendix and is discussed very briefly below, following the texts in the body of this volume. The facsimile of Wentworth's *REVELATION* reproduced here is from the unique copy held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford University.

Robert C. Evans

Elizabeth Rone

All we know about Elizabeth Rone – that she was an outspoken Familist – must be inferred from her three surviving poems as well as from the undated petition (quoted above) she addressed to King Charles II, a petition apparently written late in his reign. These texts inform us that she was a member of the 'Family of Love', a highly controversial religious sect founded in the Netherlands in the mid-sixteenth century by Hendrik Niclaes that soon won followers in England, and with which Rone openly, and fearlessly, identified. Its radical theology quickly caused some members to be prosecuted, many of its teachings to be vilified, and many of its activities to be monitored. The Familists were distrusted by Catholics and Protestants alike, not least because Niclaes considered doctrinal differences – and therefore church affiliation and authorities – less important than a personal relationship with Christ (Martin, p. 61; Moss 1981, p. 59; Halley, p. 100). This belief allowed Familists to 'pass lightly from one external observance to another' (Copenhaver and Schmitt, p. 264), behaviour that made many think them religious chameleons who might corrupt churches from within (Marsh, p. 258). Because the Familists believed that the truly regenerate ('Godded with God') could escape the effects of original sin and need not worry about sinning again, and because they believed in free will rather than in predestination, they were also accused of pride as well as of a variety of deviant sexual, economic, and religious attitudes (see Grady, p. 196; Moss 1975, pp. 36–37; Marsh, pp. 244, 238).

The DESCRIPTION of the Singers of Israel, or the Family of LOVE

This poem (Wing R1914aA), Rone's longest and most remarkable, pulls no punches in identifying the author with the Familists. Although far less is known about the 'Singers of Israel' than about the 'Family of Love', Rone's title implies that the two groups were identical. Daniel Defoe, in 1705, mentions more than thirty different sects, including both the Family and the 'Sweet Singers of Israel' (Moss 1981, p. 69), and Jonathan Swift, a few years later, attacks groups 'such as the *Family of Love*, *Sweet Singers of Israel*, and the like' (*Tale*,

pp. 286–87). Elsewhere, Swift lampoons ‘*Familists, Sweet-Singers*’, and similar sects (*Examiner*, p. 144). Such attacks may mean that Rone’s Familists, along with the allied and perhaps synonymous ‘Singers’, survived even into the early eighteenth century.

Rone implies that her group had been attacked in anonymous, unspecified pamphlets (ll. 7–10). The tone of her defence must have confirmed, in her antagonists’ eyes, the Familists’ reputation for arrogance (ll. 1–6, 31–32), defiance of authority (ll. 13–14, 27–28), and impatience with denominational divisions (ll. 47–48). Rone’s sect had been accused, she says, as had earlier Familists, of ‘Debauchery, / and very many, and gros evils’ (ll. 41–42), but even more interesting is her reference to ‘*John Taylor*’ as the leader of Rone’s group (l. 50) and to Rone herself as a prominent member of Taylor’s flock (ll. 53–56). Efforts to trace Taylor in any detail have so far proven futile, but Rone’s poem is one of the few post-1650 documents about the Familists to provide such specific clues about the sect’s survival. Her verses would be a good starting point for a detailed investigation of an organized ‘Family of Love’ in the 1680s and beyond.

The facsimile of *The DESCRIPTION* reproduced here is from the unique copy in The Newberry Library (shelfmark Case 6A 158 no. 77).

Elizabeth Rone’s SHORT ANSVVER TO ELLINOR JAMES’S LONG PREAMBLE

This poem (Wing R1914B) is Rone’s response to Mrs. JAMES’s *VINDICATION of the Church of England in an ANSWER to a PAMPHLET entitled A New Test of the Church of England’s LOYALTY*. The pamphlet James was answering had been written by someone hoping that James II, Charles II’s Catholic successor, would continue loosening restrictions on both Catholics and Protestant dissenters. King James, it seems, hoped that by widening the breach between dissenters and the official Church of England he could lighten the oppression of Catholics and even encourage conversions to Catholicism (like his own). Suddenly, as a result of James II’s policies, dissenters such as Rone found themselves being courted by both sides: Catholics appealed to them as fellow victims of the Church of England, while Anglicans appealed to them as fellow anti-papists. Some dissenters thought they stood to benefit if James II’s avowed commitment to freedom of conscience were genuinely pursued; other dissenters (and many Anglicans) worried that his policy was a pro-Catholic ruse. By late 1688, most dissenters had adopted the latter view, but in mid-1687, when Elinor James apparently wrote her *VINDICATION*, the situation was still highly fluid.

The *ANSVVER* suggests that at this point Rone was more suspicious of her fellow Protestants than of Catholics or the King. She bristles at Elinor James’s repeated claim that the Church of England is the true ‘Spouse’ of Christ, arguing – in typical Familist fashion – that ‘[I]n every form the Innocent are his’ (l. 7). She thus rejects strict denominational divisions, condemning anyone who values them as ‘silly Formalists’ (l. 12), but she aims her particular anger at the Anglicans (whom she calls the mother) and Presbyterians (whom she calls the daughter), who both seek ‘Dominion over others’ (ll. 19–20). Both the ‘New Church and *Calvins*’ (that is, both Anglicans and Presbyterians) ‘are alike’, since ‘When they get up, they do their Brethren strike’ (ll. 9–10). Like many members of minor Protestant sects, Rone thought she had more to fear from Protestant orthodoxy than from a resurgent Catholicism.

The facsimile of the *SHORT ANSVVER* reproduced here reprints the copy owned by the Houghton Library at Harvard University (shelfmark *EB65 R6691 687s). The online Duke University library catalogue lists another copy.

A Reproof to those Church Men or Ministers

Rone’s final extant poem (Wing R1914A) is a natural sequel to her attack on Elinor James. By 1688, the king’s determination to promote the legal and social position of Catholics had become clear. His efforts deeply concerned most Protestants. In April of 1687 he had issued a ‘Declaration of Indulgence’ granting dissenters and Catholics greater religious and political freedom, and in April of 1688 he not only reissued it but commanded that it be read aloud from every pulpit in the land. When seven Anglican bishops refused to comply, arguing that the order was illegal, all but a handful of Anglican ministers similarly rejected the royal

command. James, shocked, ordered the bishops tried for sedition. Their acquittal began the end of his regime: before the year was out James had been overthrown by an elite group of his subjects in collaboration with his Dutch Protestant son-in-law (and nephew), William of Orange, who thereafter reigned jointly with Mary, his wife (and James's daughter).

Rone did not agree with these widespread anti-Jacobite feelings. Her *Reproof to those Church Men or Ministers that Refused to Read the KING'S most Gracious Declaration*, apparently written during the height of the crisis, strongly supports the king's professed interest 'In making Peace amongst his Subjects all, / And setting every Conscience out of thrall' (ll. 25–26). She mocks Anglicans, who usually preached obedience to royal authority, for daring to defy the king in this instance and especially for daring to tell 'so good a King ... / His Actions are Illegal' (ll. 42–43). Although her continued allegiance to the 'Family of Love' is not explicit here, it may be implied by her closing words to the Anglican ministers: 'That with true Love you cannot *Live* nor *Reign*' (l. 52). Thus Rone, the probable Familist, remained steadfast in supporting a Catholic king whom many other Protestants viewed with suspicion and contempt. That her tract was printed 'With Allowance' (that is, with official approval) may show that the king and his dwindling band of loyalists were willing to accept support from wherever it might come – even from an otherwise heretical Familist.

The facsimile of the *Reproof* reproduced here reprints the unique copy owned by the Houghton Library at Harvard University (shelfmark *EB65 R6691 688r).

Robert C. Evans

Mary Wells

Nothing at present is known about the 'Mary Wells' who composed *A DIVINE POEM* (1682, 1684), which reached two printings (Wing D1727 [1682], W1296 [1684]). Smith and Cardinale (p. 115) and Bell et al. (p. 210) cite but do not discuss her. The International Genealogical Index shows that hundreds of women with this name lived in England at the time; scores of them lived in London, where the poem was first printed. Despite the poem's first-person voice, nothing in it reveals anything distinctive about Wells; the voice seems that of a generic Christian – possibly just the effect Wells intended.

The most interesting part of Wells's poem is its prose subtitle, in which the author recommends her verses as '*a fit Token for all Young Men and Maids, instead of profane Songs and Ballads*'. Secular poetry had long been perceived by some as a bad influence on impressionable youth, but concern about social and moral rot seems to have increased in Wells's time (Stone, p. 223; Thompson, p. 228). By the late 1660s Anglican preachers were stressing the need for ethical and spiritual reformation, and their calls eventually helped lead to the establishment of societies to promote the reformation of manners (Spurr, Bahlman, Hayton, and Shoemaker). Wells's ballad reflects this broad concern. Her poem suggests that even if women were not leaders in the campaign, many were applauding from the sidelines.

As has been noted, though, concern about declining morals was hardly new, even if it did intensify after the Restoration. The tendency Wells represents – to link moral decay with the influence of printed ballads – is almost as old as printed ballads themselves (see Shepard, p. 51). In the years between 1500 and 1700 (as well as thereafter), ballads and ballad singers were energetically denounced by churchmen and moralists of all sorts. Hence the 'spiritualization' of ballads and other secular songs in which pious or improving songs were set to the tunes of ballads or court verse (Shepard, p. 51, *inter alia*). Wells would have sympathized with this practice.

Although few scholars have noted this, Wells's *DIVINE POEM* was apparently first published in 1682, without an author's name, by William Marshall in London (Wing D1727) and then republished in London in 1684, when it was printed – perhaps twice – by J. Astwood (Wing W1296); in this second printing, the poem was clearly ascribed to Wells. Only the 1684 printing is noted by Smith and Cardinale (p. 115), and most electronic catalogues note only the 1682 printing. A copy of the 1682 printing owned by The Huntington Library has been issued on microfilm by UMI (reel 378:19), as has a copy of the 1684 printing owned by The British Library (reel 2522:10). The texts of the two printings of the poem are nearly identical, except that the

1682 version contains an obvious misprint in the second line of the stanza devoted to the letter ‘V’: the phrase ‘To lift my heart’ is inadvertently repeated from the first line of that stanza. The present facsimile is a reprint of the apparently unique copy of one 1684 printing of Wells’s poem (Wing W1296) owned by the Houghton Library at Harvard University (shelfmark *EB65 W4628 684d). The *ESTC* reports another 1684 printing, Wing W1296A, at The British Library.

Robert C. Evans

Elizabeth Tipper

A note penned in the 1699 Houghton Library copy of *THE Pilgrim’s Viaticum* (Wing T1305) reports that the author ‘seems to have been a Wiltshire woman’. Bell et al. state that ‘parish registers record an Elizabeth Tipper, daughter of William and Elizabeth, christened in 1640 at Seend’, Wiltshire (p. 193; see also Bocchicchio, p. 624). If the note in the Houghton copy is correct, perhaps she was the Elizabeth Tipper married 30 June 1684 in Bishops Cannings, Wiltshire (*International Genealogical Index*) – about fourteen years before *THE Pilgrim’s Viaticum* appeared in print.

A Wiltshire connection is also suggested by the dedication of *THE Pilgrim’s Viaticum* to a Lady Coventry who was a native of Wiltshire: Anne Maria Browne married Thomas Coventry, son of an Earl of Coventry; she died 17 December 1726 (d’Arcy). Finally, a third fact suggesting that Tipper was a native of Wiltshire is that the first prefatory poem, in Latin (p. 7), is translated by a Wiltshire man, John Torbuck, the ‘Rector of Lurgershall, Wilts.’ (p. 8; see Bell, Parfitt and Shepherd, p. 193) – that is, present-day Ludgershall. Bell et al. note that ‘the entry in Greer ... uses the connection to Lady Coventry to suggest that Tipper may have been employed at a charity school [Lady Coventry] supported near Badminton, Gloucestershire’, although they caution that ‘when Tipper speaks of her teaching she refers to “ladies”, which does not imply charity school pupils’ (p. 193). The surviving data on Tipper’s life are discussed in detail by Greer et al. (pp. 422–28), although Bocchicchio (p. 624) and Bell et al. (p. 193) raise minor objections to certain aspects of this otherwise impressive account.

Even if the details of her life, including the date and place of her birth, remain uncertain, Elizabeth Tipper’s identity as a poet in London can be determined from evidence in her only known work, *THE Pilgrim’s Viaticum* (1698, 1699), from references by her contemporaries, and from legal documents. In *THE Pilgrim’s Viaticum*, for example, the prefatory poem ‘To Mrs. Tipper, on her Miscellany of Divine Poems’ by John Hallum asserts that ‘Phillips and Behn, whose praise fame still rehearse, / In all their works don’t parallel thy verse’ (Bell, Parfitt and Shepherd, p. 193). And a footnote in the same volume to Tipper’s poem ‘To a Young Lady that desired a Verse of my being Servant one Day, and Mistress Another’ explains that she taught ‘Writing and Accompts’ to ladies (that is, she worked as a governess and/or school mistress) and kept books for a shop (pp. 34–35; see Blain, Clements and Grundy, p. 1083).

Tipper’s employer in London may possibly have been the bookseller and publisher John Dunton; at least Dunton knew of Tipper, for his autobiography *Life and Errors* mentions that he printed some of her poems (Dunton, p. 292; Plomer, p. 222). Unfortunately, Dunton gives no details of publication, nor do we know whether the poems by Tipper that he published also appear in *THE Pilgrim’s Viaticum*. Dunton’s 1705 autobiography praises Thomas Ballard, the bookseller and publisher who brought out the second edition of *THE Pilgrim’s Viaticum* in 1699 (Plomer, p. 222), so it is possible that Dunton may have introduced Tipper’s poems to him. According to Stevenson and Davidson, at the time her work appeared in print Tipper lived in poverty, relying on friends for income to supplement her meagre wages (pp. 511–12); by this time she must have been widowed. Indeed, in the poem ‘On my dear Friend, Mr. Robert Harding’ Tipper praises Harding’s daughter Alicia ‘that cast her pleasing eye, / To my indifferent state of poverty’ then stops her encomium to remind herself that she has lost Alicia’s companionship, too: ‘But cease, my muse, cease, lest I now despair, / To think how I lost her, that was so dear; / Marriage, which fixes lovers in one state, / Divides us two to places separate’ (pp. 67–70).

Six years later, in 1704, she is described in *The Athenian Spy* as the ‘True Widow’ Tipper, with virtues that would make her an ideal wife ‘for any Dean or Prebend’ (Letter XLI, 18; see also Stevenson and Davidson,

p. 511). Tipper's Anglicanism is clear from evidence in *THE Pilgrim's Viaticum* and from the circumstances of its publication (see also Greer et al., p. 423). First, her work is endorsed by the Rector of 'Lurgershall' (p. 8). Second, in her poem 'Reflections upon my extraordinary Joy, at the Certain and Sudden News of Peace Being concluded, Sept. 1697' Tipper approves of France's being 'forced' to recognize the Protestant William III as King of England (p. 77; emphasis mine). Third, Stevenson and Davidson assume that Tipper was Anglican because Dunton also published the Anglican poet Elizabeth Rowe (pp. 511–12). Finally, but less compellingly, in her dedication to Lady Coventry Tipper mentions 'the uneasy Circumstances of [her] own Life' and asks Lady Coventry 'for Sanctuary ... amidst the Storms and Persecutions of a degenerate Age'. This could be a reference to some persecuting religious authority or to a particular man's aggressiveness towards her, or it might be merely a conventional, general condemnation of her era. Of the title word 'viaticum', A.J. Schulte gives this etymology: 'the substantive "viaticum" figuratively meant the provision for the journey of life and finally by metaphor the provision for the passage out of this world into the next. It is in this last meaning that the word is used in sacred liturgy'. Tipper's poems make up a viaticum of the inner life. They chronicle her responses to more ebbing than flowing of her fortunes as she endured suffering as a preparation for Heaven. Most of the poems end with a statement anticipating a better hereafter or asking God to cleanse her soul in preparation for it. Typically, the second poem ('Some Experimental Passages of my LIFE ...') chronicles her years of penance as prelude to 'a HAPPY DEATH'. The third poem ('Meditation I') contrasts the 'Living Flames of hop'd Happiness', which consumed sorrow and grief until 'the Waves' of earthly suffering returned; these in turn were abated by her 'Patience' and 'Prayer'. Only prayer brings rejection of all earthly delights, or 'Outward Things', making the soul ready for Heaven. Another poem ('Security') catalogues the gains of the 'Bubbling Show of Worldly Policies' and 'Earthly Treasure', and builds to a rejection of them in favour of God's 'inward Joy which crowns the Mind / ... Possess of which we are securely blest, / Whatever does become of all the rest'. 'The Heart' also employs dialectics: it describes her movement from a state of grace to a return to sin and back again, when she discovers she had deluded herself into believing she could retain purity of soul. Like the others, 'The Heart' concludes with a prayer to God to 'make me Clear [of sin]'.

As is typical of literature of the late seventeenth century, the dedicatory and prefatory poems praising the author and her work lambaste a widespread moral corruption that is contrasted with Tipper's moral and spiritual uprightness. Tipper's own poems fit one early modern paradigm in which women writers define themselves through references to the Bible. Suzanne Trill argues that they use this tactic not to bow to patriarchal notions of women but to turn women's reputed weakness into a virtue: as a passive vessel, the woman poet-prophet is uniquely created to be a medium of God's voice on earth (pp. 41, 43).

The three extant copies of the 1699 edition (Wing T1305) are held in The British Library, London; The Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, USA; and the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA. Three copies of the 1698 edition (Wing T1304) also exist. One, rebound in white cardboard, is owned by The Henry E. Huntington Library (Wing T1304; Huntington shelfmark 4714411). Another edition is owned by the Bodleian Library, Oxford University (shelfmark 11631. aaa. 45): it contains a bookplate labelled 'T. Allen F.S.A.'; and on the inside first right leaf (not the title page) 'Mrs. Tipper' is written by hand. The third copy of the 1698 edition is owned by Trinity College, Dublin.

In the Houghton copy, reproduced here because of its clarity, there is a book stamp indicating that the book was once housed at 'Tenebley Park / Lympyfield / Surrey', although the first and third words are indistinct.

Mary Jane Curry

POETRY ON POLITICS

The seventeenth century was one of the most tumultuous periods in English history. It witnessed revolutions and civil wars in the 1640s that led to the trial and execution in January 1649 of King Charles I, whose death was followed by a Commonwealth in the 1650s. By the end of that decade, however, many English had tired of such experiments, and so Charles's exiled son was invited to take the throne. The 'Restoration' of Charles II in 1660, celebrated fulsomely by Rachel Jevon, played out amidst a great deal of unrest. Jevon was one of many

English subjects who hoped for great things from the restored monarchy, but such optimism did not last long. Soon the English were arguing again about politics and religion, and within another three decades another revolution had taken place.

The charged political atmosphere of post-Restoration England is well sounded by Mrs. A. M.'s *HEROICAL PANEGRIC* on the controversial Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715), a key player in the momentous ‘Glorious Revolution’ of 1688 in which James II, the Catholic brother of Charles II who had assumed the throne after Charles had died in 1685, abruptly lost the throne to his Protestant daughter Mary and her Dutch husband (and cousin), William of Orange. (The revolution was ‘Glorious’ because it was largely bloodless: James, doubting that he could defeat William’s invading troops, fled to the Continent.) As heir-apparent and then as king, James had once been powerful indeed, and one of the men he had come to detest was Gilbert Burnet. Burnet – a talented churchman, ambitious courtier and champion of moderate Protestantism – had been friendly with James when the latter was Duke of York, but their relations had later cooled. Like many Britons, Burnet had come to distrust the new Catholic monarch. The feeling had long been mutual, largely because of Burnet’s increasingly outspoken anti-Catholicism. His celebrated *History of the Reformation in England* (1679) had made him an intellectual hero to Protestants everywhere. Shortly after James became king, Burnet wisely left for the Continent, where the intensified bloody persecution of Protestants by the Catholic government in France made him distrust James even more.

Eventually Burnet was invited to William’s Protestant court in Holland, where he became an influential advisor. James was outraged by this connection, and for a time William kept Burnet at a discreet public distance. Nevertheless, throughout 1687 and 1688, Burnet published numerous writings attacking Catholic tyranny and commenting forcefully on contemporary English affairs. He had already been threatened with prosecution in England in 1687 and subjected by that autumn to severe penalties for failing to answer the charges there. Burnet even began to fear kidnapping or assassination, and in fact evidence survives that both the French and the English governments were willing to pay to have him forcibly returned to England, where imprisonment or even death would have been his likely fate (Burnet, vol. 2, pp. 194–6, 201–2; Clarke and Foxcroft, p. 236). Nevertheless, he continued to issue pamphlets that offended James (Clarke and Foxcroft, p. 239).

In the summer of 1688 the political crisis in England came to a head after James announced the birth of a male Catholic heir – a birth that many (including Burnet) found suspicious. William was invited by a small group to invade England and, with his wife as joint ruler, to take control. As William’s chaplain, and as advisor, theoretician, preacher, and propagandist, Burnet was a central figure in this Revolution. Yet his prominence annoyed many rivals, and his often frank (some would say impertinent) advice sometimes bothered even William, who once called Burnet a ‘dangerous man’ who lacked ‘principles’ and who ‘would do more harm than twenty men could do good’ (Clarke and Foxcroft, p. 266).

Burnet was nevertheless admired by Mary and other Protestants, and his past and prospective services to the new monarchs resulted in various appointments, including, in early 1689, the bishopric of Salisbury. His new offices led to his involvement in new controversies, in which he typically managed to alienate almost as many people as he impressed. His commitment to religious moderation meant that he could displease both committed conservatives and dedicated liberals, and he was often accused, during 1689, of being a “‘Trimmer” – a “jack of both sides”” (Clarke and Foxcroft, p. 269).

MARIA to HENRIC is grounded in the uncertainty that followed William’s accession. Controversy soon developed over how much power – and what kinds – William and Mary should each possess. William would never agree simply to be Mary’s consort, and, as in her imaginary epistle, Mary herself showed no strong political ambitions. Some politicians favoured giving greater power to Mary, others to William. ‘Various proposals were put forward, but it soon became clear that the only solution acceptable to all elements ... was to offer the crown jointly to William and Mary, with William having the responsibility for governmental affairs’ (C. Evans, p. 209). However, since William was often involved in foreign battles, Mary (advised by male counsellors) ruled the country when he was away. Genuinely in love with her husband, she regretted his absences, longed for his returns, but proved a capable administrator when he was gone. Nevertheless, in the early years of the joint monarchy, some politicians ‘worried about Mary’s loyalties. When William proposed to go to Ireland in 1690, parliament pondered the terrible consequences of vesting authority in Mary, since if

William should die, “and the Queen be Regent, what if, out of Duty to her Father, if he land, she should not oppose him?”” (Mendelson and Crawford, p. 361). Such fears were further complicated because some English suspected William of being more concerned with Dutch affairs and interests than with their own. Like all the other works discussed in this section, *MARIA to HENRIC* seems a more intriguing poem when read in light of these tangled political circumstances.

Rachel Jevon

Rachel Jevon’s name and life are witnessed by only five known documents: a parish record of the baptism in Broom, Worcestershire, on 23 January 1627, of Rachell Jeven, daughter of Daniell and Elizabeth Jeven; her two poems, one Latin and one English, congratulating Charles II on his Restoration (both printed in London in 1660); and two petitions to the King in ‘May?’ of 1662, one for ‘the place of one of the meanest servants about the Queen’ and the other for ‘the place of Rocker to the Queen’. Only the first of these petitions gives additional information: Rachel’s father, ‘a loyal clergyman in the diocese of Worcester, though threatened and imprisoned, contrived to preserve his flock, so that not one took arms against His Majesty, but could only give his children education, without maintenance’ (Bell et al., p. 115). Whether Rachel was related to Thomas Jevon (1652–88), the actor and dramatist who wrote *The Devil of a Wife; or a Comical Transformation*, is not known. Rachel’s father’s will (1649) indicates that he had a brother, Thomas Jevon of Strowbridg.

Rachel’s petitions for a position in service to the Queen came with Charles’s marriage to Catherine of Braganza in May 1662. Whether she received such a position is not known. But it is not likely, because so many Loyalists sought favours from the King in the first years after the Restoration that, while he did reward most of those who had helped him escape from Worcester, his favours were limited by considerations of feasibility and fairness. Furthermore, Catherine had brought women servants with her from Portugal, and Charles had distressed her already by asking that his mistress be added to her retinue (Hutton, p. 187).

CARMEN THRIAMBEUTIKON REGIAE MAJESTATI Caroli II. PRINCIPUM ET CHRISTIANORUM OPTIMI IN EXPOTATISSIMAM EJIS RESTAURATIONEM

Exultationis Carmen TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY UPON HIS MOST Desired Return. By Rachel Jevon, Presented with her own Hand, Aug. 16th.

These texts are Rachel Jevon’s two poems, one in Latin and one in English, congratulating Charles II on his Restoration to the throne. These are her only known literary works. Both poems were printed by John Macock in London and published on the same day (16 August) in 1660, and are in every extant copy collected together as a pair. The *Exultationis Carmen* (Wing J730) seems to be an expanded translation of the *CARMEN THRIAMBEUTIKON* (Wing J729). For these reasons the two poems are discussed together here, although normally in this series separately published poems are treated separately.

The more concise Latin congratulatory poem (138 dactylic hexameter lines) probably preceded the more expansive English version (190 lines of iambic pentameter couplets). Both ‘exultation’ poems have much the same order of contents: humble presentation of the poem to Charles; exultation over his royal lineage, his providential escape after the defeat at Worcester, his travels on the Continent and his triumphal return to England, and celebration of Charles the king as a spirit of peace and spring wearing five crowns and figured as bridegroom, royal lion, royal oak, King David and the sun. Both poems exhibit considerable education (unusual for a middle-class woman at the time) in their verbal and versifying skills, use of rhetorical devices, and allusions to classical literature (Stevenson, p. 7). Added to the Latin poem are a Greek phrase-prayer at the foot of the text on p. 5 and two Latin anagrams on p. 6 for CAROLUS STUARTUS (each interpreted in Latin). Both poems express enthusiastic loyalty to the monarchy and to Charles. Similarity between the emphases in Jevon’s (English) congratulatory poem and those in Jevon’s subsequent petitions leads Elaine Hobby to conclude that the poem ‘was not the naïve outpouring that it might at first appear’ but rather ‘a planned strategy of publicizing her learning, loyalism and humility’ in order to win a position (p. 19).

Jevon's Latin poem and her English poem give mostly similar sketches of Charles's travels on the Continent from 1651 to 1660. The historical facts of these travels, according to Ronald Hutton's biography (pp. 70–99, supplemented by Fraser 129–59), are as follows: After fleeing England in October 1651, Charles resided in France. In the summer of 1652, war broke out between the Protectorate and the Dutch, but even though Charles's sister Mary was the widowed Princess of Orange, the Calvinist Dutch were disinclined to receive Charles. In April 1654, as part of the treaty to end the Anglo-Dutch war, the Dutch formally agreed not to shelter enemies of the Protectorate. In August 1654, when France made trade agreements with the Protectorate, Charles moved to Germany (Cologne), where he lived until March 1656. Then, after negotiating with the King of Spain, he went to the Spanish Netherlands. He remained there until returning to England in May 1660. Jevon's Latin poem recounts that Charles was at first welcome in France, but later fled to the '*Austriacos*' (the Germans). After a threat to his life there, 'he sought the watery fields of *Batavia* [Protestant Holland] and ungrateful *Itelia* [Holland?]' refused to allow him to escape there. But generous OLIVA [Spain/the Spanish Netherlands] received him, shaken by rainstorms'. Peace followed, and he was able to return to England. The English poem differs in but a few details, recounting that when Charles fled France in 1654 he wandered to the 'unstable Willows' (the Protestant Netherlands), who rejected him so 'that them the rebel brambles might protect'. Then the 'generous Olive' received him. His stay in Germany is omitted. Stevenson and Davidson (p. 325) note that the 'allegorical scheme of this section derives from the popular satirical romance by James Howell, *Dendrologia* (1640)'. They note that (before the events of Jevon's poems) Howell had also identified the olive with the King of Spain and the willows with the Dutch, but that Jevon's 'brambles' are the English parliamentarians rather than (as in Howell) the cruel Turks. Some of Jevon's details are not to be found in Hutton's or Fraser's accounts: specifically the threat to Charles's life in Germany and his attempts to go from there to Holland.

Jevon's English poem presents details of Charles's situation in France. The claim that he was 'Sprung from the Rose and Flower-de-luce most fair' (l. 19) refers to Charles's father, Charles I of England (the rose), and his mother, the daughter of Henry IV of France (the *fleur de lis*). Jevon depicts the France in which Charles lived in 1651–52 as 'with bloody Robes of Civil War beclad' (l. 76), for the country was divided in near civil war between the forces of the adolescent Louis XIV, his mother and their minister Mazarin on the one hand and the supporters of Louis's uncle Gaston, duke of Orleans, other rebel princes and nobles and the Parliament of Paris on the other (Hutton, p. 71). In the spring of 1652, Charles attempted to mediate between Louis and the duke of Orleans. Then he tried to persuade the Duke of Lorraine to withdraw his considerable army, drawn up before Paris, from support of the rebels. Lorraine mercifully decided not to attack (Hutton, pp. 82–3). Jevon writes that despite Charles's help in winning peace, a few years later 'The barbarous Vine the Royal Oak refus'd / To please the Tyrants, natures bonds she loos'd; / But He unmoved in faith their Lillies fled' (ll. 79–81). This refers to the fact that France (vine and lillies, since the *fleur de lis* is the French royal flower) refused to continue to shelter Charles for fear of incurring the enmity of the Protectorate, with which she had signed a commercial treaty in 1654, and of the Pope, who had made conversion to the Catholic faith a condition for giving support to Charles's cause. Charles firmly declined to convert (Hutton, pp. 92–93).

Rachel Jevon's poems were among many congratulatory poems on the occasion of Charles II's restoration (for others, see MacLean). The copies of Jevon's poems in The Huntington Library (those used in this facsimile) are found in a collection from the early twentieth century once belonging to Beverley Chew that includes six other poems celebrating the Restoration, among them relatively well-known ones by Edmund Waller and John Dryden. Seven more poems on the occasion, including ones by Abraham Cowley and Thomas Fuller, are cited by Hooker and Swedenberg in their notes to Dryden's '*Astraea Redux*' in their 1961 edition of Dryden's *Works* (pp. 212–15). Many of these occasional poems were collected and dated by George Thomason in the seventeenth century. Hooker and Swedenberg explain that their sample is only a small portion of a great number of written and published congratulatory poems, many of which, like Dryden's and Jevon's, exhibit considerable learning. Indeed, from Cambridge University came a volume of about 80 poems, from Oxford a volume of at least 137 poems in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and English (pp. 212–13).

Jevon's poems are like Dryden's and Waller's (and many others') in their extensive classical and biblical allusions and in their presentation of Charles as the radiant face of Peace. Like the university poems, they exhibit competence in both Latin and English and in classical rhetorical devices. Both Dryden and Jevon